

**Rural Development and Dalits in Andhra Pradesh: Critical
Evaluation from Ambedkar's Perspective**

**Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad in Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of Economics**

By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the present thesis entitled *Rural Development and Dalits in Andhra Pradesh: Critical Evaluation from Ambedkar's Perspective*, submitted to the University of Hyderabad in fulfillment of the requirements for the Award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Economics is a original research work done by me under the supervision and guidance of Prof. D. Narasimha Reddy and Dr. K. Laxminarayana. The thesis has not been submitted to any other University or Institution for the award of any degree.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. Pachinulu Raghupathi embodied the present thesis titled ***Rural Development and Dalits in Andhra Pradesh: Critical Evaluation from Ambedkar's Perspective***, submitted to the University of Hyderabad in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* in the School of Economics is a original research work and completed under my supervision and guidance. To the best of my knowledge, the thesis has not been submitted to any other University or Institution for the award of any degree.

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Abbreviations

AAY	: Antyodaya Anna Yojana
AIDIS	: All India Debt and Investment Survey
AIE	: Alternative & Innovative Education
AMR-APARD	: Alimineti Madhava Reddy Andhra Pradesh Academy of Rural Development
ANM	: Auxiliary Nurse and Midwife
APL	: Above Poverty Line
APSRTC	: Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation
AS	: Annapurna Scheme
AWC	: Anganwadi Centre
AWH	: Anganwadi Helper
AWW	: Anganwadi Workers
BC	: Backward Class
BCG	: Bacille Calmette-Guerin
BDO	: Block Development Office
BHEL	: Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited
BJP	: Bharatiya Janatha Party
BMI	: Body Mass Index
BPL	: Below Poverty Line
CAG	: Comptroller and Auditor General
CARD	: Centre for Agriculture and Rural Development
CD	: Community Development
CIP	: Consumer Index Price
CMR	: Child Mortality Rates
CPI	: Community Party of India
CPIAL	: Consumer Price Index for Agricultural Labourers
DDP	: Desert Development Programme
DPAP	: Drought Prone Area Programme
DPT	: Diphtheria, Pertussis and Tetanus
DRDA	: District Rural Development Agency
DWCRA	: Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas
EAS	: Employment Assurance Scheme
EGS	: Employment Guarantee Scheme
F&CS	: Food & Civil Supplies
FCI	: Food Corporation of India
FPS	: Fair Price Shops
GBS	: Gross Budgetary Support
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GG	: Gender Gap
GKY	: Ganga Kalyan Yojana
GoAP	: Government of Andhra Pradesh
GPI	: Gender Parity Index
GSDP	: Gross State Domestic Product

IAY	: Indira Awas Yojana
IB	: Indian Bank
ICDS	: Integrated Child Development Scheme
ID	: Identity
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
IMR	: Infant Mortality Rate
IRD	: Integrated Rural Development Programme
ISB	: Industry, Service and Business
JRY	: Jawahar Rozgari Yojana
LCA	: Land Ceiling Act
MDMP	: Mid-Day Meal Programme
MDMS	: Mid Day Meal Scheme
MFI	: Micro Finance Institution
MLA	: Member of Legislative Assembly
MNC	: Multi National Companies
MO	: Medical Officer
MP	: Member of Parliament
MPP	: Mandal Praja Parishad
MRO	: Mandal Revenue Officer
MSJE	: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment
MWS	: Million Wells Scheme
NEP	: New Economic Policy
NFBS	: National Family Benefit Scheme
NFHS	: National Family Health Survey
NGO	: Non Government Organization
NMBS	: National Maternity Benefit Scheme
NP-NSE	: National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education
NREGS	: National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NREP	: National Rural Employment Programme
NSAP	: National Social Assistance Programme
NSS	: National Sample Survey
NSSO	: National Sample Survey Organization
OBC	: Other Backward Class
OC	: Other Class
ORG	: Operations Research Group
PACS	: Primary Agricultural Co-operative Society
PCR	: Protection of Civil Rights
PDS	: Public Distribution System
PHC	: Primary Health Centre
PNOAPS	: Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme
POA	: Prevention of Atrocities
POP	: Poorest of the Poor
PRI	: Panchayat Raj Institution
PSU	: Public Sector Undertakings

PTMGR NMP	: Puratchi Thalavivar MGRamachandran Nutritious Meal Programme
PVC	: Polyvinyl Chloride
RBI	: Reserve Bank of India
RDP	: Rural Developmental Programmes
RLEGP	: Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme
RMP	: Registered Medical Practitioner
SC	: Scheduled Caste
SCA	: Special Central Assistance
SCP	: Special Component Plan
SCSP	: Scheduled Caste Sub Plan
SGSY	: Swarnajayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana
SHARE	: Society for Awakening Rural Poor through Education
SHG	: Self Help Group
SITRA	: Supply of Toolkits in Rural Areas
ST	: Scheduled Tribe
STD	: Subscriber Trunk Dialing
TPDS	: Targeted Public Distribution System
TRYSEM	: Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment
UKG	: Upper Kinder Garden
UN	: United Nations
UNICEF	: United Nations Children's Fund
UPA	: United Progressive Alliance
USSR	: Union Soviet Socialist Russia
UT	: Union Territory
UVCCS	: Unagatla Vishala Co-operative Credit Society
VAO	: Village Administrative Officer

CHAPTER - 1

Introduction

The Indian society is highly stratified and hierarchical in nature while set institutional processes that economically and socially exclude, discriminate, isolate, and deprive some groups on the basis of characteristics like caste, ethnicity or religious background. These groups form a vast section of India's population and include low caste untouchables, tribals, nomadic, semi-nomadic, and denotified tribes. Low caste untouchables and adivasi are prominent among these social and religious minority groups and they together account about one fourth of India's population.

The biggest challenge before Independent India is to address these issues in building a faire and equitable society. These issues were of major concern since the days of freedom movement. One of the early initiatives was taken by Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the anti-caste philosopher. The Poona Pact between Mahatma Gandhi and Ambedkar on 16th August 1932 provided for equitable representation of the 'Depressed Classes' in governance and for improvement in their socio-economic conditions (Sukhadeo Thorat, 2009). The Pact became significant as this was the base for consequent constitutional safeguards and other measures for the social integration of the Scheduled Castes (SCs). Several legislations have been enacted and various measures were initiated for inclusive development of the SCs even before the Constitution of India came into force. Precisely, it can be said that the government measures towards the upliftment of the SCs are two fold: anti-discriminator or protective measure and development and empowering measures.

1.1 Ambedkar's Fight against Untouchability

Between 1927 and 1932, Ambedkar mobilized his followers and lead a non-violent campaign to assert the rights of the Scheduled Caste to enter public places like temples and to draw water from public tanks and wells etc. Two of these campaigns were of special importance: the campaigns against the exclusion of Untouchables from the Kalaram Temple in Nasik and from the Chowdar Tank in Mahad. Thousands of

Untouchable '*satyagrahis*' or non-violent resisters were mobilized to fight against this discrimination. The response of caste Hindus was violent. The Chowdar Tank campaign, after years of litigation, ended in a legal victory for the low caste activists. The Chowdar Tank campaign also experienced with the ceremonial burning of the Manusmriti, the ancient Hindu law book that Ambedkar believed responsible for the cruel treatment that the Untouchables suffering and Human Rights violation. This resulted that all Ambedkar's followers intended to demonstrate that equality among castes was an issue that could not be ignored to achieve.

By 1932 he became most unpopular in the minds Hindu communities by his activities in India. The cause of the trouble was Ambedkar's continued insistence on the necessity of separate electorates for the depressed classes and campaign against how Hindu culture has been degrading depressed classes. Mohandas K. Gandhi and the Congress Party opposed to separate electorates for the depressed classes. Ambedkar and Gandhi confronted on the subject at the Second Round Table Conference, when Gandhi went so far as to challenge Ambedkar's claim to speak for the Untouchables. Ambedkar's arguments succeeded in convincing the British government, and when Ramsay MacDonald published his Communal Award the following year the depressed classes were given the separate electorates for which they had asked. Resulting Gandhi decided to go on a fast to the death for the abolition of separate electorates for the depressed classes. Since he was the prominent leader of the independence movement his fast unto death created disturbances and Ambedkar was despicable as a conspirator and threats were made against his life. The pressure that was brought to bear on him Ambedkar was not ready to negotiate and finally agreed to replace separate electorates with joint electorates, with increased number of reserved seats. This agreement was embodied in a document that became known as the Poona Pact, which by Ambedkar identified as the most influential leader of the Untouchables.

Because of the opposition he had encountered over the question of separate electorates and rigid Hindu principles. Ambedkar started encouraging his followers to concentrate on raising their standard of living and gaining political power. He also began to think there was no future for the Untouchables within Hinduism and that they should

change their religion. Ambedkar was appointed principal of the Government Law College, Bombay.

1.2 Ambedkar's Perception of Economic Development

B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) is renowned for many qualities. He had many degrees to his credit which made him a versatile genius. He has been accepted as a true reformer, learned professor, brilliant lawyer, reputed author, great political leader and a great parliamentarian. However, by virtue of his hard work, he rose not only to national but also to international eminence and showed a new path to his community for breaking the shackles of thousands of years old bondage. He began his life as an untouchable and was treated in his boyhood as a social leper.

B.R. Ambedkar was trained as an economist first at Columbia University where he obtained Doctorate in 1917 in economics and later had D. Sc degree from London School of Economics in 1921. His thinking as an economist has two dimensions. First, as the economist his contributions relating to "The Evaluation of Provincial Finance in British India" and "The Problem of the Rupee" are professional in nature. Second, his contribution to land reforms, socialism, and fiscal system of India, employment, industrialization, capital formation, taxation, food position and nationalization are the reflections of a statesman. Ambedkar's economic ideology can be called State Socialism. His scheme of State Socialism consists of radical measure viz. nationalization of land, industry and insurance. Above all the land philosophy as advocated by Ambedkar in the early 50's appears to be correct even today.

He devoted his life to liberating crores of downtrodden people in India from their age long bondage and ushering a new era in their lives. His life, ideas as well as his writings were not only thought provoking but also provocative. He called up on the Hindu Society to eradicate its caste system that hinders its social solidarity and set up a new democratic social order based on the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Ambedkar dealt with more the problems of landless labourers, small holdings, khoti system, mahar watan, collective farming, and abolition of landlordism and land revenue on different occasions. He expressed his views on nationalization of industries, food problem, socialism and social equality. He discussed taxation problems in his budget speeches. He further continued to contribute economic thinking through number

of books such as '*Small Holdings in India and Their Remedies*', '*Federation versus Freedom*', '*State and Minorities*' etc. More so, his economic thoughts are relevant in the present context of Indian situation.

1.2.1 Agriculture Structure and Rural Development

Agriculture is the major occupation in Indian economy. More than two thirds of Indian population depends on agriculture sector for their livelihood and this sector alone generates nearly half of the national income to the country. The problems that hinder agricultural progress identified by Ambedkar 90 years ago still exist in India. He laid stress on consolidation, irrigation, state farming and utilization of various resources so as to boost the production and improve the economic condition of the farmers' community. In an article on "*Small Holdings in India and Their Remedies*" in 1918, he argued that the evils of subdivision and fragmentation would be avoided with the consolidation of land holdings. Moreover, he strongly supported the principles like government land ownership and collective farming. In another book he asserted that Indian agriculture should be a 'State Industry'. Therefore, after his 'State Socialism' only the economic structure was designed.

Intermediates were created by the Britishers who called Zamindars. They sucked the very blood from the rural poor. The lion's share of the produce was taken away by the Zamindar parasitic class and the actual cultivator was left only with subsistence income. As a result, the cultivators had neither the resources nor the incentives to reinvest in agriculture in the subsequent year. Therefore, in the pre-independence period the Indian agriculture can be described as a subsistence occupation which yielded too little to live on and too much to die on. Moreover, on the pretext of settlement of debts taken by cultivators, the Zamindars and money lenders have taken a large part of land wrongfully. Thus a number of cultivators become and suffered with landlessness. Eventually the Zamindari class has given rise to create another class called landless labourers or agricultural workers. Landless labourers were after working on the other land for wages which were too meager to keep the body and soul together. A majority of farmers were just able to manage a level of subsistence from agricultural activities.

1.2.2 Land Reforms

Indian agriculture encounters the problem of small holdings and fragmentation of land which caused a great set back for the agricultural development in India. It has rightly been pointed out by Ambedkar that the diminutive size of the holdings is said to be greatly harmful to Indian agriculture. Moreover, this results in inefficient use of resources, through which cost of production increases and agricultural productivity declines. Thus, these small and scattered holdings have given a real cause for anxiety about the great national industry. Further, he expressed two very important facts regarding economic life in India: (1) that it is largely an agrarian country and (2) that its agricultural productivity is the lowest. Looking at all these problems, Ambedkar dealt with the problem of fragmentation of holdings in his paper on 'Small holdings in India and Their Remedies' in 1918. The same problems still exist even after 60 years of independent India. In the light of this problem, Ambedkar raised three important questions, they are:

- a) Why do the agricultural holdings get fragmented despite the fact that fragmentation results in inefficient use of resource?
- b) Are large holdings necessarily efficient and small one inefficient? In other words, what is an economic holding?
- c) What is the ultimate remedy for solving India's problem of small and scattered holdings?

Ambedkar argued that the subdivision of land mainly due to high pressure of population on land but not to the law of inheritance. He also pointed out that "when farming was the only occupation, to get a small piece of land was better than to have none"¹ He argued that "a large agricultural population with the lowest proportion of land in actual cultivation meant that a large part of the agricultural population was superfluous and idle".² He argued that "the grievance of small holdings lies in the circumstances which put a premium on these small pieces of land. The premium is no doubt, due to the large population depending solely on agriculture to eke out its living....It is not therefore

¹ Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, (1989) "Small Holdings in India and Their Remedies", Government of Maharashtra Publication, Dr. Babasahed Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol.1, P.474

² Ibid, p.473

the law of inheritance that is the evil, but it is the high pressure of population on land which brings it into operation. People cultivate small piece not because their standard of living is low, but because it is the only profitable thing for them to do at present. If they had something more profitable to do they would never prefer the small piece”³.

Obviously Ambedkar did not oppose enlarged and consolidated holdings. What he emphasizes is that, large population is dependent on agriculture due to lack of alternative means of subsistence which made sustenance of enlarged and consolidated holdings at a particular size.

Regarding the second question, he explained the economic holding from the stand point of production. He pointed out that “there could be no such thing as a large or small holding. To a farmer a holding is too small or too large in relation to the other factors of production at his disposal necessary for carrying on the cultivation of his holding as an economic enterprise. Mere size of land is empty of all economic implication. Consequently, it is not possible for the economic science to say that a large holding is economic which a small holding is uneconomic. Thus, a small farmer may be economic as well as a large farm; for economic or uneconomic does not depend upon the size of land but upon the due proportion among all factors including land”⁴.

In the opinion of Ambedkar an economic holding consists of optimum combination of land, capital and labour etc. Thus, “an economic holding is not a matter of the size of land but a matter of the adjustment of a piece of land to the necessary equipment for its efficient cultivation”⁵. Therefore, Ambedkar pointed out that, “the remedy for the ills of agriculture in India did not lie primarily in the matter of enlarging holdings but in the matter of increasing capital and capital goods”⁶.

In a given land agriculture production can be increased by using more capital. But it may cause of increasing unemployment and idle labour. Ambedkar was aware of this constraint and pointed out that “even if we enlarge the existing holding and procured capital and capital goods to make them economic, it will not be the proper remedy but will end in aggravating the evils by adding to stock idle labour, for capitalistic agriculture

³ Ibid, p.474

⁴ Ibid, P.468

⁵ Ibid, P.470

⁶ Ibid, P.472

will not need as many hands as are now required by our present day methods of cultivation”⁷. Therefore, “industrialization of India was the soundest remedy for the agriculture problems of India”⁸.

Further he advocates that “the evils of fragmentation are very great and must be met by a comprehensive scheme of consolidation”⁹. In this context, it can be said that the whole argument of large scale economics and maximizing production is theoretical. It is revealed by some of the management studies that gross output per acre is greater on small farms than on large farms. According to Lewis, the size of farm is not very material in securing high yields. A country like Japan which has small farms proves that labour intensive methods can work out of higher productivity. On the contrary, the large size collective farms in U.S.S.R have not been able to produce considerable yields rates compare to those of Japan. As a result, the historical evidence suggests, under the auspices of the imposition of ceiling because such policy can enlarge employment.

1.2.3 Collective Farming

Ambedkar emphasized the significance of social justice and economic equality with this view he strongly argued of collective farming. He felt that state socialism was necessary for rapid industrialization and his book on ‘State and Minorities’ published in 1947 also mainly focused on it. He felt that neither consolidation of holdings nor tenancy legislation contributes for agriculture productive. Moreover, they can not help in solving the persistent problems of landless labourers and small farmer. He suggested that nationalization of entire agricultural land with collective farming is the sole panacea for the ills of economic development of these people. Finally, he proposed that state should have a commitment to plan the economic life of people on the ground which would lead to highest point of productivity without closing every avenue to private enterprise and to offer for equitable distribution of wealth¹⁰. He recommend state ownership of agriculture through collectivized mode of cultivation and modified form of state socialism in the filed of industry. It should be the state obligation to supply capital necessary for

⁷ Ibid, P. 475

⁸ Ibid, P.477

⁹ Moon, Vasant (Compiled) (1989), “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Writings and Speeches”, Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, Vol.I, P.459.

¹⁰ Ambedkar, B.R. “Writings and Speeches”, Vol.I, Government of Maharashtra, P.408.

agriculture as well as industry. Ambedkar articulates the scheme of nationalization of agricultural land with collective farming shall be organized in India as follows:(Clause 4)

1. “Agriculture shall be the state Industry.
2. Agriculture industry shall be organized on the following basis.
 - (i) The State should divide the land acquired into farms of standard size and let out the farms for cultivation to residents of the village as tenants (made up of group of families). These tenants may cultivate the land on the following conditions.
 - (a) The farm should be cultivated as a collective farm.
 - (b) The farm should be cultivated in accordance with rules and directions issued by the government.
 - (c) The tenants should share among themselves in the manner prescribed, the produce of the farm left after the payment of charges leviable on the farm.
 - (ii) The land should be let out to villages without any distinction of caste or creed and in such a manner that there should be no landlord, no tenant, and no landless labourer.
 - (iii) It should be the obligation of the State to finance the cultivation of the collective farms by way of supply of water, draught animals, manure, seeds etc., in order to increase the agricultural output.
 - (iv) The State should be entitled;
 - (a) to levy the following charges on the produce of the farm
 - (i) a portion for land revenue, (ii) a portion to pay the debenture holders; (iii) a portion to pay for the use of capital goods supplied, and
 - (b) to prescribe penalties against tenants, who break the conditions of tenancy or willfully neglect to make the best use of the means of cultivation, offered by the State or otherwise work prejudicially to the scheme of the collective farming.

3. The Scheme should be brought into operation as early as possible but in no case shall the period extend beyond the tenth year from the date of the constitution coming into operation.”¹¹

Ambedkar’s scheme of collective farming was very revolutionary. Besides, nationalization of agriculture is required, if once it is accepted. Instead of collective farming, land reforms were initiated, which is more soft measure, by the government of India. In fact, collective farms under the state control had been adopted in USSR and China and this alone can solve the problems of small and scattered holdings and agricultural labour problems. Above all, it will help bridge the gap of inequality in the distribution of wealth and income which ultimately resolve the basic problem of rural poverty as well.

Ambedkar was very particular about emancipation of weaker sections in general and Dalits in particular. He emphasized the eradication of poverty, elimination of inequalities and ending exploitation of the masses and these are main approaches he chosen for economic development of India. He asserted land reforms to increase agricultural production and preferred industrialization for absorbing surplus labour which lessens the persisting problem of unemployment. Thus, his strategies particularly on the development of agriculture and industry are quite relevant even today for economic progress in India and justice to the downtrodden in general and Dalits in particular.

Ambedkar observations on the strategy for economic development are quite useful in the eradication of poverty and upliftment of weaker sections, particularly Dalits. One may not agree with all his views, but his scientific approach, in-depth analysis of the problems studied, rational and objective treatment of the subject, broad presentation of the topic and practical suggestions to answer the problems studied have to be accepted by any rational thinker and economist. He has reiterated his belief in socialism once again in the Constituent Assembly on 15th November 1948. Therefore, any evaluation of the progress of the economic status of Dalits is to be examined within the parameters of the programmes initiated by the government. The following parameters were considered for the evaluation of Dalits economic development.

¹¹ Ibid, Pp.396-97.

1. Performance of Land Distribution through Land Reforms
2. Employment Opportunities
3. Incidence of Poverty
4. Educational Development
5. Performance of Budgetary Allocation to SCSP
6. Atrocities and Offences on Dalits.
7. Performance of Poverty Alleviation Programmes

1.3 Constitutional Safeguards: Dalits

According to B.R. Ambedkar, the directive principles set before the state ideals of social and economic democracy since political freedom bereft of social and economic content is meaningless (Ghosh, S.K., 1996). For this purpose, various provisions relating to SCs are contained in parts III, IV, VI, XIV, XVI and XIX of the Constitution. The Constitution of India contains obligations of the state for the socio-economic development of the backward classes, especially Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The rights are guaranteed under fundamental rights contained in Part III of the Constitution and the duties of the state are visualized by the directive principles of state policy under Part IV of the Constitution. To achieve the objectives enshrined in the Preamble to the Constitution and to step up the progress of the weaker sections of society, certain safeguards and protective measures have been provided in the Constitution so as to bring SC and ST communities at par with the mainstream.

The following are the various constitutional safeguards for SCs:

1.3.1 Part III- Fundamental Rights

i. Article 14: Equality Before the Law

The State shall not deny any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

A tangible distinction was made by the Supreme Court between the two phases 'equality before the law' and 'equal protection of the laws':

All persons are equal before the law is fundamental of every civilized Constitution. Equality before the law is a negative concept; equal protection of laws is a positive one. The former declare that everyone is equal before law, that

no one can claim privileges and all classes are equally subjected to the ordinary law of the land; the latter postulates an equal protection of all alike in the same situation and under like circumstances.

ii. Article 15: Prohibition of Discrimination on Grounds of Religion, Race, Caste, Sex or Place of Birth

1. The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.
2. No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to (a) access to shop, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or (b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.
3. Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.
4. Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

iii. Article 16: Equality of Opportunity in Matters of Public Employment

1. There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.
2. No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State.

3. Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union Territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union Territory prior to such employment or appointment.
4. Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.
- 4A Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, which, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State.
- 4B Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from considering any unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for being filled up on that year in accordance with any provision for reservation made under clause (4) or clause (4A) as a separate class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years and such class of vacancies shall not be considered together with the vacancies of the year in which they are being filled up for determining the ceiling of fifty per cent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year.
- 5 Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any law which provides that the incumbent of an office in connection with the affairs of any religious or denominational institution or any member of the governing body thereof shall be a person professing a particular religion or belonging to a particular denomination.

iv. Article 17: Abolition of Untouchability

“Untouchability” is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of “untouchability” shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.

1.3.2 Part IV- Directive Principles of State Policy

i. Article 38: State to Secure a Social Order for the Promotion of Welfare of the People

1. The State shall strive to promote of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.
2. The State shall, in particular, strive to minimize the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations.

ii. Article 46: Promotion of Educational and Economic Interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Weaker Sections.

“The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation”.

“Part XIV, Services under the Union and the States, Public Service Commissions

i. Article 320A: Functions of Public Service Commissions

Consultation with Public Service Commission not necessary as regard the manner of giving effect to safeguards for Scheduled Castes / Scheduled Tribes as referred to clause (4) of article 16”.

“Part XVI, Special Provisions relating to Certain Classes

i. Article 330: Reservation of Seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People

1. Seats shall be reserved in the House of the People for
(a) the Scheduled Castes...

2. The number of seats reserved in any State (or Union Territory) for the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes under clause (1) shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats allotted to that State (or Union Territory) in the House of the People as the Populations of the Scheduled Castes in the State (or Union Territory) or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State (or Union Territory) as the case may be, in respect of which seats are so reserved, bears to the total population of the State (or Union Territory)

Explanation: In this article and in article 332, the expression ‘population’ means the population as ascertained at the last preceding census of which the relevant figures have been published:

Provided that the reference in this Explanation to the last preceding census of which the relevant figures have been published shall, until the relevant digress for the first census taken after the year 2000 have been published be construed as a reference to the 1971 census.

ii. Article 332: Reservation of Seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assemblies of the States

1. Seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, except the Scheduled Tribes in the autonomous districts of Assam, in the Legislative Assembly of every State.

2. Seats shall be reserved also for the autonomous districts in the Legislative Assembly of the State of Assam.
3. The number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of any State under clause (1) shall bear, as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats in the Assembly as the population of the Scheduled Castes in the State or of the Scheduled Tribes in the State or part of the State, as the case may be, in respect of which seats are so reserved, bears to the total population of the State.

- iii. Article 334: Reservation of Seats and Special Representation to Cease after (sixty years, at present the reservations have been extended up to 2010)

Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, the provisions of this Constitution relating to

(a) the reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and in the Legislative Assemblies of the States..... shall cease to have effect on the expiration of a period of (sixty years) from the commencement of this Constitution.

Provided that nothing in this article shall affect any representation in the House of the People or in the Legislative Assembly of a State until the dissolution of the then existing House or Assembly, as the case may be.

- iv. Article 335: Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to Services and Posts

The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

Provided that nothing in this article shall prevent in making of any provision in favour of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for relaxation in qualifying marks in any examination or lowering the standards of evaluation, for

reservation in matters of promotion to any class or classes of services or posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.

v. Article 338: National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

1. There shall be a Commission for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to be known as the National Commission for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
2. Subject to the provisions of any law made in this behalf by Parliament, the Commission shall consist of a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson and five other Members and the conditions of service and tenure of office of the Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson and other Members so appointed shall be such as the President may by rule determine.
3. The Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson and other Members of the Commission shall be appointed by the President by warrant under his hand and seal.
4. The Commission shall have the power to regulate its own procedure.
5. It shall be the duty of the Commission
 - (a) to investigate and monitor all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution or under any other law for the time being in force or under any order of the Government and to evaluate the working of such safeguards;
 - (b) to inquire into specific complaints with respect to the deprivation of rights and safeguards of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
 - (c) to participate and advise on the planning process of socio-economic development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to evaluate the progress of their development under the Union and any State;
 - (d) to present to the President, annually and at such other times as the commission may deem fit, reports upon the working of those safeguards.
 - (e) to make in such reports recommendations as to the measures that should be taken by the Union or any State for the effective implementation

of those safeguards and other measures for the protection, welfare and socio-economic development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; and

(f) to discharge such other functions in relation to the protection, welfare and development and advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as the President may, subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament, by rule specify.

6. The President shall cause all such reports to be laid before each House of Parliament along with a memorandum explaining the action taken or proposed to be taken on the recommendations relating to the Union and the reasons for the non-acceptance, if any, of any of such recommendations.
7. Where any such report, or any part thereof, relates to any matter with which any State Government is concerned, a copy of such report shall be forwarded to the Governor of the State who shall cause it to be laid before the Legislature of the State along with memorandum explaining the action taken on the recommendations relating to the State and the reasons for the non-acceptance, if any, of any of such recommendations.
8. The Commission shall, while investigating any matter referred to in sub-clause (a) or inquiring into any complaint referred to in sub-clause (b) of clause (5), have all the powers of a civil court trying a suit and in particular in respect of the following matters, namely –
 - (a) summoning and enforcing the attendance of any person from any part of India and examining him on oath;
 - (b) requiring the discovery and production of any document;
 - (c) receiving evidence on affidavits;
 - (d) requisitioning any public record or copy thereof from any court of office;
 - (e) issuing commissions for the examination of witnesses and documents;
 - (f) any other matter which the President may, by rule, determine.

9. The Union and every State Government shall consult the Commission on all major policy matters affecting Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
10. In this article, references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes as the President may, on receipt of the report of a Commission appointed under clause (1) of article 340, by order specify and also to the Anglo-Indian Community” (Sukhadeo Thorat, 2009).

In addition, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 came into effect on 11th September 1989 which prevent the commission of offences of atrocities against the members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and to provide Special Courts for the trial of such offence. Besides all these Constitution safeguards, Ambedkar’s perception of economic development go a long way for the upliftment of scheduled castes even today.

1.4 Liberalization: Dalits

More than 75 per cent of the Dalit workers are still connected with land; 25 per cent being the marginal and small farmers and balance over 50 per cent are the landless labourers. In urban areas, they work mainly in unorganised sector. Out of the total Dalit population of 138 million, the number of Dalits in services falling in the domain of reservations does not exceed 1.1 million; a mere 0.8 per cent (Anand Teltumbde, 1996). However, particularly, the last two decades have spelt the decline of the Welfare State under the powerful impact of global economic forces and neo-liberal economic policies. The egalitarian ethic underlying planned change and development is being rapidly destroyed. The ideology of the Indian State’s New Economic Policy emphasizes the pre-eminence of markets and profits. In the context of an elite directed consensus on the inevitability of liberalisation and structural adjustment, the predominant problems and debates of education have undergone major shifts. Structural adjustment have provided the legitimacy and impetus for a number of educational reforms that pose a direct threat to the mission of universalizing elementary education and equalizing educational opportunity for SC/ST, especially those left behind. The state is withdrawing from social

sectors of education and health and delegating its social commitments and responsibilities to private agencies and non-governmental organizations. There is already enough indication that basic educational needs of the SC and ST are getting seriously undermined. Importantly, under the post 90s impact of global processes the poorest SC have been most adversely affected and become more poverty stricken. Studies have pointed out to growing incidence of poverty, rising levels of rural unemployment, wage squeeze, rising levels of mortality and illness as well as declining levels of consumption shares, real wages and consumer monthly per capita expenditure among the SC (Teltumbde, 1996, 2000,; Thorat, 2001, 2002; Nancharaiah, 2002).

Similarly, market economy is geared to meet the consumerists ambitions of the business and other classes, however, the poor get marginalized more and more. The new Policy Framework for reforms in education, drafted by a committee convened by Mukesh Ambani with Kumarmangalam Birla as members, seeks to drive privatization and introduce widespread commercialization of higher education. It visualizes foreign direct investment in education, progressive reduction of government funding for universities. It also emphasizes the private finance to meet the cost of higher education. Thus, higher education is to be entirely market-oriented and it clearly not available for common Dalits. The increasing opportunity cost of schooling is discouraging many Dalits from education resulting in increasing numbers of dropouts. Since the private sector has not maintained reservation policy in the job opportunities that had been available to Dalits during the past three decades will now entirely dry up. In addition, the government has been systematically reduce the expenditure on the people's welfare at the behest of the World Bank / IMF and also cut its expenditure on SCs/STs. Similarly, expenditure for SC, ST, and OBC welfare has also declined dramatically (Rashmi Akhoury, 2008).

State wise estimates of rural poverty for the years 1989-90, 1990-91 and 1992 showed that increase in poverty is substantial for first 18 months of reform. At all India level, there is evidence that rural poverty increased significantly during the first 18 months of reform period. According to Tendulkar and Jain (1995), rural areas in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Rajasthan experienced reasonably sharp reduction in real average per capita total expenditure. Rural poverty in these states increased sharply during the reform period. Main reasons of increase in poverty during the early part

of reforms are: sharp increase in prices (food grain prices in particular) due to increase in input prices (fertilizer) and rise in issue prices of rice and wheat; and decline in real rural per capita expenditure on poverty alleviation programmes.

Rural poverty in India is spread over across all the occupation groups. However, there are large inter-state variations in distribution of rural poor across occupation groups, in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu, agricultural labourers have major share of poor as compared to self employed in agriculture. Similarly, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and North-eastern region has high proportion of poor from self employed in non-agriculture group. Relative incidence of poverty¹² across occupation groups reveals that poverty is more severe among agricultural labourers followed by non-agricultural labourers; self employed in non-agriculture; self employed in agriculture and allied activities; others; and salaried. Except for Andhra Pradesh and Kerala relative incidence of poverty is highest among agricultural labourers, in Andhra Pradesh it is highest among self-employed in non-agriculture. Relative incidence of poverty among salaried earners is lowest in all the states, except for Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal. In Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab relative incidence of poverty among non-agriculture is higher than agriculture (Devendra Kumar Pant and Kakali Patra, 1996).

In rural areas, the proportion of households depending upon wage employment, both farm and non-farm, was 48 per cent for the STs, about 60 per cent for the SCs, and 38 per cent for the non-Dalits. For the rural area as a whole, it was 38 per cent. In urban areas, the proportion of households depending upon regular wage/salaried and casual employment was about 64 per cent for the STs, 67 per cent for the SCs and 54 per cent for the non-Dalits. In the case of all urban households, it was about 56 per cent. According the information available by the Planning Commission, the employment elasticities with respect to growth in almost all the nine sectors of the economy during the period from 1983 to 1993-94 fell below their levels during the period from 1977-78 to 1983, and there is further deterioration in these elasticities during the period from 1993-94 to 1999-2000 (B. Mungekar, 2004)

¹² Defined as ratio of proportion of poor corresponding to a particular occupation group to proportion of population for that particular occupation group.

Wages are the most important channel affecting poverty both in rural or urban areas. Average real wage (nominal wage deflated by state specific Consumer Price Index for Agricultural Labourers CPIAL) of male agricultural labourer (ploughman or field labour) during first year of reform (agricultural year 1991-92) declined in almost all the states. Decline was severe in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra (decline of more than 11 per cent). Effect of rural inflation on real wage of agricultural labourers was so severe in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar and Rajasthan that real wages even in 1993-94 are less than 1990-91 level in these states (Devendra Kumar Pant and Kakali Patra, 1996). Thus the fall in real agricultural wages in different states at different points of time must have worsened the economic conditions of the SCs and STs further. Above all the new economic policy was introduced to restrict the reservation. Therefore, in this process, hundreds of government and semi government, public sector undertakings were privatized by the congress government and lacks of jobs meant for SC/ST/OBCs were snatched from their hands (Chunnu Prasad and Karakoti Sudhakara, 2007).

1.5 Statement of the Problem

India is confronted social and economic backwardness of some sections since its independence. Dalits known as scheduled castes are one of the groups under Indian constitution and they are most backward. Since ages Dalits lead their lives with poor economic conditions, low educational status and powerless political life. Various public measures have widened to improve the economic conditions of dalits, in which reservations; anti-untouchability, abolition of caste system, acquisition of land, extent of political participation; education and employment have attained significant importance. Finally, the Constitution provides for the establishment of a permanent body to investigate and monitor the social and economic progress of Dalits on annual basis. Therefore, economic status of dalits probably became more prominent factor among all other factors in the Constitution.

As far as educational status of Dalits is concerned illiteracy and discontinuation rates among SCs in rural areas are significantly high. In addition, the goals of universal elementary education remained distant as less than 45 per cent of SC female children and one-third of SC male children aged 5-14 continued to remain out of school in the rural

areas. Consequently the quality of educational level among Dalits population was relatively poor. Higher attainment rates for Dalits up to the primary education level and a gradual drop thereafter indicate that a majority of Dalits children terminate their school education on or before the primary classes. Majority of Dalits students receive primary education in schools managed or aided by government department. However, only five percent of the students belong to SCs are enrolled in private managed schools whereas in Andhra Pradesh this proportion is just 4.7 per cent. Poverty among Dalits households is the first and foremost responsible for the poor educational enrolment of Dalit Children. Studies have amply emphasized that among the main reasons of the high magnitude of never-enrolled, out-of-school children and the high rate of school dropout are poverty and discrimination.

With regard to health, Dalits are quite poor and they are more deprived than the other sections of the population. This is particularly true in terms of childhood survival, nutritional status, child healthcare and maternal health care. Though there is a development in survival levels, infant and childhood mortality among Dalits is unacceptably high. Moreover, more than one-third of Dalits women suffer from chronic energy deficiency, as seen from their body mass index (BMI). Similarly, 67.6 per cent of Dalits children are born at home in rural areas.

The access of rural households to civil amenities like housing, water and electricity especially in the case of Dalits is very poor. A significant higher proportion of Dalits households still inhabit in dilapidated houses. The building materials used in the construction of houses are far from satisfactory. The size of Dalits houses was also much smaller; nearly four-fifths of the Dalit households live in houses which have two or fewer rooms. The quality of drinking water particularly available in Dalits living areas is worse in rural areas. Access to electricity was also poor, despite achieving 80 per cent electrification of the villages.

Furthermore, most of the Dalits are still working as agricultural labourers who completely rely on selling their labour power for their survival as traditionally, Dalits have been discriminated against possessing permanent assets like land. Importantly, few households particularly in this group are still limited to landless household category though land reforms initiated nearly 37 years back. The proportion of rural workforce in

the household industry has remained more or less same, however, other workers increased far more sharply among Dalits than non-Dalits. Few studies showed that the labour force displaced from the agriculture sector was not absorbed in the rural household industry but was engaged as other workers with limited access to capital. Evidences showed that considerable decline in respect of farm servants take place in recent years as increase in money wages of casual labour compared to that of paleru. In addition, to that increased mechanization, decline in cattle population and also increased contract labour system are various main reasons to decline attached labour system at rural level. Moreover, the proportion of regular wage / salaried Dalits households declined from 44.4 per cent in 1993-94 to 37.6 per cent in 1999-2000; while the corresponding declined was only 2.8 percentage points fro non-Dalits households. It indicated that the impact of slackening public employment in the economic reforms period was borne more heavily by Dalits. Nearly, 70 per cent of Dalits households either do not own land or have very small landholdings of less than 0.4 ha. Few studies showed that a marginal decline of nearly three percentage points in the proportion of landless Dalits households. Farm size categories are indicative of the fact that the incidence of landless and near-landless households is more articulated in Dalits than in other social groups. In spite of few Dalits farmers come under small and medium farmers' category, they have no adequate access for bank loans to improve their economic status through agriculture. As a result, Dalits farmers still encounter exorbitant rate of interest from money lenders and many studies revealed that public financial institutions have failed to liberate the Dalits from the clutches of money lenders.

Above all various special developmental programmes initiated and implemented since first five year plan to improve the economic status of Dalits. However, there was no considerable progress in living standards of dalits. Studies showed that some improvement has been taken place in terms of their access to education, non-farming employment, consumption levels, reduction in poverty levels etc. importantly, land reforms could not make Dalits to become cultivators, in stead, most of them are still remained as agricultural labourers. As a result, there is substantive gap in the levels of development between Dalits and non-Dalits. This is mostly because of iniquitous agrarian structure and failure of land reforms. In addition, the welfare outlay set apart for SC/ST

as proportion of total five year plan outlay was also found to be low pertaining to their respective population.

As elected representatives majority of the Dalits entered into the new stream of political structure at the grass-root level institutions. However, participation of women elected leaders under new PRIs seems to be plausible low. Obviously, Politics are not understood properly by the Dalits because on the one hand lack of experience in politics and on the other they are largely either less educated or nil educated. Therefore, providing proper training is needed for newly elected representatives and gets them to administrate their own Panchayats on their own. Various studies emphasized that importance of 73rd Constitution Amendment Act needs to be taught as it enables to participate the downtrodden SC/ST in local bodies and will thus the process of empowerment. Therefore, the elected Dalit politicians should have adequate access to the training programme meant for them.

Atrocities are largely taken place over Dalits. Official statistics reveals that, about 3000-3500 cases are registered on an average under the Anti-Untouchability Act (Civil Right Act) every year (National Crime Records Bureau, 2000). Similarly, about 15000 cases are registered on an average under the Prevention of Atrocities (POA) Act every year. Based on field surveys many studies show the continuation of the practice of a high degree of untouchability and discrimination. The main root for atrocities on the Dalits is the caste system. Therefore, caste is the bane of Indian society and the worst enemy of the Dalits. Among various atrocities, land related atrocities are more in which many Dalits lost their lives as well. But experiences showed that land reform laws have not been implemented effectively and vigorously. Therefore, the SCs and STs are too weak to take advantage of such laws because the enforcement machinery is dominated by upper caste which has lacked the will to pursue it. Importantly, the police are the premier law enforcement machinery, but in all most all cases they adopt hostile attitude towards poor Dalit complaints.

1.6 Objectives

The following are the specific objectives.

- To understand the Ambedkar's perspective of economic development and to study the process of rural development in the context of Dalits from the Ambedkar perspective.
- To study the socio-economic transformation of Dalits in rural Andhra Pradesh on the basis of case studies of three villages, one from each of the three regions.
- To analyse changes in the land, occupational structure, and asset position of Dalits and Non-Dalits at State level as well as the village level.
- To study the role of the state and the impact of rural development programmes on the conditions of living of Dalits
- To identify factors facilitating and hindering the socio-economic status of rural poor in general and Dalit community in particular.

1.7 Methodology

The primary aim of this study is to analyse the process of rural development and its impact on the disadvantaged sections specifically the Dalits from Ambedkar's perspective of economic development. For the measure of economic development specific indicators have been taken which again tested with ground reality. Education, occupation, housing, landholdings, assets and non-farming economic activities are the major indicators used in this study. Along with these the state initiated welfare programmes have been assessed. To take the overall picture of the economic development of Dalits, case study method has been adopted.

For this case study method three samples have been selected from three different regions namely Telengana, Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema of Andhra Pradesh. Of the three villages, one village, Antharam of Medak District was selected from Telangana region. Antharam was selected by School of Social Sciences of the University of Hyderabad as one of the village that could be representative of the region. This background helped the choice of Antharam as one the villages for the present study as well. The remaining two villages namely Panchalamarri village of Chittoor District and

Unagatla of West Godavari District were selected based on 1961 Census. As a part of the 1961 census, certain villages were selected for a comprehensive socio-economic study and separate village monographs were brought out by the Census of India. Unagatla, a village in West Godavari district and Panchalamarri village in Chittoor district in Andhra Pradesh are two such villages on which separate monographs were brought out based on 1961 Census study. For the present study, Unagatla, and Panchalamarri have been chosen for the survey and 50 per cent of the households have been covered out of total Dalits households from each village. In addition to this, 30 house households were selected from non-dalits based on land categorization from each village for comparative purpose. Primary survey conducted in the three selected villages. Structured questionnaire has been prepared for collecting the information as well as data. Thus, the present survey have provided considerable data, which are used for the analysis of Ambedkar's perspective of economic development.

1.8 Data Collection

In this study, to substantiate the above methodology the macro level data has been collected through secondary source at the State level. The secondary sources include data pertaining to landholdings, occupations, poverty level, atrocities and financial and physical progress of scheduled caste sub plan (SCSP). And micro level data has also been collected from the selected villages namely Antharam in Medak district of Telengana, Unagatla in West Godavari district of Coastal Andhra, and Panchalamarri in Chittoor district of Rayalaseema of Andhra Pradesh. Data has been collected through structured questionnaire and relevant information was also elicited through open ended questionnaire. The researcher undertook field study in all these villages and collected some of the detailed information which added to enrich the analysis.

1.9 Research Questions

In the light of above objectives, the present study would like to pose certain per tent questions:

- What are the rural development programmes initiated by the Post-Independence State under the Constitution of India. What is the impact of the programmes on the socio-economic development of the rural poor particularly the weaker section.

- How far it able/unable to bring the intended social transformation?
- What was Ambedkar's proposition of 'State Socialism'? And what was his idea of 'Nationalisation of Agriculture' and 'Collective Farming'?
- What are essential components of Ambedkar's economic ideology?
- Why the state initiated development programmes failed to address the dalits socio-economic problems in rural society?
- What are the major bottle-necks for their upliftment

1.10 Chapterization

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, *first chapter* deals with Ambedkar's perspective of economic development, constitutional safeguards, the problem of the study, objectives and methodology. *Second chapter* discusses the literature on government policies and programmes for SCs, governmental participation, socio-economic conditions of SCs, education, health and housing – SCs, economic reforms and SCs, land and SCs. The *third chapter* reviews various rural development programmes. *Fourth chapter* focused on land, occupational structure, poverty, atrocities and Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP) at state level. *Fifth, Sixth and Seventh chapters* provides village studies. The *eighth chapter* brings conclusions.

CHAPTER - 2

Review of Literature on Development of Dalits

This chapter is an attempt to take stock of the development of Dalits in rural India basis on a review of existing literature with reference to Andhra Pradesh in particular and the country in general.

2.1 Government Policies and Programmes for SCs

Despite various special developmental programmes initiated and implemented since First Five Year Plan there was no considerable progress in living standards of dalits. However, there was some improvement has been taken place in terms of their access to education, non-farming employment, consumption levels, reduction in poverty. Even if land reforms implemented this could not make dalits to become cultivators, instead of it, most of dalits are still remained as agricultural laborers. As a result, there is a substantial gap in the levels of development between SC/ST population and non-SC/ST population even after fifty years of independence. He found that disparities in the per capita consumption of SCs and that of all rural population is to be higher in agriculturally advanced states than in backward states. This is mostly because of iniquitous agrarian structure and due to the failure of land reforms. Moreover, the welfare outlay set apart for SC/STs as proportion of total Five Year Plan outlay was also found to be low pertaining to their respective population (G. Nancharaiah, 2000).

M. Jaya Raju (1993) expressed his views on “IRDP in Eliminating Poverty among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes”. Under IRDP programme out of 279 scheduled castes and 160 scheduled tribe beneficiaries’ greater number of animal husbandry and ISB assets in the Anantapur district in the selected Blocks. However, only 31 per cent of the scheduled castes beneficiaries have retained the given assets and properly utilized the assets and 69 per cent have sold their assets. Similarly with regard to scheduled tribes 54 per cent of them retained the assets and 46 per cent have sold their assets. So the majority of the scheduled castes sold their assets. As we already mentioned that animal husbandry and ISB assets have major share in providing various assets, most of the animal husbandry were deceases which accounts 35 per cent from SCs / STs. Due

to lack of skills, market facilities and working capital ISB assets were disposed which accounts nearly 24 per cent from SCs and STs. It was also observed that 14.34 per cent of the SCs and 37.50 per cent of the STs have crossed the poverty line. Therefore, based on the local conditions, if government provides agricultural and minor irrigation assets under IRDP programme definitely poverty will eliminate among SCs and STs in Anantapur district.

Chunnu Prasad and Karakoti Sudhakara (2007) expressed their views in their article on 'Issues of Reservation and Quota: A Critical Perspective'. They focused mainly on position of SC/ST reservation policy under congress regime since 1947. In addition, they examined post independence scenario of reservation for OBCs under the congress rule. They argued that dalits and backward classes deprived of employment though Constitution provides reservation to these castes. Even after 50 years, the backlog vacancies scenario for dalits is shocking. There are 70 per cent of backlog vacancies in group-A jobs and even 45 per cent of vacancies in group-D jobs. It is more shocking that the backlog vacancies are 88 per cent in the public sector. Though several recommendations made by the SC/ST commission for the upliftment of SCs and STs, congress did not implement the recommendation of this commission. In fact, this commission was set up on July 21, 1978 with a view to study the socio-economic conditions of SCs / STs and to fill up the vacancies in the public sector.

The population of OBCs is around 52 per cent of total population of India. Accordingly, 52 per cent of all posts should be reserved for them under Central Government. But this provision may go against the law laid down in a number of Supreme Court judgments wherein it has been held that the total quantum of reservation in Article 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution should be below 50 per cent. In view of these legal constraints the commission is obliged to recommend a reservation of 27 per cent only even though their population is almost twice this figure. Moreover, the new economic policy completely undermined and neglected the spirit of reservation of SC/ST and OBCs. The new economic policy was introduced to restrict the reservation. Therefore, in this process, hundreds of government and semi government, public sector undertakings were privatized by the congress government and lacks of jobs meant for SC/ST/OBCs were snatched from their hands.

They felt that reservation policy has opened up a number of avenues for social and economic mobility. It has brought the under privileged section of society into the main stream. It has also promoted education in the weaker sections. Lastly, it has also accelerated the process of rectifying the efforts of historical injustice. However, even after 56 years of independence reservation policy which is in the Constitution for the under privileged sections including SCs, STs, OBCs and Religious Minorities not implemented completely by the so called Congress, CPI (Leftist) and BJP who ruled this country for more than 50 years.

Thorat, S (2004), examined common minimum programme and its effect on marginalized groups like SC/ST in his article on 'Marginalized Groups and the Common Minimum Programme'. He asserted that development policies have brought some positive change, but the process of transformation has been very slow resulting these social groups continue to suffer from a high degree of poverty and economic deprivation. He advocated that only 2% of the total cultivable land has been distributed under the ceiling, in absolute terms only 18 lakh acres of land have been distributed to 18.50 lakh SC beneficiaries with a distribution of 0.977 acre per beneficiary. Instead of increasing lending capital through commercial banks it reduced from 10 per cent to 6 per cent to the weaker section which happened due to liberalization impact. The unemployment rate among the SCs was two times higher as compared with the non-scheduled groups.

He pointed out that lower levels of education and the continual discrimination of SC/ST in education institutions create a major problem. Therefore, there is need to take a second look at the Education Policy and strengthen public education system in the villages and in the cities on a much larger scale than today. Educational loan schemes appeared to be not worked out properly at rural level as a result millions of poor students unable to obtain higher education. So, public education system should be strengthened in terms of infrastructure, quality of teachers, and other facilities. Therefore, policy process need to show a radical shift in their focus to improve the ownership of income earning capital assets, agricultural assets, employment, human resource and health situation. In addition, appropriate remedies need to be incorporate against discrimination to ensure equity participation of the marginalized communities in the private and public sectors

Rajendra Patil (2000), examined on 'Jawahar Rojgar Yojana and Employment of Dalits: Some Observations'. This survey was conducted in Kolhapur district, Maharashtra state. He observed that employment opportunities have been availed by people below poverty line but not by SCs and women as expected. The main objective of the JRY is to provide employment to SCs and women but it is not fulfilled as most of the work was done by others who are below poverty line. Therefore, majority of the other caste category are getting employment under this scheme. In fact, all activities under JRY are constructive but the benefits are not reaching SCs/STs and women to the full extent.

As the new economic policy introduced the private sector expanded which ultimately affect the employment situation in public sector. There will be unemployment due to use of machines and computers in urban and rural areas. However, under JRY the infrastructural facilities like roads, drinking water facilities, building etc, can be created. He emphasized that on the one hand all employment opportunities are enjoyed by others castes under JRY on the other allocations to social sectors in the recent budget have been lowered under New Economic Policy. As a result, decline rate of employment opportunities particularly in the case of SCs/STs is higher. Therefore, the actual objective of the government to provide employment opportunities to Dalits and women is not served completely.

2.2 Governmental Participation

Y. Bhaskar Rao (2003) has observed in his study "Socio-Politico-Economic Empowerment of SC/ST through Panchayat Raj Institutions in India" that though majority of the elected representatives among SC/ST entered into the new stream of political structure at the gross root level institutions, their experience with politics is less. Many elected members have largely less educated as well as nil educated. Providing suitable training is needed for newly elected representatives and get them to administrate their own Panchayats on their own. And necessary steps to be taken to achieve sustained goal. He emphasized more on 73rd Constitution Amendment Act which enables to bring awareness regarding political power the neglected and downtrodden SC/ST in local bodies and will thus facilitate the process of empowerment.

A micro-level study was conducted in Nellore district aiming at the participation of elected SC leaders of Panchayati Raj Institutions in the training programme. The study

exhibited that the illiterates, less educated and politically more experienced have participated in the training programme. Interestingly, categories of leaders like who have executive status in the political party and who are with higher family annual income got trained. Therefore, the study shows that SC leaders who have strong economic and political background have participated more in the training programme on new panchayat raj system. Participation of women elected leaders under new PRIs seems to be plausible low. So, participation in the election is only a beginning of the empowerment process. Thus, they should have adequate access to the training programme meant for them. (Venkata Ravi & Venkataramana, M. 2001)

Goldy M. George (2006) examined Dalits local governmental participation and constraints in his article on 'Dalits Reservation and Panchayat Raj'. He clearly observed about how dalits politically powerless though they captured political power at panchayat level. It is a study pertaining to panchayat conflicts between Dalits and non-Dalits in Chattisgarh state. Firstly, in January 2000, Mithilal Lahare was elected as a Panchayat Sarpanch under reservation quota. But he was dismissed after a no confidence motion by the dominant upper caste people. However, he stayed in the office for about two years after that the power automatically came back into the hands of non-Dalits. Obviously, dominant upper caste people have an aversion to his stay in the office and then they could better manipulate the village politics to terminate Dalit Sarpanch from his existing political power.

In another case, Aghru a Dalit person defeated his rival Ball Singh Thakur on a general seat in Panchayat election which added the upper caste aggression for many reasons. As a result, social boycott had been induced on the Dalits. In addition, many other methods of assault, humiliation and mortification had also been ragging the Dalits. Furthermore, Dalits were refused the right to worship the village Goddess and it led to violent attack on the Dalits. More than 56 Dalit houses were damaged by upper caste people twice in a three months period. Therefore, it is an instance in which harassment and humiliation received by Dalits from dominant upper caste though Dalits achieving their political rights under social compulsion.

B. Devi Prasad and S. Haranath (2004) explored the role of reservation and factors facilitate and hinder with regard to the functioning of women and Dalit panchayat

members. Of the nine sarpanches, five are women of whom two are Dalit women. Similarly, of the nine sarpanches, there are three SCs and remaining are belonged to other castes. Once elected, during the course of their functioning, the panchayat members have been facing a number of difficulties. Majority of Dalits belong to economically poor and financially low status. They are afraid of dominant caste as they feel they are ineligible to perform panchayat activities in the presence of dominant caste. They are not much aware of the panchayat raj system as either their forefathers or they do not have previous experience with regard to local political system. Therefore, it was observed that illiteracy, economic dependence, ignorance about roles and functions and lack of money are the important factors hindering the effective functioning of Dalit members. In the case of women, besides illiteracy, burden of farm work and housework and male interference figured prominently. Therefore, it appears that wherever Gram panchayat headed by a Dalit leads to be more conflict.

2.3 Impact of Results

K.M. Naidu and V.P. Reddy pointed out that most of the schemes meant for SCs and STs (downtrodden) have lacked social sensitivity. This study mainly focused on district level SCs Cooperative Societies performance to provide financial assistance to the SCs households. In addition to this, this study analysed the development impact on income generation and employment creation. This study clearly proved that there is upward income mobility through SCs cooperative societies operated various schemes only in case of number of beneficiaries are more in each scheme. Number of beneficiaries, who have crossed poverty line, are low percentage and less in number when compared to other households. Consequently, not only destitute household increased but very poor households as well. Generation of employment is satisfactory in the case of dairy unit and mango cultivation. It is found that the officials have not categorically informed them about repayment to be made and period in which the loan has to be paid. Therefore, beneficiaries are completely not familiar with repayment of loan and they are under the impression that the loan taken by the SCs corporation schemes are not to be paid.

Karimnagar district is the third largest SC population in Andhra Pradesh. Average assistance per beneficiary through various programmes under directive principles

happened to be the least in the district, however in the second phase, there is a sizable increase. In 1985-86 about 49% of the total SC population covered in which little impact could be seen among the beneficiaries due to lack of sufficient monitoring, necessary social inputs and proper training and motivation (K. Pratap Reddy and K. Buchamma, 1994).

Rashmi Akhoury (2008) in her article “Impact of Globalisation on Dalits” puts forth her views regarding the negative impact of globalization on Dalits. She emphasized the market economy, where consumerism is thriving, however Dalits are bound to be affected adversely. Similarly, market economy is geared to meet the consumerists ambitions of the business and other classes, however, the poor get marginalized more and more. The new Policy Framework for reforms in education, drafted by a committee convened by Mukesh Ambani with Kumarmangalam Birla as members, seeks to drive privatization and introduce widespread commercialization of higher education. It visualizes foreign direct investment in education, progressive reduction of government funding for universities. It also emphasizes the private finance to meet the cost of higher education. Thus, higher education is to be entirely market-oriented and it clearly not available for common man like Dalits. The increasing opportunity cost of schooling is discouraging many Dalits from education resulting in increasing numbers of dropouts. Since the private sector has not maintained reservation policy in the job opportunities that had been available to dalits during the past three decades will now entirely dry up. In addition, the government has been systematically reduce the expenditure on the people’s welfare at the behest of the World Bank / IMF and also cut its expenditure on SCs/STs. Similarly, expenditure for SC, ST, and OBC welfare has also declined dramatically. Therefore, Dalits are victims of globalization in both the economic and the social aspects.

Anil Kumar Thakur, Ashwani Kumar and K.B. Padamdeo (2008), in their article “Impact of Economic Reforms on Dalits” argue that these reforms are not going to affect different social groups and sub-groups uniformly. Some groups particularly richer section gained as a result of the economic reforms on the one hand, larger sections usually the poor suffer during the structural adjustment programmes on the other. Adjustment programmes have shown that there is a rise in unemployment, inflation rates, and shift in income distribution in favour of the rich and the living conditions of the poor sections

like Dalits was adversely affected. They emphasized that major proportion of the Dalits population who are unprepared to participate in a competitive world would be left out of the development process. The Dalits fear more due to reduce the number of jobs in the government and public sector enterprises in the wake of economic liberalization, privatization and globalization.

S.K. Thorat (2000), clearly examined on 'New Economic Policy and Its Impact on Employment and Poverty of the Scheduled Castes'. Its main focus is to draw attention to the impact of these economic reforms on employment and poverty of scheduled castes in India. He observed that about 25 per cent of SC males and 17.39 per cent SC females were engaged in rural non-farm activities during 1987-88, however, these rates were declined to 23.40 per cent and 15.66 percent respectively in 1992-93. He found that the reduction in employment status of Dalits was the outcome to curtailment in the government expenditure. During the pre-reform period i.e. between 1956 and 1990 there has been a sound increase in the employment of SCs in government services. However, after July 1990, the new measures were caused to decline in the employment of SCs in government services. In absolute terms SCs employment rate in public sector undertaking has declined from 4.32lakh in 1990 to 3.69lakh in 1992. Consequently, number of poor people in rural areas among SCs increased about 57 to 69 lakh additionally between 1987-88 and 1993-94. He argued that public sector jobs are the only base for reservation policy for SCs/STs in India. This constitutes only around 3 per cent of the total employment. Even this small component will further reduced if the move for privatization takes place on large scale.

2.4 Status / Socio-Economic Conditions of SCs

Sukhdeo Thorat and R.S. Deshpande (1999) expressed their views about the role of caste in governing labour market discrimination. Shudra labourers were allocated menial occupation by hindu social order and completely segregated them as a group workers. Moreover, lower caste labourers were confined to abject poverty as they were restricted upward mobility and wage levels. Since they have been denied access to education and information that made them depend up on the other caste members at last. Consequently, the lower castes have been prevented only occupational mobility that further led to the stagnation of skills as well as wage rates and aggregate production

inefficiencies. Therefore, in India, the entire social system under *hindu* social order created a major group of poor concentrated in a single group. On the one side the highest level of responsibilities, under hindu social order in spite of their shortcomings in skills and efficiency, enjoyed higher return to the work as against lower castes; on the other side who derived lower wages continued to be impoverished. Thus the caste influenced labour market discrimination can be treated as one of the basic reasons for production inefficiency and acute deprivation.

Paul Divakar, N (2005) pointed out that dalits are too far from land, asset, power and equal status. Dalits were brutally killed in hundreds by upper class people only for asking plausible coolie rate. For instance, Keelavelmani of Tamilnadu in 1968, Narayanapur Bhathe of Bihar in 1987 and Chundururu and Karamchedu of Andhra Pradesh in 1991 dalits were killed in great numbers. In this context, he emphasized that every problem faced by dalits is due to lack of land this is the one and only problem which suppress dalits in society. As a result, dalits households which have 5 acres of land, not even crossed 2 per cent. And landless households number is still more than 23 per cent. Therefore land is needed for 23 lack SCs and STs by which dalits enable to abolish their poverty. He pointed out that zamindari system and estate policies were abolished in 1959-60, consequently 349 lack acres land came under public possession and the same immediately went into the hands of rich classes. And only 0.5% of land was given away to dalits during the same period i.e. one lack 75,000 acres. He stressed that dalits must lead their struggles until they get proper right over the land. He recommended that a commission must be appointed for thorough examination the lands under public possession, their consumption, encroachment and distribution. Importantly, lands namely forest and banja lands which are being cultivated by dalits must be allocated only dalits. Moreover, a separate integrated programme to be made to provide water facility and investment to the existing dalits land and already given to dalits.

In 1999-2000 only 16.4% of all SC households cultivated land as self-employment workers whereas among the others the percentage was more than double i.e. 41.1%. Similarly, only 27% of total SC urban households were self-employed as compared to 35.5% for others during the same period. The lower proportion of SC's are self-employed in agriculture in non-farm sector in rural area and in urban area as

compared to others, revealed the continuation of lack of access to SCs to ownership of agriculture land and capital. Moreover, the proportion of casual labour was much higher as 26.5% among the SC as compared to 7.4% among others. In the case of regular wage earner / salaried also the proportion was lower among SC (34.6%) as compared with others (46.5%). Among the micro level studies consider earlier, particularly in A.P. untouchables were either abused or beaten when they wanted to switch over from their traditional occupation in the rural area to some other occupation.

Pallavi Chavan (2007) points out in his insightful article on 'Access to Bank Credit: Implications for Dalit Rural Households' that rural households turn more burdensome informal credit channels however, in the case of Dalit rural households they are financially excluded from the formal credit system. According to All India Debt and Investment Survey (AIDIS) in 2002 more than half of the debt of Dalits in rural areas obtained from informal sources. Formal source share in the total debt of Dalits households was only 44.8 per cent which is much lower than the corresponding share of 59 per cent for non-Dalits households. The largest percentage of debt of Dalits households was owed to commercial banks followed by cooperatives among formal sources. Similarly, in the case of informal sources, money lenders were the most predominant source of debt for Dalits households. Between 1992 and 2002 debt from formal sources as percentage of the total debt declined about 16 percentage points for Dalits households as against only 5 percentage points of non-Dalits. Thus Dalits were more marginalized than the rest of the rural population in terms of their access to formal credit.

S. Thorat (2003) observed that Dr. Ambedkar economic ideas have been adversely affected since liberalization period started. As against to the Dr. Ambedkar's central element and of his economic thinking, the policy of economic stabilization and structural adjustment involves contradiction to his economic thinking. Dr. Ambedkar had played a significant role in building up the policies and programmes in the 1950s and the 1960s which have been completely reversed. And those policies and programmes are going to create adverse economic consequences for the labour, poor and particularly the socially deprived classes.

This article makes a comparative analysis of SCs in all aspects of the economic development in rural India across the major states. Results showed that the SCs continues to the economically disadvantaged communities and there has been hardly any improvement. It is found that slow proceedings at all levels of the bureaucracy, lack of updated land records, ignorance and illiteracy of scheduled caste population and backdoor methods of the large owners are the major reasons that hinder a fair distribution of land. It is to be noted that the perceptible changes in certain respects in some states are not due so much to the progressive measures of planning but to the scheduled caste movements and organization. As such, the better economic position of the scheduled caste in West Bengal is largely attributed to the Tebhage and Naxalbari movements. Similarly a social movement in Kerala led by Sri Narayana Guru established a new social identity for the Izhavar and generated an awareness among the lower castes. The improvement in Tammil Nadu is primarily due to Periyar's Self-Respect movement. Similarly, Maharastra's better position is attributed to the lower caste movements led by Jyothiro Phule and subsequently by B.R. Ambedkar. the relatively poor economic condition of SC in Andhra Pradesh is because of the strong grip of higher castes. Though there were some protests like Adi-Andhra movement in coastal area, they faded away after 1940s. However, the recent emergence of Dalit Maha Sabha and the evidences of organized protests may bring some changes,

Compared to many other states, the SCs condition is better in Gujarat in several aspects such as the old cultural tradition of 'Charity' organization, the influence of Gandhiji and Gandhians who initiated constructive work and welfare activities, the success of cooperative movement particularly, in dairy, fishery, poultry, handicraft etc. (B.B. Mohanthy, 2001)

Distribution of income among SCs in Uttar Pradesh indicates that hither proportions of persons are in the lower income classes than among others. Consequently average income among SCs is lower. The mean income among SCs is lower at Rs.3060 while that among others is Rs.4678 per person per year. Interestingly, SCs constitute about 26% of the State population but their share in income is much lower at 19%. Moreover, effect of poverty is more severe both in terms of incidence and intensity among SCs. And efforts to improve the socio-economic conditions of the SCs seem to

have failed. Therefore, it is also a major impact on their income status. It is to be noted that even after 50 years of independence the income status of SCs in Uttar Pradesh has remained low.. as a recommendation, it is suggested that a comprehensive review of the policies, both formulation and implementation is perhaps indispensable. (Gurupada Chakrabarty, 2000)

This study examined at the micro-level in a village and focused particularly on the changing proportion of SC permanent farm servants in the context of green revolution. Moreover, how various developmental programmes initiated by government contributed to SC agricultural labourers particularly during 1971-72 to 1981-82. With this view, this study confined to a single village located in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. This study showed that there was considerable decline of farm servants by increase in the money wages of casual labour compared to that of Paleru. As a result, there was a decline in demand of paleru particularly after 1971 due to increased mechanization, decline in cattle population and also due to increased contract labour as well. Similarly, there was a decline even in supply of paleru because of the same reasons explained above. This showed that there was a significant deterioration in the patron-client relationship and weakening of feudalism. And, it is suggested that socio-economic conditions of SC can be improved only when the surplus land distribution takes place and also specific legislative and administrative measures initiate. (Nancharaiah, G. 1990)

B. Satya Rajulu (2000), examined on 'Child Labour among Weaker Sections: A Study of Visakhapatnam City'. He found that as many as 90 per cent of the child labourers are in 11 states of India including Andhra Pradesh, which is said to have a figure of 1.93 million. Most of the are from scheduled caste, scheduled tribes and backward classes. Among scheduled caste, 55 per cent of child labour is engaged in domestic services, 21 per cent as garage workers, 14.7 per cent as hotel servants and 6 per cent as construction coolies and the rest in caste occupations. Surprisingly, out of the total 207 selected for the study, more than 84 per cent are from scheduled caste and scheduled tribes. Fifty per cent of the child labourers are from the city and 45 per cent are rural migrants. As many as 65 per cent expressed the opinion that they have adopted to labour due to traditional parental poverty, low status of parents like rickshaw pullers, coolies, illiteracy of parents and inadequate income due to family size. Some 32 percent

of them felt that they have joined labour due to parental disputes, father's habits and other family problems. He observed that unless the parents are assured of minimum needs for their children such as food, clothing and shelter, they can not stop the practice of child labour.

D. Francis (2000), studied on 'Dalit Rights as Human Rights'. He observed that for a long time in human history Dalits have been treated as subhumans and even as non-humans by the mainstream. On the contrary, the slaves in United States and in other European societies were better placed in terms of certain minimum access to civilized life such as education and training. But in India, Dalits are denied even those minimum needs of human beings. Therefore, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 could not ensure the rights to Dalits in India.

Across the country, atrocities on Dalits have been simultaneously committed along with economic exploitation, sexual abuse. According to the annual reports of the Commissioner of SCs and STs, there are 8500 cases reported crimes against SCs of which 261 are murders and 302 are rapes as on 1997. It is reported that 92000 Dalits were deprived of their allotted land in Uttar Pradesh alone in 1997. It is observed that two Dalits are assaulted every hour, three Dalit women are raped every day and two Dalits are murdered every day. He emphasized that the institutions and structures such as judiciary, police etc. of the caste state have also become part of the caste oppression. In fact, right to land, education, basic health services, drinking water, shelter right to work, etc., are basic for life sustenance. However, these basic rights are denied to the Dalits in India because of their alienation from the mainstream. So, Dalits do not have any alternative to the gifts of universal declaration of human rights.

Sukhadeo Thorat, Nidhi Sadana (2009) expressed their view on 'Caste and Ownership of Private Enterprises'. They focused on continuing inter-caste disparities in ownership of private enterprise and the character of enterprises owned by the SC and ST groups vis-à-vis others and also the linkages with poverty. They emphasized that Dalits are limited to perform impure and polluting economic activities like leather and sanitary products and they were not entitled to business and production activities. According to

2005 National Sample Survey data, the proportion of households engaged in self-employed enterprise at rural level was 34.3% among the scheduled castes (SC) compared to 45.7% for the scheduled tribes (ST), 56.2% for the other backward classes (OBC) and, 61.4% for other castes. Similarly, the proportion of self-employed households among SC, ST, OBC and others at urban level were 29.4%, 26.3% 40.3% and 38.6%, respectively. Therefore, it clearly shows that SCs/STs have significantly lower share in ownership of private capital

It is observed that the SCs, STs, OBCs, and higher castes constitute about 10%, 21%, 43%, and 25%, respectively, of the total population in the rural areas. However, the SCs, STs, OBCs, and higher castes accounted for about 10%, 4.6%, 40%, and 45%, respectively of the total private enterprises in the country. Thus while the share of SCs and STs in the number of private enterprises is much lower than their share in the county's rural population that of the higher castes exceeds their population share by a substantial margin. In rural India, private enterprises owned by the higher castes employed about 47% of the total workers in all enterprises, and another 39% by enterprises owned by the OBCs. Put together, the enterprises owned by these two groups employed about 86% of the total workers in the private sector enterprises located in rural India. The remaining 14% were engaged in enterprises owned by SC and ST groups.

When it comes to poverty level among different caste groups, the overall level about 21% of self-employed households in rural areas (engaged in production and business) were poor. This ratio was 43% and 27% among the ST and SC groups, respectively, which was very high compared to 17% for higher caste households. Therefore, poverty rates among the enterprises of the socially disadvantaged groups are also much higher than among the other castes.

2.5 Education, Health and Housing – SCs

The objective of this paper is to identify the social and educational problems of the deprived sections of India. It is found by several studies that the progress made by SCs is marginal and is limited to the urban situation. The so-called best education is available in cities and majority of rural poor cannot afford it. The facilities provided to them are not properly implemented and do not reach even on time. It is emphasized that politicization of the issue is another hurdle to their progress. It is observed that due to

planned changes and modernization a new educated middle class has come up among these people. This educated class alienated from their own people and suffer from an identify crisis. As far as educational problems are concerned, the entire educational system is completely dominated by English knowing class. Thus, the SCs are affected by problems such as non-enrolment, stagnation and dropouts, besides illiteracy. Due to this context SCs continue to be backward compared to higher caste people. (Wanghede, G.G., 1999)

The main focus of this article is to find out the influence of the psychological factors on the academic achievements of the SC college students. These students are found to have freed themselves from deprivation in as much as they have come to possess psychological features like good temperament, good adjustment, high self-concept and high level of independence. Psychologically, one major problem of the SC college students is their high anxiety levels. One obvious observation for its presence is their educationally and socially poor community back ground. Fear of disrespect from more fortune sections of the student community; fear that they may not be able to compete successfully with the more fortune ones; and fear that if they fail in their educational career, their future may be gloomy may cause high anxiety. Anxiety likely to be more because the higher educational does not guarantee a job. The recommendation made by this is government should provide them with necessary facilities to prepare themselves for a job or a career in the course of their study itself. (Rita Goretti Lourdes, G. 2002)

Lanjouw and Shariff (2004) have strongly supported the role of education in determining access to non-farm activities. They have observed that the rural non-farm sector appears to offer comparatively few real opportunities for female SC and ST workers because these groups characteristically acquire much lower levels of human capital and have less access to productive assets.

A comparative study was undertaken in Karnataka with the objective of female dropouts of the SC and ST and non-SC and non-ST. It is found that about 96% of the SC and ST girls dropped out of the school before attaining at 10 years of age. In contrast to this, the corresponding figure for the non-SC and non-ST girls was 47.5%. The main reason for higher rate of dropouts among SC and ST girls is, education is not valued by their parents. The girls are withdrawn from school to take care of younger siblings and

graze the animals. On the contrary, parents do not send their daughters to school when they have attained puberty or nearing puberty in the case of non-SC and non-ST girls. It is important to be noted that majority of the SC and ST school girls dropouts belonged to large sized nuclear families with no landholdings. Parents belong to these families have little or no education and they almost engaged in agricultural labour work and caste occupations as compared to non-SC and non-ST dropouts. In addition to this a higher percentage of the SC and ST school dropouts found to be working as child labourers than non-SC and non-STs. (Huligeva Kukanur & Saroja, K., 2003)

G. Chakrabarty (1999) in his paper “SCs and STs in Rural Andhra Pradesh: Their Education, Health Status and Income” brought out a comparative picture of levels of welfare of SCs and STs in rural areas of India and the state of Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh his main focus is particularly on education, health status and health care facilities, income and its distribution, incidence and intensity of poverty. Literacy rate estimates reveals that literacy among SCs and STs are quite low in many of the districts in Andhra Pradesh. These are much lower among the females of these caste groups particularly in the rural areas. In Andhra Pradesh, Mahabubnagar ranks lowest in terms of rural female literacy among SCs (3.9%) and 15 out of 22 districts have this literacy rate below 20 per cent. Discontinuation rates are generally higher among SCs and STs in rural Andhra Pradesh as well as India. Similarly, only five per cent of the students belonging to SCs and STs are enrolled in privately managed schools. In Andhra Pradesh these proportions are much lower i.e. 4.7 per cent among SCs and STs

With regard to health care facilities SCs and STs are at a disadvantageous position in both rural India and A.P. and quality of drinking water available in SCs and STs villages generally worse. Similarly, in rural India most of the children are born at home – 79% among SCs and 89.8% among STs. In rural A.P. these proportions are 67.6%, 45.9% respectively. As far as income is concerned, average income among SCs and STs are lower than that among the other in rural India and A.P. Therefore, this is a reflection of the fact that SCs and STs are generally poorer than others. However, between SCs and STs income distribution is less egalitarian among STs in rural India and A.P.

This study focused on economic conditions of the socially backward castes and classes in three states namely Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. Poverty indicators

like literacy, type of house, electricity, toilet facility and irrigation facility were taken into account in order to estimate level of poverty of all the three states. It is found that the level of poverty in Tamil Nadu appears to be larger than UP and Bihar. However, Tamil Nadu has a long history of social welfare and development programmes aimed at abolition of castes differentials and such programmes go back to 1920's. And this State even has a long history of Dravidian movement to abolish the caste differentials encouraging inter caste marriages, anti Brahminism and providing assistance to SCs and OBCs. It is found that the policies and programmes aimed at narrowing inter caste differentials in the State do not seem to have yielded the desired results. Moreover, there exist wide differentials in the proportions of 'most poor' and 'poor' households among various castes within each category namely SC, OBC and forward castes. (Srinivas, K & Sanjay Kumar, 1999)

Huligeva Kukanur and K. Saroja (2003) their paper on "Dynamics of Discontinuation of School among the SC and ST and Non-SC and Non-ST Rural Girls" mainly concern about demographic, socioeconomic, and familial background of SC and ST and non-SC and non-ST dropouts, besides, comparing the reasons for discontinuation of school education among the same caste groups. It was observed that 96 per cent of SC and ST girls dropped out of the school before attaining 10 years of age, the corresponding figure for the non-SC and non-ST girls was 47 per cent. The main reason for higher rate of drop outs among SC / ST is education is not valued by their parents. Therefore, girls are withdrawn from school to take care of younger siblings and to graze the animals. Similarly, the main reason is different in the case of non-SC and non-ST, according to parents, girls are not sent school when they attained puberty or near puberty. Therefore, socio-cultural practice still play significant role in rural areas in withdrawing girls from schools. It was also stated by the SC/ST that poverty as the main reason for discontinuation of their education, however it was stated by the non-SC and non-ST that their girls children poor academic performance in the school. In the case of SCs / STs dropouts supported financially to their families by engaging themselves as agricultural labourers both before and after leaving school. It is clear that they are burdened with paid work even while in school. However, in the case of non-SC, non-ST dropouts, majority of them engaged in agricultural labour work only after dropping out school. So, unlike

the SC and ST girls, the non-SC and non-ST girls are not burdened with any work when they are too young. The SC and ST girls performed economically useful roles at home and outside the home before and after dropping out of school.

Madhumita Bandyopadhyay (2006) started with discussion on conceptual issues about education and social justice and the way educational deprivation is taking place in India. He argued that current educational programmes might have failed to address the needs of children who are vulnerable and excluded. Due to inadequate services provided by some education programmes, marginalized children were affected more this led to further social exclusion and injustice. According to the NSSO 55th Round data (1999-2000) only about 27 per cent of the rural males and about 12 per cent of rural females from the poorest 20 per cent families could complete primary and higher level of schooling as against about 66 per cent male and 42 per cent female population from the richest 20 per cent families. Similarly, only 30 per cent people belonging to SC / ST complete their primary schooling against nearly 48 per cent from the higher castes. Many of marginalized and backward communities living in rural areas is still deprived of basic education. In rural areas, children from these groups are forced to join the workforce at an early age, particularly, girls do not attend school as they remain engaged in household tasks. As a result, children from these groups seem to continue in a vicious circle.

As a remedy, he suggested that the capacity of each school needs to be improved by appropriate innovative actions to attract and retain children from disadvantaged groups. He emphasized that mere providing school is insufficient but also supply services in accordance with the needs and living condition of the disadvantaged groups and thereby motivate the demand for basic education among them. When it comes to health aspect, health is closely associated with education, better work environment and income levels of a person. They observed that health status of SCs/STs is far from satisfactory. As compared to others, infant mortality rate (IMR) and child mortality rates (CMR) per thousand live births are quite significant in the case of SCs/STs. Health care services like family planning, antenatal checkups etc. is found to be low in the case of SCs/STs as compared to others. Likewise, women suffering from nutritional deficiency, children undernourished, women and children with anaemia are significant for SCs/STs as against others. Therefore, based on above observations they suggested that inequalities can be

reduced by way of access and distribution of education, adequate and reasonable amount of education – accessing facilities such as fees concession, scholarships, and hostel facilities etc. should abundantly be provided to the weaker sections of the society especially SCs/STs. As far as health is concerned, adequate and qualitative health, medical care services must be freely made available to SC/St communities for some extent and till equality in health status is achieved.

R.R. Biradar and Jayasheela (2007) focused their study on 'Effects of Educational Inequality among Social Groups in Rural India'. They argued that the level of educational attainment plays a 'linchpin' role in reducing the incidence of poverty as well as improving the health status of the socially marginalized and economically disadvantaged sections of the society in rural areas. They observed that vast majority of illiterate and literate persons at lower levels of education in all the social groups and more so in respect of SC/ST households. Therefore, lack of educational stock among SC/ST resulted in limited accessibility to good quality of employment (self and regular employment) in India, particularly in rural areas. So, lack of education in turn acts as a major constraint to secure better quality of employment. They advocated that the proportion of people in poverty declined drastically in the case of SCs/STs as compared to others during 1977-78 to 1999-2000. A greater decline took place in the case of SCs/STs in rural as compared to that of in urban areas in the post reform period compared to pre-reform period.

2.6 Economic Reforms and SCs

Surendra Prasad Saha & Binod Kumar Chaudhary (2008), this paper on 'Economic Reforms and Status of Dalits' mainly examines the status of Dalits in the New Economic Policy (NEP). It argues that India's economic reforms on liberalization, privatization and globalization may enable to protect economic growth in India. However, opportunities structure will deprive the socio-economically and dispossessed groups in the globalization era. Therefore, Dalits will not get any opportunity in the future economic growth. This is happened due to erosion of the reservation policy. Moreover, the nature of jobs created in the present globalised economy demand relatively more and technically skilled professionals which are not available among Dalits due to their poor economic and educational status. In addition, government adopted contracting system in the public sector as increasing importance for MNCs due to this Dalits are not

getting the benefits of reservation policy. As a result, both poverty and unemployment among Dalits have increased.

S.K.L. Das (2008) his paper on “Impact of Economic Reform Policy on Weaker Sections and Dalits” reveals weaker sections of the society lack basic security in themselves, in their families, in their workplaces and in their community. He emphasized on Indian government outlay towards poverty reduction programmes. Besides, Indian government spends about 5.5 billion \$ on poverty reduction programmes, this amount ironically never reaches the poor or the downtrodden people of the society. Therefore, they become economically insecure. Obviously, majority of the Dalits population living in rural areas and they are dependent on manual work. Most of them are facing difficulty in earning their livelihood due to adoption of economic reform policy. For instance, due to closure of Sindri Fertilizer factory in September, 2002 in Jharkahand more than million people, who were from weaker section as well as tribals and dalits have been badly affected. Thousands of contract workers have become jobless over nights. Three industrial units have been closed down, thousands of workers, maid servants, tiny business men and others have become jobless. Entire township presents a deserted look and similar is the condition of Andhra Pradesh which has faced same problems. Even in United States there was a decline in growth of GDP per capita and in spite of remarkable performance of China and India, the per capita growth rate of in developing countries fell from 3.1 per cent to 2.7 per cent. The rapid growth in China and India has certainly pulled large number of people out of desperate poverty. It is clear that economic reform policy has generated economic instability. Furthermore, both public sector on the plea of overstaffing and private sector on the plea of modernization and technological upgradation workers were retrenched and forced to accept voluntary retirement scheme. As a result, the large number of weaker sections distressed with different type of insecurity situation in the reform ear.

V.N.V.K. Sastry (2000), examined economic reforms impact on SC/ST in his article on ‘Access to Market and Institutional Credit to the SCs & STs’. He discussed with bank officials for the proposed District Poverty Initiative Programme in Andhra Pradesh and they replied that stringent restrictions imposed by RBI. Accordingly, lending was limited to only few persons who have earlier repaid. It means that loan amount is

getting circulated only among the neorich but not reach to many deserving and still poorest sections. Attempts were also made to curtail subsidies and this may slowly extend to weaker sections programmes where subsidies form an important component. In the recent years loans were borrowed from World Bank and various U.N. departments which benefit certain areas rather than over all development of weaker section population. It is evident that these loans would go to those who are already better equipped rather than the ill-equipped weaker sections.

In the present trend, education and health is privatized which resulted weaker sections cannot avail these facilities as it involves high cost. Similarly, employment opportunities for weaker sections get reduced as part of the liberalization. He closely observed that, weaker sections variety traditional skills of manufacture of goods like cloth, footwear cosmetic etc. and even have traditional skills have vanished under the attack of industry, electronic media etc. Importantly, many forest products collected by tribals are not being purchased even by the Tribal Development Corporations as they are not commercially feasible. However, these corporations are highly selective in purchase of the products from outside market. The procurement price also depended on outside market price, therefore, many products and many populations get slowly eliminated from market in the economic reform era. Finally, he advised that a serious discussion is necessary to protect the interest of weaker sections in the liberalization and globalization process, otherwise large sections of poor may get marginalized.

D.K. Verma (2000), in his article on 'Dr. Ambedkar's Economic Philosophy and Implication of New Economic Reforms on Employment of SCs' examined the impact of new economic reforms on employment of SCs. Employment opportunities are available in urban and semi-urban sectors in the economic reforms era. However, majority of SCs are living in rural areas so they are deprived of employment opportunities. Organized sector employ hardly 20 per cent of the work force and the remaining 80 per cent of the work force is under employed in rural areas and the informal sectors in urban industries and trade. It is to be noted that only 16 per cent of the scheduled castes reside in the urban areas in the country. The high incidence of landlessness among SCs creates an enormously high proportion of wage labour (63 per cent) among them. New Economic Reforms obviously have big opportunities for international competitiveness which

ultimately proves to be an anti-Dalit programme. He reiterated that the impact of new economic reforms are mainly on rural-non-farm sector and urban sector which make the condition of weaker sections more worse.

He observed that the employment of SCs/STs has been reduced after the initiation of new economic reforms due to privatization of some sectors, cut in government expenditure and also slowing down of public sector. On the contrary, during the pre-reform period there was a steady increase in the employment of SCs in government sectors. Finally he asserted that majority of the scheduled castes population who reside in the rural areas and engaged in unorganized sector as landless labour become vulnerable. Therefore, the new economic reforms are against the spirit of Dr. Ambedkar's economic philosophy and concept of Welfare State.

2.7 Land and SCs

Rao, R.S. & Bharathi, M, expressed their views in their article "Land is not Right but a tool of development" relating to performance of land reforms in two villages in A.P. Ungatur village in Krishna district total cultivated area is 813 acres of which about 707 acres of the total land is under the possession of tenants. Out of the total 590 households 114 households have given away their land for tenants of which 64 landlords are staying in other cities like Hyderabad. However, the total number of leased-in household are 171 they are all almost belong to poor tenants and agricultural labourers. Out of the total cultivated land 50% of the land was leased-out by the landlords that are cultivated by the so called poor farmers. In contrast to this in Bonthalakoduru village of Srikakulam district, there were 278 acres of surplus land distributed. It is observed that the total surplus land seemed to be given away for 73 households. According to their own survey only 23 households are cultivating surplus land and each household was given 1 acre dry land and 33 cents wet land only. Surprisingly, details of rest of the household those enjoy the rest of surplus land could not find. Every household was given house plot, house, electricity for house and roads with the assistance of government. Apart from this each household maintain a milch cow. Water facility was also provided to their fields from Nagavali river under water shed programme. It was found that there is great difference between actuals and government records pertaining to land details. Land distribution

process must be taken place by identifying landless households. In this process land ceiling needs to be reduced.

G. Nancharaiah (1988) studied inequalities in the distribution of ownership holdings in the context of land legislation during 1930 to 1982 and the Green Revolution during the last five decades. According to this study, as far as the change in land ownership is concerned from 1930 to 1948, there was an increase in the number of sub-marginal farmers from 19 in 1930 to 43 in 1948. Also the number of marginal farmers increased from 37 to 77 and even small farmers increased from 33 to 44 and medium farmers from 18 to 19. But, there is a decline in the number of big farmers from 8 to 3 and of large farmers from 3 to 2. Like wise, the average size of holding of all categories together has come down from 4.5 acres to 2.86 acres as the total number of land owning household has increased from 118 to 188. There was a decline in the degree of concentration of land between 1930 and 1965. The decline in the degree of land concentration attributed mainly to land legislation during this period. Since it was an inam estate, it was much affected by the Andhra Pradesh Estates Land (Reduction of Rent) Act, 1947 the Madras Estates (Abolition and conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1948 and the Andhra Inams (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act, 1956.

Between 1965 and 1982 the total number of land owning households declined from 265 to 227, sub-marginal from 93 to 80; marginal from 105 to 88 and small from 48 to 32. On the other hand, there is a growth in the holdings of 5 and above from 19 to 27. But, during this period this village was not affected by Agricultural Holdings Act, as the ceiling area is one standard holding ranging from 10 to 27 acres in the case of wet land depending on the class of land. In 1982 there were 7 holdings of more than 10 acres and 2 of more than 20 acres and they were not affected by ceiling laws as there was a provision of extending the ceiling limit to the maximum extent of 2 standard holdings depending upon the number of persons in the family. Since 1966, because of the Green Revolution, the medium and large farmers were benefited since they had better access to inputs and credit markets compared to marginal and small farmers. Some households which owned small pieces of land in 1965 became landless in 1982,

He concluded that the impact of land legislation on inequalities in land distribution was not very significant and the laws such as those abolishing Inamdari,

Zamindari and Jagardari estates were implemented, though belatedly. With the abolition of the feudal system, power passed on to the middle caste farmers. So, they are the ones who enacted the land reforms acts and left many loopholes to ensure the consolidation of their own power and who formulate the agricultural policies and control financial institutions.

S.N. Chaudhary (1987) examined the changing relationship between land ownership and the caste system during 1960-61 to 1980-81 in a Bihar village. According to him the upper caste, the total land possessed by all the 32 sample households during 1960-61 was 580.15bighas. But during 1980-81 it came down to 73.3bighas, backward castes who owned only 109.17bighas in 1960-61, accounted for 142.18bighas in 1980-81. Like wise, Scheduled Castes number of landless Harijan households has decreased for 17 in 1960-61 to 12 in 1980-81. Out of 32 households there are 28 upper caste households, which have sold their land between 1960-61 to 1980-81. Only eight households from backward castes and six households from the Scheduled Castes, respectively, have sold their land during this period. Findings reveal that there are five, twenty and eleven houses, respectively, from the Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Classes and upper castes, which have purchased land. It is also important to note that all of them have purchased land from upper caste Rajputs. This shows that land has moved vertically in a descending order although it has also been purchased by few Rajput households. Out of eight backward caste households, six have sold their land in order to buy land in their own locality. Out of the five households from Scheduled Castes, which have purchased land, four have purchased it from their Rajput masters on whose lands they have settled.

Abolition of the Zamindari system, had affected the upper caste economic position and even today they have not recovered. But the lower backward castes have sold land either to meet basic consumption needs or to free themselves from indebtedness and disease. Scheduled Castes also do not have other source to raise money in order to meet various contingent expenditures on various occasions. Hence, they also have to sell their lands, since most of the moneylenders who give loans on high rates of interest; they take away when people fail to repay their debt. Previously most of the village land was in the hands of upper caste Rajputs and they had a joint family system. After a few generations, families became nuclear. Moreover, with the abolition of Zamindari system,

these ex-zamindars are not accustomed to physical work because of their wealth and their social and political status; their economic conditions have deteriorated. Increasing liabilities and decrease in the income from farm production because of their absenteeism from farm activity is one of the basic reasons for their economic deterioration. They had no other alternatives to meet their contingent expenditure, so they could not but sell the land. Hence, the dynamics of land ownership and social structure are not making the village free from coercion and exploitation.

This paper deals with some of the issues of inequalities in terms of land and employment status and exploitation reflected in depressed wage rates and usury network with regard to dalit caste and classes of North Bihar. It is found that over, 50,000 acres of surplus land in the possession of landlords which are yet to be taken over. However only 4200 acres of surplus land were declared by the Bihar government in the Legislative Assembly. Gaya and Jehanabad districts of Central Bihar which have been a flaming field of dalit struggles, registered that only 8% and 4.5% area of operational holdings are in the possession of 15% and 9% of SCs holdings respectively. 79% of the SCs are agricultural labourers who completely rely on selling their labour power for their survival. Consequently, landless labourers are the worst sufferers and millions of them left with no option but to migrate. The main reasons of migration are reported as lack of employment opportunities, depressed wage rates, social repression and for supplanting the income of the households.

Even the rate of interest charged for borrowings for consumption and production purpose is exorbitantly higher (five times). This reflects how miserably public financial institutions have failed to liberate the dalits from the clutches of money lenders. By experienced with all above constraints, there has been sporadic mobilization of dalits in North Bihar to fight exploitation and injustice as in Central Bihar where the rural poor have mobilized themselves for wages and social dignity. As a result, land distribution is one of the main achievements of social mobilization. In the areas where social mobilization is inactive continuously, the delay in court decision on such land has helped land owners to retain their possession for long periods. (Diwakar, D.M., 1999)

M. Thangaraj (2002) expressed his views in his article on 'Access to Land by Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in India'. He argued that the percentage of area

controlled by SCs and STs increased marginally in 1985-86 and 1990-91 compared to 1980-81. He supported implementation of Land Ceiling Act through which dalits were benefited by redistribution of land. However, the access to land was very low for all size classes in case of SCs. He further argued that majority of the farmers belonging to SCs largely depend up on surface irrigation while others had greater access to both surface and sub surface irrigation. Similarly, the access to food crops had increased in the case of SCs and STs while the access had increased in the case of others for all non-food crops. He also examined on tenurial status of different social groups, the percentage of holdings and area of land wholly leased in was the highest for SCs and the lowest for others. Therefore, access to wholly owned and self-operated was low, but the access was high in terms of land under wholly leased-in, compared to other types of land for SCs.

Furthermore, he also concentrated on terms of leasing in which the land under usufructuary, mortgage, has remained steady for SCs. However, the share of produce was the major leasing factor which accounted for 42 per cent of the total area leased-in. Therefore, the percentage of land under share of produce to total area leased in was highest for SCs among all other social groups. However, in the case of other, area under fixed money, fixed produce, usufructuary mortgage and other terms were at maximum level. Lastly, he emphasized that only 2.64 per cent of the operated land for SCs was given away through the Ceiling on Land Holdings Acts, therefore, this is not adequate to meet the infinite needs of land for SCs. He reiterated that social and economic oppression is the main reason for low access to land for SCs. The existing distribution of land holdings is skewed in favour of higher and middle castes.

Sharm, H. R. (2007) has examined by an article on 'Land Distribution and Tenancy among Different Social Groups'. His article examined some issues at the all India level using National Sample Survey (NSS) data available in the report on household ownership holdings in India, 59th Round (2003). According to the report, the share of SC households in total land was very small (8.97%) compared to their share in total households. Coming to the distribution of households of different size categories and land owned by them, nearly two-fifths of the total landless households belonged to OBCs distantly followed by SCs who accounted for a little less than one-fourths of such households. Therefore, the highest incidence of landlessness was among the ST

households followed by those of SCs. While four-fifths of the SC households belonged to marginal category owning less than one hectare of land, the numerical proportion of large households was higher among other castes households.

The proportion of land leased-in was highest among SC households (14.46%) compared to those of the OBCs and other castes where it was 6-7 per cent and STs it was just 4%. Similar pattern was noticeable in case of land leased-out by different categories of households belonging to different social groups. The distribution of the leased-out land among households' different size categories showed that marginal households followed by small households accounted for the highest percent of such land among different social groups except households of other caste where large households accounted for nearly two-fifths of the total leased-out land. Furthermore, in terms of *gini* ratio, the extent of inequalities was higher among SCs households followed by those of OBCs and other castes. Further among these groups Scheduled Caste / Dalits constitutes 16.2 per cent of the Indian population (Census, 2001). Over 80 per cent of the SC population lives in rural areas and the proportion is as much as about 90 per cent in the states like Bihar and Orissa (Mohanthly, 2001).

SC rural workforce in India continued to be employed in the agriculture sector and their dependence on this traditional sector is more important. The majority of the SC workers in rural areas work as agricultural labourers. In addition, SCs non-agricultural rural workforce has limited access to capital and only 3.6 per cent was employed in household industry (Thorat, 2009). Importantly, the nature of jobs created under the New Economic Policy (NEP) based on liberalization, privatization and globalization, are more technically skilled professionals which are not available among Dalits due to their poor economic and educational status. Therefore, Dalits are not getting the benefits of reservation due to the increasing importance of contracting public sectors and multi national companies (MNCs).

Therefore, land is the only source for any Dalits to improve their economic status. However, Dalits have been traditionally discriminated against possessing land. In fact, the size of income continues to be directly related to the amount of land owned or controlled in rural areas. As social welfare measure and to provide security to tenants; to reduce the inequalities in the land distribution pattern; and to promote the agricultural

production the Andhra Pradesh Government has initiated Land Reforms (Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings) Act of 1973 which was enforced on 1st January 1975 with the ceiling limit ranged from 10 to 54 acres depending upon the class and category of land. However, due to various shortcomings which exist in the implementation of land reforms the inequalities in the land distribution pattern still continued. As per 2001 Agricultural Census of Andhra Pradesh, the holdings of 10 acres and above constitute more than 17 per cent of total number of holdings but control nearly 54 per cent of the total operated area. On the contrary, the bottom of marginal and small holdings of less than five acres constitute nearly 83 per cent but they control only 46 per cent of the total operated area. Therefore, majority of the Dalits still landless as land reforms have failed to remove the basic problems of land inequalities, poverty.

There are some countries like Japan, China South Korea, etc. which proved the proper implementation of land reforms which led to improve in the socio-economic conditions of people which in turn reduce the inequalities in the income distribution and the incidence of poverty along with the shifting of workforce from agricultural sector to non-agricultural sector. At this juncture, Ambedkar's perception on agricultural development is more relevant even today. He emphasized further on the nationalization of agriculture, collective farming and shifting of agricultural surplus labour from the agriculture sector to the non-agricultural sector. Ambedkar's views on land reforms and agricultural development with the aim of streamline the Indian economy based on the socialist pattern which benefits all sections of the Indian society and in particular the depressed classes or Dalits have still relevance even today. In the wake of liberalization, privatization and globalization, the state has to reconsider the ideology of Ambedkar concerning the Indian agriculture where the economic interests of the downtrodden / depressed classes are neglected in the name of competition, efficiency and progress.

2.8 Research Gaps Identified

The above reviews carried on Dalits in respect to various aspects, like government policies and programmes, governmental participation, impact of results, status/socio-economic conditions, education, health and housing, economic reforms and land owning patterns. A large number of studies are reviewed substantially by covering all the above

aspects. Despite their richness in content, analysis and information available from these studies there are certain gaps and limitations, which the present study would like to pursue.

Some of the studies highlighted poor performance of developmental programmes but failed to identify programs which benefited based on caste wise. These studies have not shown either micro or macro level data in order to measure the Dalit's beneficiaries. Further, they ignored comparative analysis between Dalits and non-Dalits with respect to poverty alleviation programmes. Many studies have paid less attention towards the performance of multi poverty alleviation programmes and given much importance to assess the performance of single programme that is IRDP.

The studies which are reviewed under the development policies have asserted that these policies brought some positive change among marginalized groups like SC/ST. However, many of these studies confined only to education and employment. Other discussions like political, economic and social aspects like untouchability were also important to assess the impact developmental policies over Dalits but they were given less importance and sometimes ignored.

The studies which focused on employment generating programmes like JRY observed that employment opportunities have been availed by the non-Dalits who were below poverty line but not by the Dalits and women as expected. But these studies could not pay much attention towards the causes for losing employment opportunities of Dalits and also failed to study the backward and forward linkages for such happenings. Further, these studies have not given plausible recommendations to overcome such incidents.

Studies focused on Dalits participation in panchayat raj institutions concentrated on the training programmes that were exclusively conducted for the newly elected panchayat leaders. These studies concluded that the leaders who hold some executive status in the political party, leaders with strong economic and political background have participated more in the training programme on new panchayat raj system. However, these studies instead of focusing on the issues of how these training programmes would empower them, the nature of participation and what kind of responsibility that they

should attain through these trainings, these studies simply explained the participation of some well-to-do categories within the community.

Some studies examined the conflicts between Dalits and non-Dalits when a Dalit is elected as the panchayat sarpanch. These studies conclude that though the Dalits are captured political power at panchayat level but they are treated as politically subordinates by the non-Dalits. However, these studies could not explain the power relations within the caste system at length.

Many studies pointed out that majority of the Dalits population who are unprepared to participate in a competitive world would be alienated from the developmental process. According to these studies, the Dalits fear more due to the limited number of jobs in the public sector enterprises in the wake of economic liberalization, privatization and globalization. However, these studies failed to explain the proportion of Dalits who lost their job opportunities and the percentage of poverty that increased among the downtrodden during the globalization period. And there were no guidelines / recommendations how to avoid the globalization process if it is really detrimental to the downtrodden economic lives.

Studies which are reviewed relating to land redistribution focused extensively on the extent of the surplus land that is available for the redistribution to the landless households. Many studies concluded that the unfertile land was distributed among Dalits and the fertile land was given to the landless non-Dalits. But these studies failed to identify the fertile land proportion in the total land available and how much proportion is distributed to the landless Dalits households out of the total fertile land is also not examined properly. Therefore, there is no clear evidence from these studies how much fertile land was distributed and the exact number of beneficiaries among Dalits was not found. In this context, the present study would like to pursue analysis of development of Dalits from the larger perspective of transformation by analyzing rural development programmes as they evolved at the national level and performed at the State level with specific reference to Andhra Pradesh. This is followed by micro-level analysis of the condition of Dalits based on three village studies, each drawn from one of the three regions of the State.

CHAPTER – 3

Rural Developmental Programmes: An Overview

India's anti-poverty strategy contains of a wide range of poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes, many of which have been in operation for several years and have been reinforced to generate more employment, create productive assets, and raise the income level of the poor. Under these schemes, both wage employment and self-employment are provided to the people below the poverty line. In 1998-99, government proposed to unify the various poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes under two broad categories of Self Employment Schemes and Wage Employment Schemes.

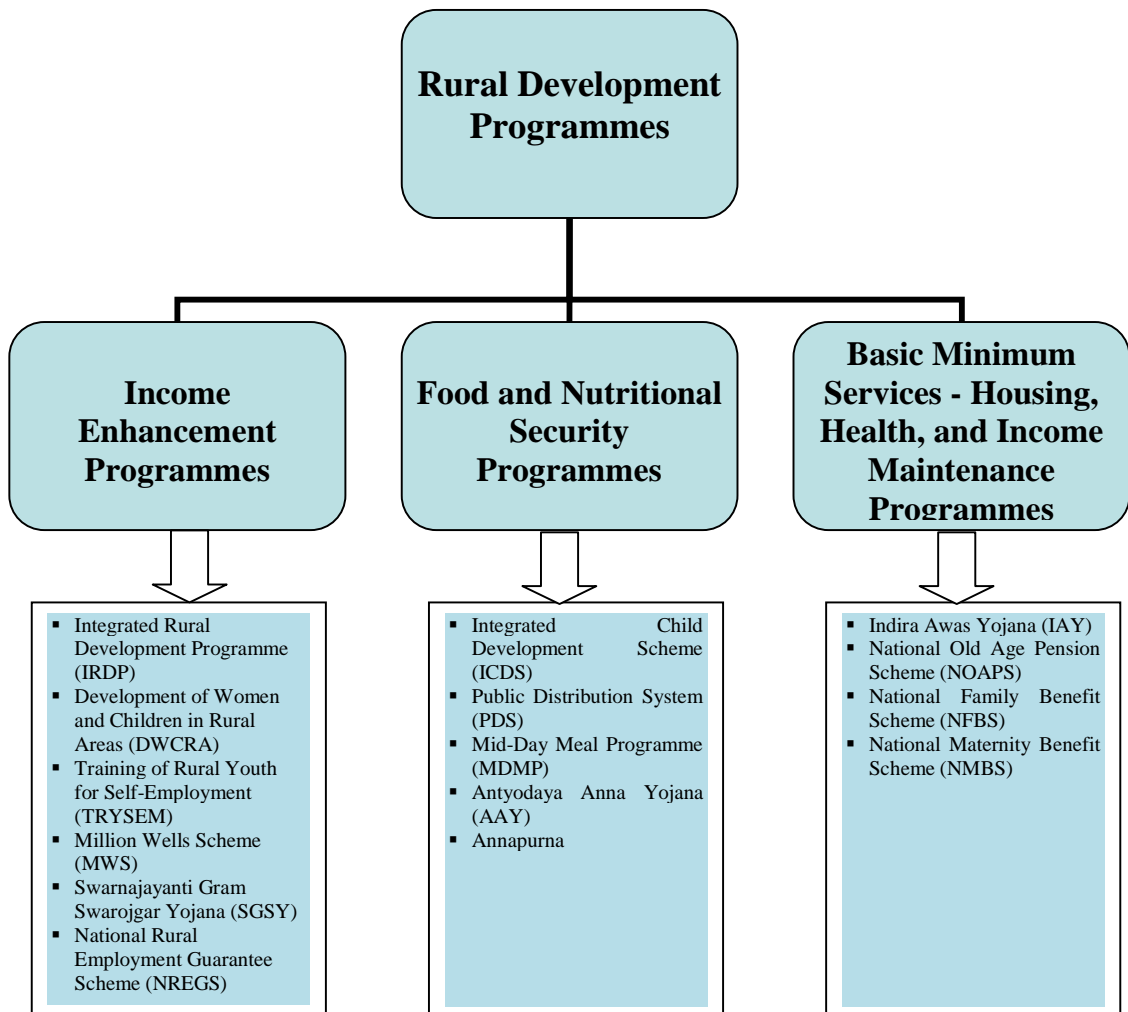
Abolition of poverty has been the most important objective since the beginning of economic planning in India. Eradication of poverty in the course of overall economic and social development by ensuring equitable access in resources and skills, as well as by widening the opportunities for gainful employment to the deprived sections of the society, is articulated as the principal objective of all the rural development programmes initiated by the government. It has understood that in the context of ongoing economic reforms due to the apprehensions that the short-run impact of reforms may not be favourable for the eradication of poverty. It is known that economic growth alone is not sufficient to reduce poverty and there is a need for direct State intervention for poverty eradication.

A number of rural developmental programmes have been initiated and implemented to moderate the poverty level in general and rural level in particular. However, it was understood and that these programmes could not bring the desired results and experienced from a number of shortcomings. Obviously, in the late 1980s poverty has declined due to the target oriented Poverty Alleviation Programmes, in spite of deceleration in agriculture growth (Parthasarathy, 1995). Therefore it is realized that the poverty alleviation programmes are also play an important role in contributing economic growth.

Moreover, very few studies made attempts to assess the performance of Rural Developmental Programmes (RDP). In this backdrop the present study is recommended

to evaluate the performance of Rural Developmental Programmes in three villages from three regions namely Coastal Andhra, Telengana and Rayalaseema of Andhra Pradesh.

In 1998-99, government proposed to integrate the various poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes under two broad categories of Self Employment Schemes and Wage Employment Schemes. However, the Rural Developmental Programmes (RDP) can be grouped into three categories for our convenient.



3.1 Integrated Rural Development Programme - (IRDP)

IRDP is a major self employment programme for poverty alleviation. The objective of IRDP is to provide suitable income generating assets through a mix of subsidy and credit to below poverty line families with a view to bring them above the poverty line. The assets which could be in primary, secondary or tertiary sector are

provided through financial assistance in the form of subsidy by the government and term credit advanced by financial institutions. A family with an annual income of Rs. 20,000/- and below per annum is considered to be below the poverty line based on the 1998 below poverty line census. The programme is a centrally sponsored scheme funded on 50:50 basis by the Centre and State. The Scheme is merged with another Scheme named S.G.S.Y. since 01.04.1999.

3.1.1 Eligibility Criteria

Any person who is below poverty line can avail of the subsidy under the IRDP Schemes.

3.1.2 Time Frame

Persons Below Poverty Line (BPL) category can apply for IRDP loan in the prescribed forms. Awareness camps and credit camps are organised jointly by the DRDA and the Banks in the month of July/August. After the credit camp is over, BDOs will hand over the application for IRDP to bankers within 10 days. Bankers will submit Form-I to BDO within one week. After receiving subsidy from BDOs, Bank will disburse subsidy to the beneficiaries within 5 days.

3.2 Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas - (DWCRA)

Development of Women and Children in Rural areas (DWCRA) is an important poverty alleviation programme implemented as sub-scheme under IRDP. It is a centrally sponsored scheme of the Department of Rural Development with UNICEF cooperation to strengthen the women's component of poverty alleviation programmes. Under this programme (DWCRA) the target group is rural women of below poverty line families who are assisted to take up various income generating activities. The DWCRA's primary thrust is on the formation of groups of 15 to 20 women from poor household at the village level for delivery of services like credit and skill training, cash and infrastructural support for self employment. Each member of the DWCRA groups is given a revolving fund of Rs. 25,000/- for infrastructure support for income generation and other group activities. Through the strategy of group formation, the programme aims to improve women's access to basic services of health, education, child care, nutrition and sanitation. It is merged with S.G.S.Y. since 01.04.1999.

The main activities of DWCRA are as follows:

1. Dairy Activity
2. Gem Cutting
3. Silk Weaving
4. Candles/Agarpathi making
5. Ready made garments
6. Canteen
7. Beedi making
8. Multipurpose activities of Masala powder, Pickles etc.

3.2.1 Eligibility Criteria

Rural women who come under Below Poverty Line (BPL) have to form self help groups. Their performance will be assessed for six months. After that the Revolving Funds will be released.

3.2.2 Time Frame

After identification of the beneficiary self help groups will be formed immediately. As stated above, revolving funds will be released after six months.

3.3 Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment - (TRYSEM)

The Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) is a supporting component of the IRDP, started as a centrally sponsored scheme on 15th, August 1979. Its main objective is to provide basic technical and entrepreneurial skills to rural youth in the age group of 18-35 years from the families below poverty line to enable them to take up self employment and wage employment in the fields of agriculture and allied sectors namely industries, services and business activities. The trades are both self employment and wage employment oriented. In order to make training more employment oriented all technical trainings are proposed to be imparted in both the training institutions and in private establishments. The training programme as such and the above method of training will provide ample scope for assistance under IRDP or any other self employment scheme. However, this scheme is no more in operation. It is merged with S.G.S.Y. since 01.04.1999. Training is imparted to rural youth in 30 different trades as mentioned below.

3.3.1 Eligibility Criteria

Any rural youth from the families Below Poverty Line.

3.3.2 Time Frame

After applications are collected from the individuals, people will be called for interview within 10 days. Within one week from the date of interview, selected beneficiaries will be intimated. Within the next one week the training courses will be started.

3.4 Million Wells Scheme - (MWS)

Million Wells Scheme was taken up as a sub-scheme of National Rural Employment Programme (N.R.E.P) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (R.L.E.G.P) during the year 1988-89 has continued under J.R.Y. till 1989-90. The object of the scheme is to provide open irrigation wells free of cost to small and marginal farmers amongst the Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribes and freed Bonded Labourers who are below poverty line. MWS allocation is primarily intended for open wells only and tube wells and bore wells are not to be taken up under this provision.

From 1990-91 onwards, under Million Wells Scheme, the following works were also included. (a) Construction of open irrigation wells for the target group; (b) Where wells are not feasible, other scheme of minor irrigation like irrigation tanks, Water Harvesting Structures for the benefit of target group can also be taken up. (c) The provision under M.W.S. can also be utilized for the land development of the target groups.

The beneficiaries themselves have to carry out the construction of their wells through either their own labour or the local labour for which they will be paid. In no case, the work will be handed over to a contractor. If a well meets with failure after digging, a certificate to this effect will be produced by the DRDA. If the failure of a well is established to the Certifying Agency on the basis of norms, compensation shall be provided to the extent of 100% of the expenditure actually incurred by the farmer towards digging of that well.

From 01.01.1996, this scheme had been delinked from J.R.Y. and made an independent scheme by itself. Now the scheme is no more in operation and merged with S.G.S.Y. since 01.04.1999.

3.4.1 Eligibility Criteria

Target group will be small and marginal farmers who are below the poverty line. Order of priority for selection of beneficiaries from different categories of the target group shall be as follows:

- i. Freed bonded labourers;
- ii. SC/ST poor small and marginal farmers who are victims of atrocities;
- iii. Poor small and marginal farmers belonging to SC/ST households, below poverty line, headed by widows and unmarried women;
- iv. Poor small and marginal farmers belonging to SC/ST households affected by flood, fire, earthquake and similar natural calamities;
- v. Poor small and marginal farmers belonging to Other SC/ST households below poverty line;
- vi. Poor small and marginal farmers belonging to Non-SC/ST households below poverty line.

3.4.2 Time Frame

30 days from the receipt of application from the beneficiary.

3.5 Swarnajayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana - (SGSY)

Swarnajayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana (SGSY) was introduced from April 1st, 1999. This programme was newly introduced after evaluate and restructuring of previous like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and allied programmes namely Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), Supply of Toolkits in Rural Areas (SITRA) and Ganga Kalyan Yojana (GKY), besides Million Wells Scheme (MWS). However, since 1999, the earlier programmes are no more in function with the launching of the SGSY. At present SGSY is the major continuing programme for the self-employment of rural poor. SGSY will be funded by the Centre and the States in the ratio of 75:25.

SGSY will be implemented by the DRDAs through the Panchayat Samithis. The procedure of planning, implementation and monitoring would integrate the banks and other financial institutions, the PRIs, NGOs, as well as technical institutions in the district. DRDAs will be suitably revamped and strengthened. The role of DRDAs should be to facilitate access to technical and professional input which could help in better product design, development of market linkages etc., Furthermore, it facilitates an increased demand/market for the goods being produced by the Swarozgaris and enhanced sustainable income from the activity.

3.5.1 Objective

The Objective of SGSY is to bring the assisted poor families (swarozgaris) above the poverty line by ensuring a substantial increase in incomes over a period of time. This objective is to be accomplished by inter-alia organizing the rural poor into Self Help Groups (SHGs) through a process of social mobilization, their training and capacity building and provision of income-generating assets through a mix of bank credit and government subsidy. The programme aims at establishing a large number of micro enterprises in rural areas based on the ability of the poor and potential of each area.

3.5.2 Strategy

In terms of the strategy visualized for its implementation the SGSY is different from previous programmes. It has been considered as a holistic programme of self-employment. Emphasis will be on the group approach. This programme covers all aspects of self employment such as organization of the poor into Self Help Groups (SHGs), and their capacity building, training, selection of key activities, planning of activity clusters, infrastructure build up, technology and marketing support.

3.5.3 Target Groups

- Small farmers, marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, non-agricultural labourers and rural artisans whose annual family income is less than Rs. 13000/- from 1999-2000.
- Small farmers are those having land holding from 2.5 to 5.0 acres dry land in non DPAP areas or 3.75 to 7.5 acres dryland in DPAP areas or half the limits in case of wet land.

- Marginal farmers are those having land holding upto 2.5 acres in non DPAP areas or 3.75 acres in DPAP areas in terms of dryland or half the limits in case of wet lands.

3.6 National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme – (NREGS)

National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) is the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government's flagship programme and it has been commenced on 2nd February 2006. In the first phase of implementation, this scheme was extended only in 200 districts across the country. Moreover, with in a period of five years the scheme will become operative in the entire country.

3.6.1 Main Features and Objectives of the Scheme

- Employment for 100 days, to be provided to every rural household whose adult member volunteers to do unskilled manual work.
- Every person who had done the work to be provided minimum wage as prescribed under the Minimum Wage Act 1948 for agricultural labourers in the State. And such wages shall not be less than Rs.60/- per day.
- Employment will be given within 15 days of application for work by an employment seeker. If employment is not provided within 15 days, daily unemployment allowance, in cash has to be paid. The legal liability to provide employment is of the State and liability to provide commensurate fund is of the Centre.
- Priority much be given to allot employment on a local work while allocating work. The work should ordinarily be provided within 5km radius of the village or else extra wages to the tune of 10% are payable.

3.6.2 Works and Schemes

The focus of programme is on land development and water conservation works and the order of priority of works has been assigned under the NREGS as follows;

1. Water Conservation and water harvesting.
2. Drought Proofing (including afforestation and tree plantation)
3. Irrigation canals

4. Provision of irrigation facility to the land owned by the households belonging to SC and ST beneficiaries or land of beneficiaries of land reforms and that of beneficiaries of Indira Awas Yojana.
5. Renovation of traditional bodies
6. Land development
7. Flood control works
8. Rural connectivity to provide all weather access
9. Any other work which may be notified by Central government in consultation with State government.

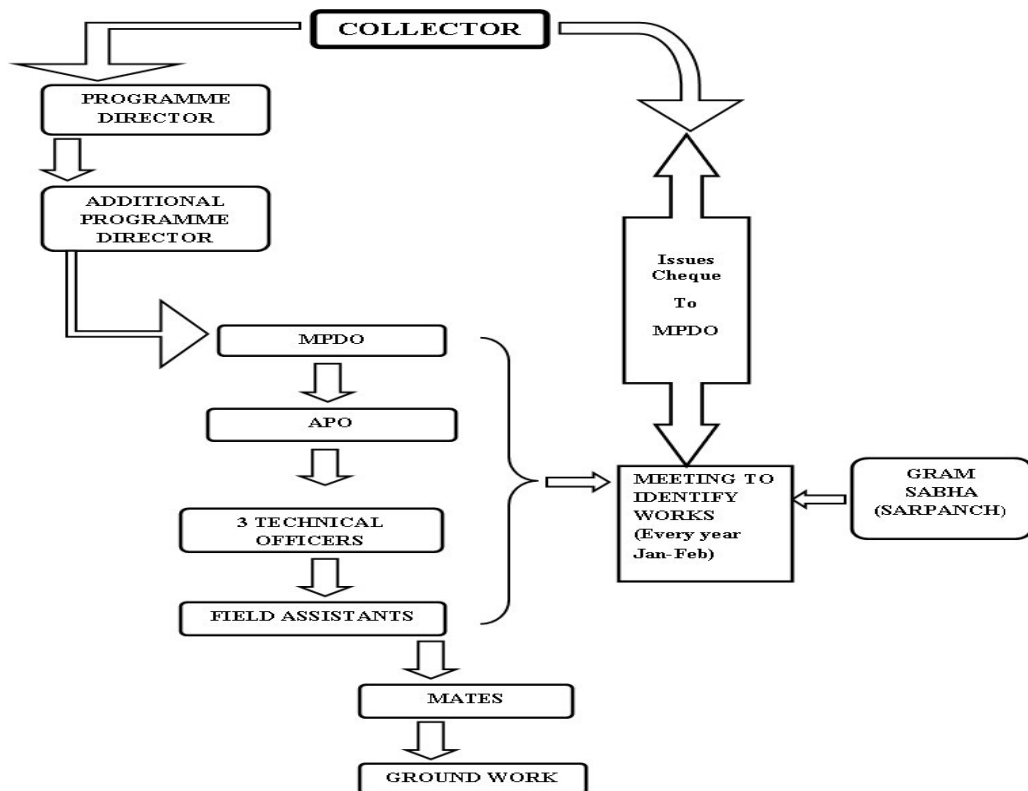
In Andhra Pradesh during first phase i.e. by 2006 only 13 districts were covered however by 2008 it covered 22 districts. By July 2009 there were 1098 mandals, 21856 Grampanchayats and 68972 habitations covered. In addition to this, 11623950 job cards were also issued so far. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has provided employment to 77, 56,829 households from which 1,40,62,655 individuals got employment under this programme since its inception. 1,40,62,655 individuals were provided employment of which 65,01,327 or 46 per cent were men, 75,61,328 or 54 per cent were women and 53,965 or 0.64 per cent were disabled persons. Out of total number of individuals 3710511 (26%) individuals from SCs and 1872134 (13%) individuals from STs got employment across Andhra Pradesh under this programme. Similarly, just 36 days is the average number of days employment provided per household in Andhra Pradesh during 2009-2010. So far 1232173 households completed 100days of wage employment out of 77, 56,829 in Andhra Pradesh.

Among the types of works taken up, land development, minor irrigation works, water conservation, flood control and protection, desilting of ponds, road connectivity, water harvesting, drought proofing, and provision of irrigation facilities to Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe families and other beneficiaries of land reform were more important. Importantly, an extent of four lakh fallow land belonged to SC/ST/BC families have been developed. In order to develop horticulture, 2.13 acres of land belonged poor families is taken up with 100 per cent subsidy which was estimated a cost of 678 crores.

3.6.3 Operation Mode

All operations under this programme are operated through groups. A group comprises of 20 or less people and there is one Mastery (Mate) over a larger group of persons. Generally a group is given one work and they have to complete it in stipulated time. If a group completes work in time, they are paid full wages (minimum 100 and maximum 125) depending on the hard work required and season. Generally, maximum wage is given in April as there is hot. All wages are slashed if a group unable to complete the work assigned for them in time. All payments are made through post office accounts only and the post master is responsible for later stage disbursement.

NREGA Hierarchical Flow Chart in Andhra Pradesh



Source: <http://www.indiadevelopmentblog.com/2009/07/nrega-in-andhra-pradesh-field-diary.html>

3.7 Integrated Child Development Scheme – (ICDS)

Integrated Child Development Scheme was launched on 2nd October, 1975 in 33 Community Development Blocks; ICDS today represents one of the world's leading, programmes for early childhood development. ICDS is the leading symbol of India's,

bligation to her children. Above all, India's response to the challenge of providing pre-school education on one hand and breaking the vicious cycle of malnutrition, morbidity, reduced learning capacity and mortality, on the other. No programme on Early Childhood Care and Education can succeed unless mothers are also brought within its realm as it is in the lap of the mother that human beings learn the first lessons in life.

3.7.1 Objectives of ICDS

- Lay the foundation for proper psychological development of the child
- Improve nutritional & health status of children 0-6 years
- Reduce incidence of mortality, morbidity, malnutrition and school drop-outs
- Enhance the capability of the mother and family to look after the health, nutritional and development needs of the child
- Achieve effective coordination of policy and implementation among various departments to promote child development.

3.7.2 Services

The services are provided at a centre called the 'Anganwadi'. The Anganwadi is a childcare centre which is generally located within the village itself. This Centre provides a package of following six services under the ICDS Scheme:

Package of services under ICDS:

- A) Supplementary Nutrition
- B) Health Check up
- C) Referral Services
- D) Immunization
- E) Health & Nutrition Education
- F) Pre-School Education.

A) Supplementary Nutrition:

Anganwadi centre provides supplementary nutrition for pregnant women, nursing mothers and children in the age group of 6 months to 6 years. Severely malnourished children in Grade. III and Grade. IV are given special attention under this service. Moreover, pregnant women and nursing mothers are given double ration as well.

B) Health Check Up:

Health Check Up includes; i) Ante-natal care of expectant mothers, ii) Post-natal care of Nursing Mothers, iii) Care of New Born Infants, IV) Care of children under 6 years of age, v) Special care of Gr.III & Gr.IV children

C) Immunization:

Immunisation against Diphtheria, Whooping Cough, tetanus, Poliomyelities and T.B of all infants in the first year of life is purposed in the Project Area. Immunization against Measles, Booster Does for Diphtheria and tetanus are also being administered in the Project area. All expectant mothers are to be immunized against tetanus.

D) Referral Services:

In case any child in the 0-6 year age group or expectant and nursing mother fell seriously ill and the family is not in a position to meet the treatment cost, the patient can be referred to the nearest PHC/Sub-Divisional or District Hospital by the Anganwadi Workers through the C.D.P.O and Medical Officer.

E) Pre-School Education:

Children in the age group of 3-6 years are enrolled in Pre-School run in Anganwadis.

F) Nutrition and Health Education:

In the AWC areas women are generally formed into groups under Mahila mandal and Mahila samitis. Using these Mahila Mandal and Mahila Samitiesas, Health Staff, C.D.P.Os, Supervisors, LHV and ANM build the platforms to generate awareness among rural and tribal women regarding safe mother hood, child care, safe drinking water and other antenatal, post-natal care and personal hygiene.

The three services namely immunization, health check-up and referral are delivered through public health infrastructure viz. Health Sub Centres, Primary and Community Health Centers under the Ministry of Health & Family Welfare.

3.7.3 Supplementary Nutrition Norms

The effort is to provide, on an average, daily nutritional supplements to the extent indicated below:

Beneficiaries	Calories (cal)	Protein (g)
Children below 3 years*	300	8-10
Children 3-6 years	300	8-10
[Severely malnourished Children on medical advice after health check-up]	(double of above)	
Pregnant & Lactating (P&L) Mothers	500	20-25

* Provisions regarding promotion of breast-feeding as recommended in Infant and Child Feeding (ICF) guidelines are relevant.

3.8 Public Distribution System - (PDS)

Government's strategy for poverty alleviation is the Public Distribution System (PDS) which provides food security for below poverty line population. Though the PDS, food security is enhanced particularly to the economically weaker sections of the society. Essential commodities like rice, wheat, sugar and kerosene are supplied, under PDS, to targeted beneficiaries at reasonable prices through the fair price shops (FPS). The current format of PDS, called the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) introduced in 1997, classifies beneficiaries in several categories based upon income level and accordingly provides benefits to the beneficiaries. Under TPDS the Government is committed to issuing 10 kgs of foodgrains per month per BPL family at a price equal to half of the economic cost of Food Corporation of India (FCI). The supply of foodgrains for the BPL families is guaranteed to the states by the Centre. If additional quantities are required by the states that would depend on the availability of stocks in the central pool and are made available at a price which is close to FCI's economic cost.

3.8.1 Eligibility Criteria for BPL Families

A) Urban Areas

Families who are residing in slum / weaker section colonies, workers in informal sector like porters, coolies, rickshaw puller and cart pullers, fruit and flower vendors on pavements. Families whose annual income is below Rs.24000/-. To assess family annual income, as a guiding principle, one may consider families whose children are studying in government schools, and beggars / domestic servants / casual workers in unorganized sector.

B) Rural Areas

Annual income below Rs.20000/- or landholding not exceeding 2.5 acres wet and 5 acres dry.

3.8.2 Exclusion Norms

To identify families who may not be eligible for BPL (white card) with the above eligibility norms may be;

- i) Cultivators possessing the land more than the above ceiling.
- ii) Persons owning two wheelers / three wheelers / four wheelers such as scooters / motor cycles, cars etc (other than provided under self employment / poverty alleviation programme by government / financial institutions and the driver-cum-owner of auto rickshaws)
- iii) Persons whose electricity consumption is more than Rs.6000 per annum.
- iv) A pucca building having plinth are of 500 sq. ft. or more either owned or rented out.
- v) Permanent employment in government / organized sector like companies / industries / firms.

3.9 Mid Day Meal Programme – (MDMP)

In the beginning, mid-day meal programme for school children was introduced in Tamilnadu as early as 1925 by the Corporation of Madras, but it became a state-wide scheme in 1956 under then chief minister the late K. Kamaraj. Initially, it was introduced in Adi Dravida community schools as the 'Poor Feeding' programme. In 1961, the government began to receive American aid for the programme and it was expanded to all corporation and government schools in urban areas. But it was introduced only in July 1982 under the leadership of the renowned chief minister the late M.G. Ramachandran. At first, it was introduced, in a phased manner, as the 'Puratchi Thalaivar MGR Nutritious Meal Programme' (PTMGR NMP) in child welfare centres in rural areas for pre-school children in the age group two-five years and for primary school children in the age group five-nine years. Subsequently on September 15 the same year, despite widespread criticism from economists and pundits, MGR presciently extended the scheme to Nutritious Meal Centres in urban areas. In 1984, it was further extended to school students between the age group of 10-15 years.

The successful introduction of Tamilnadu's NMP encouraged the formation of the National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE) popularly known as the Mid-day Meal Scheme (MMS) on 15th August 1995. It was launched as a centrally sponsored scheme at first in 2408 blocks in India. Its main objective is to enhance enrollment, retention and attendance and simultaneously improve nutritional levels among children in Classes I-V of government / government aided, local body schools, etc. The Union Human Resource Development (HRD) ministry supplies free foodgrains to primary school children under this programme at the rate of 100 gm per child for ten months in the year

In September 2004, the NP-NSPE was revised to provide cooked mid day meal with 300 calories and 8-12 grams of protein to all children studying in class I-V in government and aided schools. The revised scheme provided central assistance as follows.

- (a) Cooking cost @ Rs1/- per child/school/day
- (b) Transport subsidy raised to Rs.100 per quintal for special category states and Rs.75 per quintal for other states
- (c) Management/monitoring/evaluation costs @2% of the cost of food grains, transport subsidy and cooking assistance
- (d) Provision of mid day meal during summer vacation in drought affected areas.

3.9.1 Objectives

- (i) Improving the nutritional status of children in classes' I-V in government, local body and government aided schools, and EGS and AIE centers.
- (ii) Encouraging poor children, belonging to disadvantaged sections, to attend school more regularly and help them concentrate on classroom activities.
- (iii) Providing nutritional support to children of primary stage in drought-affected areas during summer vacation.

3.10 Antyodaya Anna Yojana – (AAY)

On 25th December, 2000 the Government of India initiated the Antyodaya Anna Yojana for the poorest of the poor. This scheme main objective is to provide food grains to the poorest of the poor families at highly subsidized prices. Under this scheme, 25 kg of foodgrain is given to each eligible family at highly subsidised rates of Rs.2/- per kg for wheat and Rs.3/- per kg for rice. This quantity has been enhanced from 25 kg to 35 kg

from 1 April 2002. The following criteria will be adopted to identify the real beneficiaries.

- (1) Landless agriculture labourers, marginal farmers, rural artisans/craftsmen such as potters, tanners, weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, slum dwellers, and persons earning their livelihood on daily basis in the informal sector like porters, coolies, rickshaw pullers, hand cart pullers, fruit and flower sellers, snake charmers, rag pickers, cobblers, destitutes and other similar categories in both rural and urban areas.
- (2) Households headed by widows or incurably ill persons / disabled persons, persons aged 60 years or more or single women or single men with no assured means of subsistence or societal support.
- (3) All primitive tribal households.

3.11 Annapurna Scheme – (AS)

The Political National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS) was commenced in 1995 which offers pension initially at the rate of Rs.75/- per month to destitute aged 65 years and above. Again this scheme was revised and has enhanced the existing rate to Rs.200/- per month which came into effect from April 1, 2006. However, all penniless senior citizens are not covered under the scheme. The number of persons benefiting from the pension scheme is not to exceed 20% of the total old age pensioners under PNOAPS within a State. Thus, the Annapurna scheme aims at providing food security to meet the requirement of those senior citizens who, though eligible, have remained uncovered under the Political National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS). Furthermore, it covers those impoverished senior citizens who are not covered under the targeted Public Distribution System (PDS) and who have no income of their own for providing food security.

Therefore, the Annapurna scheme aims at providing food security to such indigent senior citizens who though eligible for old age pensions remain uncovered under PNOAPS and who are not covered under the targeted PDS, by providing 10 kgs. of foodgrains per month free of cost.

The Central assistance under the Annapurna Scheme is, thus, provided to the beneficiaries on fulfilling the following criteria:

- The age of the applicant (male or female) should be 65 years or above.
- The applicant must be a destitute in the sense of having little or no regular means of substance from his/her own source of income or through financial support from family members or other sources. In order to determine destitution, the criteria, if any, in force in the States/UTs may also be followed.
- The applicant should not be in receipt of pension under the PNOAPS or State Pension Scheme.
- The beneficiaries are given 10 Kg. of foodgrains per month free of cost.

3.11.1 Financial Support

Funds are presently released to the State Departments of Food & Civil Supplies (F&CS) in one installment. This Department subsequently ties up with the Food Corporation of India (FCI), to release foodgrains district wise on payment of the cost of foodgrains at CIP rates directly to the FCI offices. Initially the foodgrains were supplied at economic cost (Rs.9.80 per Kg.). However, with effect from 1.11.2000, foodgrains are supplied at the CIP rates for BPL families (Rs.4.90 per Kg.)

3.11.2 Selection of Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries under the scheme are selected in the Gram Sabhas and the Gram Panchayat which distribute the entitlement cards to the beneficiaries.

3.12 Indira Awas Yojana - (IAY)

Indira Awas Yojana (I.A.Y.) which was launched during 1985-86 as a sub-scheme of R.L.E.G.P. has continued as part of J.R.Y. since its launch on April, 1989. However from 01.01.1996, I.A.Y. has been made a separate scheme. The objective of I.A.Y. then was to provide dwelling units, free of cost to the members of Scheduled Caste / Scheduled Tribes and freed Bonded Labourers living below the poverty line. From 1993-94, the scheme has been extended to non-S.C./S.T. rural poor also. Indira Awas Yojana is a centrally sponsored scheme funded on cost sharing basis between the Government of India and the State Govt. in the ratio of 75:25. Under the scheme 100% subsidy is given for Low Cost Houses with other infrastructure facilities to the

economically weaker section of the people. The cost of I.A.Y. houses have been enhanced from Rs.14,000/- to Rs.20,000/- in hilly and difficult areas.

No type or design is prescribed for IAY except that the plinth area of the houses should be around 20 Sq.mts. Contractors are not allowed in the construction of IAY houses. House construction should be done by the beneficiaries themselves from the very beginning. The beneficiaries may make their own arrangements for the construction and may engage skilled workmen on their own and may contribute family labour as well. Depending on the progress of the work, payment of subsidy to the beneficiary will be made on installment basis.

3.12.1 Eligibility Criteria

The order of priority for selection of beneficiaries amongst target group is as follows:

- i. Freed bonded labourers;
- ii. SC/ST households who are victims of atrocities;
- iii. SC/ST households, below poverty line, headed by widows and unmarried women;
- iv. SC/ST households affected by flood, fire, earthquake and similar natural calamities;
- v. Other SC/ST households below poverty line;
- vi. Non SC/ST households below poverty line.

3.12.2 Time Frame

The eligible persons are decided on the basis of the above criteria and they can get the subsidy under IAY. They can approach the Block Development Office after 15 days to know whether their application is accepted. If the application is accepted, on the production of original pattas, the work order will be issued to the beneficiary within 15 days and 1st installment released soon after.

3.13 National Social Assistance Programme

The National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) was included in the Central Budget for 1995-96. The details of the Programme have been worked out by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Secretary (Rural Development) in consultation with the representatives of State Governments. The Prime Minister, in his broadcast to the Nation

on 28th July, 1995, has announced that the Programme will come into effect from 15th August, 1995.

This Guideline sets out the features of the NSAP, procedures for its implementation, the regulation and release of Central assistance to States and other matters relevant to the NSAP.

3.13.1 Main Features and Objectives of the Programme

The NSAP will include, for the time being, three benefits as its components, viz,

1. Political National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS)
2. National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)
3. National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS).

The NSAP is a Centrally Sponsored Programme under which 100 per cent Central assistance is extended to the States/UTs to provide the benefits in accordance with the norms, guidelines and conditions laid down by the Central Government.

In providing social assistance benefits to poor households in the case of old age, death of the breadwinner and maternity, the NSAP aims at ensuring minimum national standards, in addition to the benefits that the States are currently providing or might provide in future. The intention in providing 100 per cent Central assistance is to ensure that social protection to the beneficiaries everywhere in the country is uniformly available without interruption.

3.13.2 General Conditions

The scales of benefit under the NSAP would be as below:

- Political National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS): Rs.200/- per month per beneficiary.
- National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS): Rs.10,000/- in case of death of the primary breadwinner to the bereaved household
- National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS): Rs.500/- per pregnancy up to the first two live births.

Any scheme of social security operated in the State/UT with the Central funds provided for the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) will carry the name of

the appropriate component of the NSAP such as, the National Old Age Pension Scheme, the National Family Benefit Scheme and the National Maternity Benefit Scheme.

3.14 Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme – (PNOAPS)

For purposes of claiming Central assistance, the following criteria shall apply:

- The age of the applicant (male or female) shall be 65 years or higher.
- The applicant must be a destitute in the sense of having little or no regular means of subsistence from his/her own sources of income or through financial support from family members or other sources. In order to determine destitution, the criteria, if any, currently in force in the States/UTs Governments may also be followed. The Government of India reserves the right to review these criteria and suggest appropriate revised criteria.
- The amount of the old age pension will be Rs.200 per month for purposes of claiming Central assistance.
- The ceiling on the total number of old age pensions for purposes of claiming Central assistance will be as specified for the States/UTs.
- The benefit under PNOAPS should be disbursed, in not less than two installments in a year and if possible the benefit may be disbursed in more installments as per directions of the State Government.

Village Panchayats and relevant Municipalities shall report every case of the death of a pensioner immediately after its occurrence to the appropriate sanctioning authority. The sanctioning authority shall ensure that payments are stopped thereafter.

The sanctioning authority shall have the right to stop/recover payments of any pension sanctioned on the basis of false or mistaken information about eligibility.

3.15 National Family Benefit Scheme – (NFBS)

Central assistance will be available for a lump sum family benefit for households below the poverty line on the death of the primary breadwinner in the bereaved family. For purposes of determining Central assistance the following criteria shall apply:

- The ‘primary breadwinner’ will be the member of the household -male or female- whose earnings contribute to a large extent to the total household income.

- The death of such a primary breadwinner should have occurred whilst he or she is in the age group of 18 to 64 years i.e. more than 18 years of age and less than 65 years of age.
- The bereaved household qualifies as one below the poverty line according to the criterion prescribed by the Government of India.
- The Central assistance under the scheme will be Rs.10,000/- in the case of death of the primary bread-winner.
- The ceiling on the total number of family benefits for purposes of claiming Central assistance will be as calculated for the States/UTs.

The sanctioning authority shall have the right to recover payments made on the basis of false or mistaken information about eligibility.

3.16 National Maternity Benefit Scheme – (NMBS)

The maternity benefit will provide lump sum cash assistance to women of households below the poverty line.

For purposes of determining central assistance, the following criteria shall apply:

- The maternity benefit will be restricted to pregnant women for up to the first two live births provided they are of 19 years of age and above.
- The beneficiary should belong to a household below the poverty line according to the criteria prescribed by the Government of India.
- The ceiling on the amount of the benefit for purposes of claiming Central assistance will be Rs.500.
- The ceiling on the total number of maternity benefits for purposes of claiming Central assistance will be as specified for the States/UTs.

The maternity benefit will be disbursed in one installment 12-8 weeks prior to the delivery. However, the benefit can be made even after the delivery of child subject to the sanctioning authority being satisfied about the authenticity of the case. It is desirable that the child receives one dose of oral polio and BCG vaccination at birth and the first dose of DPT and polio in the sixth week.

The sanctioning authority shall have the right to stop/recover payments made on the basis of false or mistaken information about eligibility.

CHAPTER – 4

Rural Development and Dalits in Andhra Pradesh: A Reality Check

Andhra Pradesh is divided into three distinct agricultural regions i.e. Coastal Andhra, Telengana and Rayalaseema. The presence of the major rivers of Andhra such as Godavari, Krishna and Pennner in Coastal Andhra has rendered the fertility of the lands and higher productivity. Significantly, Government's positive attentions through allocating facilities and policies for this region have been utilized for irrigation purposes. Such economic scenario have also impacted on the population growth which has caused reduction in the average size of land holding. On the other hand, Rayalaseema and Telengana are comparatively backward regions having low productivity and sparse population density. Because of thin population density of these two regions causes relatively larger size of individual land holdings. But, the economic advancement of the people in general and Dalits in particular in the state is not uniform. Consequently Dalits from underdeveloped regions face double disadvantage. Most of the Scheduled Caste (Dalits) families are dependent on either agriculture or government sponsored rural employment as daily-wage labor. In this context, it is significant to have a glance on the transformation of economic condition of Dalits in both pre-colonial and post-colonial period before we discuss the present economic condition in the context of new economic reforms period.

4.1 Dalits: Pre-Independence Period

Dalits have been placed at the bottom of the social hierarchy and denied equal rights and opportunity in every spheres of life. Historically, Dalits (untouchables) have been denied water to drink from any public well and forced to live impoverished life depending on leftover foods in broken pots and wear dirty clothes. Because, for upper caste fresh food, metal's utensils and clean cloth are not meant for Dalits, and if they use these is considered as disrespect for upper caste. Other reason for forcing Dalits to wear dirty and torn clothes is to identify them easily. Dalits have been denied their residence in the vicinity of village to protect the purity of upper caste. Therefore they are supposed to

live in mud houses or small huts in the outskirts of the village. They are forced to take up menial jobs and denied access to education which made them occupationally immobile and dependent on the upper caste. Thus, these conditions are not exclusively pre-colonial but continuing in the present context also.

4.2 Dalits: Post-Independence Period

Post-independence period provided a certain improvement in the economic condition of Dalits'. Modern democratic Constitution has provided some fundamental rights to each individual without any discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, gender etc. The provision of equality in the Constitution eliminates the age-old, oppressive and inhuman practices of 'untouchability'. The process of economic growth, implementation of reservation policy, growing literacy and spread of higher education, industrialization, development of communication and transport, urbanization and occupational mobility have been instrumental in declining the practices of untouchability and slackening the bondage of destructive and hierarchical caste system. But the plausible transformation in the lives of Dalits has merely disturbed the material base of the caste system, whereas the social and psychological aspects of caste system have not been annihilated. Consequently, even the well-employed and educated Dalits in urban areas are afraid of disclosing their caste identity, which may result in their humiliation. The conditions in villages, as Dr. Ambedkar also described as Indian ghettos, are worse. According to annual reports of the Commissioner for the SCs and STs Dalits are subjected to different types of inhuman treatment and atrocities such as physical violence and coercion, arson and loot, rape on women and murder and so on.

4.3 Dalits: New Economic Policy Reforms

New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced in early 1991 in India. The provisions under New Economic Policies have been criticized by various scholars and political scientists for their adverse impact on poor in general and Dalits in particular. Various empirical and statistical studies have been produced to show the adverse impact of NEP on poor and Dalits. The contraction of the public sector and ascendancy of the private sector have led to dismantle the limited protection being granted to the SCs and STs in the sphere of employment. In addition, the recent consecutive Supreme Court judgment doing away with reservation in the super specialty medical and engineering

courses and the blatant discrimination in the labour market against SCs and STs is further going to play havoc against these communities. Moreover, education and health become commodities in the market, and private sector paid much attention towards it. Therefore, privatization is also being extended to social services like education and health.

There has been a steady growth in the employment of SCs in government services from 1956 to 1990. But, Due to privatization and cut in government expenditure employment opportunity for SCs and STs Communities has decreased after 1991. Before 1990 the recruitment was already in proportion to their population. But after July 1990, introduction of new measures led to the decline in employment of SCs in government services. The number of employees has gone down from 6.28 lakh in 1991 to 6.04 lakh in 1992. The recruitment of both SCs and STs has also substantially gone down. The absolute number of SC employees in public sector undertaking has declined from 4.32 lakh in 1990 to 3.69 lakh in 1992. The percentage share has also declined from 19.54 per cent to 17.74 per cent in 1990. Interestingly, the decadal growth rates of SCs employed in the government services for the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s stood at 4.82, 4.36, 1.54 and -0.65 per cent respectively. It is largely because of the implementation of the new economic policy which reduced government's participation in various public sectors. Similarly, the annual decadal growth rate of Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) for SCs during 2000-04 decreased drastically as compared to that in 1971-79. The growth rate in 1971-79 for SCs was 28.05 per cent, which declined to 3.59 per cent in 1989-90 and further to -2.3 per cent in 1990-99. Lastly, the figure drastically declined to -6.56 per cent during 2000-04 (S. Thorat, 2009). In fact the reservation policy has helped the Dalits in getting access to jobs in government services, public sector undertakings and public sector banks from 1956 to 1990.

Additionally in 1989-1990 jobs for the SCs in the Central government services increased by 6.54 per cent; and in 1991-1992 it increased by 3.87 per cent; while in 1992-1993 they actually declined by 2.90 per cent. Fourth class jobs declined from 2,37,400 in 1990 to 2,17,617 in 1993. But during 1990-92, class I jobs marginally increased; class II jobs declined from 16,113 to 14,794; class III from 2,72,463 to 2,24,074 and class IV from 25,956 to 21,606 in 211 Public Sector Undertakings. Officers jobs in the nationalized banks have marginally declined from 26,811 to 25,515, however, the overall

situation was not unsatisfactory. It was due to the pressure exercised by the SC/ST employees associations / unions / organizations over the higher authorities of the banking sectors which had anti-reservation bias prevented appointments of marginalized section (Mungekar, 2004). However in overall Andhra Pradesh the employment growth drastically declined in 1990s as compared to the decade 1983 to 1993-94. In rural Andhra employment ratio declined from 2.4 per cent in 1983 to 1993-94 to 0.29 per cent in 1993-94 to 1999-2000 (Mahendra Dev and Ravi, C., 2003). Thus as data shows, it clear that privatization brought by the new economic reforms which are aimed at privatization had led to the decline in employments of Dalits in PSUs and other sectors as well. In 1987-88 out of total 213.10 million 49.41 million were poor and one fourth of the total poor were SCs. The number of poor population increased in 1993-94 that was 55.15 million persons out of the total 244.86 million poor persons in rural India. Thus approximately 57 to 60 lakh people in rural areas belonging to SC increased only in five years i.e. between 1987-88 and 1993-94 (Thorat, S.K., 2000).

The following table exposes the declining in the expenditure in education for SC / ST in annual budgets during 1990-91 to 1994-95. The expenditure on basic needs, asset creation, and backward area development declined from 26.3 to 23.9, 12 to 7.8 and 4.2 to 2.4 respectively. Additionally, SC, ST and OBC welfare outlay has also declined from 8 per cent to 7.7 per cent of the total outlay in the same period. Special Component Plan (SCP) was initiated during the Sixth Five Year Plan exclusively for the development of scheduled castes.

Table 4.1 – Outlay on Major Rural Development and Social Services Programs in Central Budgets of 1990-91 to 1995-96

1	Employment Generation	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95
		RE	RE	RE	RE	RE
		2001 (49.5)	1825 (42.5)	2546 (51.5)	3906 (53.1)	5465 (58.1)
	1. Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY)	2001	1825	2546	3306	3535
	2. Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS)	-	-	-	600	1140
	3. MP Scheme for local are Development	-	-	-	-	790
2	Basic Needs	1059 (26.3)	1345 (31.3)	1361 (27.5)	1934 (26.3)	2254 (23.9)
	1. Elementary Education	224	268	339	443	511
	2. Adult Education	131	105	110	168	211
	3. Access to Rural Water Supply	403	638	460	738	810
	4. Rural Sanitation	18	4	20	32	60
	5. Urban Water Supply and Sanitation	25	33	23	41	106
	6. Child Welfare	258	297	409	512	556
3	Asset Creation	484 (12.0)	474 (11.0)	467 (9.5)	721 (9.8)	735 (7.8)
	1. IRDP	356	356	375	617	625
	2. DWCRA and TRYSEM	18	16	21	29	40
	3. Nehru Rozgar Yojana	110	102	71	75	70
	4. PM's Rozgar Yojana	-	-	-	-	-
4	Welfare of SC, ST and OBC	321 (8.0)	428 (10.2)	465 (9.4)	589 (8.0)	730 (7.7)
5	Backward Area Development	182 (4.2)	222 (5.2)	101 (2.1)	202 (2.8)	230 (2.4)
	1. DPAP	56	51	61	77	85
	2. DDP	50	50	50	75	85
	3. Wastelands Development	76	121	-	50	60
6	Total	4037 (100)	4294 (100)	4940 (100)	7352 (100)	9414 (100)

Source: S. Guhan, *Social Expenditure in Union Budget 1991-96*, EPW, May 6-13, 1995, P.1098.

Note: Figures in brackets are percentages to column totals.

The scheme of Special Central Assistance to SCP was initiated in 1980 and envisaged that the states would prepare Special Component Plans every financial year so as to ensure that a percentage of budgetary funds equal to the percentage of Scheduled Castes in the state would be set aside for their development and uplift. Even the SCP allocations have never exceeded 12 per cent as against the recommended allocation of 15 per cent and over ten years, the shortfall in allocation of SCP funds worked out to Rs.4097.01 crores. A study by the Centre for Dalit Studies emphasized that the results of the Special Component Plan have not been fully satisfactory. There have been also

numerous instances of minimum allocations, transfer of funds and shortfalls in expenditure.

Table 4.2 – Outlay and Expenditure during Annual Plans 2005-06 to 2008-09

(Rs. In lakhs)

Head of Development	Annual Plan 2005-06		Annual Plan 2006-07		Annual Plan 2007-08		Annual Plan 2008-09	
	Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure	Outlay	Expenditure
Welfare of SC, ST, BC & Minorities	103095.17	79442.81	156153.17	105755.68	146517.21	125973.29	223272.83	183456.51
Welfare of SCs	37173.00	23405.46	86009.00	42535.27	82447.68	70225.44	126186.17	71906.10
Welfare of STs	40588.67	27793.88	42310.67	33103.47	32151.15	25181.02	44041.75	32311.14
Welfare of BCs	20710.00	23631.73	21210.00	23503.02	19918.38	18597.38	35344.91	64055.42
Minorities Welfare	4623.50	4611.74	6623.50	6613.92	12000.00	11969.45	17700.00	15183.85

Source: Statistical Abstract Andhra Pradesh – 2009, Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Govt. of AP, Hyd.

Fifth report of the National SC and ST Commission shows that Andhra Pradesh has never exceeded from 11 per cent of the total allocation for scheduled castes. Moreover only 85 percent of the total allocation is spent on development of the Scheduled Castes every planning year. Government also spends on the welfare of SC, ST and BCs. J V M Sharma provides that the per cent of GSDP spent on SC, ST and OBC welfare has slowly declined a decade from 1.3 per cent in 1985-86 to 0.7 per cent in 1995-96 which is less than 1 per cent (0.8%) of total budget of the financial year 2002-2003. (Chalam, K.S.). Therefore, Dalits have gradually lost their both economic and employment development in the era of New Economic Policy.

4.4 Economic Development of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had a vision for socially and economically disadvantaged groups. As a result, there are several programs, progressive legislations and constitutional safeguards initiated for the development of SCs and STs. But in practice the vision of Ambedkar has not been realized even after of sixty years of independence. As a result, though Dalits have come to gain some fruits of development and constitutionalism, but have remained largely excluded and discriminated. Though Eleventh Five Year Plan had provisions for inclusive growth which had to be targeted to remove the social divides and disadvantages of Dalits and marginalized, but result remained unsatisfactory again. Using several factual instances and data to see what economic development took place for Dalits, in this study economic development of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh is being assessed

on the basis of composition of land holdings, agricultural laborers and incidence of poverty etc.

Andhra Pradesh is the fifth largest state in terms of population in India. The SCs and STs accounted for about one fourth of the total population in the State and about eight per cent of the SC and ST population in India (2001 Census). The proportion of Dalits population to the State population has increased from 13.82 per cent in 1961 to 16.19 per cent in 2001. There are also numbers of sub castes within SC and ST communities. There are about 59 Scheduled Castes and 33 Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh. Dalits are still lagging behind the non-Dalits in every sphere of the life despite of some kinds of progress. Inequalities still persists across social groups. Literacy rate of SCs increased from 8.5 per cent in 1961 to 53.5 during 1991-2001. Similarly, the literacy rate of STs was also considerable increased from 4.4 per cent in 1961 to 37.1 per cent in 2001. Approximately half of the SCs and two-thirds of the STs continued to be uneducated. According to the Census 2001, about 23.1 per cent of SCs and 35.9 per cent of ST Child of the age group 5-14 years were not enrolled in the school which shows the violation of their right to education. Most of the children belonging to these marginalized communities are particularly engaged in economic activities and daily wage labor. As a result, the work participation rate among these groups has been highest. Therefore, about 80 per cent of SC and 88 per cent of ST are engaged in agricultural related works. About 65 per cent of scheduled caste and about 42 per cent of scheduled tribe workers are agricultural laborers in the state (GoAP, 2007).

A. Access to Land

Land is not only a principal source of income but it also a sign of social status in rural areas. As most of the lands are possessed by the upper caste the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes have to be dependent on their lands and economy. Significant benefit came to the Dalits by land reforms, tenancy reforms and land ceiling etc. but such reforms have not been successful in all the regions.

Table: 4.3 – Social Group Wise Number of Holdings and Area Operated in Andhra Pradesh 1976-77 - 2005-06

(No. in Lakh / Area in Lakh Hectares)

Year	SC			ST			Others			All		
	Number of Holdings	Area Operated	Average Size	Number of Holdings	Area Operated	Average Size	Number of Holdings	Area Operated	Average Size	Number of Holdings	Area Operated	Average Size
1976-77	8.18 (13.46)	9.62 (6.87)	1.19	3.8 (6.25)	8.68 (6.2)	2.28	48.79 (80.29)	121.73 (86.93)	2.49	60.77 (100)	140.03 (100)	2.30
1980-81	9.28 (12.62)	9.81 (6.87)	1.06	4.71 (6.4)	9 (6.3)	1.91	59.59 (80.98)	124.11 (86.83)	2.08	73.58 (100)	142.92 (100)	1.94
1986-87	9.97 (12.22)	9.36 (6.75)	0.95	5.15 (6.31)	9.13 (6.58)	1.77	66.46 (81.47)	120.18 (86.67)	1.81	81.58 (100)	138.67 (100)	1.70
1990-91	11.75 (12.72)	10.64 (7.48)	0.91	6.32 (6.84)	10.24 (7.2)	1.62	74.29 (80.46)	121.44 (85.32)	1.63	92.33 (100)	142.32 (100)	1.54
1995-96	12.83 (12.14)	10.59 (7.43)	0.83	7.53 (7.13)	10.84 (7.61)	1.44	85.34 (80.73)	121.06 (84.96)	1.42	105.71 (100)	142.49 (100)	1.35
2000-01	13.64 (11.83)	11.3 (7.85)	0.83	8.6 (7.45)	11.81 (8.2)	1.37	93.07 (80.72)	120.88 (83.95)	1.30	115.31 (100)	142.93 (100)	1.24
2005-06	14.22 (11.81)	11.35 (7.86)	0.80	9.2 (7.69)	12.11 (8.39)	1.32	96.89 (80.48)	120.81 (83.73)	1.25	120.38 (100)	144.28 (100)	1.20

Source: 1. Fact Book on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

2. Report on Census of Land Holdings 2005-06, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

According to 2005-06 land holdings census in the table 4.1, nearly 14 per cent of Dalits (SCs) possessed only seven per cent of the total operated area in 1976-77 and their average size of holdings was 1.19 acres only. However, Adivasis's (STs) landholdings was just 6 per cent and they possessed even equal proportion to their landholdings percentage i.e. 6 percent and 2.28 hectares was their average size of holdings during the same period. On the contrary, 80 per cent of the upper castes operated 87 per cent of the total area, and their average size of holdings was 2.49 hectares during the same period. It is observed from the above table that STs and others were able to operate more land than their percent of holdings while SCs operated only 7 per cent, though their per cent in terms of number of holdings was relatively high i.e. about 14 per cent. Therefore, landlessness (about 50 per cent) is more prevalent among SC households as compared to STs and others. The same trend continued even till 2005-06. Interestingly over a period of 30 years upper castes average size of holdings compared to that of SCs and STs have greatly declined from 2.49 hectares in 1976-77 to 1.25 in 2005-06. By 2005-06; and the percentage of number of SC holdings were about 12 per cent and they operated just about 8 per cent of the total area and only 0.80 hectares remained their average size of holdings. Number of holdings marginally declined from 13.46 per cent in 1976-77 to 11.81 per cent in 2005-06 and the average size has also drastically declined from 1.19 to 0.80 during the same period. However, the operated area has increased from 6.87 to 7.86 during the same period. There are not only wide inequalities in the pattern of land ownership but also bigger labor force has been working on agriculture. Consequently, these two factors i.e. wide inequalities in land ownership and the dependence of an overwhelming majority of the working population on agriculture has been increased. That proves the failure of land reform policy has been given high priority not only in Andhra Pradesh but across the country whose objective has been to eliminate class-caste monopoly of land.

Table: 4.4 – Distribution of Land Holdings and Area Operated According to Different Size by Scheduled Caste in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Marginal			Small			Semi Medium		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1976-77	5.34 (64.81)	2.19 (22.48)	0.41	1.56 (18.93)	2.17 (22.28)	1.45	0.95 (11.53)	2.56 (26.28)	2.69
1980-81	6.29 (67.63)	2.71 (27.54)	0.43	1.76 (18.92)	2.57 (26.12)	1.46	0.95 (10.22)	2.48 (25.20)	2.62
1986-87	7.05 (70.08)	2.91 (30.38)	0.41	1.81 (17.99)	2.53 (26.41)	1.4	0.92 (9.15)	2.35 (24.53)	2.56
1990-91	8.36 (70.67)	3.46 (31.98)	0.41	2.18 (18.43)	3.06 (28.28)	1.4	1.03 (8.71)	2.64 (24.40)	2.56
1995-96	9.44 (73.46)	3.96 (37.15)	0.42	2.28 (17.74)	3.17 (29.74)	1.39	0.95 (7.39)	2.4 (22.51)	2.53
2000-01	10.1 (73.88)	4.13 (36.45)	0.41	2.41 (17.63)	3.35 (29.57)	1.39	0.95 (6.95)	2.41 (21.27)	2.54
2005-06	10.61 (74.61)	4.36 (38.38)	0.41	2.48 (17.44)	3.43 (30.19)	1.38	0.94 (6.61)	2.38 (20.95)	2.53

Contd.....

Year	Medium			Large			Total		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1976-77	0.34 (4.13)	2.12 (21.77)	6.21	0.05 (0.61)	0.7 (7.19)	14.6	8.24 (100)	9.74 (100)	1.19
1980-81	0.27 (2.90)	1.53 (15.55)	5.66	0.03 (0.32)	0.55 (5.59)	18.3	9.3 (100)	9.84 (100)	1.06
1986-87	0.25 (2.49)	1.4 (14.61)	5.59	0.03 (0.30)	0.39 (4.07)	13.0	10.06 (100)	9.58 (100)	0.95
1990-91	0.24 (2.03)	1.34 (12.38)	5.58	0.02 (0.17)	0.32 (2.96)	16.0	11.83 (100)	10.82 (100)	0.91
1995-96	0.17 (1.32)	0.94 (8.82)	5.53	0.01 (0.08)	0.19 (1.78)	19.0	12.85 (100)	10.66 (100)	0.83
2000-01	0.19 (1.39)	1.06 (9.36)	5.58	0.02 (0.15)	0.38 (3.35)	19.0	13.67 (100)	11.33 (100)	0.83
2005-06	0.18 (1.27)	0.98 (8.63)	5.44	0.01 (0.07)	0.21 (1.85)	21.0	14.22 (100)	11.36 (100)	0.8

Source: (1) Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Census 1976-77, Number & Area of Holdings held by S.Cs & S.Ts, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad

(2) Provisional Report on Agricultural Census, 1995-96 (Number and Area of Operational Holdings), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(3) Report on Operational Holdings held by Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh 2000-01 Census, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(4) Report on Census of Land Holdings 2005-2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(5) Fact Book on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

Andhra Pradesh was one of the earliest states to bring the land ceiling act in 1958 which became operational by June 1961. The act brought out considerable change in terms of landholding. In fact, majority of the landless poor belong to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes benefited. Table 4.4 exposes different size of landholdings operated by Scheduled Caste, in which a large numbers of scheduled caste farmers possessed small and marginal size of landholdings. Marginal holdings constitute about 65 per cent of total holdings but controls only 22 per cent of the total operated area in 1976-77. Small holdings constitute nearly 19 per cent of total holdings but controls beyond 22 per cent of the total operated area. Taking together both marginal and small landholdings into account, the number of holdings constituted 84 per cent of the total holdings from SC community however they control nearly 45 per cent of total operated area in 1976-77. Their percentage in terms of number of holdings as well as operated area has been tremendously increased to about 92 per cent and 68 per cent in 2005-06. Majority of the small and marginal farmers were benefited by the assignment land given by the government. The increase in the marginal and small holdings may be attributed to population explosion and also to redistribution of small pieces of surplus / waste land to weaker sections. On the other hand, medium and large holdings together constituted 4.7 per cent in 1976-77 which declined to 1.3 per cent in 2005-06. Similarly the operated areas have also declined from 29 per cent to 10 per cent during the same period. The average size of holdings, including all size, also drastically declined from 1.19 hectares to 0.80 hectares during the same period. This clearly indicates that although number of medium and large holdings declined, the area under their control has not declined proportionately. In addition, medium and large farmers could retain large size of holdings as land reforms have not been properly implemented.

Even over the period of 30 year (1976-77 to 2005-06), the SCs share in the number of landholdings has not been proportional to the total SC population (16 percent) in the state. The share of SC in the total area operated (11.36 per cent) was less than their share in total population, and the average size (0.80 hectares) of their land holdings was much smaller. Less than one fifth of the Dalits population has some land holdings and out of which 97 per cent of the holdings consist of less than 2 hectares. Further, since most families who own land are small and marginal farmers, their capacity to invest in

agriculture are inadequate. As a result, Dalits lost control over their lands due to lack of resources such as water and irrigation facilities. Moreover, both high cost of agricultural tools and high cost of cultivation which includes high yielding varieties of seeds, pesticides, and chemical fertilizers are also playing significant role in losing possession of their lands. Consequently, small landholders are neither in a position to protect their lands nor they are able to gain more lands but on the contrary force to sell their inherited lands. Thus, a substantial section of landowning households among Dalit are either nearly landless or largely marginal and small farmers. Consequently, majority of them continued to be landless agricultural laborers.

In the case of STs, marginal holdings constitute 38 per cent of total holdings but controls about 9 per cent of the total operated area in 1976-77. Small holdings constitute 21 per cent of total holdings but controls 13 per cent of total operated area during the same period. And both marginal and small holdings together constitute 49 per cent of the total holdings but they control 22 per cent of total operated area in 1976-77. On the other hand medium and large holdings together constitute nearly 17 per cent but controls 51 per cent of the total operated area during the same period. This indicates that the distribution of land was skewed in 1976-77. By 2005-06 there was a tremendous increase in the number of marginal land holdings. Their percentage share in total holdings increased to more than 55 per cent but operated area under their control increased to only 20 per cent of total operated area. Similarly, in the case of small holdings the percentage share in total holdings marginally increased about 25 per cent and the operated area increased more than two times i.e. around 27 per cent.

Table: 4.5 – Distribution of Land Holdings and Area Operated According to Different Size by Scheduled Tribe in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Marginal			Small			Semi Medium		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1976-77	1.47 (38.18)	0.76 (8.47)	0.52	0.81 (21.04)	1.19 (13.27)	1.47	0.93 (24.16)	2.44 (27.20)	2.62
1980-81	2.07 (39.35)	1.86 (20.60)	0.90	1.09 (20.72)	1.55 (17.17)	1.42	1.02 (19.39)	2.71 (30.01)	2.66
1986-87	2.4 (45.89)	1.17 (12.38)	0.49	1.21 (23.14)	1.76 (18.62)	1.45	1.07 (20.46)	2.79 (29.52)	2.61
1990-91	3.06 (47.89)	1.5 (14.35)	0.49	1.58 (24.730)	2.26 (21.63)	1.43	1.21 (18.94)	3.21 (30.72)	2.65
1995-96	3.89 (51.59)	1.95 (17.94)	0.50	1.91 (25.33)	2.7 (24.84)	1.41	1.28 (16.98)	3.37 (31)	2.63
2000-01	4.64 (53.77)	2.24 (18.89)	0.48	2.16 (25.03)	3.05 (25.72)	1.41	1.35 (15.64)	3.56 (30.02)	2.64
2005-06	5.12 (55.35)	2.47 (20.40)	0.48	2.31 (24.97)	3.26 (26.92)	1.41	1.37 (14.81)	3.6 (29.73)	2.63

Contd.....

Year	Medium			Large			Total		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1976-77	0.55 (14.29)	3.19 (35.56)	5.80	0.09 (2.34)	1.39 (15.50)	15.44	3.85 (100)	8.97 (100)	2.33
1980-81	1.02 (19.39)	2.71 (30.01)	2.66	0.06 (1.14)	0.2 (2.21)	3.33	5.26 (100)	9.03 (100)	1.92
1986-87	0.49 (9.37)	2.8 (29.63)	5.71	0.06 (1.15)	0.93 (9.84)	15.50	5.23 (100)	9.45 (100)	1.81
1990-91	0.49 (7.67)	2.77 (26.51)	5.65	0.05 (0.78)	0.71 (6.79)	14.20	6.39 (100)	10.45 (100)	1.64
1995-96	0.43 (5.70)	2.38 (21.90)	5.53	0.03 (0.40)	0.47 (4.32)	15.67	7.54 (100)	10.87 (100)	1.44
2000-01	0.44 (5.10)	2.45 (20.66)	5.57	0.04 (0.46)	0.56 (4.72)	14.00	8.63 (100)	11.86 (100)	1.37
2005-06	0.42 (4.54)	2.34 (19.32)	5.57	0.03 (0.32)	0.44 (3.63)	14.67	9.25 (100)	12.11 (100)	1.31

Source: (1) Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Census 1976-77, Number & Area of Holdings held by S.Cs & S.Ts, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad

(2) Provisional Report on Agricultural Census, 1995-96 (Number and Area of Operational Holdings), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(3) Report on Operational Holdings held by Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh 2000-01 Census, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(4) Report on Census of Land Holdings 2005-2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(5) Fact Book on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The above table clearly indicates that STs as compared to SCs small land holders benefited more in land reform measures, as priority was given to surplus lands. Therefore, the position of ST households in terms of land ownership is better than that of SC households. Therefore, the deprivation of land is severe for SCs. On the other hand, medium and large holdings declined tremendously. If we take large holdings alone their share is only 0.32 per cent of the total holdings but control nearly 4 per cent of the total operated area in 2005-06. It is also observed that the area under their control has not declined proportionately despite the number of medium and large holdings declined. It is attributed that land bifurcation has not been done up to the mark even after joint families divided into nuclear families. Therefore, majority of ST households perform their agricultural activities collectively and distribute the benefits among themselves. On the other hand land transfers have not been taking place in accordance with the changing dynamics of the rural economy in Andhra Pradesh, horizontally (within a socio-economic class) and vertically (across social and economic classes) (M. Venkatanarayana & L. Sudhakar Reddy, 2009).

The above analysis suggests that scheduled castes are more disadvantaged than scheduled tribes as far as the ownership of land is concerned. Due to lack of capital and introduction of modern agricultural technologies have destabilized STs economic progress and agriculture has become profitable industry. Therefore, it is often found that allotted land to the scheduled tribes is either mortgaged to money lenders or passed into the hands of non-tribals in repayment of their growing debts. On the other hand, landlords and money lenders have also started buying lands from small farmers who are Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Table: 4.6 – Distribution of Land Holdings and Area Operated According to Different Size by Others in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Marginal			Small			Semi Medium		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1976-77	19.87 (41.88)	10.41 (8.32)	0.52	10.15 (21.39)	15 (11.99)	1.48	8.84 (18.63)	24.93 (19.93)	2.82
1980-81	29.68 (50.19)	14.29 (11.48)	0.48	13.06 (22.08)	20 (16.07)	1.53	9.77 (16.52)	27.42 (22.03)	2.81
1986-87	35.15 (52.45)	16.45 (13.42)	0.47	14.12 (21.07)	20.26 (16.53)	1.43	10.55 (15.74)	28.77 (23.48)	2.73
1990-91	40.68 (54.47)	18.73 (15.19)	0.46	15.96 (21.37)	22.95 (18.61)	1.44	11.22 (15.02)	30.54 (24.76)	2.72
1995-96	49.66 (57.99)	23.13 (18.93)	0.47	18.43 (21.52)	26.42 (21.62)	1.43	11.72 (13.69)	31.59 (25.85)	2.70
2000-01	55.49 (59.65)	24.67 (20.42)	0.44	20.61 (22.16)	29.25 (24.21)	1.42	11.94 (12.84)	31.98 (26.47)	2.68
2005-06	58.44 (60.28)	26.04 (21.55)	0.45	21.6 (22.28)	30.61 (25.33)	1.42	12.13 (12.51)	32.37 (26.78)	2.67

Contd.....

Year	Medium			Large			Total		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1976-77	6.64 (13.99)	41.16 (32.90)	6.20	1.95 (4.11)	33.59 (26.85)	17.23	47.45 (100)	125.09 (100)	2.64
1980-81	5.17 (8.74)	35.55 (28.56)	6.88	1.46 (2.47)	27.2 (21.85)	18.63	59.14 (100)	124.46 (100)	2.10
1986-87	5.83 (8.70)	34.45 (28.11)	5.91	1.37 (2.04)	22.62 (18.46)	16.51	67.02 (100)	122.55 (100)	1.83
1990-91	5.71 (7.65)	33.66 (27.29)	5.89	1.11 (1.49)	17.45 (14.15)	15.72	74.68 (100)	123.33 (100)	1.65
1995-96	5.03 (5.87)	28.99 (23.72)	5.76	0.79 (0.92)	12.07 (9.88)	15.28	85.63 (100)	122.2 (100)	1.43
2000-01	4.38 (4.71)	25.04 (20.73)	5.72	0.6 (0.65)	9.86 (8.16)	16.43	93.02 (100)	120.8 (100)	1.30
2005-06	4.26 (4.39)	24.19 (20.01)	5.68	0.51 (0.53)	7.65 (6.33)	15	96.94 (100)	120.86 (100)	1.25

Source: (1) Andhra Pradesh Agricultural Census 1976-77, Number & Area of Holdings held by S.Cs & S.Ts, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad

(2) Provisional Report on Agricultural Census, 1995-96 (Number and Area of Operational Holdings), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(3) Report on Operational Holdings held by Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh 2000-01 Census, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(4) Report on Census of Land Holdings 2005-2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(5) Fact Book on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 2006, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

On the other hand, others marginal holdings constitute about 42 per cent of total holdings but control only 8 per cent of the total operated area in 1976-77. Small holdings constitute 21 per cent of total holdings but control 12 per cent of total operated area during the same period. And both marginal and small holdings together constitute 63 per cent of the total holdings but they control 20 per cent of total operated area in 1976-77. As compared to SCs and STs marginal and small holdings together constitute as high as 84 per cent but SCs control nearly 45 per cent and STs constitute as low as 49 per cent but they control 22 per cent of the total operated area. Therefore, SCs are more disadvantaged group among all social groups in terms of possessing land.

In contrast, medium and large holdings together constitute more than 18 per cent but control nearly 60 per cent of the total operated area during the same period. Until 2005-06 there was a rapid decline in the number of medium and large holdings. Their percentage share in total holdings decreased to nearly 5 per cent but even operated area they controlled also decreased only to 26 per cent of total operated area. It is to be noted that both number of holdings as well as operated area were greatly declined in the case of SCs 80 per cent of holdings and 65 per cent of operated area over a period 30 years. However, in the case of others and STs, number of holdings decreased to 72 per cent and 70 per cent and operated area declined to 56 per cent and 45 per cent respectively. Interestingly, average size of holdings were significantly declined in the case of others 1.39 hectares as against to STs (1.02 hectares) and SCs (0.39 hectares) from 1976-77 to 2005-06. In addition to general developmental programs various special measures have been initiated and implemented for the development of SCs and STs since the first five year plan. In this context land reforms and land ceiling act were the most important measures, some of the 'others' voluntarily surrendered their lands to the government. Government itself occupied lands from others who had possessed larger of land which was beyond the limits of land ceiling act. As a result, other's average size of holdings was also declined over a period of thirty years.

Table: 4.7 – Distribution of Land Holdings and Area Operated According to Different Size in Andhra Pradesh

Year	Marginal			Small			Semi Medium		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1956	16.38 (38.58)	8.16 (7.89)	0.50	7.75 (18.25)	10 (9.67)	1.29	7.53 (17.73)	16.69 (16.15)	2.22
1976-77	26.68 (44.81)	13.36 (9.29)	0.50	12.52 (21.03)	18.36 (12.77)	1.47	10.72 (18)	29.93 (20.81)	2.79
1980-81	38.04 (51.61)	18.86 (13.16)	0.50	15.91 (21.59)	24.12 (16.83)	1.52	11.74 (15.93)	32.61 (22.75)	2.78
1986-87	44.6 (54.19)	20.53 (14.50)	0.46	17.14 (20.82)	24.55 (17.34)	1.43	12.54 (15.24)	33.91 (23.95)	2.70
1990-91	52.1 (56.08)	23.69 (16.38)	0.45	19.72 (21.23)	28.27 (19.55)	1.43	13.46 (14.49)	36.39 (25.17)	2.70
1995-96	62.99 (59.41)	29.04 (20.20)	0.46	22.62 (21.34)	32.29 (22.47)	1.43	13.95 (13.16)	37.36 (25.99)	2.68
2000-01	70.23 (60.90)	31.04 (21.56)	0.44	25.18 (21.83)	35.65 (24.76)	1.42	14.24 (12.35)	37.95 (26.36)	2.67
2005-06	74.17 (61.60)	32.87 (22.77)	0.44	26.39 (21.92)	37.3 (25.84)	1.41	14.44 (11.99)	38.35 (26.57)	2.66

Contd.....

Year	Medium			Large			Total		
	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)	Number of Holdings (in lakh)	Operated Area (lakh hectares)	Average Size (hectares)
1956	7.11 (16.75)	29.04 (28.09)	4.08	3.69 (8.69)	39.48 (38.19)	10.70	42.46 (100)	103.37 (100)	2.43
1976-77	7.53 (12.65)	46.47 (32.32)	6.17	2.09 (3.51)	35.68 (24.81)	17.07	59.54 (100)	143.8 (100)	2.42
1980-81	6.46 (8.77)	39.79 (27.76)	6.16	1.55 (2.10)	27.95 (19.50)	18.03	73.7 (100)	143.33 (100)	1.94
1986-87	6.57 (7.98)	38.65 (27.30)	5.88	1.46 (1.77)	23.94 (16.91)	16.40	82.31 (100)	141.58 (100)	1.72
1990-91	6.44 (6.93)	37.77 (26.12)	5.86	1.18 (1.27)	18.48 (12.78)	15.66	92.9 (100)	144.6 (100)	1.56
1995-96	5.63 (5.31)	32.31 (22.48)	5.74	0.83 (0.78)	12.73 (8.86)	15.34	106.02 (100)	143.73 (100)	1.36
2000-01	5.01 (4.34)	28.55 (19.83)	5.70	0.66 (0.57)	10.8 (7.50)	16.36	115.32 (100)	143.99 (100)	1.25
2005-06	4.86 (4.04)	27.51 (19.06)	5.66	0.55 (0.46)	8.3 (5.75)	15.66	120.41 (100)	144.33 (100)	1.20

Source: (1) Golden Jubilee of Andhra Pradesh 1956-2005 (2005), Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(2) Agriculture Census Report, 1980-81 & 1990-91, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(3) Report on Census of Landholdings, 2000-01 & 2005-06, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(4) Provisional Report of Agricultural Census, 1995-96, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

Consequently, the overall scenario of Andhra Pradesh in terms of different size groups (Table), marginal and small holdings together constituted nearly 57 per cent of total holdings but they controlled only about 18 per cent of the total operated area in 1956. By 2005-06 there was a remarkable raise in the number of marginal holdings; however, the growth in the case small holding appeared to be marginal. Therefore, small holdings percentage share in the total holdings increased to nearly 62 per cent and area operated under their control increased nearly three times i.e. 23 per cent over a period of fifty years. On the other hand, the number of medium and large holdings together constituted more than 25 per cent of the total holdings but controlled more than 66 per cent of the total operated area in 1956. However, by 2005-06 number of medium and large holdings declined less than 5 per cent of total holdings and similarly the total operated area also tremendously declined nearly 25 per cent against 66 per cent in 1956. This implies that inequalities in the distribution of land holdings have largely increased despite land reform and other distributive measures. It is attributed that population explosion and also redistribution of small pieces of surplus and waste land to weaker section are the main causes to increase marginal holdings. In contrast, land reform was not properly implemented therefore resulted in medium and large farmers got less affected and retained their large size of holdings. Therefore equality in agrarian sector is not possible until zamindari system is abolished, and consequently, land holding of dalit' can never be improved. This also requires reform in the legal and constitutional spheres to ensure opportunity for equitable distribution of land. However, land reform was successful to remove intermediaries such as Zamindars, Jagirdars and Inamdars and to reduce tenancy to the certain extent. On the contrary, abolishing intermediaries and imposing land ceiling on land holdings paved the way for the expansion of capitalist farming and concentration of land ownership. Though the distribution of surplus land took place but government could not do justice to the socially disadvantaged groups. One of the reasons of failure was the distribution of farming lands had remained less than 10 per cent even in the case of distribution of government waste land in bhoodan scheme. This 10 percent lands distribution was distributed for the 33 per cent SC and 54.5 per cent ST and the state average was 46.2 per cent in 2004-05. Therefore, land reforms had to be more than the mere redistribution of land to the landless. In which distribution of lands

must have been done together with the distribution of resources to make lands more fertile and cultivable such as access to irrigation, banking and subsidies etc. for SCs and STs. Comparing to the 'other' community (30.6 per cent) the percentage of population in households with irrigated land was the lowest among SC (13.5 per cent), followed by ST (21.7 per cent) and the state average is 22.9 per cent (M. Venkatanarayana & L. Sudhakar Reddy, 2009).

Table: 4.8 – District and Caste Wise Surplus Land Distribution from 1.11.1969 till 19.11.2006

Districts	Total Allocated Land (in acres)	Number of Beneficiaries				Total	Average Size to of Holdings
		SCs	STs	BCs	Others		
Srikakulam	79538.11 (1.8)	20016 (2.8)	27973 (3.2)	20807 (3.2)	25400 (2.8)	94196 (3.0)	0.8
Vizianagaram	111698.09 (2.5)	19672 (2.8)	25437 (2.9)	22385 (3.4)	24759 (2.7)	92253 (2.9)	1.2
Visakhapatnam	177234.04 (3.9)	24323 (3.4)	36779 (4.2)	24319 (3.7)	33253 (3.7)	118674 (3.8)	1.5
East Godavari	62823.04 (1.4)	15657 (2.2)	21390 (2.5)	13938 (2.1)	20478 (2.3)	71463 (2.3)	0.9
West Godavari	93726.08 (2.1)	17418 (2.5)	18920 (2.2)	16770 (2.6)	20222 (2.2)	73330 (2.3)	1.3
Krishna	92766.16 (2.1)	20074 (2.8)	23805 (2.7)	18895 (2.9)	26373 (2.9)	89147 (2.8)	1.0
Guntur	82782.33 (1.8)	22972 (3.2)	26891 (3.1)	19641 (3.0)	29006 (3.2)	98510 (3.1)	0.8
Prakasam	270668.89 (6.0)	47504 (6.7)	56160 (6.5)	42128 (6.4)	61967 (6.9)	207759 (6.6)	1.3
Nellore	440758.52 (9.8)	66479 (9.4)	74900 (8.6)	58878 (9.0)	79528 (8.8)	279785 (8.9)	1.6
Kurnool	120951.82 (2.7)	18237 (2.6)	21448 (2.5)	17289 (2.6)	23135 (2.6)	80109 (2.6)	1.5
Kadapa	244842.86 (5.4)	30253 (4.3)	34738 (4.0)	27966 (4.3)	40189 (4.5)	133146 (4.2)	1.8
Ananthapur	635930.45 (14.1)	54598 (7.7)	67670 (7.8)	52562 (8.0)	73829 (8.2)	248659 (7.9)	2.6
Chittoor	399651.7 (8.9)	65505 (9.2)	79530 (9.2)	58895 (9.0)	85830 (9.5)	289760 (9.2)	1.4
Adilabad	233456.61 (5.2)	20147 (2.8)	28063 (3.2)	18692 (2.8)	25728 (2.8)	92630 (3.0)	2.5
Nizamabad	174516.7 (3.9)	33579 (4.7)	42105 (4.8)	32178 (4.9)	44185 (4.9)	152047 (4.8)	1.1
Karimnagar	115401.71 (2.6)	36227 (5.1)	41597 (4.8)	31825 (4.8)	43826 (4.9)	153475 (4.9)	0.8
Warangal	181598.21 (4.0)	41421 (5.8)	50936 (5.9)	37129 (5.7)	52236 (5.8)	181722 (5.8)	1.0
Khammam	275729.28 (6.1)	29089 (4.1)	43486 (5.0)	25513 (3.9)	38191 (4.2)	136279 (4.3)	2.0
Nalgonda	166137.57 (3.7)	40251 (5.7)	45155 (5.2)	35940 (5.5)	45738 (5.1)	167084 (5.3)	1.0
Medak	251916.87 (5.6)	38097 (5.4)	45153 (5.2)	36224 (5.5)	48771 (5.4)	168245 (5.4)	1.5
Mahaboobnagar	220863.16 (4.9)	30511 (4.3)	36118 (4.2)	29035 (4.4)	38330 (4.2)	133994 (4.3)	1.6
Ranga Reddy	72081.01 (1.6)	16657 (2.4)	20845 (2.4)	15280 (2.3)	22138 (2.5)	74920 (2.4)	1.0
Total	4505073 (100)	708687 (100)	869099 (100)	656289 (100)	903112 (100)	3137187 (100)	1.4
Percentage Share		22.6	27.7	20.9	28.8	100	

Source: Commissioner of Land Administration, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The above table explains the district wise surplus land distribution in Andhra Pradesh among SCs, STs, OBCs and Others from 1969 to 2006. Ananthapur district alone constitutes 14 per cent (in absolute numbers 635930.45 acres out of 4505073) out of total land allotment, which is the highest in the proportion. In this district Dalits were less benefitted than the BCs and OCs in the distribution of surplus land. On the other, Chittoor constitutes nearly 9 per cent of the total land allocation, and as much as 399651.7 acres of surplus land distributed among 289760 beneficiaries and the average size of holding was 1.4 acres. Interestingly, in this district all social groups were benefitted more or less with same proportion of surplus land.

But in the context of Ananthapur district, it comprises more non-cultivable land such as hill-locks with rare rain fall which has been declared as drought prone district. This is the only district where the average size of surplus land distribution was more i.e. 2.6 acres. Ananthapur, Adialabad and Khammam are the only three districts out of 22 which recorded more than 2 acres of average size land distribution. Except four districts (namely Srikakulam, East Godavari, Guntur and Karimnagar) all other districts benefitted from more than one acre of average size land. If we examine the state level scenario, 4505073 acres of total land was distributed among 3137187 households. Out of which 22.6 per cent for SCs, 27.7 per cent for STs, 20.9 per cent for BCs and 28.8 per cent for others and the state average size of land holdings is 1.4 acres. It is also observed that 12 (nearly 55 per cent) out of 22 districts were benefitted with less than the state average size of land holdings.

On November 9, 2006 and area 3137187 lakh acres were distributed among more than 45 lakh beneficiaries, out of which 23.59 per cent of SCs, 27.70 per cent to STs, 20.92 per cent to BCs and 28.79 per cent to OCs landholdings were distributed. However, as on September 30, 1996 the proportion of beneficiaries was 41.51 per cent SCs, 17.7 per cent STs, 32.9 per cent BCs and 8.01 per cent OCs. It is observed that over a period of ten years beneficiaries proportion from SC category was drastically declined from 41.51 per cent in 1996 to 27.70 per cent in 2006. However, OCs proportion was greatly increased from 8.01 per cent to 28.79 per cent. Moreover, one lakh out of 1.90 lakh acres were distributed under the Bhoodan movement. Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, 8.18 lakh acres were declared as surplus, of which 6.46 (79 per cent) lakh acres were taken

possession by the government. Finally, 5.82 (90 per cent) lakh acres out of 6.46 lakh acres have been distributed. Moreover, apart from the surplus ceiling lands the state has distributed 43.21 lakhs acres of government land from which SCs benefited only 22 per cent. Since landlords managed government officials in capturing cultivable lands. Interestingly, during 1961 to 1991 nearly one lakh SCs lost ownership as well. Similarly, tribals out of the 70183 cases filed under the LTR till September 30, 2005 about 53 per cent of the cases were decided in favor of non-tribals. In fact, 315132 acres of land involved in these cases, however, 162989 acres (52 per cent) were proved in favor of non-tribals (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2006). Therefore, it clearly exposes the problems of implementation of land ceiling acts and legal loopholes which resulted in deprivation of SCs from distribution of surplus land. Therefore, equitable distribution of land could not take place.

B. Occupational Distribution

In India, Scheduled Castes are mostly employed in the agricultural sector and other manual daily wages works. But in the post-independence era the percentage of SCs working in agricultural sector decreased by more than 11 per cent from 84.49 per cent in 1991 to 72.93 per cent in 2001. In Andhra Pradesh the declining trend during 1991-2000 has been lower ranging between 3-11 percent. Sources such as NSS and the Census indicate that a larger proportion of SC rural workers is employed in the traditional sector as compared to that of the non-SCs/STs workers. Because of discrimination in possessing lands they are mostly employed in other's agricultural fields and other traditional works. In contrast, STs and non-SCs/STs major economic activity is cultivation on their own lands. As a result, only 27 per cent of the SC rural workers have access to land in 2001 as against 54 per cent STs and 47 per cent non-SCs/STs.

Due to lack of educational opportunity and technical skills SCs are deprived of jobs in various sectors. Since, Dalits are agricultural laborers which is unorganized sector, have neither social nor economic security. In 1991-2001 Dalit's occupational diversification from the agriculture to the non-agriculture sector has taken place because of decline in the proportion of agricultural laborers and also lesser extent drop in the percentage of SC cultivators. In Andhra Pradesh less than 15 per cent of the SC workers were cultivating land. However, during 1981-2001, the proportion of cultivators went

down in almost all the states. The inter-social group disparity index of workers engaged as rural cultivators clearly indicates a far better access of non-SCs/STs to agricultural land as compared to SCs. These disparities have become worse in Andhra Pradesh during the past two decades, whereas it had remained more or less unchanged at all India level.

As per Census data, during 1981-2001 the proportion of rural workers engaged in the household industry remained same for both SCs and non-SCs/STs. However, the percentage of 'other workers' was much higher among SCs (11.70 per cent) than non-SCs/STs (9.89 per cent). On the one hand, the disparity index of SCs and non-SCs/STs workers in the household industry remained unchanged and on the other 'other workers' became worse in case of SCs. In rural Andhra SC labor absorption in the household industry remained higher but had poor access to capital. Similarly, according to NSS data 10.7 per cent of SC household industry was self-employed in non-agriculture and the same proportion were non-agricultural labour during 1993-94 and it has marginally increased to 12 per cent by 1999-2000. Though the SC proportion increased, but still remained 3 per cent lower than non-SCs/STs self-employed in agriculture households. But finally across the Andhra region SCs had less access to the capital.

Table: 4.9 – Occupational Distribution in Andhra Pradesh in 1971

Category	Andhra Pradesh		SC		ST	
	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers
Cultivators	5794701	32.19	426990	14.34	282239	36.10
Agricultural Labourers	6825685	37.91	2126833	71.44	383595	49.06
Mining, Quarrying, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantations, Orchards and Allied activities	689083	3.83	91343	3.07	33003	4.22
Manufacturing and Household Industry	1628205	9.04	113223	3.80	41528	5.31
Construction	285313	1.58	36474	1.23	3326	0.43
Trade and Commerce	982637	5.46	29084	0.98	17544	2.24
Transport, Storage & Communications	393524	2.19	51207	1.72	6019	0.77
Other Services	1403851	7.80	101973	3.43	14584	1.87
Total	18002999	100	2977127	100	781838	100

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1978, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

Approximately 90 per cent of STs and 80 Per cent of SCs are located in rural areas in Andhra. Therefore, agriculture has been the main source of employment for SC and ST households. About 88 per cent of STs and 80 per cent of SCs workforce is engaged in agriculture related activities. And nearly 35 per cent of the STs are cultivators, but for the majority of SC households the principal source of livelihood is agricultural labor.

The above tables 4.8 and the following table 4.9 reveal occupational distribution of SCs and STs in Andhra Pradesh during 1971 – 2001. In 1971 there were eight occupations which decreased only to four from 1981 onwards. Therefore, the analysis takes only four occupations into account as the remaining occupations were not covered for comparison from 1981 onwards. According the table, during 1971 to 1981 there was an increase in the percentage of SC cultivators from 14.34 per cent to 17.41 per cent while SC agricultural laborer's percentage reduced from 71.44 per cent to 68.24 per cent. Most of the village studies show that the percentage of attached laborers significantly declined and converted as casual laborers. However, at state level cultivators' proportion remained almost constant, whereas agricultural laborers' proportion was marginally declined from 37.91 per cent to 36.79 per cent. This marginal improvement in the SC cultivators thus indicates upward mobility of SCs cultivators. This may be also attributed to the redistribution of surplus land and waste land under 20 point programme in 1970s (Nancharaiah, G, 2000). The proportion of SC cultivators declined from 17.41 per cent in 1981 to 12.77 per cent in 1991 and the proportion of SC agricultural laborers increased from 68.24 per cent to 72.05 per cent during the same period. The similar trend is followed at the state level, therefore the proportion of cultivator at state level drastically declined from 32.74 per cent to 27.74 per cent while agricultural laborers' proportion largely increased from 36.79 per cent to 40.87 per cent in the same period. Thus in 2001 at the state level both cultivators' proportion and agricultural laborers' proportion has also declined. Now it is clear that both SC cultivators and SC agricultural laborers' proportion has declined even in 2001.

Table: 4.10 – Occupational Distribution in Andhra Pradesh in 1981, 1991 and 2001

Category	1981					
	Andhra Pradesh		SC		ST	
	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers
Cultivators	7407938	32.74	697705	17.41	677838	43.21
Agricultural Labourers	8325017	36.79	2734910	68.24	685778	43.72
Household Industry-Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs	1064110	4.70	56432	1.41	59708	3.81
Other Workers	5832036	25.77	518517	12.94	145344	9.27
Total	22629101	100	4007564	100	1568668	100

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1987, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

Contd...

1991						2001					
Andhra Pradesh		SC		ST		Andhra Pradesh		SC		ST	
No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers	No. of Workers	% to Total Workers
7891167	27.74	660585	12.77	877806	41.19	7397688	25.47	572189	11.59	880153	41.01
11625159	40.87	3726590	72.05	992358	46.57	9823264	33.83	3170383	64.21	898214	41.86
955507	3.36	50833	0.98	55786	2.62	1352705	4.66	91003	1.84	61326	2.86
7973649	28.03	733912	14.19	205031	9.62	10467216	36.04	1103739	22.36	306309	14.27
28445482	100.00	5171920	100.00	2130981	100.00	29040873	100	4937314	100	2146002	100

Source: (1) Statistical Abstract, 1998, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(2) Statistical Abstract, 2007, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

From above table it comes as SC cultivators' proportion declined by one percent from 12.77 per cent to 11.59 per cent during 1991-2001, similarly cultivators' proportion declined nearly two percent from 27.74 per cent to 25.47 per cent during the same period. And the same trend has also continued for agricultural laborers but SCs agricultural laborers' proportion declined largely from 72.05 per cent to 64.21 per cent during 1991-2001 and even at state level their proportion drastically declined from 40.87 per cent to 33.83% in the same period. And the SC and 'other workers' proportion increased from 14.19 per cent to 22.36 per cent (more than 8 per cent) and even at state level their proportion increased from 28.03 per cent to 36.04 per cent during 1991-2001. This trend shows that SCs and state agricultural workers seem to be shifting slowly for other activities like non-farming and household industry.

Table: 4.11 – Social Group Wise Number of Public Sector Employees in Andhra Pradesh

Year	SC	ST	OBC	Others	Total
1981	112051 (14.4)	17432 (2.3)	231117 (29.8)	415340 (53.1)	775940 (100)
1983	114748 (14.7)	18545 (2.4)	234272 (30.1)	411487 (52.8)	779052 (100)
1988	179169 (17.4)	37749 (3.7)	346507 (33.7)	464863 (45.2)	1028288 (100)
1991	184399 (17.5)	39830 (3.7)	357495 (33.8)	474507 (44.8)	1056231 (100)
1994	224417 (18.8)	42971 (3.6)	NA	NA	1194585
2001	248143 (20.2)	60260 (4.9)	NA	NA	1228170
2006	277250 (21.5)	73775 (5.7)	490857 (38.1)	447753 (34.7)	1289635 (100)

Source: (1) K. S. Chalam, Economic Development of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh during 1956-2001, South India Journal of Social Sciences, Vol.II, No.I, P.27.

(2) Sixth Census of State Public Sector Employees 2006, Government. of Andhra Pradesh. Directorate of Economics & Statistics, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

The above table brings out the social group wise number of employees in the state owned sectors. In 1981 the percentage of SC employees in all categories including class IV constitutes 14.4 per cent which is 0.4 per cent of their total. Employment of SC, ST and OBC in public sectors continued to be increasing in the period 1981-2006. But for other categories percentage rate declined from 53.1 percent in 1981 to 34.7 per cent in 2006. Moreover, the conditions laid down by the World Bank for public sector employment rate declined. A large amount of VRS or retrenched workers were mainly from the scheduled caste category (Chalam, K.S.). The employment in the organized sector increased from 12.36 lakh in 1975-7 to 20.72 lakh in 1999-2000. After 1990s, the growth rate was around 1.6 per cent per annum. Since 1996-97, there has been marginal increase in organized employment in Andhra Pradesh. The main reason for the lower

growth of organized employment is the slowdown in public sector employment in the 1990s. Further, the growth of public sector employment was only about one per cent in 1990. Employment growth declined drastically in the 1990s compared with 1983 to 1993-94. In rural Andhra Pradesh, it declined from 2.40 per cent per annum in 1983 to 1993-94 to 0.29 per cent in 1993-94 to 1999-2000. Similarly, the corresponding figures for urban areas were 4.28 per cent and 0.01 per cent respectively. On the other hand, private sector employment increased at the rate of 4.8 per cent per annum in the 1990s (S. Mahendra Dev & Vijay Mahajan, 2003).

Organized employment in public sector remained 70 to 80 per cent. Andhra Pradesh recorded lowest growth in employment (i.e. 0.95 per cent) in the country particularly in the post-reform period (1993-2005). Though the employment rate declined in public sector, employment in IT sector went up rapidly since 1996-97, therefore, most of the 'others' rather than SC, ST and BC got access in this sector, because IT sector provides employment to the technically high qualified and skilled. For getting such technical education is the costly matter thereby dalits have remained out of such educational spheres. Additionally, IT sector jobs are limited only to urban areas where technically high qualified and skilled workers can be accommodated and most of the unorganized workers live in rural areas. In Andhra Pradesh there were 4500 employees in IT sector in 1996-97 and in 2006-07 it went up to 187450. In fact, 40,000 new jobs were added in IT sector that was a real breakthrough in 2004-05 (S. Mahendra Dev and M. Venkatanarayana, 2009). However, growth of employment in the private sector has not been able to compensate the loss in the public sector. Therefore, this could be one of the main reasons in declining rate of employment of SC, ST and OBC. In addition, there are other reasons caused the declining rate of employment particularly after 1990s. Decline in participation rates of younger age groups and increasing income levels also reduce the pressure to enter the labor market. It is not clear why the employment rate has declined, but it is possible to say that economic opportunities have not increased in the post-reform period despite of higher growth.

C. Incidence of Poverty

The incidence of rural poverty of SCs was about 36 per cent and 21 per cent of non-SCs / STs in 1999-2000 in India. Similarly, the poverty disparity ratio between SCs

and non-SCs /STs was 1.7, and non-SCs / STs, the incidence of poverty was about 70 per cent higher among SCs (S. Thorat, 2009). Interestingly, Andhra Pradesh shows higher decline in rural poverty during 1983 and 1999-2000 for all the social groups. Across India except Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Kerala the rate of decline in rural poverty being less among SCs as compared to non-SCs / STs. Consequently, the disparities in rural poverty between SCs and non-SCs / STs increased marginally. Higher proportion of agricultural workers, higher unemployment rates, higher level of urbanization, high level of landlessness, lack of access to fixed sources of income such as agricultural land, heavy dependence on low-earnings, casual wage labour in agriculture are primarily responsible for chronic poverty among Dalits. Correspondingly, high level of urbanization coupled with greater diversification of employment in favor of the non-farm sector, higher wages and high level of education are mainly caused for reducing poverty level among Dalits.

Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Above Poverty Line (APL) and again poorest of the poor (POP) and poor were categorized which is part and parcel of the BPL category are the indicators of poverty measurement for all social groups. Table 4.8 shows the data on incidence of poverty across the districts in Andhra Pradesh. More than 56 per cent of the state's population lives under below poverty line. However, ST population constitutes as much as 76 per cent which is above the state average while SCs recorded nearly 75 per cent. Therefore, incidence of poverty among SCs (74.56%) and STs (75.71%) is higher than BCs (53.4%) and OCs (36.72%). Interestingly, for BCs and OCs the percentage of below poverty line population is lower than that of state average. In addition, even poorest of the poor and poor population among SCs (27.67% and 46.89%) and STs (33.39% and 42.32%) are higher than that of BCs (15.875 and 37.53%) and OCs (9.61% and 27.1%) which is also lower than that of state average. There are 11 districts where the rate of below poverty line is above the state average. Firstly, Adilabad district from Telengana region recorded as much as 78.37 per cent where population lives under below poverty line. Secondly, Chittoor district from Rayalaseema region constitutes 78.13 per cent and thirdly, Nellore district from Coastal region recorded nearly 64 per cent.

Table: 4.12 – Caste Wise and District Wise Number of Households under Poorest of the Poor (POP), Poor, Below Poverty Line (BPL) and Above Poverty Line (APL) in Andhra Pradesh in 2002

Districts	SC					ST					BC				
	POP	Poor	BPL	APL	Total	POP	Poor	BPL	APL	Total	POP	Poor	BPL	APL	Total
Coastal Andhra															
Srikakulam	23808 (44.52)	18235 (34.10)	42043 (78.62)	11431 (21.38)	53474 (100)	23818 (55.73)	12642 (29.58)	36460 (85.30)	6282 (14.70)	42742 (100)	100081 (23.90)	142804 (34.10)	242885 (57.99)	175945 (42.01)	418830 (100)
Vizianagaram	14769 (31.33)	21926 (46.51)	36695 (77.83)	10452 (22.17)	47147 (100)	12847 (25.28)	22878 (45.03)	35725 (70.31)	15086 (29.69)	50811 (100)	51030 (14.65)	126121 (36.20)	177151 (50.84)	171266 (49.16)	348417 (100)
Visakhapatnam	12214 (31.27)	15042 (38.51)	27256 (69.78)	11804 (30.22)	39060 (100)	67487 (47.34)	62839 (44.08)	130326 (91.41)	12244 (8.59)	142570 (100)	68799 (21.26)	91723 (28.34)	160522 (49.60)	163082 (50.40)	323604 (100)
East Godavari	48870 (26.88)	71351 (39.24)	120221 (66.12)	61603 (33.88)	181824 (100)	10931 (15.39)	46470 (65.42)	57401 (80.81)	13627 (19.19)	71028 (100)	27334 (7.36)	133746 (36.01)	161080 (43.37)	210317 (56.63)	371397 (100)
West Godavari	9366 (5.35)	84141 (48.09)	93507 (53.44)	81459 (46.56)	174966 (100)	3065 (6.44)	24113 (50.68)	27178 (57.13)	20398 (42.87)	47576 (100)	10461 (3.40)	119875 (38.99)	130336 (42.39)	177098 (57.61)	307434 (100)
Krishna	6981 (3.73)	113562 (60.73)	120543 (64.46)	66456 (35.54)	186999 (100)	2532 (6.08)	21721 (52.19)	24253 (58.27)	17366 (41.73)	41619 (100)	6660 (2.86)	113795 (48.79)	120455 (51.65)	112770 (48.35)	233225 (100)
Guntur	44131 (23.87)	99543 (53.84)	143674 (77.71)	41216 (22.29)	184890 (100)	19431 (32.78)	24900 (42)	44331 (74.78)	14951 (25.22)	59282 (100)	33104 (16.23)	82067 (40.23)	115171 (56.46)	88800 (43.54)	203971 (100)
Prakasam	36094 (22.33)	96854 (59.92)	132948 (82.25)	28690 (17.75)	161638 (100)	15728 (37.45)	18373 (43.74)	34101 (81.19)	7901 (18.81)	42002 (100)	32467 (14.14)	99565 (43.36)	132032 (57.50)	97587 (42.50)	229619 (100)
Nellore	48855 (24.51)	102823 (51.58)	151678 (76.09)	47651 (23.91)	199329 (100)	32471 (52.34)	24726 (39.86)	57197 (92.20)	4836 (7.80)	62033 (100)	24845 (14.50)	74681 (43.58)	99526 (58.08)	71831 (41.92)	171357 (100)
Total	245088 (28.22)	623477 (71.78)	868565 (70.65)	360762 (29.35)	1229327 (100)	188310 (42.13)	258662 (57.87)	446972 (81.83)	112691 (20.14)	559663 (100)	354781 (26.49)	984377 (73.51)	1339158 (51.35)	1268696 (48.65)	2607854 (100)
Rayalaseema															
Chittoor	71079 (44.87)	74847 (47.24)	145926 (92.11)	12501 (7.89)	158427 (100)	22684 (59.98)	12753 (33.72)	35437 (93.69)	2385 (6.31)	37822 (100)	85052 (29.64)	145536 (50.71)	230588 (80.35)	56406 (19.65)	286994 (100)
Kadapa	35296 (38.33)	37444 (40.66)	72740 (78.99)	19342 (21.01)	92082 (100)	9158 (39.71)	7868 (34.12)	17026 (73.83)	6034 (26.17)	23060 (100)	37390 (20.37)	65321 (35.59)	102711 (55.97)	80813 (44.03)	183524 (100)
Ananthapur	49157 (44.56)	53068 (48.10)	102225 (92.66)	8103 (7.34)	110328 (100)	13286 (34.48)	18287 (47.45)	31573 (81.93)	6965 (18.07)	38538 (100)	54222 (16.13)	145473 (43.27)	199695 (59.40)	136480 (40.60)	336175 (100)
Kurnool	34381 (33.33)	39451 (38.25)	73832 (71.58)	29309 (28.42)	103141 (100)	7238 (32.71)	8195 (37.03)	15433 (69.74)	6696 (30.26)	22129 (100)	71531 (22.66)	110420 (34.98)	181951 (57.65)	133672 (42.35)	315623 (100)
Total	189913 (48.11)	204810 (51.89)	394723 (85.07)	69255 (14.93)	463978 (100)	52366 (52.65)	47103 (47.35)	99469 (81.83)	22080 (18.17)	121549 (100)	248195 (34.72)	466750 (65.28)	714945 (63.70)	407371 (36.30)	1122316 (100)

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Telengana															
Adilabad	40562 (45.09)	35024 (38.94)	75586 (84.03)	14366 (15.97)	89952 (100)	58019 (57.33)	35197 (34.78)	93216 (92.11)	7990 (7.89)	101206 (100)	65209 (31.48)	85344 (41.20)	150553 (72.68)	56585 (27.32)	207138 (100)
Nizamabad	19445 (23.48)	29164 (35.21)	48609 (58.69)	34216 (41.31)	82825 (100)	8352 (22.23)	11814 (31.44)	20166 (53.67)	17408 (46.33)	37574 (100)	34107 (14.27)	64451 (26.96)	98558 (41.23)	140468 (58.77)	239026 (100)
Karimnagar	32879 (22.81)	68938 (47.82)	101817 (70.62)	42349 (29.38)	144166 (100)	8499 (29.43)	11749 (40.68)	20248 (70.12)	8630 (29.88)	28878 (100)	53950 (12.29)	154353 (35.16)	208303 (47.45)	230717 (52.55)	439020 (100)
Warangal	43898 (20.83)	92581 (43.94)	136479 (64.78)	74216 (35.22)	210695 (100)	22929 (18.32)	46062 (36.81)	68991 (55.13)	56141 (44.87)	125132 (100)	39265 (12.54)	98690 (31.51)	137955 (44.05)	175199 (55.95)	313154 (100)
Khammam	27614 (26.09)	49504 (46.77)	77118 (72.85)	28737 (27.15)	105855 (100)	45446 (25.16)	78792 (43.62)	124238 (68.78)	56380 (31.22)	180618 (100)	36623 (20.47)	69453 (38.83)	106076 (59.30)	72797 (40.70)	178873 (100)
Nalgonda	73840 (57.50)	37712 (29.36)	111552 (86.86)	16873 (13.14)	128425 (100)	34391 (44.98)	27882 (36.47)	62273 (81.45)	14180 (18.55)	76453 (100)	50031 (15.95)	111525 (35.55)	161556 (51.49)	152180 (48.51)	313736 (100)
Medak	38203 (42.49)	45000 (50.04)	83203 (92.53)	6717 (7.47)	89920 (100)	16612 (58.88)	7828 (27.75)	24440 (86.63)	3771 (13.37)	28211 (100)	25028 (11.46)	54216 (24.82)	79244 (36.28)	139196 (63.72)	218440 (100)
Mahaboobnagar	34220 (25.40)	64687 (48.02)	98907 (73.42)	35806 (26.58)	134713 (100)	16644 (19.83)	41507 (49.46)	58151 (69.29)	25772 (30.71)	83923 (100)	58705 (13.93)	177375 (42.07)	236080 (56)	185492 (44)	421572 (100)
Ranga Reddy	16386 (22.04)	40679 (54.72)	57065 (76.77)	17272 (23.23)	74337 (100)	5970 (22.07)	13290 (49.14)	19260 (71.21)	7787 (28.79)	27047 (100)	20817 (13.28)	67235 (42.89)	88052 (56.16)	68724 (43.84)	156776 (100)
Total	327047 (41.38)	463289 (58.62)	790336 (74.50)	270552 (25.50)	1060888 (100)	216862 (44.17)	274121 (55.83)	490983 (71.26)	198059 (28.74)	689042 (100)	383735 (30.30)	882642 (69.70)	1266377 (50.90)	1221358 (49.10)	2487735 (100)
Andhra Pradesh	762048 (27.67)	1291576 (46.89)	2053624 (74.56)	700569 (25.44)	2754193 (100)	457538 (33.39)	579886 (42.32)	1037424 (75.71)	332830 (24.29)	1370254 (100)	986711 (15.87)	2333769 (37.53)	3320480 (53.40)	2897425 (46.60)	6217905 (100)

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Districts	OC					ALL				
	POP	Poor	BPL	APL	Total	POP	Poor	BPL	APL	Total
Coastal Andhra										
Srikakulam	11562 (20.85)	17338 (31.26)	28900 (52.11)	26562 (47.89)	55462 (100)	159269 (27.92)	191019 (33.48)	350288 (61.40)	220220 (38.60)	570508 (100)
Vizianagaram	3936 (9.94)	9774 (24.69)	13710 (34.63)	25880 (5.37)	39590 (100)	82582 (16.99)	180699 (37.18)	263281 (54.18)	222684 (45.82)	485965 (100)
Visakhapatnam	28018 (19.49)	36494 (25.38)	64512 (44.87)	79272 (55.13)	143784 (100)	176518 (27.20)	206098 (31.76)	382616 (58.95)	266402 (41.05)	649018 (100)
East Godavari	12422 (5.05)	46101 (18.75)	58523 (23.80)	187386 (76.20)	245909 (100)	99557 (11.44)	297668 (34.21)	397225 (45.65)	472933 (54.35)	870158 (100)
West Godavari	4575 (1.99)	57556 (25.08)	62131 (27.07)	167397 (72.93)	229528 (100)	27467 (3.62)	285685 (37.61)	313152 (41.23)	446352 (58.77)	759504 (100)
Krishna	4649 (1.97)	78593 (33.36)	83242 (35.33)	152356 (64.67)	235598 (100)	20822 (2.99)	327671 (46.98)	348493 (49.97)	348948 (50.03)	697441 (100)
Guntur	29153 (9.19)	75727 (23.86)	104880 (33.05)	212490 (66.95)	317370 (100)	125819 (16.44)	282237 (36.87)	408056 (53.30)	357457 (46.70)	765513 (100)
Prakasam	18836 (7.19)	69760 (26.63)	88596 (33.82)	173379 (66.18)	261975 (100)	103125 (14.83)	284552 (40.93)	387677 (55.76)	307557 (44.24)	695234 (100)
Nellore	9003 (7.79)	32937 (28.50)	41940 (36.29)	73628 (63.71)	115568 (100)	115174 (21.01)	235167 (42.89)	350341 (63.90)	197946 (36.10)	548287 (100)
Total	122154 (22.35)	424280 (77.65)	546434 (33.22)	1098350 (66.78)	1644784 (100)	910333 (28.44)	2290796 (71.56)	3201129 (52.98)	2840499 (47.02)	6041628 (100)
Rayalaseema										
Chittoor	43290 (18.24)	107761 (45.41)	151051 (63.65)	86273 (36.35)	237324 (100)	222105 (38.93)	340897 (59.75)	563002 (78.13)	157565 (21.87)	720567 (100)
Kadapa	25519 (11.05)	55827 (24.18)	81346 (35.23)	149541 (64.77)	230887 (100)	107363 (20.27)	166460 (31.43)	273823 (51.71)	255730 (48.29)	529553 (100)
Ananthapur	15782 (8.87)	55463 (31.19)	71245 (40.06)	106588 (59.94)	177833 (100)	132447 (19.98)	272291 (41.08)	404738 (61.06)	258136 (38.94)	662874 (100)
Kurnool	20791 (20.00)	36145 (34.77)	56936 (54.76)	47029 (45.24)	103965 (100)	133941 (24.58)	194211 (35.64)	328152 (60.23)	216706 (39.77)	544858 (100)
Total	105382 (29.23)	255196 (70.77)	360578 (48.08)	389431 (51.92)	750009 (100)	595856 (37.96)	973859 (62.04)	1569715 (63.87)	888137 (36.13)	2457852 (100)
Telengana										
Adilabad	10004 (23.40)	16279 (38.07)	26283 (61.47)	16474 (38.53)	42757 (100)	173794 (39.40)	171844 (38.96)	345638 (78.37)	95415 (21.63)	441053 (100)
Nizamabad	8283 (10.21)	15434 (19.02)	23717 (29.23)	57417 (70.77)	81134 (100)	70187 (15.93)	120863 (27.43)	191050 (43.37)	249509 (56.63)	440559 (100)
Karimnagar	5153 (6.19)	15869 (19.05)	21022 (25.24)	62280 (74.76)	83302 (100)	100481 (14.45)	250909 (36.08)	351390 (50.53)	343976 (49.47)	695366 (100)
Warangal	2815 (6.72)	7217 (17.22)	10032 (23.93)	31889 (76.07)	41921 (100)	108907 (15.76)	244550 (35.40)	353457 (51.16)	337445 (48.84)	690902 (100)
Khammam	15794 (19.17)	20244 (24.57)	36038 (43.74)	46347 (56.26)	82385 (100)	125477 (22.91)	217993 (39.80)	343470 (62.71)	204261 (37.29)	547731 (100)
Nalgonda	6044 (6.77)	14272 (15.99)	20316 (22.76)	68936 (77.24)	89252 (100)	164306 (27.03)	191391 (31.49)	355697 (58.52)	252169 (41.48)	607866 (100)
Medak	10378 (7.47)	33964 (24.43)	44342 (31.90)	94668 (68.10)	139010 (100)	90221 (18.97)	141008 (29.65)	231229 (48.62)	244352 (51.38)	475581 (100)
Mahaboobnagar	9237 (8.41)	27754 (25.26)	36991 (33.67)	72882 (66.33)	109873 (100)	118806 (15.84)	311323 (41.51)	430129 (57.34)	319952 (42.66)	750081 (100)
Ranga Reddy	5299 (8.56)	16867 (27.25)	22166 (35.81)	39740 (64.19)	61906 (100)	48472 (15.14)	138071 (43.14)	186543 (58.28)	133523 (41.72)	320066 (100)
Total	73007 (30.31)	167900 (69.69)	240907 (32.93)	490633 (67.07)	731540 (100)	1000651 (35.88)	1787952 (64.12)	2788603 (56.12)	2180602 (43.88)	4969205 (100)
Andhra Pradesh	300543 (9.61)	847376 (27.10)	1147919 (36.72)	1978414 (63.28)	3126333 (100)	2506840 (18.61)	5052607 (37.51)	7559447 (56.13)	5909238 (43.87)	13468685 (100)

Source: State Project Manager, Society of Elimination of Poverty (SERP), Hyderabad.

However, two districts namely Chittoor and Adilabad are backward regions from Rayalaseema and Telengana. Moreover, except Visakhapatnam and Nellore all the remaining districts are from the backward regions mentioned above. Several studies have explained that the incidence of poverty has declined in the post independence period among all the social groups however; still it has not been satisfactory for SCs and STs.

Chalam's study of Sundaram and Tendulkar in India has clearly demonstrated that "among the social groups, the Sheded Castes and Scheduled Tribes population have

remained under poverty above average analysed from all the three indicators of prevalence, depth and severity of poverty in both the years (1993-94 and 1999-2000) in both rural and urban areas. The study is relevant for Andhra's Dalits also. According to NFHS III data (2005-06), anemia was highest among ST women (67.9 per cent) followed by SCs (64.9 per cent) and OBC (64.0 per cent). The severe form of anaemia was highest among ST women (6.0 per cent) and SC women (4.2 per cent) in the state. It is to be noted that the percentage of women with anemia across all communities has increased between 1998-99 and 2005-06 which occur due to iron deficiency in women. Infant mortality rate (IMR) is an important indicator of human development. It is highest among ST (78) followed by SC (66) while it is lowest among the 'other' (36) and other backward communities (53) in 2005-06. Therefore, the great difference in IMR between ST/SC and the other is an indicator of inequalities in health and the difference in development among these communities. The nutritional status is generally measured by weight, height and age by medical experts. It is found that undernourished (weight for age) in 2005-06 was higher among the ST (51.6 per cent) followed by SC (30.8 per cent). The corresponding figures for others are 21.8 per cent only (M. Venkatanarayana & L. Sudhakar Reddy, 2009). The severity of under nutrition was higher among Dalits children. It can be said that the SCs and STs are most disadvantaged in terms of health care facilities. Therefore, the economic and living status of scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh is pathetic. In fact Dalits not only suffer from several disabilities but discriminated from economic and social sphere as well. When we talk about Dalits we are talking about a population who are largely live in the rural areas and overwhelmingly in the unorganized sector and especially agricultural laborers. Therefore, Dalits' residential space and occupation could be decided the poverty levels. As a result, upper castes are disproportionately urban employees while the Dalits and tribes are disproportionately rural and work as agricultural laborers.

D. Atrocities on Dalits

In human history Dalits has been treated as sub humans and non-humans in the mainstream society. In this context, even the conditions of African blacks and slaves were better than Dalits in India because they could get certain basic resources and opportunity for education. To protect Dalit's human rights Constitution of India provides

under Articles (15, 17 and 23) certain measures to prevent violence and discrimination against Dalits. To give effect to these constitutional provisions the following Acts also have been in operation.

1. The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 later amended and re-titled as the Protection of Civil Rights (PCR) Act, 1955.
2. Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act (POA) 1989 and The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976.

The main objectives of these Acts are to protect human rights of Dalits and violence against Dalit in order to ensure social justice in the society. Additionally, there is a need of making Dalits rights as Human rights which has not been recognized by the international agencies like UN and HR Commissions. The rights to land, education, basic health services, drinking water, shelter, right to work, etc., are basic for life sustenance. But, in India these rights are denied to the Dalits as they are isolated from the mainstream. In this context it is very essential to mention the charter of Dalit rights which was drafted as human rights by a groups of Dalit intellectuals including K.S. Chalam. This include the following.

1. “They assert that Dalit rights are human rights
2. They affirm that the denial of basic needs of the Dalits is a gross violation of Dalit human rights.
3. They seek the inclusion of caste discrimination and untouchability in the international convention on racial discrimination.
4. They demand that the perpetrators of untouchability should be severely punished according to the provisions of SC / ST Atrocities Act and rules.
5. They demand full protection of Dalits in the Panchayat Raj institutions and other democratic institutions of the country.
6. They demand that the land usurped by the state and private bodies, be restored to the Dalits.
7. They demand that special measures be taken for the protection of the rights of Dalit women.
8. They demand reservations to Dalits in all private bodies and organizations.
9. They demand that Dalits, irrespective of their religious faith, be considered as SCs.

10. They demand right to freedom of thought and expression.
11. They demand a white paper be placed in the parliament on atrocities against Dalits and reservation facilities actually granted to Dalits from 1947.
12. They demand that Dalit human rights be explicitly and constitutionally guaranteed in the Asian countries where Dalits are domiciled” (D. Francis, 2000).

Unfortunately, even such charter and government Acts unable to bring about plausible results, instead the perpetuation of crimes against Dalits, discrimination and, above all, human rights violation against Dalits in various ways in public spheres continues unabated. Importantly, atrocities against Dalits are indicative of the fact that both discrimination and untouchability are still being practiced. Therefore, it is clearly said that Dalit community has become a farce in some spheres of life in spite of the provision of equal citizenship guaranteed by the Constitution.

As per the latest statistics, 50 cases of atrocities are registered every day all over the country. Over three Dalit women are raped and six are disabled on each day round the year. In a sample of 45 cases pertaining to causes of each of the atrocities, the National Commission analysed that 13 out of 45 are clearly attributed the economic reasons (Anand Teltumbde, 2000s). According to official statistics, as many as 285871 cases — pertaining to various crimes were registered by SCs across the country between 1990-2000 of which 14030 were registered under the PCR Act and 81796 under the POA Act. In 2001, the number of cases was higher at 33500. Various types of crime and atrocities between 1990-2000 on an average 553 murder, 2990 injury, 919 rape, 184 kidnapping / abduction, 47 dacoity, 127 robbery, 456 arson, 1403 caste discrimination and 8179 atrocity cases were registered by SCs during the 1990s. However, under the PCR Act the number of cases registered declined from a decadal average of 1403 during the 1990s to 633 in 2001. In addition, 100891 cases were still pending in the courts countrywide by end of 2000. Andhra Pradesh state registered 1845 pending cases in the courts and occupied fifth place in the list of pending cases (S. Thorat, 2009).

The following table shows the extent of various types of atrocities committed against Dalits during 1999-2006. It clearly shows that the practice of untouchability and discrimination in various spheres, and large number of atrocities inflicted on Dalit’s continue even today. Over a period (from 1999 to 2006) eight years caste discrimination

constitute more than 17 per cent among various atrocities. Every atrocity is by and large increased; there were only 27 atrocities cases registered in 1999 as against 325 in 2006. In absolute terms, caste discrimination alone registered 153 (17.3%) followed by employment and wages 132 (15%) and raped committed on Dalits women 126 (14.3%) out of 882 total atrocities cases registered by 2006. A Parliamentary Standing Committee (Committee on the welfare of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes), had presented as many as 176 original reports and 169 action taken reports to Parliament till 2004. It was found that Andhra Pradesh state was the fourth among Indian major states in crimes against SC and ST. A total number of 31177 and 515 incidents of crimes against SC and ST were recorded in the state in 2005 alone. The crime rate (i.e. number of crime incidents per lakh population) was 23.7 and 9.5 for SC and ST in Andhra Pradesh. The corresponding figures at the all-India level were 14.5 and 6.2 (M. Venkatanarayana & L. Sudhakar Reddy, 2009).

Table: 4.13 – Different Types of Human Rights Violation against Dalits in Andhra Pradesh from 1999 to 2006

Type of Violation	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Right to Land	6	27	17	15	10	7	10	18	110 (12.5)
Employment and Wages	12	24	33	18	18	12	8	7	132 (15)
Migration	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1 (0.1)
Starvation Deaths of Dalits	0	12	9	9	45	5	7	4	91 (10.3)
Credit	1	4	12	12	10	0	3	7	49 (5.6)
Access to Government Programmes	1	11	12	5	12	1	0	0	42 (4.8)
Education	1	13	11	7	1	3	4	0	40 (4.5)
Rapes Committed on Dalit Women	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	109	126 (14.3)
Health	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	5 (0.6)
Right to Access to Common Property	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	4 (0.5)
Right to Housing	1	11	3	1	3	0	0	0	19 (2.2)
Access to Water	4	15	9	11	7	2	5	12	65 (7.4)
Right to Development	1	11	3	1	3	1	10	15	45 (5.1)
Caste Discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	153	153 (17.3)
Total	27	130	109	80	110	33	68	325	882 (100)

Source: Sakshi Human Rights Watch, Andhra Pradesh, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006, Secunderabad.

Therefore, the crime rate against SC/ST in Andhra Pradesh state was thus higher than the all-India average. While the growing number of cases is attributed to growing awareness among the victims about legal remedy that paved the way probably to increase or continue atrocities even after so many year of planned development. It can also be said that the legal provisions and mechanisms have not been very effective. Importantly, political reservations have not been effective in representing their cause because of the domination and higher numerical strength of the upper castes in all the political parties.

Without taking the question of efficiency into consideration reservation of jobs and equal opportunity were provided to Dalits. Against to this a campaign has been also launched by the elite as a result Dalits are treated as hostile groups which resulted in the increase in the atrocities of Dalits. In addition, the economic policy of the successive governments particularly during the post-independence period did not result in the amelioration of the conditions in the same proportion as the increase in investments made on Dalits. Ultimately, the gap between the Dalits and upper caste in terms of economic opportunities and sufficiency has been increased which in turn led to increase the atrocities on Dalits (D. Francis, 2000). Number of various factors responsible for atrocities against Dalits, economic causes such as land dispute, land alienation, bonded labour, indebtedness, non-payment of minimum wages as well as non-economic causes such as caste prejudice and practice of untouchability, deep-rooted social resentment, abusing by caste names, damages to caste leader statues, political factions on caste lines and refusal to perform services like digging burial pits, arranging cremations, removal of the carcasses of dead animals, and beating of drum, etc have been the reasons of atrocities. Studies have also emphasized that disputes related to land were identified as the single most important cause which includes disputes regarding implementation of land reforms, and allotment of cultivable land and house-sites etc. Further, other conflicts centered on envy of a good crop raised by Dalit, use of community land, etc. Similarly any attempt by Dalit agricultural labor to agitate for reasonable wages have also been usually met with violence. (Harsh Mander, 2002).

In many instances it has been proved that whenever Dalits have tried to organize themselves or assert their rights, there has been a repercussion from the high caste feudal lords resulting in mass killings, gang rapes and arson. Likewise any attempt by Dalit

agricultural laborers to agitate for reasonable wages were usually met with violence at the hands of the landowning classes. Therefore, the present implementation machinery should be revamped and new stringent measures developed for abolishing the inhumane practice of untouchability and discriminations on the Dalit's.

E. Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP)

The strategy of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) which was evolved in 1979 is one of the most important interventions through the planning process for social, economic and educational development of Scheduled Castes and for improvement in their working and living conditions. It is an umbrella strategy to ensure flow of targeted financial and physical benefits from all the general sectors of development for the benefit of Scheduled Castes. Under this strategy, States/UTs and Central Ministries are required to formulate and implement Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) as part of their Annual Plans by earmarking resources in proportion to their share in total population. It is intended to be a plan for the development of the Scheduled Castes in relation to their resource endowments and their needs in all the areas of social and economic activity including agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries, education including scholarships, hostels and mid-day meals, provision of drinking water, electrification of scheduled caste localities, development of sericulture, minor irrigation including construction and energisation of irrigation wells, programmes for specially vulnerable groups, housing and house sites, link roads, self employment, schemes, social forestry, allotment of land as well as schemes for development of lands and allotment of shops and stalls in public places.

The Special Component Plan is an important and integral part of the planning process intended to secure the rapid socio-economic development of the scheduled castes. The Special Central Assistance (SCA) was also introduced in 1980's as an additive to the special component plan. Presently, 27 States/UTs having sizeable SC populations are implementing Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan. Importantly, during the post independence era the major concern of the planners and policy makers has been welfare of the poor and oppressed. As part of the well-being of the disadvantaged and oppressed groups several welfare programmes were initiated and implemented. After having formulation several Five Year Plans and spent crores of rupees, there was no considerable change in the life

of scheduled castes in India. In fact all Five Year Plans emphasized that the SCs must get their due share from the general sector of the development. The Government of India noticed that the financial allocations were found to be quite inadequate so as to focus on the needs and potentialities of the SCs, as compared to the size of their population. Keeping in view the fact that the allocations under Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan in proportion to the percentage of SC population in the State is the main criteria for release of grants by the Centre under the scheme, if states are not being able to provide their share, they are deprived of their rightful Central share of SCA funds.

A detailed presentation of Andhra Pradesh state SCP state plan outlay and expenditure is made in the following table. It can be observed that during 1992-93 to 2006-07 SC population have not allocated funds for their SCP as per the percentage of their SC population in Andhra Pradesh. Over a period of fifteen years, as low as 4.89 per cent allocation was made from the state plan outlay in 2001-02. However, during the same period the total SC population as per 2001 census in Andhra Pradesh was 16.2%. Similarly, about 12 per cent of allocation was made maximum from the state plan outlay in the 1994-95. It appears that, over a period of fifteen years, nowhere the actual allocation to have made in proportion to the SC population in the state. As a result, the actual funds flowing directly to SCSP from the total State Plan becomes much less than the proportion of SC population to the total population of the State. It is observed by the national SC and ST commission in its 5th report that the allocation by the government of Andhra Pradesh has never exceeded 11 per cent of the total allocation for scheduled castes. Out of which, around 85 per cent is only spent in each plan period on the development of scheduled castes. Apart from the plan allocation, the government is also spending on the welfare of SC, ST and BCs in the state. It is estimated by JV M Sarma that the per cent of GSDP spent on SC, ST and OBC welfare in the state has slowly declined from 1.3 per cent in 1985-86 to 0.7 per cent of GSDP in 1995-96. This has remained less than 1 per cent (0.8%) even in the 2002-2003 budgets. This shows the commitment of government towards the development of dalits in Andhra Pradesh (Sharma J.V.M, 2003).

Table: 4.14 – Year-wise Special Component Plan (SCP) Allocation during 1992-93 to 2006-07 in Andhra Pradesh

(Rupees in Crores)

Year	State Plan Outlay	Flow to SCP	% of SCP	SCP Expenditure	% of Actual SCP Expenditure to Total Outlay	15% of Plan	Diverted
1992-93	1996.94	170.84	8.56	182.78	9.15	299.54	116.76
1993-94	2075.55	207.66	10.01	214.99	10.36	311.33	96.34
1994-95	2170	256.7	11.83	216.97	10	325.50	108.53
1995-96	2719.78	300.57	11.05	267.46	9.83	407.97	140.51
1996-97	2773.13	232.82	8.40	227.95	8.22	415.97	188.02
1997-98	3585.05	339.72	9.48	213.92	5.97	537.76	323.84
1998-99	4678.95	510.83	10.92	532.61	11.38	701.84	169.23
1999-00	5479.5	545.21	9.95	189.42	3.46	821.93	632.51
2000-01	8228.12	450.51	5.48	344.38	4.19	1234.22	889.84
2001-02	8319.4	406.72	4.89	225.29	2.71	1347.74*	1122.45
2002-03	8553.19	903.52	10.56	873.84	10.22	1385.62*	511.78
2003-04	10971.2	1113.19	10.15	1374.41	12.53	1777.33*	402.92
2004-05	13291.2	1181.04	8.89	1341.15	10.09	2153.17*	812.02
2005-06	15650.8	1878.26	12	474.54	3.03	2535.42*	2060.88
2006-07	20000	1730.4	8.65	NA	0	3240*	NR

Source: 1) Department of Social Welfare, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

2) Annual Report 2006-07. Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, New Delhi.

Note: *16.2 Percent of the Total State Plan Outlay as per SC population 2001 Census.

All the Five Year Plans allocation under SCSP has not been made as per the proportionate percentage of Scheduled Castes in the State and at the Central level during Fifth Plan (1974-78) and Sixth Plan (1980-85) no allocation was made under SCSP for the Central Sector. However, during the 8th Five Year Plan, Central Sector allocation was only 3.36% whereas State allocation for SCSP was 11.26%. It was observed that during the Ninth Five Year Plan under the Central sector allocation for SCSP had been picked up (10.63%) which was almost on par with the allocation under State Sector (11.24%) (Scheduled Caste Sub Plan, 2006). In addition, speakers, at a roundtable conference organised by the Centre for Dalit Studies, were unanimous in their opinion that both officials and policymakers should be held responsible for under-implementation of SCSP or for diversion of funds earmarked for it. K. R. Venugopal, former Secretary to Prime Minister, said out of Rs. 40,000 crore required to be spent on SCSP since 1992-93, about Rs. 18,000 crore was either not spent or diverted. He emphasized that “spending funds

allocated to any programme was a matter of political agenda but the parties in power were not in the mindset to do it". Obviously, during the last 19 years more than Rs. 21,000 crores allocated for uplift of Dalits in the State out of which the highest proportion was diverted. Therefore, it clearly indicated the rulers' indifference in utilization of SCSP funds. Ironically, the diversion was highest since 2007 when mechanisms were set up to monitor proper implementation of the plan. Moderator of the conference Mallepalli Laxmaiah said governments had become cynical in their approach towards SCSP spending as they had been showing SCSP expenditure in cost of construction of flyovers, Hussainsagar lake development and Commonwealth Games. Citing another example, he pointed out that only Rs. 10 crore was re-appropriated for the plan during the last three years when the diverted amount was about Rs. 10,000 crore. Bandaru Dattatreya, former State BJP president, said the focus of SCSP should be on education, health and land for Dalits (The Hindu, March 8, 2011).

Similarly, even at central level as against to the plan allocation of Rs. 2726 crore proposed by the MSJE, the Planning Commission finally approved Rs. 2400 crore for the year 2008-09. The reasons for reducing the actual plan allocations by around 12 percent were unavailability of the Gross Budgetary Support (GBS) and inter-sectoral priorities that motivated our policy makers to reduce the proposed budget. Another, recent study at central level audit by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) on the educational Development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes highlight another episode of betrayal towards the Dalits and Adivasis. The report studied six different centrally sponsored and central sector schemes related to educational development of the Scheduled Caste children. CAG finds that in case of pre-matric scholarship during 2001 and 2006, for most of the years the money released from the government was far below the budgeted estimate and the utilization rate was low. No Central assistance was released under the Book Bank Scheme to States and UTs during 2003-04 and 2005-06. Under Merit Upgradation Scheme, the amount released was around 14 crores during 2001-06 compared to 156 crores budgeted. In Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, more than 5 crore rupees under scholarship and book bank schemes were diverted for other unauthorized purposes. Under NGO assistance programmes, funds were allocated to black listed NGOs. The CAG lamented that, "weaknesses in financial management such as

inaccurate/ unrealistic budgeting, non-utilization of funds, inter-state imbalances in release of central assistance, non-availment of central assistance, unspent balances, delayed release and diversion of funds” have marred the entire approach towards educational development of the Scheduled Caste Communities (Siba Sankar Mohanty, 2008).

The irony is that the common people who should get the benefits of the government programs targeted for their development are being neglected and the government and the implementing agencies etc have no clue on the effectiveness of the programmes being run in the country. The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (MSJE) expressed that it does not have any data highlighting the number of beneficiaries who were successful in crossing below the poverty line figure after having availed of the benefits of the scheme of SCA to SCSP. The parliamentary standing committee on social justice and empowerment carped that “this is nothing but a casual approach on the part of the government vis-à-vis its mandate for working towards bringing the target group into the mainstream of development by making them self-reliant”. The committee also indicates another example of our faulty planning process associated with the welfare of dalits in our country. The actual expenditure on the provisioning for pre-metric scholarship to children of those engaged in unclean occupations in 2006-07 was much higher than what was budgeted for that year. On the basis of this the allocations budgeted in the year 2007-08 was Rs 25 crores which was reduced to Rs 7.5 crores in the revised estimates, of which only Rs.3.1 crore could be spent in 2007-08. It can be said that education is the most powerful instrument for the upliftment of Dalits and marginalized sections. Therefore, the significance of pre-metric scholarships cannot be ignored at any cost. However, the MSJE doesn't have the state wise details of the number of children of those engaged in unclean occupations. As suggested by the Parliamentary Standing Committee, “there is an urgent need to expand the coverage of scholarships for Scheduled Castes at pre-metric stage. Needless to say, that a scheme of scholarship during the formative years would go a long way in the educational development of this vulnerable group of our society. The Committee, urge the Government to revise this scheme and re-introduce it as a Central Sector Scheme of Pre-matric scholarship for Scheduled Castes students too” (Siba Sankar Mohanty, 2008).

Thus the foregoing analysis vividly brings out the fact that the SCSP has not been effectively implemented in Andhra Pradesh. The hope of the deprived section of the people with regard to effective implementation of the SCSP still remains a desideratum. It is to be noted that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocity) Act, 1989 is an important milestone for the SCs as it aims to prevent atrocities on the SCs and STs and eradicate untouchability. Importantly, the SCSP is also another landmark provision for the SCs as it mainly deals with eradication of poverty among the SCs. Therefore, it can be said that better mechanism and accountability are needed for effective and total implementation of the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan (SCSP).

CHAPTER – 5

Village Level Studies – 1

Antharam Village

5.1 Medak District Profile

From Telengana region, Antharam village of Medak district has been selected as a case study. Having consisted of 45 mandals, the Medak district is bounded by Warangal and Nalgonda districts on the east, on the west by Bidar district of Karnataka State, Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts on the north and on the south by Rangareddy district. The district occupies an area of 9,700 Sq. kms and has a population of 2670097, of which 1352466 are male and 1317651 are female. The SC and the ST population in the district respectively constitute 17.5 per cent and 5.04 of the total population. As per the Census 2011, the district has 51.65 per cent literacy rate.

Manjira, a tributary of the river Godavari, is the only important river flowing in the district for about 96kms towards the south-eastern direction. In addition to this, Haldi or Pasupuyeru and the Kudlair are important streams. The hills in the forest division are gradually eroding because of reckless felling and indiscriminate grazing. The climate of the district is generally dry with hot summers. The hottest month for the district is May. The average rainfall in the district is 886mm and 84 per cent of which is received during the period between June and September. The rainiest month is July.

The total forest area in the district is just 95394 hectares which works only 9.84 per cent of the total geographical area of 969901 hectares. It is far less than the 33.5 fixed by National Forest Policy as the desirable minimum in 1952. The only important forest produce using which the beedi making is done. Therefore, only beedi making remains as a major source of revenue to the district from the forest.

The fishery potential of Medak district is quite rich with its perennial sources like Manjira, Haldi, Pocharam reservoirs and the tail end of the Nizam sagar reservoir. Altogether 242 fishermen cooperative societies exist in the district which provides employment to 11794 members. Various industries established in the district only after 1990. Industries like small, cottage, village industries, medium and large scale industries

contributed to the industrial development in the district. Heavy industries like BHEL at Patanchervu and Nizam sagar factory at Zahirabad are providing employment to more than 10,000 people in the district.

The total geographical area of the district is 969900 hectares and the net area sown constitutes 43.18 per cent of the total geographical area. The net area irrigated forms just 12.33 per cent out of the total area of the district. The main irrigation sources are canals, tanks, tube wells and dug wells of which tube wells rank top in order of preferences.

5.2 Munipally Mandal

Munipally Mandal is located in (covered by) Sadasivapeta, Sanagareddy region (divisions) of the Medak District. The area of Munipally Mandal is 20959 kms, bounded by the Ranga Reddy district in the south, Jharasangam Mandal in the west, Reikoda Mandal in the north, Pulkal Mandal in the east. The Mandal has 36,623 total population out of which 18761 are male and 17862 are female. As per the census 2001, the Scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and others constitute 23.02, 41 and 77.09 percent respectively. Out of the total 17450 working population (main & marginal workers), cultivators are about 33.75 percent and the agricultural labour are about 47.79 percent. Similarly, non-workers are nearly 16.15, out of the total population there are 41.58 persons are literates and remaining persons are illiterates in the mandal.

5.3 Antharam Village Profile

A. Geographical Background

Antharam is one of the 1,224 villages of Medak district. Medak district is one of 24 districts of Andhra Pradesh, lies between $17^{\circ} 27^1$ and $18^{\circ} 19^1$ of northern latitude and $77^{\circ} 28^1$, and $79^{\circ} 10^1$ of eastern longitude and occupies an area of 9,699 sq. km with the average annual rainfall of 884.8 mm. The district is bounded on the north by Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts on the east by Warangal and Nalgonda districts, on the south by Ranga Reddy district of Andhra Pradesh, and on the west by Bidar district of Karnataka state. Medak district is divided administratively into 45 mandals and Antharam village comes under Munipally mandal. This village is at a distance of 65 kms from Hyderabad, 8 kms from Zaheerabad and is on the main road to Singur Dam. The total area of the village is 1024 acres; the village spreads from north to south.

B. Religion Composition

Antharam is dominated by Hindus and their population constitutes 70 percent. The Muslims and others constitute 17 per cent and the Christians constitute 13 per cent.

C. Political Status

Antharam village is politically dominated by the land owning upper castes such as *reddy, kamma, lingayat, kapu, yadavas* and other castes. However, other backward and scheduled castes are numerically large but their economic position is weak, because there is no awareness in terms of educational and political.

D. Climate and Rainfall

The climate of this village is generally warm and humid. Temperature usually reaches peak in April-May and lowest in January. Recorded temperature at Munupally Mandal is 43 degree cm in May 2006 and 10.5 cm in January 2007. Monsoon season usually starts from May and continues up to October, rain fall is heavy during the months of June and July.

E. Soils

The village composed of both plain and dry land. The soil of the village can be classified into three categories namely clay, sandy loam and sandy, generally the texture of the soil of the village is sanyloam. There is no proper irrigation facility and most of the agricultural land depends upon the rain fall. The village lands are suitable to cultivate crops such as bengalgram, paddy, sugarcane, blackgram, seasons, jowar, greengram, redgram, oma, wheat, chill and cotton

F. Health

A primary health centre exists in the village. It was established in 1974 now it runs with only two staff members. The benefit of health centre services is not only limited to the villagers but neighboring villagers as well, however, there is no veterinary center for livestock.

G. Electricity

The village was electrified in 1961. Almost all households, barring SC and BC households, have electricity connection now. Only few SC and BC households are not

electrified as they are located little far from the village. Besides, electric motor connection remains as main channel for irrigation.

H. Drinking Water Facilities

Pipe water supply in the village started in August 1975. After the introduction of this, wells and hand pumps are used for washing as well as for some other miscellaneous purposes. Some upper caste households get drinking water connection through own water tap, such families pay water charge to the village panchayat. Scarcity for drinking will take place only in summer season.

Moreover the pipe water has contributed to the decrease of social distance between different castes. That is, everybody drinks the same water without any social separation. Earlier the situation was different because the Harijans and the low-caste people were not allowed to take water from the wells that were situated in the residence of the high castes. They used only their own wells or hand pumps. The supply of electricity brought out further changes in the village life and transformed agricultural water supply, which had earlier been managed by manual or animal power, into electric motor pumps.

I. Transport and Communication Facilities

This village is connected by *pucca* road and has APSRTC bus service. The APSRTC runs six times every day from morning 6.30 to night 9.30 however, seven seater autos ply in every half an hour from Hyderabad to Bidar main road. Communication facilities such as post office, telephone exchange are located in the heart of the village. Majority of the villagers maintain mobile phones as a communication means. One rupee coin boxes are maintained commercially by few families for public convenience for making local and STD phones. Similarly, few household only maintain landline phone connections.

J. Educational Institutions

There is one government upper primary school, two government primary schools and two private primary schools located in the village. All government schools follow Telugu medium as medium of instruction whereas private schools opted English as their medium of instruction. Mid day meal programme in government primary schools is effectively implemented.

Section – I

5.4 Socio-economic and Political Scenario of Antaram Village

5.4.1 Population

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes together comprised over one-fourth (24%) of India's population. They are considered to be marginalized in the development process. In 2001, there were 12.3 and 5 million SCs and STs comprising 16.2 and 6.6 per cent of the total population in Andhra Pradesh. Medak is one of the three districts (Mahabubnagar, Medak and Prakasam), which are identified as least urbanized SC population districts (M. Venkatanarayana and L. Sudhakar Reddy, 2009). Antaram village is a multi-caste village inhabited by different castes like *gouda*, *mala*, *madiga*, *mangali*, *chakali*, *yarukala*, and *balija*. It also has substantial number of Muslim populations. Goudas are politically and economically dominant in the village.

Table: 5.1 – Caste-Wise Sample Households in Antaram Village

Caste	Total Number of Households	Number of Sample Households	Male	Female	Total
Dalits Total	72	72	183 (51.69)	171 (48.31)	354 (100)
Non-Dalits Total	185	30	74 (51.38)	70 (48.62)	144 (100)
Total	257	103	257 (51.60)	241 (48.40)	498 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

At the time of field survey, 257 households inhabited in the village. Out of the total households, 103 households were selected for empirical study. Keep in view the study main focus on Dalits; all the Dalits households of the village were covered. However for comparative analysis 30 non-Dalits household were selected of which 15 households from BC and another 15 households from OC categories were covered. Out of the total Dalits population, male constitutes nearly 52 per cent and female are 48 per cent. Similarly, male and female population of non Dalit category constitutes 51.38 and 48.62 per cent respectively. Therefore, even in the overall sample population including Dalits and non-Dalits male population percentage is higher than the female population in the village.

Table: 5.2 – Age and Caste-wise Population Distribution in Antaram Village

Age	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-5	19 (10.38)	16 (9.36)	35 (9.89)	5 (6.76)	5 (6.76)	10 (6.94)	24 (9.34)	21 (8.71)	45 (9.04)
6-15	46 (25.14)	43 (25.15)	89 (25.14)	12 (16.22)	11 (14.86)	23 (15.97)	58 (22.57)	54 (22.41)	112 (22.49)
16-29	48 (26.23)	46 (26.90)	94 (26.55)	21 (28.38)	20 (27.03)	41 (28.47)	69 (26.85)	66 (27.39)	135 (27.11)
30-44	35 (19.13)	30 (17.54)	65 (18.36)	15 (20.27)	18 (24.32)	33 (22.92)	50 (19.46)	48 (19.92)	98 (19.68)
45-59	28 (15.30)	20 (11.70)	48 (13.56)	8 (10.81)	10 (13.51)	18 (12.50)	36 (14.01)	30 (12.45)	66 (13.25)
Above 60	7 (3.83)	16 (9.36)	23 (6.50)	13 (17.57)	6 (8.11)	19 (13.19)	20 (7.78)	22 (9.13)	42 (8.43)
Total	183 (100)	171 (100)	354 (100)	74 (100)	70 (100)	144 (100)	257 (100)	241 (100)	498 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

The above table indicates the age and caste wise population. It can be stated that 0-15 and above 60 age group population is dependents. The dependency population among Dalits is more and above 41 per cent of population is dependent whereas it is 36 per cent among non-Dalits. At the same time, the overall village population dependency rate is as much as 40 per cent, besides; male dependency rate is little higher (41%) than the female (40%) population in the village. Moreover, among Dalits, female dependency is higher (45%) against the male (39%), but it is quite different in the case of non-Dalits as male dependency rate is higher (41%) against the female population (29%). It is quite interesting that the age group of above 60 among Dalits is just 6.50 per cent while it is as much as 13.19 per cent among non-Dalits. Therefore, it indicates that Dalits are unable to take care of old age persons. It is known that Dalits are financial poor so they cannot afford super specialty hospitals, more so they are educationally backward therefore they are not much aware of new disease and precautionary measures particularly in the case of old age persons.

As far as health is concerned, Andhra Pradesh government initiated 'Rajiv Arogyasri Scheme' in 14th May 2004 with the main objective of improving access of BPL families to quality medical care for the treatment of identified diseases which involves hospitalization, surgeries and therapies, through an identified network of health care providers. Medak district was not covered since its inception of this scheme and this district was included only in Phase – III. There were five districts namely Medak,

Karimnagar, Kadapa, Prakasam and Nellore covered in Phase – III out of which Medak district recorded second highest BPL population (26.90 lakhs) followed by Karimnagar district (27.41 lakhs) (<http://www.aarogyasri.org>). As result majority of the below poverty line population, especially the Dalits, could avail Rajiv Arogyasri scheme, through which most of diseases are treated on free of cost.

5.4.2 Education

Education is the basic right of every child, which implies that every child must be in school. However, many children could not realize this basic right and are deprived of basic education. Moreover, education is generally recognized as a universal right and not a privilege meant for some classes of society (Mahendra Dev, 2009). The Indian Constitution and many other policy resolutions have emphasized universal access to education and enrollment of children of school-going age irrespective of caste and class. Nonetheless, there is no equal access to education across social groups. As a result, SCs / STs are the most backward in terms of education both at state and national levels. There were also significant disparities across social groups in respect of children at school in the state. The percentage of children in the age of 5-14 are attending school is relatively lower among the SCs/STs than the other communities (M. Venkatanarayana and L. Sudhakar Reddy, 2009). There was only one upper primary school which provides education up to seventh standard in Telugu medium. Anganwadi centre was also run where below five years and above three years children were educated. It was also found that there were 69 students from Dalits and 15 students from non-Dalits were regularly attending upper primary school run by the government in the village. Similarly, 26 children from Dalits and only three children from non-Dalits attended Anganwadi centre and all of them belonged to below five years of age.

The following table reveals the age group gender and caste wise educational status. The educational levels however vary substantially across the caste groups. 6-15 age groups register high proportion followed by the subsequent age groups. Gender wise literacy rate shows that both male and female registered almost equal proportion among Dalits particularly from age groups of 6-15 and 16-29. 33.84

Table: 5.3 – Age Group, Caste and Gender Wise Literacy in Antaram Village

Age Group	Dalits Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	1	2	3	4	5 (4/1)	6	7 (6/2)	8	9 (8/3)	10 (5-7)	11 (7/5)
06 – 15	46	43	89	39	0.85	35	0.81	74	0.83	3	0.96
16 – 29	48	46	94	40	0.83	37	0.80	77	0.82	3	0.97
30 – 44	35	30	65	19	0.54	3	0.10	22	0.34	44	0.18
45 – 59	28	20	48	2	0.07	0	0.0	2	0.04	7	0.00
Above 60	7	16	23	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.00
Total	164	155	319	100	0.61	75	0.48	175	0.55	13	0.79
Age Group	Non-Dalits Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	06 – 15	12	11	23	12	100	9	0.82	21	0.91	18
16 – 29	21	20	41	21	100	17	0.85	38	0.93	15	0.85
30 – 44	15	18	33	13	0.87	11	0.61	24	0.73	26	0.71
45 – 59	8	10	18	3	0.38	0	0.0	3	0.17	38	0.00
Above 60	13	6	19	6	0.46	0	0.0	6	0.32	46	0.00
Total	69	65	134	55	0.80	36	0.55	91	0.68	24	0.69
Age Group	Total Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	06 – 15	58	54	112	51	0.88	44	0.39	95	0.85	49
16 – 29	69	66	135	61	0.88	54	0.40	115	0.85	48	0.45
30 – 44	50	48	98	32	0.64	14	0.14	46	0.47	50	0.22
45 – 59	36	30	66	5	0.14	0	0.0	5	0.08	14	0.00
Above 60	20	22	42	6	0.30	0	0.0	6	0.14	30	0.00
Total	233	220	453	155	0.67	111	0.25	266	0.59	42	0.37

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09. Note: GG=Gender Gap; GPI=Gender Parity Index

It is to be noted that no female between 45-59 age group onwards and above 60 age group of male found literates among Dalits. Among different age groups, the gender gap among Dalits is almost equal upto 16-29 age group and started descending trend from 30-44 age group. Therefore, Dalit female literacy level and access to education is relatively low and the highest gender gap registered (44) between 30-44 age group. It appears that about 50 per cent of Dalit female still not obtain proper education which precipitates their deprivation in education. The gender parity index of male and female reveals that, the female is in a disadvantaged condition in the village when compared to male. In absolute terms, GPI points in different age groups are more than 0.18 which is the lowest between 30-44 age group. Similarly, the highest GPI points registered as 0.97 between 16-29 age group among Dalits. It is said that Dalits students are able to study up to secondary level as circumstances are little favorable in terms of school distance from the village and minimal expenditure over education. After secondary level most of the

Dalits discontinue their education due poor performance or failed in exams. It is also attributed that their participation in agricultural activities is needed; therefore ultimately, they become daily wage earners or income earners to support the family. At any cost, female students are discontinued even if their performance is well and they desired to continue their studies. According to respondents, female are not part of household income earners. Because, even if they study well and get employed, all the income they earn will go to their husband's house after their marriage. He expressed his concern that it is highly impossible to acquire a permanent employment by government sector with a graduate qualification. And somehow, female children will get married after attaining the age of 18 years. Therefore, particularly at this village level Dalits head of the households are not much interested to get their female children educated after secondary level.

Among non-Dalits, particularly male population registers 100 per cent literacy rate between the age group of 06-15 and 16-29. However, the female stands at below 85 per cent in the respective age groups. As in the Dalits case, non-Dalits female literacy proportion is zero between 45-59 and above 60 age groups. In absolute terms GPI points in different age groups are more than 0.71 which is the lowest between 30-44 age group. Similarly, the highest GPI points is registered as 0.85 between 16-29 age group among non-Dalits. Therefore, it may be noted that both male and female among non-Dalits are equally availed the educational opportunities. In the case of non-Dalits in connection with female education is quite opposite to the Dalits, as per their notion they are very much interested to get their female children educated. In order to provide good education, they prefer equal priority for both male and female children. Good education or employment in government sector for female children in due course has caused lessening the burden of the marriage cost as well as meeting the dowry demands of bridegroom. Thus, Dalits are so reluctant whereas non-Dalits assume prestigious in female education point of view.

5.4.3 Workforce

Antaram village continues to be predominantly agricultural village in terms of the occupational distribution of the working population. Table 4 shows workforce distribution in Antaram village. There has been a high concentration of workforce in the agriculture and allied activities. The rural non-farm sector is considered to be a very

important source of supplementary income for the small farmers' class, but it is very weak in general and in the case of Dalits in particular.

Table: 5.4 – Population and Workforce in Antaram Village

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population	183	171	354	74	70	144	257	241	498
Total Non-Workers	111	96	207	44	48	92	155	144	299
Non-Workers % to Total Population	60.66	56.14	58.47	59.46	68.57	63.89	60.31	59.75	60.04
Total Workers	72	75	147	30	22	52	102	97	199
Workers % to Total Population	39.34	43.86	41.53	40.54	31.43	36.11	39.69	40.25	39.96
Agricultural Workers	65	73	138	22	21	43	87	94	181
% of Agricultural Workers to Total Workers	90.28	97.33	93.88	73.33	95.45	82.69	85.29	96.91	90.95
Non-Agricultural Workers	7	2	9	8	1	9	15	3	18
% of Non-agricultural Workers to Total Workers	9.72	2.67	6.12	26.67	4.55	17.31	14.71	3.09	9.05

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Out of the total population in the village the proportion of total workers among Dalits is little higher when compared to non-Dalits. However, Dalits total workers proportion is also little higher compared to the total village level proportion. Conversely, in the case of non-Dalits it is four per cent lower. When it comes to the gender wise proportion, female proportion is about 13 per cent higher over non-Dalits female. In terms of male proportion, both Dalits and non-Dalits constitute equal proportion. Therefore, among Dalits, the female proportion is higher, whereas in the case of non-Dalits male domination over female is observed. It is interesting to note that agricultural workers among non-Dalits (83%) and Dalits (94%) constitute substantial proportion to the total work force. As against to this, non-agricultural workers proportion among non-Dalits registered as high as 17.31 per cent proportion to the total workers, which is 11 per cent higher over Dalits. Thus, most of Dalits are still depend on agricultural labour work while non-Dalits earned different source of income particularly through non-agricultural activities.

5.4.4 Occupations

The following table reveals the caste and gender wise occupational distribution. Cultivation is the main activity of non-dalits, therefore about 48 per cent of non-dalits main occupation was cultivation as against to 20 per cent of Dalits. It is observed that nearly 72 per cent of Dalits still serve as agriculture labourers while just about 23 per cent of non-Dalits engage in agricultural labour work.

Table: 5.5 – Gender and Caste Wise Occupational Distribution of Workers in Antaram Village

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
I – Agriculture									
Cultivators	19 (26.39)	11 (14.67)	30 (20.41)	18 (60)	7 (31.82)	25 (48.08)	37 (36.27)	18 (18.56)	55 (27.64)
Agriculture Labourers	46 (63.89)	60 (80)	106 (72.11)	04 (13.33)	10 (45.45)	14 (26.92)	50 (49.02)	70 (72.16)	120 (60.30)
Livestock etc.	0 (0)	2 (2.67)	2 (1.36)	0 (0)	3 (13.64)	3 (5.77)	0 (0)	5 (5.15)	5 (2.51)
II – Non-Agriculture									
Self Employment	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
(i) Petty Shop	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(4.55)	(1.92)	(0)	(1.03)	(0.50)
(ii) Tailoring	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (6.67)	1 (4.55)	3 (5.77)	2 (1.96)	1 (1.03)	3 (1.51)
(iii) Auto Driver	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3.33)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	1 (0.50)
(iv) Other Non-Agricultural Work	4 (5.56)	2 (2.67)	6 (4.08)	2 (6.67)	0 (0)	2 (3.85)	6 (5.88)	2 (2.06)	8 (4.02)
Other Services (Govt.)	3 (4.17)	0 (0)	3 (2.04)	3 (10)	0 (0)	3 (5.77)	6 (5.88)	0 (0)	6 (3.02)
Total	72 (100)	75 (100)	147 (100)	30 (100)	22 (100)	52 (100)	102 (100)	97 (100)	199 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Obviously, landlessness and near landlessness (i.e. <1 are) together with constitute about 61 per cent among Dalits. Therefore, landlessness may be the main reason for constituting higher proportion agricultural labourers among Dalits. Contrary to this, about 10 per cent of Dalits is engaged in non-agricultural activities out of which just four per cent of them have secured regular employment from public sector. Non-Dalits proportion in non-agricultural activities is relatively higher i.e. 17 per cent which more than seven per cent higher over Dalits. Interestingly, there are few non-Dalits who perform various self employment activities such as petty shop, tailoring and auto driver. Surprisingly, no one from Dalits is self employed in petty shop business, tailoring and

auto-driving. It is attributed that, lack of resources and investment are the main factors which determine the self employment. So Dalits are still far away from them, furthermore limited access to land is also one of the main reasons which hinder the self employment among Dalits.

Among Dalits and the non-Dalits, very few households confined to cattle rearing and their proportion is 1.36 per cent and 5.77 per cent respectively. It is observed that these households own milch animals on their own and no household is assisted by the government. It is also observed that all non-Dalits own milch animals on their own finance, however one out of two households among Dalits have received loan from moneylenders for this purpose. It may be noted that self employment activity may be performed by non-Dalits on their own finance whereas Dalits have to depend on moneylenders if they desire to perform the same activity. Therefore lack of own finance could be the main reason for not improving self employment from Dalits.

5.4.5 Landholdings

In Antaram village, the highest incidence of landlessness is among the SCs. And more than 20 per cent of Dalits still remain landless and 40 per cent of them possess only less than one acre of land as against to 13 per cent landlessness and another 13 percent less than one acre land from non-dalits. Percentage of Dalits from marginal to large apparently declined and no household exist from large farmers category. Minimum size of landholding households from Dalits is 0.20 as against to 0.90 cent of non-dalits similarly, the maximum size from Dalits is only 14 acres whereas in the case of non-dalits it is relatively high of 26 acres. Percentage of small farmers in the total from non-dalits group is recorded about 27 per cent whereas Dalits occupies just 15 per cent. In all size of landholdings non-dalits percentage is almost two times high barring marginal farmers landholdings (1.01 –2.50 size) where Dalits are little close with two percent variation of non-dalits.

In addition, there is a considerable distinction between these two groups in terms of possessing minimum and maximum size of landholdings. Therefore, there are Dalit who have very meager of 0.20 acre of minimum landholdings as against to 0.95 acres non-dalits. Similarly, as far as maximum size of landholdings is concerned, a household belongs to Dalits owns of 14 acres as against to 26 acres of maximum land owned by

non-dalits. Interestingly, when compared to non-Dalits as well as village as a whole, the Dalits who own less than one acre of land size are more in terms of their percentage at village level. It is also observed that all of them who come under less than one acre landholding size have only dry land which entirely depends on monsoons for cultivation. However, in the case of non-Dalits there are less than one acre households but majority of their land is being cultivated under tank through which two crops in a year may be possible at times.

Table: 5.6 – Caste and Size-Wise Distribution of Landholdings in Antaram Village

Landholdings (in acres)	Dalits		Non-Dalits		All	
	Number	%	Number	%	Total	%
Landless	15	20.8	4	13.33	19	18.6
< 1 acre	29	40.3	4	13.33	33	32.4
1.01 – 2.50	13	18.1	6	20	19	18.6
2.51 – 5.00	11	15.3	8	26.67	19	18.6
5.01 – 10	3	4.2	4	13.33	7	6.9
10.01 – 25	1	1.4	3	10	4	3.9
25.01 above	0	0	1	3.33	1	1.0
Total	72	100	30	100	102	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Households of different land size categories and the proportion of land owned by them and also average size of land is given in the following table. Insofar as distribution of land between Dalits and non-Dalits is concerned, a household of non-Dalits holds maximum size of 26 acres land, whereas no household from Dalits holds land of this size. Therefore, just three per cent of non-dalits operates only 26 acres of land. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that while average size of land owned by non-dalits from large size category was much higher than their per cent (3.33 per cent) share in total households in comparison to Dalits. It is found that there were households in the past from Dalits who owned nearly 30 acres when joint family system existed but gradually it was worn away as soon as the nuclear family system set up. In the same way, there were also families from non-dalits who were operating more than 100 acre in the past. Among various reasons some households also surrendered their lands when the land ceiling act came in to effect, which benefited few households of Dalits as well.

Numerical proportion of marginal households was high among Dalits as a result the average size of land was highly skewed among them. Total of 42 Dalits households

operated just 38.41 acres and their average size of land is limited only to less than one acre (0.91) while non-dalits operate 13.61 acres by just 10 households and the average size of land is more than one acre (1.36). It is evident from the fact that while the average size of land accounted for by Dalits households, marginal households in particular, was very high in comparison with their share in the total households. Similarly, the proportion of average size of land accounted for by Dalits medium households was very low compared to their share in total households. There was not much difference in the average size of landholdings between Dalits and non-Dalits except large size category. Therefore, Dalits would be able to retain land up to medium size beyond this they could not possess.

Table: 5.7 – Caste Wise Number of Holdings and Area Operated in Antaram Village

Size Group (in acres)	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)
Marginal (1.01 – 2.50)	42	38.41	0.91	10	13.61	1.36	52	52.02	1
Small (2.51 – 5)	11	38.25	3.48	8	33.37	4.17	19	71.62	3.77
Semi-Medium (5.01 – 10)	3	21	7	4	28.5	7.13	7	49.5	7.07
Medium (10.01 – 25)	1	14	14	3	42.5	14.17	4	56.5	14.13
Large (25.01 above)	0	0	0	1	26	26.00	1	26	26

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Interestingly majority of Dalits have *assignment patta* land and very few of them have *settlement patta* land. In general, the land which belongs to assignment patta is distributed by the government, therefore, whoever possesses such patta land has no right to sell on their own. In addition, only nine households benefited by land ceiling act therefore, there was no significant impact for the poor through land reforms. The major factors for the poor impact, according to the study, were allotment of barren, unproductive and un-irrigated land, non-availability of financial assistance for making

improvement on the land, lack of awareness of these facilities among land allottees, and so on.

It was reported that the average transactions cost for Dalits in terms of number of visits paid to the revenue officials, amount paid as bribe etc was very high. Prior to the distribution of ceiling land, Dalits were lured by the revenue official with the pretext of allotting wet land with which they paid some amount as a bribe to satisfy them. So, nearly all the land allottees had taken possession of the allotted land without difficulties. Finally, all of them were given dry land which was little far from the village and it involved more cost if they desired to cultivate the allotted land. Most of the households had made permanent improvements on the land allotted to them and more than 90 per cent of the land allottees had started cultivation their land within one year of its allotment.

Table: 5.8 – Agriculture Land Allotted by the Government to Dalits and Non-Dalits Households in Antharam Village

Size of Landholdings (in acres)	Number of Households Assigned Land	Extent of Land (in acres)
Dalits		
1 – 2.5 acres	1	.20
	1	.25
	1	.37
	1	.75
	1	.15
	1	.20
	1	.30
	1	.38
	1	.40
Grand Total	9	3
Non-Dalits		
1 – 2.5 acres	1	.37

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Even though nine households from Dalits benefited from the land distribution, there were still 15 households suffer lack of agricultural land. From the above table it is clear that irrespective of caste no household benefited with at least one acre of land. Distributed minimum size of land for Dalits was only 0.20 cents whereas the maximum size was 0.75 cents. Out of the total sample size from non-dalits only one household benefited with 0.37 cents by ceiling laws. It was observed that all of them, particularly Dalits, had been allotted dry land whereas non-dalits household benefited by wet land.

No specific reason identified but non-dalits might have given more bribe apart from strong political recommendation to the revenue officials. Moreover, the village surpanch, at the time of distribution, belonged to non-dalits and above all the beneficiary household was a very close relative to the local political leader. Now, it can be said that wet land distribution for Dalits under ceiling laws is highly complicated unless they have strong political influence. It is observed that political influence plays crucial role at rural level for all operations. However, lack of education and awareness Dalits are still politically lagging behind even though they are politically power at times.

This study also focused on purchase and sale of land by Dalits during the period from 1972 to 2008. Since land ceiling laws came in to force from 1972 onwards, this study confined to the mentioned period aiming at beneficiaries who benefited by land ceiling act might have sold the same land various reasons. Out of 57 households of Dalits seven households were able to purchase a total of 17.90 acres of land while non-dalits only one household could purchase of 3.50 acres. Six households out of seven belong to Dalits purchased land on their own savings from small farmers' category and only one household from marginal farmer category purchased land on their own savings. Another one household from small farmers' category purchased land by taking loan from bank and close relatives. More or less all the households of Dalits purchased land in 1980's and only two household purchased in 1997 and 1999. In terms of cost there was huge difference between wet and dry lands and comparatively wet land cost was approximately double. The cost of dry land, according to respondents, per acre in 1980 was just Rs.10,000/-, Rs.30,000/- in 1997 and Rs.50,000/- in 1999 respectively. However, in case of rates of wet land in different years were Rs.30,000 in 1980, Rs.50,000/- in 1997 and about one lakh in 1999. From small farmers' category, a farmer belong to Dalits purchased one acre wet land from the same community in 1997 and its cost was Rs.52000/-. Remarkably, purchasing land from same (Dalits between Dalits) or below status community was very easy, whereas it was highly difficult in the case of higher / above status (Dalits between non-Dalits).

Table: 5.9 – Land Purchased by Dalits and Non-Dalits by Different Sources in Antaram Village

Size of Land-holdings (in acres)	Dalits				Non-Dalits			All			
	Source of Finance		Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)		Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)		Source of Finance		Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)	
	Own Savings	Loan	Own Savings	Loan	Own Savings	Own Savings	Loan	Own Savings	Loan	Own Savings	Loan
1.01 – 2.50	1	0	0.20	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.20	0
2.51 – 5.00	6	1	1 1 1.50 4 4 5	1.20	1	3.50	0	7	1	20	1.20
Total	7	1	16.7	1.20	1	3.50	0	8	1	20.20	1.20

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

The main source of finance for purchasing land was own savings for both Dalits as well as non-Dalits. Interestingly, the main source of finance for seven out of eight Dalits households and only one non-Dalits was their own savings and the remaining one Dalit household source of finance was loan from money lenders. A majority of the Dalits households reported that all the money they spent for purchasing land was derived from their non-agricultural activities which were held by migrating urban regions. In addition, they used to try to reduce the cost cultivation through reciprocity system in all agricultural operations. Wherever, agricultural operations in particular, less number of labours required in such instances own labour was used instead of exchange or daily wage labour. Income from land leased-in cultivation was also utilized to purchase land, which experienced major share in purchasing land apart from the income saved through migration. Therefore, income derived from migration, income through exchange labour or reciprocity system and income through leased-in cultivation were the main causes for saving by Dalits which ultimately helped them purchasing permanent assets like land. As against to this, non-Dalits own savings were feasible through agriculture income. All the crop yield was used to store with proper care and it was sold whenever the crop yield get profitable price. Crop yield was not sold at the time of harvesting but it would be stored until it gets reasonable price. Crop storage method was viable only for non-Dalits as they were living in pucca / huge houses. For instance, there were few households who sold land only for constructing pucca houses which is largely used to store the crop yield.

Very few households were also saved income through selling non-cultivable land that is sold for low price and the same was saved for unforeseen incidents like purchasing cultivable land. It is underlined that Dalits still neither maintain pucca large houses nor possess surplus land like non-cultivable land and they have too low to cultivate land. In recent days, Dalits possess land but cannot live whole family depend on it as it is not sound for agriculture.

In absolute terms 18 households out of 72 from Dalits community sold lands for various reasons. Precisely, from all respondents, five reasons were identified for selling land *viz.*, daughters' marriage, ill-health of family members, house construction, clearing mounting debts and given to government under land ceiling act. Land sold households for multiple reasons were also identified but they were very few in numbers. Therefore, exactly 25 per cent of the Dalits had sold their cultivable land for various reasons whereas in the case of non-Dalits sample size it was 50 per cent. Two households belonged to Dalits and who came under less than one acre category sold 5.50 acres of land due to ill health of family members. Another one household sold 1.50 acres of land to clear mounting debts. In fact, some years back, this household had borrowed an amount of Rs.30, 000/- from the same community on interest of 3 per cent. Even after four years it could fail to clear both principal as well as interest amount and finally in the presence of village elders it was resolved that the borrower had to surrender his 1.50 acres of his dry land as compensation. Again two households were identified from less than 2.50 acres land size category as if they sold land (1.30 acres) to clear debts but they sold only to clear old debts that were made in the past for family members' severe ill health. After borrowing money from non-Dalits they failed to clear according to their agreement and the borrower often demanded their land for lesser amount. However, they sold it for some other at higher rate than the borrower demanded and clear all the debt.

Table: 5.10 – Caste and Reason Wise Land Sold in Antaram Village

Land Sold Reasons	Dalits						Non-Dalits						All							
	Landless	<1	1.01 – 2.50	2.50 – 5	10 – 25	Total	Landless	2.50 – 5	5.01- 10	10.1 – 25	25 Above	Total	Landless	<1	1.01 – 2.50	2.50 – 5	5.01- 10	10.1 – 25	25 Above	Total
Daughters' Marriage	1 3.50 (2)	.40 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	0	6.9 (5)	4.50 (1)	3.5 .75 (2)	0	1 1 (2)	0	10.75 (5)	9 (3)	.40 (1)	1 (1)	5.25 (3)	0	1 1 (2)	0	17.65 (10)
Ill-health of Family Members	0	1 4.50 (2)	0	.30 .50 (2)	1 (1)	7.3 (5)	0	0	3.32 6 (2)	0	0	9.32 (2)	0	1 4.5 (2)	0	.30 .50 (2)	3.32 6 (2)	1 (1)	0	16.62 (7)
Daughters' Marriage & Ill-health of Family Members	0	1 (1)	1.45 (1)	1 (1)	2 (1)	5.45 (4)	0	1.5 (1)	0	4 (1)	12 (1)	17.5 (3)	0	1 (1)	1.45 (1)	2.50 (2)	0	6 (2)	12 (1)	22.95 (7)
House Construction	0.20 (1)	0	0	0	0	0.20 (1)	0	0	1.50 (1)	0	0	1.5 (1)	0.20 (1)	0	0	0	1.50 (1)	0	0	1.70 (2)
To clear mounting Debts	0	1.50 (1)	.50 .80 (2)	0	0	2.8 (3)	0	0	0	.75 (1)	0	.75 (1)	0	1.50 (1)	.50 .80 (2)	0	0	.75 (1)	0	3.55 (4)
Given to Govt. under LCA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10 26 20 (3)	0	0	56 (3)	0	0	0	0	10 26 20 (3)	0	0	56 (3)
Total	4.70 (3)	8.40 (5)	3.75 (4)	2.80 (4)	3 (2)	22.65 (18)	4.50 (1)	5.75 (3)	66.82 (6)	6.75 (4)	12 (1)	95.82 (15)	9.20 (4)	8.40 (5)	3.75 (4)	8.55 (7)	66.82 (6)	9.75 (6)	12 (1)	118.47 (33)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses are number of households sold land by reason.

Firstly, land sold by Dalits for the cause of ill health of family members played an important role followed by daughters' marriage. With this single reason 7.3 acres of land was sold by five households and most of the land (5.50 acres) was sold by less than one acre land size category. A household sold 4.50 acres of land when one of the family members met with accident in which he lost both legs and another person from same family suffered due to heart related diseases which also required huge amount for treatment. Secondly, cost of marriage particularly for female became expensive in which land as a dowry became common phenomenon even for Dalits. A household who had just 3.50 acres of land had only three daughters and no son distributed the entire land among the daughters as a marriage gift. As a result, he became landless now no one is there who take care of the household as both are old aged persons. The reason 'land sold for daughters' marriage' under which more than three fifth of the total land exclusively from landless category was sold to perform daughters marriage. Lastly, a household has also been identified under the reason 'land sold for house construction' from landless category. It was sanctioned an amount of Rs.12000/- under the 'Indira Awas Yojana' programme for house construction but the sanctioned amount was too low to construct the pucca house. Since the sanctioned amount was inadequate and the rate of interest was very high to borrow some amount from money lenders, he ultimately sold of 0.20 acre of land to complete the remaining house construction. Obviously, the sold land was non-cultivable and also far away from the village, more so, no income or saving is derived from it for a long time.

In contrast, during 1980s three households belong to non-Dalits had surrendered an extent of 56 acres of land to the government abiding by the terms and condition framed in land ceiling act. The total land sold by various reasons. Of which the land 'given to government under LCA' was about 59 per cent. In absolute terms, as much as 56 acres out of 95.82 acres were surrendered to the government. It is interesting to note that during 80s only nine Dalits households with just 3 acres and one non-Dalits household of just 0.37cents were benefited so far. However, in 1980s about 56 acres of land was taken into possession from this village. But the entire land was not taken into consideration under surplus land distribution. Consequently there were 15 out of 72 Dalits and four out of 30 non-Dalits households still remained as landless. Above all,

more than 58 per cent of Dalits and above 33 per cent of non-Dalits belonged to the marginal category owning less than one hectare of land.

As in the case of Dalits, non-Dalits had also spent more amount towards daughters marriage followed by family members ill health. Providing marriage gift in the form of land has become common character and traditional. Though daughters are educationally sound, giving land as a dowry at the time marriage is maintained as it would be their permanent source and helpful in any unforeseen incidents take place. Consequently, about 11 acres of land was sold by five households for exclusively cause of performing daughters' marriage. Therefore it is also not true that all the land was given as dowry but some of it was for only daughters' marriage expenses which include jewellerys, home appliances etc. only one household had sold land for constructing pucca house from semi-medium size category, it is the household which had nearly 100 acres of land in 1970s. However, some land was surrendered to government abiding by land ceiling laws and remaining land was distributed among his four sons'. After distribution, some more land remained, out of which 1.50 acres sold to construct pucca house only for staying two old aged persons.

5.4.6 Agricultural Assets

As far as agricultural assets are concerned except few of Dalits, all of them were assisted by State governmental programme. Motor with pumpsets six households of Dalits owned motor with pump sets which were assisted by the State government. Similarly only one non-Dalit was assisted by the State government of same asset. Therefore, six out of 72 Dalits households and one out of 30 non-dalits were assisted with motor and pump sets by State government. Open wells are operated by five Dalits households with the assistance of the State government. Interestingly, no household is assisted either by bullock cart or bore well from these Dalits and non-Dalits groups. In contrast, without state assistance Dalits have only one bullock cart and two bore wells.

Table: 5.11 – Caste Wise Number of Agricultural Assets in Antaram Village

Agricultural Assets	With State Assistance			Without State Assistance			Total		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
Motor and Pump sets	6	1	7	0	8	8	6	9	15
Bullock Cart	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Open Well	5	0	5	0	8	8	5	8	13
Bore Well	0	0	0	2	7	9	2	7	9
Total	11	1	12	3	23	26	14	24	38

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

However, in the case of non-Dalits, eight households have motor pumpsets and another eight households have open wells and another seven households have bore wells. Therefore, 15 out of 30 non-Dalits households' lands are cultivated with adequate water sources. It can be said that sources of irrigation itself is a significant factor which assess the economic position of Dalits as well as non-Dalits. It is clear that majority of non-Dalits are sound in terms of possessing agricultural assets. Generally, availability of irrigation facility may cause to improve not only agricultural assets but also other assets.

5.4.7 Housing

The following table reveals the house status and state assistance for house construction. More than 36 per cent of Dalits still reside in thatched houses and 40 per cent of them living in semi pucca houses. One household is found to be without house and house site in the village and they still reside in rented thatched houses. Interestingly, just 24 per cent of Dalits living in pucca houses under which about 53 per cent of them were benefited by state assistance. It is to be noted that just 23 per cent of Dalits (6 out of 26) have benefited by state assistance under thatched housed category and 77 per cent yet to avail this benefit. Despite they have been assisted by government under housing scheme they could not construct even semi pucca houses and it appears that the entire assistance was misused by beneficiaries themselves. Majority of Dalits could not construct pucca houses as the sanctioned amount is inadequate and not in a position to invest more amount to build pucca houses. Out of the total 29 semi pucca houses just three households received state assistance. All respondents said, prior to state assistance

they were residing in thatched houses and only after the state assistance they would be able to construct semi-pucca houses. Therefore, very few Dalits would be able to construct semi-pucca houses with state assistance. It is observed that state assistance may be helpful only in the case of constructing semi-pucca houses but not in constructing pucca houses. Based on this, it is clear that the sanctioned amount is inadequate if the beneficiary desired to construct pucca houses. Conversely, 9 out of 17, pucca houses category among Dalits was assisted by the state under developmental programmes. It was reported that, about two times investment, equal to the state assistance, is required to construct even pucca houses. It is estimated that state assistance is just one third of the pucca house construction therefore; allocated amount for house construction must be enhanced if the state is really desired for the welfare of the poor particularly in constructing pucca house for the poor.

Table: 5.12 – Caste Wise House Status and State Assistance for House Construction in Antaram Village

State Assistance	Dalits				Non-Dalits				All			
	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total
Site given by Government	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	3
Loan	0	3	7	10	1	1	3	5	1	4	10	15
Loan & Site	5	0	2	7	0	1	0	1	5	1	2	8
Own	19	26	8	53	0	8	14	22	19	34	22	75
Rented	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	26	29	17	72	1	12	17	30	27	41	34	102

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

On the contrary, among non-Dalits only one household from thatched and four households under semi pucca houses category have been assisted by the state. Except one household, which was assisted by the state, no other household resides in thatched house. Non-Dalits proportion living in pucca houses is followed by semi-pucca houses. In absolute number, 17 out of 30 are living in pucca houses and another 12 households residing in semi-pucca houses. Non-Dalits respondents reported that the proportion of beneficiaries under state assistance in constructing pucca houses is just 37.5 per cent and the remaining 62.5 per is yet to be covered. Despite the assistance enhanced by the state

towards house construction still about two third of the expenditure is borne by the house owner particularly in pucca house construction.

Table: 5.13 – Distribution of State Assisted Housing in Antaram Village

Particulars	Dalits	Non-Dalits
No. of Households	72	30
No. of Households with State Assisted Housing *	18	8
% with Assisted Housing	25	26.6

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: *State assisted either as loan, site or both

According to the above table irrespective of caste, in the village as a whole, there were 26 households which received state assistance in constructing houses. Among them, eight households (30.77%) were assisted by both loan and site, 15 households (57.69%) only by loan and the remaining three (11.54%) were given only house site. Importantly, about 33 per cent (18 out of 55 households) of Dalits have benefited under housing scheme and remaining 67 per cent of them are yet to be covered by this scheme. Therefore, more than two third of Dalits households could not avail it. As a result, the proportion of Dalits live in thatched and semi-pucca houses is significantly higher in comparison with non-Dalits. Even among non-dalits, one household that dwells in thatched house needs to be assisted by the state under housing scheme. Therefore, state should pay serious attention towards Dalits in house construction so as to pay the total expenditure of the house construction.

5.4.8 Livestock

Dairy industry plays a vital role at rural level with which majority of the BPL families get employed. It is also highlighted that livestock plays a significant role in income generation and food security. Interestingly, few villagers informed that livestock ownership confirmed a household's social status as well. One decade before, it was in vogue of giving livestock to woman at the time her wedding as a bride wealth.

Various categories of livestock are reared by Dalits, but only 38 categories of them are reared on sharing basis. It is a common method which can be applied to all categories of livestock like cows, buffaloes and goats. For instance, in the case of cows, a cow is reared by the shareholder until it gives birth to calf after that young stock is given

to shareholder and cow is given back to the actual owner. Based on this contract, one cow, two buffaloes and six goats are reared by Dalits. Therefore, Dalits are not still in a position to rear livestock on their own as it also requires adequate investment to earn income. It is observed that great reduction in the availability of natural resources such as common lands for grazing negatively affects the poor livestock keepers. These resources, however, are constantly getting diminished because of the intensified pressure on land exerted by growing populations. Consequently, poor landless farmers particularly Dalits who rely on common lands to graze their livestock, sold out their livestock. Very few farmers have bullocks through which all agricultural operations like ploughing, weeding, transporting are made to reduce the cost of cultivation.

Dairy farm is also encouraged by majority of non-Dalits under which eight cows; four buffaloes are reared on own. Similarly, 10 bullocks and two goats are reared and the old practice of ploughing through bullocks still exists.. It is to be noted that no household, particularly from non-Dalits, is found as involved in rearing livestock under share basis. Rearing livestock under sharing (contract) generally happens in the below poverty line households where majority of the women, children and old aged persons take care of this occupation.

Table: 5.14 – Caste Wise Livestock Population in Antaram Village

Livestock Category	Own		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Cows	5+1*	8	13+1*
Young stock	3	0	3
Buffalos	4+2*	4	8+2*
Young stock	1+1*	0	1+1*
Bullocks	12	10	22
Young stock	2	0	2
Poultry	7	0	7
Goats	3+6*	2	5+6*
Sheep	1	0	1
Total	38+10*	24	62+10*

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

* Reared on share basis

Now it can be said that most of the Dalits rely on sharing / contract whereas non-Dalits depend on own in case of livestock rearing. It was also observed that all most all Dalits directly depend on non-Dalits in livestock rearing. In the case of non-Dalits, in some households, livestock accounts for only a small portion of the economic activities,

while in others livestock is the only source of livelihood. The extra income which is derived from livestock is used to buy more food, send children to school and augment assets such as house, land etc. The women also enhanced their participation in decision-making at the household level. For instance, many of the DWCRA women have maintain milch cows through which extra income is derived for all households.

5.4.9 Participatory Activity

Generally, panchayat surpanch plays a significant role at rural level in any sort of activity. Even after 60 years of independence only one member was elected so far as a panchayati surpanch from Dalit community in this village. He was elected in 2006 as this Panchayati surpanch position was reserved for Dalits under Munipalli mandal. And no one is elected for Panchayati vice-surpanch so far though their population constitutes one fourth of the total village population. Similarly, no one is elected as a cooperative society member so far and the entire village cooperative society is maintained by non-Dalits for a long time. It is an evident that unless there is a reservation in Panchayati Raj Institutions, the Dalits cannot have access into political arena. Even if they become as Panchayati surpanch they can not have their own decisions for smooth function of local administration. For instance, the Dalit, who elected as Surpanch is an illiterate and he was working as a bonded labour for some time under one of the landlords in the village. Though the bonded labour system is completely abolished, the existing president is still close to that landlord and for every activity he depends on landlord since then. Therefore, all political power is used by non-Dalits.

Table: 5.15 – Caste Wise Participatory Activity in Local Government in Antaram Village

Position Status	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Panchayati President	1*	2	3
Panchayati Vice-President	0	4	4
DWCRA Leader	4	1	5
DWCRA Member	32	10	37
DWCRA President	1	0	1
Cooperative Society Member	0	1	1
Total	38	18	56

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09. * Elected under reservation

Hence, it is understood that Dalit leaders particularly elected to Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) are not effectively participating in the democratic decision making process at the grass level. Above all, it was also observed that the Dalit leaders who was elected to PRIs had low educational status, no political experience, no status in political party and low annual family income. Interestingly, he was the first Dalit surpanch from this village and there was no scope to get advice from the same Dalit senior leaders in local administration issues. Hence, the economically and politically deprived Dalit leaders need to be adequately empowered by training under the PRI. Therefore, poverty and economic dependency prevent them from enjoying autonomy even after being elected for PRIs at rural level.

5.4.10 Non-farm Self Employment Activity

Most of the Dalits still continue in their traditional hereditary occupations like agriculture and it is the principal source of livelihood for them. In particular, majority of them engage in agricultural labour work. They are yet to develop into the non-farm self employment activity like petty shops, tailoring etc. Non-farm self employment is exclusively limited to non-Dalits, resulting three households out of 30 have opted and it is completely negligible especially among Dalits. In fact, Dalits at this village level, are unskilled and not financially sound even if they desire to operate non-farm self employment. Besides, it requires financial support and non-Dalits cooperation as the purchasing power at rural level is mainly concentrated among non-Dalits.

Table: 5.16 – Caste Wise Non-farm Self Employment Activity in Antaram Village

Non-farm Self Employment Activity	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Petty Shop	0	1	1
Tailoring	0	2	2
Total	0	3	3

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

According to a Dalit respondent, he started business with petty shop taking loan of Rs.10000/- for three year back. But he could not succeed in it and ultimately he closed the business after one year as Dalits were less in number and low level of purchasing power compared to non-Dalits. Simultaneously, there were three petty shops maintained by non-Dalits which are still running with reasonable profits. It is because majority of

non-Dalits never go to Dalits shops for any sort of purchase and all provisions are generally purchased at towns. For remaining provisions available at village level are purchased from non-Dalits petty shops. Interestingly, Dalits themselves do not go Dalits petty shops due to community differences, instead they prefer to purchased goods from non-Dalits shops. Hence, there are many constrains involved in non-farm self employment if a Dalit desired to perform. Among various constraints, community differences, non-cooperation from non-community, lack of financial support and unskilled are the main causes for not succeeding in operating non-farm self employment activities by Dalits.

5.4.11 Migration

It is found that seasonal wage workers are among poorest people and many of them belong to landless category. Largest number of Dalits migrants is absorbed in construction works. Both men and women are participated in construction works, for couple an amount of Rs.450/- is paid per day. Construction workers in this village informally contracted, sometimes through intermediaries. Hyderabad is a nearest metropolitan city; it absorbs almost all migrants' labourers into construction works. None of the migrants go other than Hyderabad city. At this village, due to lack of irrigation sources and single crop cultivation in existing irrigation availability are the main reasons apart from landlessness. It was also observed that irrigation, ploughing and threshing operation are increasingly mechanized. However operations like transplantation, harvesting and weeding is still carried out by hand. Finally it has given raise to work many land owners themselves in their field particularly during peak seasons.

Table: 5.17 – Gender and Caste Wise Seasonal Migration in Antaram Village

Type of Migration	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Construction Works	9	4	13	5	3	8	14	7	21
Servers in Hotels	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
Cooks in Hotels	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
Security Guards	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>28</i>

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

Most of the year, landlords required very few paid workers. But for transplanting and harvesting operations required more labour for which landlords would bring workers from nearby villages. The two busy periods, transplanting [June – August] and harvesting [October – December] coincided with decreasing migration possibilities for village workers. Daily wage during peak seasons was a maximum of Rs.150/- per day which is reasonable good when compared to wage paid for urban centres for construction works. In 2008-09, 19 workers from Dalit households accounting for about 13 per cent of Dalit workers and nine from non-dalit households (17 per cent of workforce) migrated seasonally.

Some of Dalit migrant workers obtained skilled work from urban areas by working as servers and cooks. For instance, skill in cooking provides good opportunity for migrants with which they can migrate to any where in the State. Similarly, initially they joined as servers in the hotels and gradually they become waiters in restaurant and star hostels with this experience they can get employment anywhere in the State as well as country. Generally, security guard job is offered by Multi National Companies (MNCs), star hotels, restaurants, educational institutions, hospitals, shopping malls, super market etc. Unlike other jobs in Hyderabad city, security jobs has almost become an out sourcing work and it requires language skills apart from minimum education qualification. Therefore, Dalits are unable to obtain such jobs as they are still lagging behind in terms of language skills and educational qualification. According to respondents, this employment created more demand in the city as a result most of them (security guards) belong to northeast and other states. A security guard has to work twelve hours, initially he is paid an amount of total Rs.4000/- of which only Rs.3000/- is given per month and remaining Rs.1000/- is deducted for outsourcing charges. Based on experience, monthly salary will be enhanced gradually and promotions are also given. It is said that majority of the higher salary promotions are given only to ex-service men. And there is no chance to secure such promotions for persons who joined with minimum language skills and qualification but their salary gets increased gradually.

Section – II

5.5 Rural Development Programmes: Empirical Evidence

This section mainly centered on performance of developmental programmes at village level with special reference to Dalits. A number of rural development programmes have been formulated from time to time to alleviate rural poverty. However, these programmes were unable to bring the expected results, rather they experienced with a number of defects. There is also evidence to argue that poverty level has declined due to the target-oriented poverty alleviation programmes in the late 1980s (Parthasarathy, G, 1995). In order to make poverty reduction process sustainable, very recently significant initiatives have been undertaken by the state. They include the decentralization of power to strengthen the local Panchayat Raj institutions and group approach through the formation of women self-help groups. These initiatives are supposed to ensure the people's active participation in planning, implementation and post-implementation process. Thus, there is a need to assess the impact of these initiatives on poverty eradication as well as employment generation process. So far, there is no attempt in the evaluation studies conducted to examine the self employment generation and poverty reduction as a processes, so that the contributing factor for self employment generation and poverty reduction can be identified. In this backdrop the present section is intended to assess the performance of poverty alleviation programmes in general and in creation of self employment in particular at rural level.

With a view to improve the economic status of rural population particularly the poverty groups, the following centrally sponsored programmes are being implemented in Andhra Pradesh. This study covered some selected programmes and they can be grouped into three categories namely – i) Income Enhancement Programmes, ii) Food and Nutritional Security Programmes, and iii) Basic Minimum Services - Housing, Health, and Income Maintenance Programmes. Each category again covers various programmes. Firstly six programmes covered under Income Enhancement Programmes they are – 1. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), 2. Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWCRA), 3. Training of Rural Youth for Self-Employment (TRYSEM), 4. Million Wells Scheme (MWS), 5. Swarnajayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojana (SGSY), 6. National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). Secondly five

programmes covered under Food and Nutritional Security Programmes they are – 1. Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), 2. Public Distribution System (PDS), 3. Mid-Day Meal Programme (MDMP), 4. Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY), 5. Annapurna. And finally, four programmes covered under Basic Minimum Services - Housing, Health, and Income Maintenance Programmes they are – 1. Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), 2. Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS), 3. National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS), 4. National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS).

From 1st April 1999, the IRDP and other allied programmes – TRYSEM, DWCRA, SITKRA (Supply of Improved Tool Kits to Rural Artisans), GKY (Ganga Kalyan Yojana) and MWS – have been merged into SGSY programme. Therefore, SGSY is the only self employment programme for the rural poor. Persons assisted under this programme are known as ‘swarozaris’ and not ‘beneficiaries’. At least 50 per cent of the swarozaris are to be from the SCs / STs, 20 per cent women and 3 per cent disabled.

i) Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP): IRDP was discontinued in the late 1990s and a restructured form of this scheme was introduced in the name of Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY). The SGSY is said to have incorporated well defined systems and procedures to ensure that the programme does not meet with the fate of IRDP. However, the government has sanctioned a very limited number of loans under SGSY. Most of the beneficiaries of this scheme misused the programme resources. Many deliberately swindled the money, and many others who really wanted to benefit from it could not do so due to a variety of reasons, including inadequacy of funding, lack of proper training, and non-availability of infrastructural support. Even though a majority of the cases would fall into this category, there have been some cases that succeeded under the IRDP. The cases reviewed in this study portray some of the success under IRDP. These are the cases where credit was taken for milch animals and agricultural implements. It might be noted that the beneficiaries in such cases were not the extremely poor people. They belonged to the slightly better-off sections among the poor. The households that took loan for milch animals had one or two animals already with them. Moreover, animal husbandry was a major source of livelihood for many of the poor people. Agricultural implements included power sprayer, which was highly in demand

not only in a particular village but also from the nearby villages (Joseph L. Plakkottam, M. P. Madhusoodhanan & Priti Ranjan Dash, 2003).

Table: 5.18 – Caste Wise Loan Availed for Various Assets under Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

Nature of Loan Under IRDP	Number of Beneficiaries	Amount of Loan	Subsidy Paid	Status of Assets
Dalits				
Motor and Pump sets	1	5000	1000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	5000	1000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	10000	3000	Perished
	1	5000	1000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	10000	2000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	12000	3000	Main Source of Family Income
Bullocks	1	6000	3000	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
Bullocks & Bullock Carts	1	8000	5000	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
	1	10000	6000	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
	1	10000	5000	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
	1	10000	6000	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
	1	10000	6000	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
Total	12	122000	42000	
Non-Dalits				
Open Well with Motor and Pumpsets	1	18000	6000	Main Source of Family Income
Total	1	43000	6000	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

It is evident from the table that out of the total 72 households only 13 (18%) scheduled castes were benefited by IRDP in the Antaram village. Out of 13 beneficiaries six households were provided motor and pump sets and another six households were benefited with bullocks and bullock carts. And only one household from non-Dalits was benefited by open well with motor and pump sets. It was observed that 50 per cent of the scheduled castes beneficiaries had retained the given assets and that had become their main source of family income among all other sources of family income. Only one household reported that the assets were happened to theft with in a period of one year therefore they were unable to repay the loan amount. Another six households had sold their assets particularly bullocks and bullock carts to repay the loan amount. Majority of the Dalits respondents particularly who provided animal husbandry disclosed that the

main reason for selling these assets was bullocks suffered ill health. Importantly, in addition to the short life span of bullocks, the veterinary services were also inadequate in case of sickness.

However, in the case of non-Dalits one household which was assisted with open well with motor and pump sets is still possessing the same asset. The respondent reported that he could earn most his family income only after he was assisted with these assets with which he could able to purchase nearly three acres of dry land and dug one power bore well as well. During 1980s sanctioning of open well involves lot of process and that was highly not viable for Dalits. Therefore, no single family is assisted either by open well or by bore well particularly for Dalit community. It is said that five acres of land and three families' involvement are mandatory if an open well needed to be sanctioned during 1980s. In addition, up to 12 feet the digging expenses should be paid by the beneficiaries themselves and sanctioned amount would be given only after fulfilling the condition of completion of 12 feet depth. Obviously such conditions are so hard some for Dalits, therefore, this might be the reason why Dalits did not prefer for open well. However, by 2008 only four households from Dalits community had more than five acres of land, therefore, if this was the situation of Dalits by 2008 one can imagine their condition during 80s with respect to their land possession. Since most of them were small and marginal farmers they were not in a position to fulfill the terms and conditions formulated by the government particularly with respect to the initial expenses for constructing open well. Above all, coordination in maintaining any unit has been still lacking among Dalits. Therefore, it can be said that though there were more eligible households of Dalits to enjoy IRDP benefit however, grants under this programme have been given very meager development to this particular village. The most important lesson that the IRDP experiences bring out is that there has to be transparency in the selection of households for the programme and more importantly, the beneficiaries must have the ability and willingness to utilize the funds for improving their livelihood. Adequate training and infrastructural support are vital for successful implementation of this programme. Equally important is the marketing support and availability of additional funding for either meeting the working capital requirements or for diversification and upgradation of the technology. Efforts should be taken to avoid political interference in such programmes.

ii) Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM): Similarly, under TRYSEM programme only one person among Dalits was given training for maintaining fair price shop. He was provided training for the period of two weeks and he still continues self employment in his trade after the completion of training. Presently, he runs PDS shop with his own investment of nearly Rs.75,000/-.According to the respondent, he earns nearly Rs.2500 to Rs.3000 by running fair price shop and from every kilogram of rice he is paid 0.25paise and 0.50paise from every liter of kerosene and another 0.50paise from ever kilogram of sugar. In addition, he earns other income also by selling the empty gunny bags which are used for packing of rice and sugar. Generally every gunny bag is sold at the rate of Rs.25 / 30. Therefore, it may be said that Dalits have moderately benefited by both IRDP and TRYSEM. Most of the eligible households from Dalits community could not benefit out of these programmes.

iii) National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP): This programme (NREGP) was introduced with an objective to provide employment for 100 days to every rural household. For which, every adult member in the household has to register voluntarily his / her name under this programme. According to the following table total 207 individuals of which 111 are male and 96 are female are eligible for this programme from Dalit community. However, out of the total male and female population only 34.2 per cent and 32.2 per cent and village as a whole only 33.3 per cent were registered their names under this programme particularly from Dalit community. Therefore, not even 50 per cent of registration has taken place across the village. Similarly, 23.7 per cent of male and 19.3 per cent of female were actually employed and only 21.7 per cent individuals from Dalit community across the village population was employed. Therefore, not even one by forth of the registered population could get employment under this programme. Likewise, in the case of non-Dalits 4 (9.1%) male persons out of 44 and 4 (8.3%) female population out of 48 were registered their names of which 2 (50%) male and 1 (25%) female population were actually provided employment. Thus, non-Dalits proportion, in terms of registration of individuals under this programme, is significantly low as compared to Dalits. It is also observed that not even single person from OC community was registered their names and all of them under non-dalits category belong to BCs community.

As far as employment status is concerned, out of total number of individuals 15(21.7%) individuals from Dalits and 3(37.5%) individuals from non-Dalits got employment across the village under this programme. It is to be noted that individuals registration belong to non-Dalits community seem to be significantly low i.e. 8 (8.7%) despite the eligible individuals total number is as high as 92. As a result, out of the total 8 registered individuals only 3 (37.5%) individuals provided employment. It is clear that individuals' registration itself is considerably low, that led to high employment status at last. Similarly, in the case of non-Dalits, male have worked (5 days) more rather than female. On the contrary, from Dalit community female have worked (21 days) more number of days compared to male. Therefore, female participation under this programme seems to be little high and it is said the wage rate per day for both male and female is Rs.66/- only.

Table: 5.19 – Caste and Gender Wise Number of Persons Employed Under National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP)

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Number of Individuals Eligible	111 (100)	96 (100)	207 (100)	44 (100)	48 (100)	92 (100)	155 (100)	144 (100)	299 (100)
Number of Persons Registered	38 (34.2)	31 (32.3)	69 (33.3)	4 (9.1)	4 (8.3)	8 (8.7)	42 (27.1)	35 (24.3)	77 (25.7)
Number of Persons Actually Employed *	9 (3.7)	6 (19.3)	15 (21.7)	2 (50)	1 (25)	3 (37.5)	11 (26.2)	7 (20)	18 (23.4)
Number of Days Employed **	174 (94.05)	128 (96.97)	302 (95.27)	11 (5.95)	4 (3.03)	15 (4.73)	185 (100)	132 (100)	317 (100)
Average Days of Employment Per Person Employed	19	21	40	5	4	9	24	25	49
Total Wage Received **	11457 (94.55)	8442 (96.97)	19899 (95.56)	660 (5.45)	264 (3.03)	924 (4.44)	12117 (100)	8706 (100)	20823 (100)
Average Daily Wages	66	66	66	60	66	62	66	66	66
Total Wages Earned Per Person	1251	1385	1309	300	264	297	1077	1216	1148

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

* Figures in brackets are percentages to registered.

** Figures in brackets refers to percentage distribution between Dalits and non-Dalits

It is observed that various works related to land development or water conservations were not carried out by the concerned authorities and only water harvesting is being carried out. Majority of the Dalits are felt that wages are not paid even after a week or ten days and once the assigned work is completed they are not provided employment even after two to three months. Therefore, they borrowed some amount from landlords to meet their household needs and it can not be paid in kind of cash but they work as daily labour at the behest of landlords. Most of the time Dalits unable to participate under this programme due to they work for landlords fields as daily labourer to clear the borrowing amount. In addition, majority of the Dalits are depended on landlords either for investment on cultivation or for any marriage or auspicious occasion's expenses. This could be one of the main reasons for low registration of Dalits under this programme.

Now it is clear that this programme could not bring considerable change at village level as well as in Dalits lives. Despite its main aim to provide employment to rural poor for hundred days for a year, no household is provided not even 30 day. In fact, this programme was started two years back and not even the registration process of eligible individuals taken place. About 67 per cent of the eligible individuals yet to be registered and of registered individuals nearly 78 per cent of them did not provide at least single day employment under this programme. Since its inception, this programme running at a snail pace in terms of different activities carried out and payment made for working labourers. Above all, majority of the agricultural labourers particularly Dalits are still in the clutches of landlords because they only lend a hand financially at their emergencies. Majority of the households' income earned through this programme is not saved for future emergencies and it is almost all spent for daily needs. Therefore this programme could not yield plausible support to labour class.

Indira Awas Yojana has been implementing since 1989 and the sanctioning amount has been gradually enhanced three times (from Rs.8000 to Rs.25000) in 11 years period. Initially it has covered only SC / ST and freed bonded labourers living below the poverty line and gradually this scheme has been extended to non-SC/ST rural poor also. Out of 72 households only 18 households from Dalits and only one household out of 30 households from non-Dalits benefited through this programme. But still substantially

number of Dalits is yet to be covered under this programme. Interestingly only six out of total 18 (i.e. one by third of the total) beneficiaries are still living in thatched houses though they have been sanctioned house loan. Among Dalits all thatched households were constructed with little strong foundation and walls and the roof were covered with thatched which is a temporary arrangement. In general, once in four or five years roof is changed with new materials. Though the sanctioned amount was very low, this was not able to adequate to build pucca houses very few of them (Dalits) could construct pucca houses with their own sources. However, few of Dalits who are financially not sound could not build and managing to live in thatched as well as semi-pucca houses.

iv) Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY): Many of Dalits felt that this programme doesn't give fruitful result since the sanctioning process itself is very difficult. Moreover financial support is not given unless the foundation works is completed for which the beneficiary have to spend initially about 3 to 5 thousands. Therefore, it is observed that majority of the poor generally not in a position bear the initial expenses for house construction. Furthermore, some of the amount (nearly 25%) is certainly paid towards service charge (bribe) for concerned authorities, which is an illegal source of additional income for the authorities otherwise would drag the loan process. In addition, sanctioning of house loan amount takes long time unless the service charges paid to the respective authorities. One of the respondents who could not construct house under this programme during 1989 though he got sanctioned Rs.8000/- under this programme. In fact he had to pay nearly Rs.3000/- out of the total sanctioned amount of Rs.8000/- as an illegal bribe to the concerned official for sanctioning the house loan. Therefore, poor people unable to obtain the total amount sanctioned for their house construction and it ultimately led to construct thatched houses or semi-pucca houses. Therefore, this could be one of the reasons for constructing thatched and semi-pucca houses instead of pucca houses. Very few families are found to be misused the sanctioned house loan so that they could construct neither semi-pucca nor thatched houses. However, according to the records they are beneficiaries under this programme.

In fact, about 30 bags of cement is given under this programme in two rounds to the beneficiaries which is adequate for house construction however, beneficiaries themselves didn't completely used and 5 to 6 bags is sold instead. As a result, quality of

house construction has become weak. It was happened not for all cases but for few particularly who constructed thatched and semi-pucca houses instead of pucca houses. It is also observed that apart from housing other facilities relating to toilets, side drains, electricity and protected water supply have been properly provided. Beneficiaries of 1989 didn't receive toilet facility and they had to pay an additional amount of Rs.5000/- in the second and third phase of this programme exclusively for constructing toilets.

Table: 5.20 – Caste Wise Number of Households Benefited Under Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) Scheme

Type of House	Year of Sanction	Number of Beneficiaries	Amount of Loan	Subsidy Paid
Dalits				
Thatched	1989	1	8000	Not Paid
	1990	1	12000	Not Paid
	1995	1	15000	Not Paid
	1995	1	15000	Not Paid
	1998	1	18000	Not Paid
	1997	1	18000	Not Paid
Semi- Pacca	1998	1	18000	Not Paid
	1997	1	18000	Not Paid
	1998	1	18000	Not Paid
Pucca	1990	1	12000	Not Paid
	1995	1	15000	Not Paid
	1990	1	12000	Not Paid
	1993	1	15000	Not Paid
	1995	1	15000	Not Paid
	1997	1	18000	Not Paid
	1998	1	20000	Not Paid
	2000	1	25000	Not Paid
	1997	1	17500	Not Paid
Total		18	289500	Not Paid
Non- Dalits				
Semi- Pacca	1995	1	15000	Not Paid
Total		1	15000	Not Paid

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

It is observed that nearly 20 to 30 per cent of the Dalits in the study village still lived in thatched and semi-pucca houses and majority of them are IAY beneficiaries and only about five percent of them no yet benefited by this programme. Given the large amounts involved, targeting is inevitably politicised. A study of Kohaka Panchayat in Madhya Pradesh finds that, while villages have received benefits under IAY, it has remained confined to the hamlet within which the Panchayat Sarpanch resides. A section

of people interviewed for the study complained that they were not allotted benefits under the IAY, despite casting their vote to the current *Sarpanch* (CARD, 2002b).

v) **Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS):** Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS) came into effect from 15th August, 1995 and it is a centrally sponsored scheme. Under this programme, 100% central assistance is extended to the States to provide the benefits in keeping with the norms, guidelines and conditions laid down by the central government. The eligibility criteria is the age of the applicant, either male or female, should be 65 years or higher and must be a destitute and no regular means of income either financial support of family member or other sources.

Table: 5.21 – Caste Wise Number of Persons Benefited Under Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS)

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population of Old Age Persons (Above 60 years)	7 (100)	16 (100)	23 (100)	13 (100)	6 (100)	19 (100)	20 (100)	22 (100)	42 (100)
Number of Eligible Individuals (Above 65 years)	6 (100)	12 (100)	18 (100)	9 (100)	4 (100)	13 (100)	15 (100)	16 (100)	31 (100)
Number of Beneficiaries Under NOAPS	3 (50)	5 (41.7)	8 (44.4)	7 (77.8)	4 (100)	11 (84.6)	10 (66.7)	9 (56.3)	19 (61.3)
Number of Persons not Benefited	3 (50)	7 (58.3)	10 (55.6)	2 (22.2)	0 (0)	2 (15.4)	5 (33.3)	7 (43.8)	12 (38.7)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

As far as this village is concerned there were total 42 old age individuals who completed 60 years of age however, there were only 31 individuals completed 65 years of age. Out of 31 individuals 18 belong to Dalits and remaining 13 belong to non-Dalits. Interestingly, all eligible individuals can not benefit by this scheme, as far as Dalits are concerned 50 per cent of male and more than 58 per cent of female individuals did not benefit. As a whole nearly 57 per cent of Dalits across the village didn't benefit though they are eligible as per the terms and conditions laid down by this programme. On the contrary, just 22 per cent of male individuals from non-Dalits did not benefit and all female individuals benefited. Moreover, only 15 per cent of non-Dalits in the village did not benefit and beneficiaries' proportion is as high as 85 per cent in case of non-Dalits whereas it is very low i.e. 44 per cent in Dalits. Therefore, it is clear that non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion is almost two times high as compared to the Dalits.

According to respondents, particularly who did not benefit even if they were officially eligible, the applications of all eligible individuals must be sent only after approval of village panchayat surpanch. Therefore, all eligible individuals applied but only few of them obtained pension and majority of them did not and such things happened only for Dalits community individuals. However, all of the applicants barring one from non-Dalits received pension. Therefore, Dalits individuals feel that caste prejudice plays significant role which hinder them in attaining not only this programme but all other developmental programmes benefits. Few of non-Dalits pensioners who officially not eligible for it get pension under this scheme and they are one among the large farmers category. On the contrary, particularly from Dalits eligible individuals themselves unable to avail as they are deliberately excluded from such benefits. In fact, priority must be given for Dalits while eligible individuals are selected for pension benefit and even such priority is not given to them. It was also observed that about one-third of the beneficiaries were found to be neglected by their offspring or were living alone; another one-third were found to have a dependent (mostly spouse) and in remaining cases, the beneficiaries did not have a regular source of income. However, benefits are distributed once in two months and there is no fixed frequency for distribution.

vi) National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS): During the survey it was observed that four households from Dalits community and two households from non-Dalits community were entitled to have National Family Benefit Scheme. All of them, irrespective of caste, had fulfilled the conditions laid down by the scheme. However, only two households (50%) out of four got benefit particularly from Dalits, while the entire non-Dalits all eligible households (100%) benefited by this scheme. It is found that there is a wide gap between Dalits and non-Dalits in terms of availing benefit through National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP). In general, the total amount of Rs.10000/- is paid to the bereaved household in case of death of the primary breadwinner. In addition, according to the criterion prescribed by the Government of India the bereaved household must be a below the poverty line. As against to this, these two conditions are not followed while beneficiaries are selected. So far, no household from Dalits claimed the total assistance as laid down in the scheme and one household claimed Rs.5000/- and another

household claimed just Rs.4000/- instead of Rs.10000/-. And only two households have partially benefited even though there were four Dalits households eligible for it. Remaining two households were deliberately disqualified for the benefit by the local panchayat surpanch with the pretext that their households come under above poverty line. But the genuine and sole reason was they were rivals to them. It is also observed that all most all Dalits households do not aware of basic rural development programmes and they knew and very much aware of NOAPS.

It was reported that Dalits bereaved families have paid some amount to the local panchayat leaders like panchayat surpanch and secretary as they have assisted in granting the benefit. They felt that for any family irrespective of caste experienced with such problem some proportion can't but give to them otherwise such families are neglected by them in other issues. Therefore, proportion of benefit to be given to the local level leaders and officials may be changed and it depends on their knowledge towards this programme but offering can not change. Importantly, if bereaved family is against or rival to the local level leaders or officials they can't get benefit out of this programme at any cost. Therefore, on the category criterion the operation of the scheme is more among rich rather than poor. And the analysis of utilization of scheme reveals that cent percent of the forward castes and about 50 per cent of Dalits were benefited by this scheme. As far as the total amount benefited prescribed in this scheme is concerned more than 90 per cent amount was reached to the non-Dalits. However, in the case of Dalits just 50 per cent of the total amount was reached. It is attributed that local panchayat leaders or officials are the main exploiters to misuse the remaining 50 per cent of the total assistance.

Table: 5.22 – Caste Wise Number of Households Benefited Under National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)

Number of Eligible Households	Number of Beneficiaries	Year of Death	Died at the Age	Financial Assistance	Number of Households not Benefited
Dalits					
4	0	2004	32	NIL	2
	0	1998	26	NIL	
	1	2001	37	5000	
	1	2006	35	4000	
Total	2				
Non-Dalits					
2	1	2004	29	10000	0
	1	1996	42	8000	
Total	2				

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

From non-Dalits, a household received the total assistance of Rs.10000 and it was the only household received the total assistance in the absence of any misuse by local leaders or officials. Obviously, this household head has close relationship with ex-panchayat surpanch who played a significant role in obtaining the total assistance to this family. It appears that it is highly impossible to get total assistance unless a close relationship or blood relation with the local leaders or officials. It was also reported that sanctioning of assistance takes more than seven months period in the case of Dalits whereas in the case of non-Dalits it takes just three months period. Local officials and leaders will demand Rs.1000 – 15000 from the bereaved family when the sanction period exceeds six months. Generally they will show the cause of delay at mandal level and they had to approach at district level authorities for release the assistance for which incurred them travel expenses. They show the travel expenses as the main expense when demand the bereaved household more proportion out of the total assistance.

vii) National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS): National Maternity Benefit Scheme also the part and parcel in the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) and this has also been implementing since 15th August, 1995 across the county. It provides financial assistance of Rs.500/- to the BPL pregnancy women up to the first two live births.

Table: 5.23 – Caste Wise Number of Women Benefited Under National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Number of Beneficiaries Under NMBS	18	81.8	9	81.8	27	81.8
Number of Persons not Benefited	4	18.2	2	18.2	06	18.2
Number of Women under NMBS	22	100	11	100	33	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

About 82 per cent of the Dalits women got benefited by this scheme and only 18 per cent of them could not avail it. In addition to this all of the beneficiaries' children received one dose of oral polio and BCG vaccination at birth and the first dose of DPT and polio in the sixth week. Moreover, children below five years age group regularly receive polio drops when the medical camp is conducted for it. According to respondents,

three out of four reported that they had to approach private hospitals for delivery of their two children which made them to not avail such benefit. Another woman did not register her name with government servant instead registered her name at her parents place but could not attend for checks ups. Ultimately, she could not avail the maternity assistance either here (her own village) or there (parents village) even if she has gone for cesarean operation at government hospital. Generally, a three months pregnant woman has to register her name with government ANM nurse who regularly visit the villages and supply medicines such as iron, calcium etc., on free of cost. All registered pregnant women have to admit in the respective government hospital where they delivered the child and such women only eligible for maternity benefit.

Similarly, the same proportion (i.e. about 82 per cent) of non-Dalits women got benefited and remaining could not benefit out of it. Obviously, the remaining two families were excluded from this assistance since they belong to above poverty level category. Now a days, irrespective of caste many of the pregnant women approach private hospitals as better treatment is given compared to government hospitals. And very few among Dalits approach government hospitals and most of them belong to below poverty line category. Interestingly, majority of Dalits also approach private hospitals at the time of delivery. It was also observed that most of them got normal delivery from this community as against to non-Dalits. But irrespective of type of delivery, whether it is normal or cesarean, maternity benefit is given to all registered pregnant women.

viii) Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS): A welfare program in providing food security exclusively for children below six years age can be expected since there is convincing evidence with regard to nutritional status of children in Andhra Pradesh is poor (Alessandro Tarozzi, 2005). As a result of this, children age group of 0-6 and pregnant women are the target group under ICDS programme. This programme has been continuously implementing in India since 2nd October, 1975. More importantly, it plays a significant role in breaking the vicious cycle of malnutrition, morbidity and mortality particularly at rural and tribal areas. At village level, anganwadi worker (called as anganwadi teacher), helper (called as 'aaya') and ANM are the key persons who encourage all pregnant women and lactating mothers and the parents of children age group of 0-6 to join in this centre. These three individual generally work as middlemen

between the target group and service providers. (Medical Staff, Primary Health Centre). They also play an important role to bring awareness among rural women regarding safe mother hood, child care, safe drinking water and personnel hygiene.

Above 94 per cent of Dalits children have benefited in the ‘Anganwadi’ centre and only six per cent of them could not benefit. As against to this, only 20 per cent of non-Dalits from the sample household got benefited and remaining 80 per cent of them did not benefit by this programme. Both, Dalits and non-Dalits beneficiaries reported that they do not accept the supplementary nutrition provided by ‘Anganwadi’ centre. However, they make use of all other services like health check ups, immunization, referral services etc. Obviously, non-Dalits households do not offer the supplementary nutrition and their children enrolled only for name sake. Anganwadi worker reported that all most all Dalits children will attend regularly whereas non-Dalits children attend only off and on. She was also reported that there is more number of children between the age group of 0-6 among non-Dalits but they are so reluctant to join in this center. Instead of sending the children who completed three years, they are sent to near by private nursery school. This trend gradually influence the few of Dalits also which ultimately paved the way even for sending the Dalits children to private nursery school as well.

Table: 5.24 – Caste Wise Number of Pregnant Women and Children Benefited under Integrated Child Development Programme (ICDS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Children						
Number of Beneficiaries Under ICDS	33	94.3	2	20	35	77.8
Number of Children not Benefited	2	5.7	8	80	10	22.2
Number of Children Covered under ICDS	35	100	10	100	45	100
Pregnant Women						
Number of Beneficiaries Under ICDS	9	81.8	7	63.6	16	72.7
Number of Pregnant Women not Benefited	2	18.2	4	36.4	6	27.3
Number of Pregnant Women Covered under ICDS	11	100	11	100	22	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

In general, respective village Anganwadi worker assists to ANM in identifying as well as encouraging the pregnant women towards this programme. As far as the pregnant women are concerned, all of them from these two caste groups were very much interested to be enrolled in this programme. Moreover, all pregnant women have utilized health services like health check ups and immunization at regular intervals. In addition, they are given medicines and supplementary nutrition on free of cost. About 82 per cent of Dalits pregnant women have enjoyed benefit as against to nearly 64 per cent of non-Dalits. Similarly, only 18 per cent of Dalit pregnant women did not benefit through this programme whereas above 36 per cent of non-Dalits showed reluctant towards this programme. Therefore, it is clear that majority of non-Dalits desired better service from private service provider during pregnancy. It is also observed that irrespective of caste, all pregnant women attend medical check-up as and when ICDS medical camp is conducted exclusively for them.

ix) Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY): This programme has started on 25th December, 2000 with a view to provide food grains at highly subsidized prices to the poorest of the poor family. Under this scheme a poorest of the poor family is eligible to have 25 kgs of either wheat or rice. However, rice is sold at Rs.3/- per kg and wheat is sold Rs.2/- per kg. However, the next two years, 2000-2002, witnessed a considerable increase in the quantity from 25 to 35kgs and it came into effect from 1st April, 2002. It is important to note, that the food subsidy policy helping the surplus farmers more than the poor consumers. As a result, the government has been purchasing whatever is proposed by the farmers instead of purchasing only the needed quantities. And it has ultimately been an extraordinary accumulation of stocks in recent periods. For instance, the central food stocks (rice and wheat) were 31.5 million tones in January 2000. It shows, this is much above the required buffer stock norms of 16.8 million tones (Mahendra Dev, S, 2000). Therefore, it could be one of the main reasons to introduce this as another welfare programme and in identifying the BPL families for enhancing the quantity of food subsidy.

It was reported that the same quantity of rice was continued till 2002 and there was no experience of any shortage for poor families. However, after 2002 when the quantity is enhanced from 25 to 35kgs every BPL family received 32 instead of 35 kgs of

rice and they paid Rs.3.50/- instead of Rs.3.25/- per kg. Therefore, in terms of quantity, every family is not given 3kgs of rice and also every BPL family has additionally paid 0.25 paisa per kg. It is common to all beneficiaries and there is no difference in giving low quantity of rice and additional charge. Respective PDS dealer also agreed of irregularities and reported that they need to meet various other charges so that it could not but charged additional charge and less quantity against to the price and quantity laid down by the government. It is also said that it is followed only in the case of AAY but not for other beneficiaries such as white card holders who receive 20kgs (comprising of four members in a family) of rice under PDS.

Table: 5.25 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)

Benefited Year	Number of Beneficiaries	Actual Rice to be given (in kgs.)	Rice Given from Dealer (in kgs.)
Dalits			
2006	1	35	32
2006	1	35	32
2007	1	35	32
2006	1	35	32
Total	4		
Non-Dalits			
2007	1	35	32
2007	1	35	32
2006	1	35	32
Total	3		

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

NOTE: Not give 3kgs for every Household

Many Dalits respondents reported that many of them were not deliberately covered under this programme though they satisfied the terms and conditions prescribed by the government. They also felt that it is the local panchayat officials' prime accountability to access the family whether it comes under BPL or APL. That's where majority of them could not promote and recognize as BPL instead they are generally issued white cards with which every member in a family receives @ 5kgs rice for month. The effort of Dalits regarding including them under AAY instead of general PDS, has been futile many a times though they repeatedly appeal to the village panchayat officials. Indeed, landless agriculture labourers and marginal farmers are eligible for AAY programme. Therefore, if you take that criterion there were 15 landless, 29 less than one

acre, and 13 1 to 2.50 acres households in this study village among Dalits. As a whole, there were 47 households out of 72 are categorically eligible for this programme from Dalits community. But, in reality only four households have been included under this programme and all eligible households still remained under general PDS programme.

In other words, nearly 80 per cent of Dalits have to get benefit under AAY; however, only 5 per cent of them enjoy benefits and the rest of them were deliberately excluded by village panchayat officials. Now it is clear that Dalits are always excluded from the benefits even exclusively assigned for them by the government in which both local politics as well as local level officials played a significant role. Thus, it can precisely be said that rural development programmes benefits are unable to stretched out to the actual needy instead they are intentionally excluded with the pretext that 'they do not deserve all eligibility conditions' laid down by the government.

x) Public Distributed System (PDS): The presently running PDS called the Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS) was introduced in 1997. Based on income levels, beneficiaries were classified into several categories and accordingly provide benefits to the beneficiaries. Particularly, in rural areas, one of the main criteria to assess BPL is - whose household annual income below Rs.20000 or landholding not exceeding 2.5 acres wet and 5 acres dry lands are generally considered to be BPL family. Generally, all BPL families are supplied the essential commodities like rice, wheat, sugar and kerosene under PDS, to targeted beneficiaries at reasonable prices through the fair price shops (FPS). These essential food grains are supplied to the targeted beneficiaries once in a month regularly. Therefore, all such BPL households are eligible to benefit essential commodities at a price equal to half of the economic cost of the Food Corporation of India (FCI).

Out of 72 households 65 come under PDS and even in remaining 7 households four of them come under AAY programme and remaining three households exceed 5 acres of landholdings which is against to the eligibility criteria so they did not benefit out of it. Only three household did not issue the white cards as they were seasonally migrated at the time of issuing BPL cards for the all eligible individuals. Thus, identifying BPL households and issuing cards have taken place according to government prescribed criteria and it is found that there was no any malpractice or violation of terms and

conditions in evaluating BPL households. In general most of the fair price shops in Andhra Pradesh are supplied only three essential commodities like rice, kerosene and sugar and wheat is not generally supplied by the government itself but off and on wheat also supplied. Majority of the beneficiaries expressed their negative views about PDS performance at this village level.

Table: 5.26 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Public Distributed System (PDS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Number of Beneficiaries Under PDS	65	95.8	27	90	92	90.2
Number of Persons not Benefited	7	4.2	3	10	10	9.8
Total Number of Households	72	100	30	100	102	100
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Rice	9	9.2	2	7.4	11	11.9
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Kerosene	63	96.9	23	85.2	89	96.7
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Sugar	58	89.2	19	70.4	77	83.7

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

According to the above table, nearly 97 per cent of Dalits and 85 per cent of non-Dalits beneficiaries reported that kerosene is not regularly supplied and most of the time it is supplied less quantity. In general, every beneficiary household is given two liters of kerosene for which it is charged Rs.13/- per litre but most of the time all most all beneficiary receive only one liter. In fact, now a days all most all household in this village were electrified therefore receiving their kerosene quota from PDS is gradually declined and very few beneficiaries whose house is still not electrified, desired to have their actual share of kerosene from fair price shop. Even for them PDS dealer shows empty hands saying ‘no stock’ and such families reported that all kerosene is sold for high rate in the black market soon after it comes to the fair price shop. It is also evident that some of the tea shops owners in the study village directly purchase kerosene from PDS dealer for higher rates.

In addition to this, some families particularly who belong to above poverty line are actually not eligible for benefit kerosene from PDS and (APL) they are maintain kerosene stove for cooking and even such families also directly purchase it from PDS dealer for higher price. It is observed that kerosene has greater demand at fair price shops as there is no scope for making it adulteration. If any adulteration happens it can easily be find out as its original colour (available colour in blue at fair price shops) is

changed soon after such adulteration. This reason alone gave rise to increase more demand for kerosene from the tea shops owners for their commercial use and APL families for their household needs particularly for cooking. Similarly, 89 per cent of Dalits and 70 per cent of non-Dalits claimed that they do not receive the allocated quota of sugar many a times properly. It is reported that beneficiaries have completely not received sugar in some occasions. In general every household irrespective of number of family members' one kg of sugar is given for which Rs.14/- is charged. Similarly, every family member is given 5kgs rice per month and Rs.2/- is charged per kg. Irrespective of caste about 12 per cent of the beneficiaries claimed about shortage of rice, about 97 per cent of the beneficiaries claimed about shortage of kerosene and 84 per cent of the beneficiaries claimed about shortage of sugar. On an average more than 64 per cent of the beneficiaries have not satisfied with the operation of PDS in the village.

xi) Annapurna Scheme (AS): This programme is a substitute for PNOAPS and it has originally been commenced in 1995 with pension benefit of Rs.75/-. Pension benefit has been enhanced and the existing rate of Rs.200/- per month came into effect from April 1, 2006. According to PNOAPS the number of persons benefiting from the pension scheme is not to exceed 20% of the total old age pensioners within a State. Thus, the Annapurna scheme's main aim is to provide food security to meet the requirement of those senior citizens who have remained uncovered under the Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS) though they are eligible. In addition, it covers those poverty-stricken senior citizens who are not covered under the targeted Public Distribution System (PDS) and who have no income of their own for providing food security. Therefore, the Annapurna scheme aims at providing food security to such indigent senior citizens who though eligible for old age pensions remain uncovered under PNOAPS and who are not covered under the targeted PDS, by providing 10 kgs. of food grains per month free of cost.

According to the following table eight out of eight senior citizens who crossed 65 years of age have benefited by PNOAPS and now receive Rs.200/- pension per month. Another seven senior citizens have benefited by Annapurna scheme for about three years. Out of 20 eligible senior citizens 15 (75%) were benefited from both (PNOAPS and Annapurna) schemes. Remaining five (25%) old age persons neither benefited by

PNOAPS nor Annapurna scheme despite they fulfilled all required conditions. On the contrary, 18 out of 19 non-Dalits senior citizens were benefited by both PNOAPS and Annapurna schemes. Interestingly, about all non-Dalits senior citizens have become beneficiaries either under PNOAPS or by Annapurna scheme. It is to be noted that two old age individuals from non-Dalits enjoy PNOAPS benefits though they have not completed 65 years of age. They have enjoying such benefit at the age of 62 years as they were recommended by local panchayat officials.

Table: 5.27 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Annapurna Scheme

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population of Old Age Persons	7	16	23	13	6	19	20	22	42
Number of Old Age Persons Below 65 Years	1	2	3	2#	1	3	3	3	6
Number of Beneficiaries Under PNOAPS	3	5	8	7	4	11	10	9	19
Number of Persons Benefited under Annapurna Scheme	1	6	7	6*	1*	7	7	7	14
Number of Persons not Benefited by Annapurna Scheme and PNOAPS	2	3	5	0	0	0	2	3	5

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

NOTE: 1). *Not given 2-3kgs. Per Household; 2). # Not complete 65 years but benefited under NOAPS

Five senior citizens among non-Dalits reported that they are given less quantity of rice instead of actual quantity. Most of the time less quantity of rice about two to three kgs is given to the beneficiaries. Conversely, one fourth of the Dalits senior citizens could not enjoy benefits though they have satisfied all eligibility conditions. In fact, all senior citizens particularly Dalits who do not enjoy or covered under PNOAPS should have been covered under Annapurna scheme. But it did not take place because all the local level Gram Panchayat officials are not properly respond according to few respondents. Some of the respondents said that they are not much aware of this programme and nobody said regarding such programme which is presently in operation exclusively for them. Therefore, both local level officials and non-beneficiaries colleagues of senior citizens who have been enjoying benefits either PNOAPS or Annapurna scheme for the past two to three years have also given rise for not enjoying benefits for non-

beneficiaries. It is reiterated that majority of Dalits only could not avail such benefits whereas all non-Dalits somehow make use of either one of these two schemes.

xii) Millennium Wells Scheme (MWS): The Millennium Wells Scheme (MWS) was introduced during 1988-89 and it was taken up as a sub-scheme for the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). It was also made a sub-scheme of JRY since 1989-90 and since then it has continued as such. The scheme was launched with the objective of providing free of cost open irrigation wells to poor small and marginal farmers belonging to the SCs/STs and freed bonded labourers. Keeping in view its importance for the weaker sections, later poor farmers belonging to the non-SC/ST households were also brought under it. Initially, this scheme was intended for digging open wells and tube-wells only, and bore-wells were not taken up under it. However, digging of tube-wells and bore-wells were also undertaken under this scheme later on. Again, this scheme had been de-linked from J.R.Y. in 1996, and made an independent scheme, now the scheme is no more in operation and merged with S.G.S.Y. from 1999 onwards.

Table: 5.28 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Millennium Wells Scheme (MWS)

Caste	Number of Beneficiaries	Year of Sanctioned	Loan	Subsidy	Status of Asset
Dalits	1	1988	15000	5000	Sold to Repay Loan
	1	1988	15000	5000	Sold to Repay Loan
	1	1988	15000	5000	Sold to Repay Loan
	1	1989	18000	6000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	1989	18000	6000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	1995	23000	10000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	1995	23000	10000	Perished
	1	1998	30000	12000	Main Source of Family Income
	1	1998	30000	12000	Main Source of Family Income
Total	9		187000	71000	
Non-Dalits	1	1996	23000	10000	Main Source of Family Income

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

According to the above table there were nine households from Dalits and one household from non-Dalits have been benefited by the millennium wells scheme. Moreover, three households out of nine from Dalits community have sold their open wells for repaying the loan amount and only one well was perished gradually due to low level water table. It was reported that the programme has initially launched with community participation and at least three households come together with a minimum five acres of land for sanctioning open well. That's where; coordination among a group of households for maintaining open well was lacked and it ultimately led to lose of

partnership as a result, the entire open well had become one's ownership. In fact, three households from Dalit community did not sell their open well but lost their ownership right on that by receiving their equal proportion of payment from one of their associate. Therefore, the then followed method for sanctioning open well itself has great draw back for failure of this scheme. However, in the course of time the scheme was revised and even single household comprising of three acres of land was eligible for obtaining bore well. Though the programme could not give successive results during the initial period, gradually it became main source of irrigation scheme for SCs/STs for their livelihood. Interestingly, five out of nine households from Dalit community and one household from non-Dalit still maintain the irrigation unit which is the main source of their family income. Obviously, this minor irrigation scheme would help the SCs farming community to make full utilization of the existing irrigation facilities, increase the area under irrigation and raise the income level of the poor. In Antaram village an area of about 50 acres of Dalits and 6 acres of non-Dalits is still treated under the scheme. It was also reported that before the introduction of the scheme the farmers used to cultivate only two rabi crops namely cotton and Bengal gram. But since the scheme started they began to grow rice as well. It was also found that due to this scheme the majority of beneficiary households are relatively better placed after the financial assistance.

xiii) Mid-Day-Meal Programm (MDMP): The purpose behind the MDMS was to enhance enrolment, retention, and participation of children in primary schools, simultaneously improving their nutritional status. The scheme was revised in June 2006 to enhance the minimum cooking cost to Rs 2.00 per child per school day to provide 450 calories and 12 grams of protein. It has been reported that the MDMS has benefited 8.1% of rural population and 3.2% of urban population. The MDMS has catered to the nutritional needs of low-income groups in both rural and urban areas (Planning Commission, 2007). The Mid-Day Meal programme is being implemented in Andhra Pradesh from 2003 onwards. Providing free mid-day-meal to children studying in primary and upper primary schools is an endeavor to meet the goal of universal elementary education. Government of India is providing rice free of cost. The programme covers children studying in primary and upper primary government, local bodies, aided, education guarantee scheme and alternative innovative education centres and madrassas.

Studies found that the MDM programme has reduced dropout rate and alleviates classroom hunger and persuades poor families to send their children to school and it ultimately led to improvement in retention, learning ability and achievement. The scheme has also caused increasing enrolment in schools; more significantly of girls and improved daily attendance particularly of girls and children from poorer section. It has curbed teacher absenteeism and narrowed social distances. Sharing of common meal enhances socialization and reduces prejudices.

Table: 5.29 – Number of Dalits and Non-Dalits Students Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme (MDMP) in Antharam Village

Class	Number of Students Attending Government School			Number of Students Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme			Number of Students not Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dalits									
I	7	4	11	7	4	11	0	0	0
II	6	5	11	6	5	11	0	0	0
III	4	1	5	4	1	5	0	0	0
IV	6	2	8	6	2	8	0	0	0
V	2	4	6	2	4	6	0	0	0
VI	7	8	15	7	8	15	0	0	0
VII	6	7	13	6	7	13	0	0	0
Total	38	31	69	38	31	69	0	0	0
Non-Dalits									
I	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
II	1	2	3	1	2	3	0	0	0
III	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
IV	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
V	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
VI	4	3	7	1	1	2	3	2	5
VII	7	5	12	3	2	5	4	3	7
Total	15	12	27	8	7	15	7	5	12

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

The above table reveals the caste and gender wise number of students attending the mid-day-meal programme in upper primary school of Antharam village. In absolute number, total enrolled students in upper primary school were 96 in which 69 students belonged to Dalit and rest of 27 students were non-Dalits. Number of enrolled male students were higher when compared to female in both communities. As a whole, most of Dalit students preferred to study in government school not only for attending mid-day-meal program but lack of financial support as well. It is to be noted that Dalits households constitutes just 28 per cent of the total village household but their children enrollment in government school registered at about 72 per cent (from 72 households). Contrary to this, non-Dalits households constitutes as high as 72 per cent of the total

village households whereas enrollment of children to this community registered at just 28 per cent (from 185 households). Therefore, majority of non-Dalits, particularly who are financially sound; send their children to private schools for providing better and quality education. In response to the question – why non-Dalits enrollment is very low at government school? The school teacher replied; majority of non-Dalits felt that infrastructure availability in government school is very poor, inadequate number of teachers, and lack of resources. For instance, in government school toilet is either not available and all children are constrained by this. Similarly, drinking water for children during school working hours is also not available for which children often come to home. To overcome all these constraints, majority of the non-Dalits send their children to private school and all the more, non-Dalits felt, quality of education can be provided only by private educational institutions.

As far as the mid-day-meal programme is concerned, all of the Dalit students are attending for it. Interestingly, about 56 per cent of non-Dalit students are regularly attending. It is to be noted that more than one fourth of the non-Dalits households are landless category and majority of the students who attended this scheme belong to these households. Poverty coupled with landless play a significant role in rural areas and these two factors are influenced, irrespective of caste, to avail rural developmental programme. Dalit respondent reported that their children are not allowed to sit along with non-Dalit students while serving mid-day-meal. Few Dalits questioned the school headmaster in this regard; however, no action has been taken so far. As against to the Dalit complaint, majority of the non-Dalits also met the headmaster and demanded not allow the Dalits together with non-Dalits at the time of mid-day-meal. Dalits felt that their representation was turned a deaf ear as the headmaster himself belongs to non-Dalit. It appears that wherever the proportion of the non-Dalits is higher, Dalits will certainly receive a greater proportion of discrimination particularly in schemes such as mid-day-meal. Initial days of MDM programme, a Dalit woman, was hired to prepare food. Dominant caste parents who considered the Dalit woman polluted on account of her caste ordered their children not to eat the MDM programme food at their school. Alongside this, the dominant caste parents met and pressured the dominant caste headmaster of the school to dismiss the Dalit woman from employment. Ultimately, the headmaster consented, expelled the Dalit

woman, and hired a dominant caste woman to cook in her place. Thus, food prepared by Dalit is considered polluted by virtue of its contact with the intrinsically polluted Dalits. It also shows dominant caste opposition to Dalit cooks represents a power struggle over livelihood rights.

5.6 Summary

The issues related to landholdings, occupational structure, assets, educational and housing status and performance of various governmental programmes have been broadly discussed in this chapter. The micro level evidences suggest that, high degree of uneven distribution of landholdings among Dalits alone is caused for their socio-economic backwardness. The main reason for the low access to land by Dalits is mainly their social and economic oppression. Landless and near landless together constitute 61 per cent among Dalits whereas, it is about 27 per cent among non-Dalits. The existing distribution of landholdings is skewed in favour of higher and middle castes. According to the government specification the minimum distribution should be two acres for household. However, in this village the total Dalit households (nine households) given only three acres, that is the maximum extent of land distribution by the government under land ceiling act is 0.75acre. Hence it is found that below the government specification. It is found that about 83 per cent of the Dalits and 17 per cent of non-Dalits were able to purchase the lands out of their own savings. Only one Dalit household had to depend on loan from money lenders for purchasing 1.20 acres of land. Further, among Dalits, more than one third of the sold land income was spent to meet their immediate problem like recovery of family members' ill-health followed by daughters' marriage and to clear mounting debt.

Interestingly, in all cases, except in one case, land was purchased out of their own savings and therefore, no state or private loans provided for this purpose. Thus Dalits access to the land has reduced. Under land ceiling act just three acres of land has been distributed among nine households. Thus, there is a need for state intervention to bring an equitable pattern of land distribution and provide land to the landless. Further the government should implement land reforms more effectively so that the socially and economically vulnerable sections, particularly Dalits, who form major chunk of the landless agricultural laborers would benefit.

The occupation structure of the village shows 72 per cent the Dalits involved in agriculture labour as the main occupation whereas 48 per cent of the non-Dalits involved in cultivation as the main occupation. Only 6 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agriculture related activities while non-Dalits proportion in the same activity was about three times higher i.e. 17 per cent. It was also revealed from this village study that the proportion of non-agricultural workers among non-Dalits is higher as they are sound both in terms of economically and financially. For instance, there is a household which owning more than 25 acres of land however, in the case of Dalits land owning status is limited for five acres and more than five acres category is very minimal.

There is a wide gap between the Dalits and non-Dalits as far as illiteracy rate is concerned. The incidence of illiteracy among Dalits is higher compared to the non-Dalits i.e. 45 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. Dalits female illiteracy rate (52%) is significantly high (7%) compared to the non-Dalits female (45%). It is found that interestingly both Dalit and non-Dalit children, in the Antharam village, enrolled in government schools, and children enrolment in private schools is very minimal.

Dalits did not possess any agricultural related assets on their own, whatever that they possessed mainly secured from the state assistance whereas non-Dalits control all the agricultural related assets which they obtain on their own presumably without state assistance. It is found the non-Dalits dug up eight open wells and seven bore wells on their own whereas Dalits got five open wells with state assistance. Similarly in terms of housing, 17 out of 72 Dalit households built pucca houses of which nine households were assisted by the government. In addition, three semi-pucca and six thatched houses were assisted by the government. As a whole, about 25 per cent of the Dalits houses were constructed by the state assistance. On the contrary, eight non-Dalits households were assisted by the state assistance of which one thatched, four semi pucca and another three pucca houses. Due to inadequate loan amount and lack of financial source about 76 per cent of Dalits could not construct pucca houses either by the state assistance or on their own.

The micro level data on various governmental programmes, which were implemented in the Antharam village given in the snapshot table (No.32).

Table: 5.30 – Caste-wise Percentage of Beneficiaries under Various Schemes in Antharam Village

Name of the Programme	Number of Households Eligible for the Programme			Number of Households Benefited			Proportion of Households Benefited		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
IRDP	69	27	96	12	1	13	17.39	3.70	13.54
TRYSEM	69	27	96	1	0	1	1.45	0	1.04
NREGS	69	27	96	7	2	9	10.14	7.41	9.38
IAY	69	7	76	18	1	19	26.09	14.29	25.00
PNOAPS	18	13	31	8	11	19	44.44	84.62	61.29
NFBS	4	2	6	2	2	4	50	100	66.67
NMBS	22	11	33	18	9	27	81.82	81.82	81.82
ICDS (Children Below the Age of 6 Years)	35	10	45	33	2	35	94.29	20	77.78
ICDS (Pregnant Women)	11	11	22	9	7	16	81.82	63.64	72.73
AAY	57	18	71	4	3	7	7.02	16.67	9.86
PDS	68	22	90	65	22	87	95.59	100	96.67
MWS	53	18	71	9	1	10	16.98	5.56	14.08
AS	10	7	17	7	7	14	70	100	82.35
MDMP	69	27	96	69	15	84	100	55.56	87.50

Source: Computed from Scheme-wise Tables

Under the IRDP the non-land asset group of Dalits benefited only a small proportion. Therefore, it may be noted that the IRDP programme was ineffective as a result it failed to raise the income of the beneficiaries above the poverty line. About (69 out of 72 households) 96 per cent of Dalits based on their land ownership come under below poverty line category out of which only (12 households) 17 per cent were benefited. Except five households none of them retained the asset and all of them sold exclusively for repayment of loan amount. However, in case of animal husbandry scheme, all of them reported that IRDP assets were disposed only to repay the loan amount. Therefore, a considerable percentage of loan amount was repaid to the financial institutions to clear of IRDP loans. Conversely, one non-Dalit household benefited by IRDP programme which retained the asset and that ultimately become its main source of family income.

Under the TRYSEM programme just one per cent (one individual out of 96 households) of Dalits would able to benefit and this enable them to take up self-employment venture. Though many Dalits youth individuals were supposed to be trained under this programme, but only one was trained. Government has provided only training but failed to provide financial assistance to the concerned trained personnel. After completion of the training, the trained person obtained employment under government as a PDS shop dealer. Therefore, training skills were utilized in income generation. Dalits have moderately benefited by under TRYSEM. And most of the eligible households from Dalits community could not benefit out of these programmes. Therefore, it is observed that Dalit community is largely neglected under this programme and it ultimately led to pauperization of the Dalit community.

NREG scheme was largely undermined at this village level. Reluctance among eligible individuals is observed following this majority of the eligible individuals irrespective of caste were far away from the registration. Even among registered individuals very few of them got employment under this programme. In absolute terms, 15 out 69 among Dalits and 3 out of 8 among non-Dalits registered individuals employed respectively. Government has to take initiation to bring more awareness to create employment across the village.

As per IAY scheme, almost all sample Dalits households are eligible for availing IAY scheme, but only one fourth of (26.09 per cent) Dalit households (18 out of 69 households) benefited and about 74 per cent of eligible household were substantially excluded from such benefit. It may be noted that the government has neglected the welfare of Dalits particularly in the case of providing pucca house scheme. About 38 per cent, out of the total sanctioned amount had been paid towards concerned officials personnel pocket money (as a bribe) to get the entire sanctioned amount. In this way, both officials and beneficiaries are given rise to misuse the sanctioned house loan without constructing the pucca houses.

Though all old age individuals are eligible under the NOAPS, more than half of them could not benefit out of this programme. As a whole nearly 57 per cent of Dalits across the village didn't benefit though they are eligible as per the terms and conditions laid down by this programme. Conversely, only 15 per cent of non-Dalits in the village did not benefited and beneficiaries' proportion is as high as 85 per cent in case of non-Dalits whereas it is very low i.e. 44 per cent in Dalits. Therefore, it is clear that non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion is almost two times higher as compared to the Dalits.

According to Dalit non-beneficiaries all eligible individuals applied but only few of them obtained pension and majority of them did not and such things happened only for Dalits community individuals. Dalits individuals felt that caste prejudice plays significant role which hinder them in availing not only this programme but all other developmental programmes benefits. As a result, majority of them neither were unable to become as beneficiaries nor applied for it.

Under NFBS programme half of the eligible Dalits were covered and remaining were completely neglected by the local panchayati officials. In fact, two households out of four found to be BPL families and it was observed that they were deliberately disqualified for the benefit by the local panchayat officials with the pretext of that their household comes under above poverty line. Therefore, it is clearly shows that the panchayat officials did not properly cooperate with Dalits issues in particular. Apart from this, Dalits do not have proper awareness over this programme, therefore, they do not know whether they belong BPL or APL household.

Under the NMBS scheme pregnant women who admitted in their respective government hospital are eligible for maternity benefit. Irrespective of caste, same proportion (about 82 per cent) of both Dalits and non-Dalits benefited. It is reported by Dalit non-beneficiaries that they were not covered under this scheme because of they approached private hospitals for delivery of their children births. However, few cases were covered though the same problem exists in the case non-Dalits. Thus Dalits are marginally discriminated in providing welfare schemes benefits at this village level.

All most all the Dalits (94.29%) and marginal proportion (20%) of non-Dalit children were covered under the ICDS. It was reported that there is more number of children between the age group of 0-6 among non-Dalits but they are so reluctant to join in this center. Instead of sending the children who completed three years they are sent to near by private nursery school. Contrary to this, all most all Dalits children attending ICDS centre regularly. However, both Dalits and non-Dalits beneficiaries reported that they do not accept the supplementary nutrition provided by 'Anganwadi' centre. However, both of them make use of all other services like health check ups, immunization, referral services etc.

About 82 per cent of Dalit and around 64 per cent of non-Dalit pregnant women are benefited under this scheme. It is clear that majority of non-Dalits desired better service from private service provider during pregnancy while the Dalits preferred government hospital. It is also observed that all pregnant women, irrespective of caste attend medical check-ups as and when ICDS medical camp is conducted exclusively for them. As a whole, this programme brought about more awareness with respect to precautionary measures of pregnant women during their pregnancy.

Among Dalits, landless labour and marginal farmers together with constitute about 80 per cent (57 out of 72 households) of the total households in the village. However, among the eligible households just seven per cent (4 out of 57 households) of them benefited under AAY programme. About 17 per cent (3 out of 18) of non-Dalits benefited though 60 per cent (18 out of 30) of them are eligible for it. It may be said, in the case of Dalits this programme has utterly failed while in the case of non-Dalits it is partially succeeded mainly because of wrong identification of beneficiaries.

PDS programme appears to be more successful in this village and many of other programmes eligible beneficiaries were substantially covered under the PDS programme. 96 per cent of Dalits and 100 per cent of non-Dalits were largely benefited under this scheme. In fact, very few members should have been covered as the actual beneficiaries. There is a problem in identifying both the actual beneficiaries and eligible beneficiaries by the government. For instance, for AAY 57 Dalit and 18 non-Dalit households are categorically eligible but very few (4 Dalit and 3 non-Dalit) were benefited and remaining households covered under PDS instead of covering all of them under AAY. There are also instances of mistargeting in the distribution of ration card i.e. issue of BPL card to non-poor.

MW scheme actually merged with SGSY since 1st April, 1999. However, this scheme was actually initiated in 1988-89 and the concerned officials paid more attention only on SC/ST communities for providing loans during initial years. As a result of this about 17 per cent of Dalits were benefited while non-Dalits proportion stood at around 6 per cent. 44 per cent of Dalits misused the benefit; rest of the 56 percent and one non-Dalit beneficiary have properly utilized which eventually become their main source of family income.

In this village 70 per cent of Dalits 100 per cent of non-Dalits were benefited under Annapurna scheme. And rests of the Dalits were not promoted to avail benefits. Due to low awareness among eligible individuals and irresponsible of local level officials, about one third of eligible Dalits individuals are not promoted for enjoying such benefits.

All Dalits children under MDM programme have substantially benefited. Contrary, about 56 per cent of non-Dalits avail mid-day-meal. Majority of the non-Dalits themselves excluded on their own from the programme as there was no weekly menu followed, and quality of the meal was so poor. Therefore, this could be another reason for why many non-Dalits children do not eat /attend. Above all, taking mid-day-meal along with Dalit children is not preferred by some of the non-Dalits families.

CHAPTER – 6

Village Level Studies – 2

Panchalamarri Village

6.1 Chittoor District's Demographic Profile

Panchalamarri village of Chittoor district which comes under Rayalaseema is selected as a case study. Chittoor district is situated at the east of Nellore and Chengai-Anna districts of Tamil Nadu, at the west of Kolar district of Karnataka State, at the north of Anantapur and Kadapa districts and at the south of North Arcot Ambedkar and Dharmapuri district of Tamil Nadu State. Its area is 15151 Sq. km., population density is 247 per sq. km. Out of total population 3,745,875, male populations is 1889690 and 1856185 are females. SC population is 18.75 per cent while ST accounts for 3.42 per cent in the district. This district comprises 66 mandals, 15 towns and has 66.77 per cent of total literacy rate.

6.2 Monsoon and Cultivation

Most of the area of Chittoor district remains dry throughout the year because the flow of the rivers is non-perennial in nature. The important river in the district is Ponnai which is a tributary of river Polar and Swarnamukhi. Other important rivers of the district are the Kusasthali, the Beema, the Bahuda, the Pincha, the Kalyani, the Araniyar and the Pedderu which flows in different mandals of the district. The climate of the district is dry and healthy. The district receives rainfall both during south-west and north-east monsoon periods and the normal rainfall received during these periods is 380.4mms and 410.5mms respectively. The total forest area in the district is about 30 per cent of the total geographical area. Red sandal is the richest and valuable among the forest product and its revenue per hectare is Rs.1696. The major food crops grown in the district are paddy, jowar, bajra and ragi. Groundnut crop takes the first place followed by sugarcane under commercial crops. There are eight medium irrigation projects in the district. Wells, tanks, tube wells are main irrigation sources of which tube wells occupy first rank in order.

6.3 Rural Economy

Chittoor district's rural economy is based on animal husbandry and dairy production which has become the permanent source of rural income. Milk supply units have been established at Chittoor, Srikalahasti, Puttur and Kalikiri. Besides the milk products factories at Chittoor, five milk chilling centers are functioning. There are 41 large and medium scale industries, providing employment to 11314 persons. In addition, 3905 small scale and tiny units were established which provides employment to 52300 persons. The important lines of activity are granite polishing, hatcheries, PVC pipes, poultry feed mixing plants etc. There are 10 industrial estates and two industrial development areas in Chittoor established under the Andhra Pradesh Industrial Infrastructure Corporation. Importantly, sericulture has become agro-based cottage industry. Its rich output has attracted many of the farmers.

6.4 Thamballapalli Mandal

Panchalamarri, which is the focus of the study, is located in Thamballapalli mandal which is one of the 66 mandals in Chittoor. Above all, this is one of the four drought prone Rayalaseema districts of Andhra Pradesh. Thamballapalli is located 40 kms away from Madanapalli town in Chittoor district. The area of Thamballapalli mandal is 280.26Sq.km with density of population of 137 per sq. km. According to the Census 2001 total population of the mandal is 38450 and sex ratio, females per thousand males is 1106. Under this mandal total number of inhabited revenue villages are 16 spread over 271 hamlets and uninhabited is one. The share of the Scheduled Caste population to the total is 7.3 per cent, whereas Scheduled Tribe is 6.4 per cent. Male literacy constitutes 63.11 per cent of the total population whereas female literacy forms 36.13 per cent, as a result the overall total population literacy accounts for 49.66 per cent. This mandal has been running 39 Anganwadi centres comprising with 2116 population. The main workers are 20939 out of which 12994 are cultivators' forms 62.06 per cent and agricultural laboures constitutes 37 per cent with 7748 population in 2001.

6.5 Panchalamarri Village Profile

A. Geographical Background

Panchalamarri lies in the extreme north of the Thamballapalli mandal approximately between 13° – 45' latitudes and 78° – 30' longitudes. This is a small

multi-caste village and is situated about 1.5 km away from Madanapalli - Thamballapalli road at a distance of 34Kms (about one hour bus journey from Madanapalli Town) from Mandanpalli towards north and 4Kms from Thamballapalli towards northwest. Though Panchalamarri possesses about 1.81 per cent of the total land area of the Thamballapalli mandal, her population constitutes just 2.66 per cent of the total mandal population.

Including the village Panchalamarri, there are other 8 adjoining hamlets namely, Malapalli, Madigapalli, Gundlurivaripalli, Vasanthagaripalli, Muttrasingannagaripalli, Kanchendinnepalli, Nallapureddigaripalli and Mekalavaripalli. These are treated as one unit i.e. Panchalamarri revenue village. Among the total hamlets, of which two hamlets, namely, Muttrasingannagaripalli and Nallapureddigaripalli are located on hillock, whereas the remaining hamlets are located on the plains. Panchalamarri village is a typical village in Rayalaseema, which is subjected to periodical chronic adverse seasonal conditions.

B. Caste Composition

This village has multiple caste combination like reddy (Kapu), Balija, Kuraba, Muslim, Mala, Madiga, Chakali, Vadde, Besta, and Mangali. Among these castes reddy is dominant in terms of their economic and political strength either by economically or by politically compared to the other castes. Consequently, most of the rich farmers come from reddy caste. Thereby, reddy caste is power and holds leadership in the village. Most of the land resources are owned by the Reddys. Mala and Madiga are the lowest in the caste hierarchy. Two third of the households belong to the reddy caste only.

C. Educational Institutions

The elementary school sponsored by the then C.D. Block (now functioning as Mandal Praja Parishad Elementary School) and initiated in the year 1960 is still serving the village including its 7 hamlets. Of lately, there was another mandal praja parishad elementary school initiated in Vasanthagaripalli hamlet (which is one of the hamlets in Panchalamarri Village Panchayat) in 1985-86 with a strength of 19 pupils and one teacher. Apart from two elementary schools, an Anganwadi centre was established in 1980-81. At present, it has 57 children, in which Scheduled Caste pupils are 11, Backward Classes are 7 and other Castes are 39.

Recently, permanent building has been constructed for M.P.P. Elementary School. Prior to this, elementary school was running in a mud-wall building which was a temporary building. Classes have been started in the new Pucca School building since June 26th, 2001. Even Anganwadi centre has now permanent building.

D. Health Care and Medical Facilities

In the village there is neither any health center nor medical facility. If any body need treatment or consult the doctor, he/she has to come to the Thamballapalli, which is the mandal headquarter. Disease such as fever, pneumonia, dysentery, itch, dyspepsia etc., are not cured at Thanballapalli government hospital. Apart from one government hospital which is located in mandal headquarters which has 40beds, there are five private practitioners in Thamballapalli. Therefore, five private practitioners and one government hospital are in function at present in the mandal headquarter. Large numbers of people are not approaching to the government hospital. If any body desire to get better treatment, they will have to go for Madanapalli. Educated people of the village have yet belief on superstition, despite of available better medicines and hospital facilities. And still they are approaching quack doctor to get treatment pertaining to snake bite, scorpion bite stomachache, motions etc. people are very well versed in many of the day to day activities related to health, and particularly women health. Women related medical problems like pregnancy, child care is given attention, and villagers utilize every possible support, for instance, local transport. Further family planning is also followed by many, and villagers are much aware of the issues related to the above, as one can see population decline.

E. Drinking Water Facility

The village has been provided with water facility by the government. One major water tank was constructed beyond the road which connected Panchalamarri to Mekalavaripalli. The water tank was connected to the six hamlets namely, Panchalamarri, Mekalavaripalli, Nallapureddygaripalli, Malapalli, Madigapali and Kanchendinnepalli and remaining hamlets get water from hand pumps as well as bore wells. Even if, they have adequate water facility, particularly during the summer season almost all hamlets are afflicted with no sufficient drinking water. Though there is availability of water sources like water tank, hand pumps and bore wells, but they are not in function. This has

given rise to a severe problem in the management of livestock. Thus, people of this village still get at their wits regarding drinking water particularly during the summer season. Conspicuously, since the area is being rocky; they don't have adequate water to meet their need.

F. Transport and Communication Facilities

The village is 1.5 kms away from the main road (Madanapalli-Thamballapalli road) and about 4 kms away from the Thamballapalli mandal. Quite often people reach Thamballapalli by autos. Recently, metal road was constructed to the Madigapalli, Mekalavaripalli, Muttrasingannagaripalli, and Gundlurivaripalli and remaining Nallapureddygaripalli and Kanchendinnepalli hamlets have only footpaths and even there is no cart track. As for as Vasanthagaripalli hamlet is concerned, though there is a cart track, it is too difficult to reach as it is not properly connected and not laid.

There is no direct access to any vehicles into Panchalamarri village. Large number of people have to come to Mulapalli cross since it is the main bus stop for the Panchalamarri villagers. If any one wants to go either for Madanapalli or Thamballapalli, he should come to Mulapalli bus stop that's where buses, autos and other mode of travel channels are available. Furthermore, APSRTC buses for every 30 minutes and private vehicles such as trucks, autos, vans, mini-taxis etc., are plying every 15-20 minutes. So far as railway facility is concerned, the nearest railway station Kurabalakota is away from about 22 kms towards south giving access to Secunderabad on the one end to Tirupati on the other. Thus the village has favourable location and road communication facilities.

As for communication facility, 17 households in the village are having daily newspaper. Recently, it has been provided library facility which is getting three newspapers every day namely Eenaadu, Sakshi and Vaartha. It is working exclusively of a kind, but not good in performance. Above all, this village has adequate facility to take advantage of Post Office. There is one post office branch in village itself in favour of their convenient.

The village has 10 landline telephones of which one is placed in the post office itself and remaining five are private and number of mobile phones are used by villages. About 62 households have T.V, sets through which they are aware day to day news pertaining to all national and international.

G. Marketing Facilities

They don't have regular market facility. But there is regular weekly market held on every Monday, near Thamballapalli. Villagers use bullock carts to transport their agricultural produce up to the main road (bus stop) and from there they will take either by bus or auto to the market place. 32 households in the village own bicycles, 26 household have own two wheelers such as TVS-50, Hero Honda and one household belongs to V.A.O. and has own car. In 1971 there were only five households in the village who owned bicycles and one household owned a motor cycle.

According to the villager the weekly market is helpful in setting their produce and purchasing some of their household requirements. So far, no attempt has been made to regulate that market, and there are no market yards and proper sheds. The weekly market is conducted simply alongside the road for people to sell their produce, a market fee at the rate of Rs.5 per basket, or at Rs.10 for a bag of 50kgs of the produce is charged. The market charges are higher for larger quantities. Interestingly, the weekly market here is held between 7am and 1pm, in contrast with the tradition of conducting weekly market in the Chittoor district between 2 p.m. and 7 p.m. Barring one general store, which is running in the heart of the village, there is no other facility like hotels, medical stores, tea stalls, electrical shops, fertilizers etc.,

H. Financial Institutions

There are two financial institutions, namely Primary Agricultural Co-operative Society (PACS) branch and Indian Bank (IB) in Thamballapalli mandal. These are the main financial institutions to the people whenever they want to get loans. Indian Bank provides only crop loans by keeping their lands as security/surety. Generally, it provides loans only during the months August-September and will collect during the months February-March. The PACS branch will provide short, medium and long term loans particularly to the farmers.

Farmers avail of this facility particularly to improve their agricultural provision. According to PACS official records about seven farmers are getting benefit every year from it. Interestingly, majority of the farmers approach PACS instead of Indian Bank in order to avoid high interest rate on agriculture loan. However, out of various numbers of governmental agencies engaged in the task of agricultural development, the cooperative

organizations have been accepted as one of the best means for planned economic development because these have the capacity and capability to compete with the traditional market mechanism which is one of the stumbling block for the miserable positions of the rural poor as also for retarding the progress of agricultural development. In fact cooperatives have many inherent advantages over the other governmental agencies and they are the only institution, which are time and again, caters to the financial needs of the rural people, so that, these institutions are very cooperative in nature towards rural people by the following circumstances.

- Cooperatives are the best channel to provide loan/subsidy to the needy.
- Cooperatives are one of the best agencies to provide credit of any type of the people and ensure its realizations.
- Cooperatives are directly accessible to the people and responsive to their needs.
- Cooperatives provide farm guidance and marketing information to the producers.
- Cooperatives provide quality seeds, fertilizers, implements and pests to the producers at the right time and at reasonable prices.

I. Industries

There are no industries in and out and near by the village, which could provide employment to the people. In Thamballapalli there are three rice mills, one groundnut factory and one essential oil factory which work in all seasons. However, from our study village no body has permanent employment but at times somebody can get temporary employment from them.

J. Electricity

At present, out of 231 households 223 households have been electrified so far, as against 35 households in 1971, and it constitutes about 97 per cent to the total households electrified. Remaining 3 per cent household began for power theft and sometimes wires are also cut off and taken away by the lineman of electricity department. Recently two transmissions were installed with in the village boundaries and transmission lines have been extended to cover all other hamlets. So far, 128 electric motors are working as against 30 in 1971; as a result the number has increased more than four times compared to 1971. It is observed that the total number of motors are 128 of which only 76 motors are functioning and remaining are completely dried up due to the paucity of water.

Farmers are still coming forward and gradually competing to get the benefit from electricity particularly for agricultural purpose. Among nine hamlets including main hamlet only six hamlets were called into being street lights facility. The hamlets, which provides street lights are Panchalamarri, Mekalavaripalli, Muttrasingannagaripalli, Kanchendinnepalli, Nallapureddygaripalli and Malapalli, remaining hamlets namely Gundlurivaripalli, Madigapalli and Vasanthagaripalli have no street lights facility so far.

K. Social and Cultural Aspects

Panchalamarri is essentially a Hindu village where 230 out of 231 households are Hindus and only one household belongs to the muslim community. There are households belonging to converted Christian from Scheduled Caste and a church has also been constructed in the village to perform their regular prayer. As for the Muslim, festivals like Ramzan, Bakrid, Moharam etc are the important celebrating festivals. However, there is no mosque to worship for the Muslim because of which they have to go to Thamballapalli on every Friday. As for the Hindus, festivals such as Vinayaka Chavithi, Deepavali, Sankranthi, Sivarathir, Sreeramanavami and Ugadi are the most important celebrating festivals. There is one deity called as 'Nadiveedi Gangamma', which is situated in the midst of streets in the Mekalavaripalli hamlet. Another temple called as 'Vayilachettu Gangamma' which is located on the southeast corner of the main village. Between the Hindu and Muslim people there is no discrimination, even in festive occasions either for Muslim or for Hindus is joined together for celebrations. Thus the religious composition is quite amicable.

Section – I

6.6 Socio-economic and Political Scenario of Panchalamarri Village

6.6.1 Population

There are 231 households in the village. Out of the total households, 78 households were selected for empirical survey. Keeping in view, the study's main focus is on Dalits, all Dalit households are covered. However, for comparative picture, only 30 non-Dalit household are selected, of which 07 households from BC and another 23 households from OC categories were selected. All BC households were covered as the total number of BC households in the study village were only seven. For this study, households were selected on the basis of the land categorization and for the convenience all BC households had to be covered accordingly.

Table: 6.1 – Caste-wise Sample Households in Panchalamarri Village

Caste	Total Number of Households	Number of Sample Households	Male	Female	Total
Dalits Total	48	48	94 (49.21)	97 (50.79)	191 (100)
Non-Dalits Total	183	30	60 (46.87)	68 (53.13)	128 (100)
Total	231	78	127 (43.94)	162 (56.06)	289 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Out of the total Dalit population, male population constitutes nearly 49 per cent and female 51 per cent. In contrast, male and female population constitutes 47 and 53 per cent respectively among non-Dalits category. Therefore, the overall sample population including Dalits male and non-Dalits female population, has female population percentage higher than the male population in the village.

The following table reveals the age and caste wise population. It may be said that 0-15 and above 60 are group population is dependents. Accordingly, dependency population among Dalits is little high and more than 38 per cent of population is dependent whereas it is nearly 37 per cent among non-Dalits. On the contrary, the overall village population dependency rate is nearly 38 per cent. Interestingly, the overall dependency rate in terms of male and female is more or less same i.e. male dependency rate constitutes 37.66% and female also recorded 37.58% in the village. Moreover, among Non-Dalits, female dependency is higher (38%) against the male (35%), but it is

quite different in the case of dalits as male dependency rate is higher (39%) as against the female population (37%).

Table: 6.2 – Age and Caste-Wise Population Distribution in Panchalamarri Village

Age	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-5	9 (9.57)	7 (7.22)	16 (8.38)	0 (0)	6 (8.82)	6 (4.69)	9 (5.84)	13 (7.88)	22 (6.90)
6-15	17 (18.09)	21 (21.65)	38 (19.90)	16 (26.67)	18 (26.47)	34 (26.56)	33 (21.43)	39 (23.64)	72 (22.57)
16-29	20 (21.28)	29 (29.90)	49 (25.65)	13 (21.67)	18 (26.47)	31 (24.22)	33 (21.43)	47 (28.48)	80 (25.08)
30-44	22 (23.40)	16 (16.49)	38 (19.90)	14 (23.33)	20 (29.41)	34 (26.56)	36 (23.38)	36 (21.82)	72 (22.57)
45-59	15 (15.96)	16 (16.49)	31 (16.23)	12 (20)	4 (5.88)	16 (12.50)	27 (17.53)	20 (12.12)	47 (14.73)
Above 60	11 (11.70)	8 (8.25)	19 (9.95)	5 (8.33)	2 (2.94)	7 (5.47)	16 (10.39)	10 (6.06)	26 (8.15)
Total	94 (100)	97 (100)	191 (100)	60 (100)	68 (100)	128 (100)	154 (100)	165 (100)	319 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It is quite interesting that the age group of above 60 population is 10 per cent of the total percentage among Dalits while it is just 5.47 per cent among non-Dalits. Therefore, Dalits play a significant role in taking care of old age persons who are bed ridden or suffer by any sort of ill health. Though Dalits are financial poor and educationally backward old aged persons get treated from super specialty hospitals only by means of government initiated programme called 'Rajiv Arogyasri Scheme'. This scheme has initiated in 14th May 2004 with the main objective to improve access of BPL families to quality medical care for treatment of identified diseases which involves hospitalization, surgeries and therapies, through an identified network of health care providers. As a result majority of the below poverty line population avail rajiv arogyasri scheme in general and Dalits in particular through which most of diseases are treated on free of cost.

6.6.2 Education

There are two primary schools one is located in Vasanthagaripalli hamlet and another one is located in Panchalamarri both schools provides education up to fifth standard in telugu medium. Anganwadi centre is also run where above three years and below five years children are educated. According to teachers, pupils' strength in the government primary schools gradually declined where as private convents and schools

established in surrounding the Thamballapalli mandal have strengthened pupils' strength. Majority of Non-Dalits students are going to private schools for obtaining better and quality education. Recently, private vehicles started to come into village to pick up their respective students to schools. And this mode of transport happens both in the morning as well as in the evening. As a result, majority of the villagers, particularly non-dalits, influenced having seen such facility and it ultimately led to send more students to private schools and convents. Prior to this, all the villagers used to be afraid of transport facility if they desire to send their children to private institutions. It is reported that Ananwadi centre is run only with the majority of Dalits children and few of BC's children and very few of OC's children attending.

Majority of Non-Dalits respondents felt that providing education through primary schools run by the government in the village are not to be quality education. Because many a times they observed that all students are combined, irrespective of class, simultaneously in one class room most of the time. According to them, such practice will certainly cause for low quality education. However, this practice is not seen in schools run by private sector.

The following table reveals literacy rate of population in sample households by caste, sex and age-group in Panchalamarri village. The educational levels however vary substantially across caste and age groups, non-Dalits constituted more than the village proportion. Only 6-15 age group among different age groups, irrespective of caste, registered high proportion of literacy rate. However, among non-Dalits 16-29 age group male registered high proportion (i.e. 92 per cent) of literacy rate. It is to be noted that educational motivation is highly gender specific. Among all social groups parental motivation for the son's education is high where as parental commitment towards female education, higher studies in particular, is still rather inadequate. The non-dalits respondent's opinion with regard to investment on son's higher studies is a common factor. Generally they prefer to invest on son's higher studies as returns of this investment remains within the family. On the contrary, returns of investment in daughter's education naturally flow into her husband's family. Above all, son is regarded as a potential breadwinner of the family so investment on him particularly on higher studies has no limits as long as he shows considerable improvement.

Table: 6.3 – Age Group, Caste and Gender Wise Literacy in Panchalamarri Village

Age Group	Dalits Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	1	2	3	4	5 (4/1)	6	7 (6/2)	8	9 (8/3)	10 (5-7)	11 (7/5)
06 – 15	17	21	38	11	0.65	10	0.48	21	0.55	17	0.74
16 – 29	20	29	49	9	0.45	9	0.31	18	0.37	14	0.69
30 – 44	22	16	38	13	0.59	2	0.13	15	0.39	47	0.21
45 – 59	15	16	31	5	0.33	0	0.0	5	0.16	33	0.00
Above 60	11	8	19	3	0.27	0	0.0	3	0.16	27	0.00
Total	85	90	175	41	0.48	21	0.23	62	0.35	25	0.48
Age Group	Non-Dalits Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	06 – 15	16	18	34	14	0.88	14	0.78	28	0.82	10
16 – 29	13	18	31	12	0.92	11	0.61	23	0.74	31	0.66
30 – 44	14	20	34	8	0.57	8	0.40	16	0.47	17	0.70
45 – 59	12	4	16	4	0.33	1	0.25	5	0.31	8	0.75
Above 60	5	2	7	1	0.20	0	0.0	1	0.14	20	0.00
Total	60	62	122	39	0.65	34	0.55	73	0.60	10	0.84
Age Group	Total Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	06 – 15	33	39	72	25	0.76	24	0.33	49	0.68	42
16 – 29	33	47	80	21	0.64	20	0.25	41	0.51	39	0.39
30 – 44	36	36	72	21	0.58	10	0.14	31	0.43	44	0.24
45 – 59	27	20	47	9	0.33	1	0.2	10	0.21	31	0.06
Above 60	16	10	26	4	0.25	0	0.0	4	0.15	25	0.00
Total	145	152	297	80	0.55	55	0.19	135	0.45	37	0.34

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: GG=Gender Gap; GPI=Gender Parity Index

Among different age groups, the gender gap among Dalits is significantly high when compared to their counter part. Therefore, Dalit female literacy level and access to education is relatively low and the highest gender gap is registered (47) between 30-44 age group. It appears that about 50 per cent of Dalit female still not obtain proper education which precipitates their deprivation in education. The gender parity index of male and female reveals that, the female is in a disadvantaged condition in the village when compared to male. GPI implies that the educational opportunities are equally achieved by both male and female in the study village particularly in the case of non-Dalits. In absolute terms GPI points in different age groups are more than 0.66 which is the lowest between 16-29 age group. Similarly, the highest GPI points registered as 0.89 between 6-15 age group among non-Dalits. Therefore, it may be noted that both male and female among non-Dalits are equally attained in the educational opportunities.

As against to this, Dalits GPI shows declining trend from beginning to ending age groups. The highest GPI registered with 0.74 point between 6-15 age group followed by the 0.69 points between the next age group 16-29. Interestingly, all age groups points were just 0.48 which is less than half. This evidence reveals that literacy ratio of female was not satisfactory as much as male especially from the age group of 30-44 onwards. Thus, gender parity index reveals that especially female are more disadvantaged in attaining education opportunities among Dalits in the study village. It is also attributed that both male and female children belong to Dalits community are engaged in domestic or productive work in the household thereby they contribute economically to their household needs. Thus, Dalits children are educationally disadvantaged when compared to the children of the non-dalits households. Even it is considered by Tenth Plan that “those outside the school system are mostly SC/ST girls, working children, children of poor families, disabled children and children in difficult circumstances” (Planning Commission, 2002)

6.6.3 Workforce

Panchalamarri village continues to be predominantly agricultural village in terms of the occupational distribution of the working population. Table 4 shows workforce distribution in Panchalamarri village. There has been a high concentration of workforce in the agriculture and allied activities at village level. The rural non-farm sector is considered to be a very important source of supplementary income for the small farmers' class, but it is very weak in general and in the case of Dalits in particular.

Table: 6.4 – Population and Workforce in Panchalamarri Village

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population	94	97	191	60	68	128	154	165	319
Total Non-Workers	37	36	73	21	26	47	58	62	120
Non-Workers % to Total Population	39.36	37.11	38.22	35.00	38.24	36.72	37.66	37.58	37.62
Total Workers	57	61	118	39	42	81	96	103	199
Workers % to Total Population	60.64	62.89	61.78	65.00	61.76	63.28	62.34	62.42	62.38
Agricultural Workers	43	57	100	21	16	37	64	73	137
% of Agricultural Workers to Total Workers	75.44	93.44	84.75	53.85	38.10	45.68	66.67	70.87	68.84
Non-Agricultural Workers	14	4	18	18	26	44	32	30	62
% of Non-agricultural Workers to Total Workers	24.56	6.56	15.25	46.15	61.90	54.32	33.33	29.13	31.16

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Out of the total population of the village, the proportion of total workers among Dalits and non-Dalits is more or less same. However, Dalits total workers proportion is little lower compared to the total village level proportion. Conversely, in the case of non-Dalits it is marginally high. When it comes to the gender wise proportion, female proportion among both Dalits and non-Dalits is approximately same. In terms of male proportion, non-Dalits male constitutes about five percent high over Dalits male. It is interesting to note that agricultural workers (about 85 per cent) among Dalits constitute substantial proportion of the total workers. As against to this, non-agricultural proportion among non-Dalits registered higher (54.32 per cent) proportion of the total workers. Thus, most of Dalits are still dependent on agricultural labour work while non-Dalits earned different source of income particularly through non-agricultural activities.

6.6.4 Occupations

The following table reveals the caste and gender wise occupational distribution. Cultivation is the main activity of non-dalits, therefore about 30 per cent of non-dalits main occupation is cultivation as against to about 13 per cent Dalits. Non-Dalits cultivators' proportion is about 10 per cent higher when compared to the total village proportion. As against to this, Dalits cultivator proportion is below the total village proportion. Same trend is seen in term of agriculture labourers, and about 70 per cent of Dalits still served as agriculture labourers and their engagement in this occupation is favoured by the upper caste. Agriculture and allied activities, female dominates male among Dalits and it is vis-à-vis in the case of non-Dalits. Dalits absorption into other jobs has been also difficult since majority of them are illiterates and technically unskilled. As a result of this, only 15 per cent of the Dalits are engaged in non-farm activities. However, among non-Dalits a substantial proportion (54 per cent) of them are engaged in non-farm activities. Interestingly, no one is self employed by petty shop, tailoring and auto-driver and most of the self employed Dalits are related to non-agricultural work. It is attributed that, lack of resources and investment are the main factors which influence the self employment. So Dalits are still far away for them, furthermore limited access to land is also one of the main reasons which hinder to lead self employment for Dalits in particular. It is quite interesting to note that among the Dalits as well as village total female proportion in agricultural activities, agricultural labourers in particular, is

significantly high. It is observed that female population has been generally high at this village level therefore female themselves operate most of the agricultural operations. Similarly, majority of the male population are migrated as they do not find regular daily wage employment at this village level. Therefore, investing on agriculture is taken care of by male and managing all agricultural operations is maintained by the female in the village. Irrespective of caste, among all agricultural activities, livestock population is alone maintained by female. On the one hand, rearing milch cows, in particular, is a main occupation for few and on the other it is a subsidiary occupation for most of them.

Table: 6.5 – Gender and Caste Wise Occupational Distribution of Workers in Panchalamarri Village

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
I – Agriculture									
Cultivators	9 (15.79)	6 (9.84)	15 (12.71)	17 (43.59)	7 (16.67)	24 (29.63)	26 (27.08)	13 (12.62)	39 (19.60)
Agriculture Labourers	34 (59.65)	48 (78.69)	82 (69.49)	4 (10.26)	2 (4.76)	6 (7.41)	38 (39.58)	50 (48.54)	88 (44.22)
Livestock etc.	0 (0)	3 (4.92)	3 (2.54)	0 (0)	7 (16.67)	7 (8.64)	0 (0)	10 (9.71)	10 (5.03)
II – Non-Agriculture									
Self Employment	1 (1.75)	0 (0)	1 (0.85)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.04)	0 (0)	1 (0.50)
(i) PDS Dealer	2 (3.51)	0 (0)	2 (1.69)	2 (5.13)	0 (0)	2 (2.47)	4 (4.17)	0 (0)	4 (2.01)
(ii) Electrician	2 (3.51)	0 (0)	2 (1.69)	4 (10.26)	0 (0)	4 (4.94)	6 (6.25)	0 (0)	6 (3.02)
(iii) Carpenter	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (5.13)	2 (4.76)	4 (4.94)	2 (2.08)	2 (1.94)	4 (2.01)
(iv) Dhobi	8 (14.04)	3 (4.92)	11 (9.32)	8 (20.51)	21 (50)	29 (35.80)	16 (16.67)	24 (23.30)	40 (20.10)
(iv) Other Non-Agricultural Work	1 (1.75)	1 (1.64)	2 (1.69)	2 (5.13)	3 (7.14)	5 (6.17)	3 (3.13)	4 (3.88)	7 (3.52)
Other Services (Govt.)	57 (100)	61 (100)	118 (100)	39 (100)	42 (100)	81 (100)	96 (100)	103 (100)	199 (100)
Total									

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Among non-agricultural households, very few have confined to cattle rearing and, other households are seasonally migrated to nearby urban areas where they perform non-agricultural activities like construction works, hotel servants, security guards etc. It is also observed that all non-agricultural household works belong to either landless or marginal farmers. Cultivable land is one of the sources to perform self employment as a subsidiary occupation if income is properly derived from the cultivation. Therefore, less

cultivable and self employment both have close relationship and are depended on each other. Therefore, it is an evidence to prove that self employment can also be performed by farmers who are sound in terms of land. However, in the case of Dalits more than one fourth of them are landless and another 27 per cent of them have less than one acre of land. Above all, around 80 per cent of them having dry land, which is neither irrigated by tank nor has a source of bore well, so income from cultivation is almost meager, therefore it could be the reason for not promoting self employment among Dalits.

6.6.5 Landholdings

In Panchalamarri village, the highest incidence of landlessness is among the SCs. And more than 33 per cent of Dalits still remain landless and 27 per cent of them possess only less than one acre of land as against to 20 per cent landlessness and another three percent less than one acre land from non-dalits. It appears that percentage of Dalits from marginal to large landholder has gradually declined and even single household does not possess land under large farmers' category.

Table: 6.6 – Caste and Size-Wise Distribution of Landholdings in Panchalamarri Village

Landholdings (in acres)	Dalits		Non-Dalits		All	
	Number	%	Number	%	Total	%
Landless	16	33.33	6	20	22	28.21
< 1 acre	13	27.08	1	3.33	14	17.95
1.01 –2.50	14	29.17	4	13.33	18	23.08
2.51 – 5.00	4	8.33	11	36.67	15	19.23
5.01 – 10	1	2.08	5	16.67	6	7.69
10.01 above	0	0	3	10	3	3.85
Total	48	100	30	100	78	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Among all sizes of landholdings, non-dalits proportion under semi-medium, medium and large size is significantly high. On the contrary, Dalits proportion under less than one acre, marginal and small size landholding is almost more than two times high. Therefore, Dalits constitutes more than 64 per cent between 1 to 5 acres of landholdings while non-Dalits proportion is as high as 63 per cent between 5 to 25 acres of landholdings. In addition to this the minimum size of landholdings among Dalits households is merely 0.60 cents as against to 0.96 cents of non-dalits similarly, the maximum size among Dalits is only 6.21 acres whereas in the case of non-dalits it is relatively high approximately 23 acres. Percentage of marginal and small farmers among

non-dalits group is recorded three and 13 percent respectively whereas it is 33 and 27 per cent in the case of Dalits. Interestingly, less than one acre of land size group Dalits proportion is high in terms of their percentage at village level when compared to non-Dalits as well as village as a whole. It is also observed that all of them who come under less than one acre landholding size have only dry land which entirely depends on monsoons. However, in the case of non-Dalits there are less than one acre households but majority of their land is being cultivated under tank through which two crops in a year may be possible when monsoons are in favour. It is also observed that two households, non-dalits in particular, who come under less than one acre category have maintained bore well which is their main source of irrigation through which commercial crops like mulberry and sugarcane is cultivated.

Table: 6.7 – Social Group Wise Number of Holdings and Area Operated in Panchalamarri Village

Size Group (in acres)	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)
Marginal (1.01 – 2.50)	28	34.29	1.22	5	9.65	1.93	33	43.94	1.33
Small (2.51 – 5)	2	6.35	3.18	11	44.37	4.03	13	50.72	3.90
Semi-Medium (5.01 – 10)	1	6	6	5	32	6.4	6	38	6.33
Medium (10.01 – 25)	0	0	0	3	37	12.33	3	37	12.33

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: None with >25 acres.

Households of different size categories and the proportion of land accounted for and also average size of land is given in the above table. Insofar as distribution of land between Dalits and non-Dalits is concerned, a household of non-dalits operated maximum size of 12 acres landholdings, whereas no household is from this size by the Dalits. And Dalits are limited at 6 acres of average size. Therefore, ten per cent of non-dalits operated 12 acres of land. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that while

average size of land owned by non-dalits from medium size category was higher than their per cent (10 per cent) share in total households in comparison to Dalits.

Numerical proportion of marginal households was high among Dalits as a result the average size of land was highly skewed among them. Total of 28 Dalits households operated in just 34 acres and their average size of land is limited only to less than one acre (1.22) while non-dalits operated 9.65 acres by just five households and the average size of land is about two acres (1.93). It is evident from the fact that while the average size of land accounted for by Dalits households, marginal farmers' households in particular, was very high in comparison with their share in the total households. Similarly, the proportion of average size of land accounted for medium farmers' households by Non-Dalits is much higher compared to their share in total households. Therefore, there is a great difference in the average size of landholdings between Dalits and non-Dalits. Dalits households' proportion in terms of possessing land in medium and large size category is virtually non-existent. Therefore, Dalits would be able to retain land up to semi medium size beyond this they can not possess.

Interestingly, only six households benefited by land ceiling act therefore, there is no significant impact for the poor through land reforms. An extent of 1.60 acres of land distributed among six household and the average of size of land is merely 0.26 acre. According to the land beneficiaries, all of them were given dry land which is very far from the village and it involves more cost if they desired to cultivate the allotted land. Most of the allotment land is barren, unproductive, and un-irrigated land. Above all, it is too far to cultivate and the allotted area is about four kilometers away from the village. Since it allotment beneficiaries did not cultivate as the menace of forest animals. And one of the respondents expressed his despondency about the menace of forest animals. Two times he cultivated the allotment land with groundnut crop but in vain as the entire crop was damaged by forest animals. All of them are very reluctant to start cultivation as it is neither fit for cultivation nor allotted close to the village.

Table: 6.8 – Government Land Allotted to SC Households in Panchalamarri Village

Size of Landholdings (in acres)	Number of Households Assigned Land	Extent of Land (in acres)
Dalits		
1 – 2.5 acres	1	.20
	2	.25+.25
	1	.26
	1	.29
Total	5	1.25
2.50 – 5	1	.35
Total	1	.35
<i>Grand Total</i>	6	1.60

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Allotment of land to landless labourers is one of the major programmes for improving the economic status of SCs and STs. Importantly; state governments are responsible for the enactment and implementation of land legislation under the constitution. As a result, some state governments have enacted legislation while others have promulgated executive orders giving special preference to the SCs and STs in the distribution and allotment of surplus land. As a programme a measure, land distribution has also been taken place even under the study village. In Chittor district 3, 99,651 acres of surplus land was allotted by 19th November, 2006 of which 65505 of SCs and 79530 of STs beneficiaries' were covered (Commissioner of Land Administration, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad). Therefore, in terms of beneficiaries, STs proportion is higher than SCs and the average size of distributed holding including Dalits and non-Dalits is 1.4 acres at district level.

In this village even land distribution that has taken place had merely six Dalits households that were benefited and there were 10 households that still suffer lack of agricultural land. From the above table it is clear that irrespective of land size category no household is benefited within at least one acre of land. The minimum size of distributed land for Dalits is only 0.20 acre whereas the maximum size is also just 0.35 acre. It was observed that all of them, particularly Dalits, have been allotted dry lands which are located at forest region. However, due to lack of education and awareness Dalits are still unable to question the respective local authorities with respect to allotment of wet land as well as cultivable land.

Table: 6.9 – Caste wise Purchased Land by Different Sources in Panchalamarri Village

Size of Landholdings (in acres)	Dalits		Non-Dalits		All	
	Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)	Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)	Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)
	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings
< 1	2	.40	0	0	2	.40
		.75				.75
2.50 – 5	1	.30	1	.75	3	5.05
			1	4		
5.01 – 10	1	1	1	.25	4	2.55
			1	.30		
			1	1		
10.01 – 25	0	0	1	3.50	1	3.50
Total	4	2.45	6	9.80	10	12.25

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: In all cases land was purchased out of 'Own Savings'. No State or private loans provided for this purpose.

This study also focused on land purchased and sold by Dalits during the period from 1972 to 2008. Since land ceiling laws came in to force from 1972 onwards, this study confined to the mentioned period aiming at beneficiaries who benefited by land ceiling act might have sold the same land owing to various reasons. Out of 48 households of Dalits only four households were able to purchase a total of 2.45 acres of land while six non-dalits household could purchase of 9.80 acres. Over a period of 35 years more than 12 acres of land transaction was taken place among both Dalits and non-Dalits. The minimum and maximum extent of land purchased by Dalits is 0.30 and 1 acre as against to 0.25 and 3.50 acres respectively in the case of non-dalits. It appears that the variation pertaining to minimum extent of land purchased by Dalits and non-Dalits is very marginal (0.05cents) while it is very high (4acres) in the case of maximum extent of land purchased by these two social groups. Land purchased operation took place among the villagers of Panchalamarri in the case of Dalits. However, one of the non-Dalits has purchased three acres land near by mandal headquarter where he operates rice mill industry with three daily wage employees.

Households' belong to Dalit's community who has purchased land in between 1985 - 1990. In terms of cost there is huge difference between wet and dry lands and comparatively wet land cost is approximately double. The cost of dry land, according to

respondents, per acre was just Rs.7, 000/-, in 1985 and Rs.10, 000/- in 1990 respectively. One of non-Dalit respondent purchased wet land in 1996 at the rate of Rs.40, 000 per acre. Therefore, Dalits were financial poor in purchasing wet land. Remarkably, purchasing land from the same (Dalits between Dalits) or below status community is very easy, whereas it is highly complicated in the case of higher / above status community (Dalits between non-Dalits). In Panchalamarri village non-Dalits households do not desire to sell their permanent assets like land to the marginalized sections such as Dalits.

As far as the main source of finance for purchasing land is concerned, all four households of Dalits purchased land on their own savings irrespective of the size of landholdings. Similarly, the same trend is seen even in the case of non-dalits, and therefore, all six non-dalits household purchased land by their own savings irrespective of the size of landholdings. Therefore, the main source of finance for purchasing land is one's own savings, for both Dalits as well as non-Dalits. A majority of the Dalits households reported that all the money they spent for purchasing land was derived from their non-agricultural work which was done outside the village by migrating different part of the state. However, for non-Dalits the main source of savings for purchasing land was agriculture sector alone. Till 1995 bonded labour system was practicing by which labours would pay low wages and worked for about 12 to 14 hours per day. In addition all agricultural operations, in those days, were done irrespective of working hours. Therefore, cost of cultivation was low and income from agricultural activities was very high resulting increased saving pattern for non-Dalits community. Furthermore, all the crop yield was used to store with proper care and it is sold whenever the crop yield get profitable price. Crop yield was not sold at the time of harvesting but it is stored till it gets profitable price. Crop storage method was viable only for non-Dalits as they were living in pucca / huge houses. Such practice was not in vogue in the case of Dalits, to invest on agricultural operations they used to borrow money in advance either from money lender or landlord on the condition of selling crop yield soon after harvesting takes place. Generally, at the time of harvesting all agricultural productions will have low prices at market level which eventually brings loss to the farmers. Therefore, the substitute solution is to preserve all agricultural commodities until it gets profitable value. Preserving commodities at a safe place is highly impossible as it requires pucca houses

that's where Dalits are lagging behind. As they do not have pucca houses and live in kucha and thatched houses it is highly impracticable to preserve commodities. Above all, even the existing very few pucca houses are very narrowly constructed in which only limited space is provided and at the most five to ten individuals can stay. While this is the case, in general there won't be separate space available exclusively for preserving agricultural commodities. Therefore, Dalits lead a miserable life in absence of maintained pucca houses and are neither paid own investment on agricultural operations for which dependency on money lenders and landlords still continue at rural level.

The following table deals with the caste wise land sold for various reasons in Panchalamarri village. In absolute terms only four households out of 48 are sold lands from Dalits community for various reasons. Precisely, from all respondents, five reasons were identified for selling land namely daughters' marriage, ill-health of family members, house construction, clear mounting debts and given to government under land ceiling act. Households such as land sold with multiple reasons were also identified but they were very few in numbers. Therefore, among Dalits only 8.3 per cent have sold their cultivable land for various reasons whereas in the case of non-Dalits it is 20 per cent.

Table: 6.10 – Caste wise Land Sold for Various Reasons in Panchalamarri Village

Land Sold Reasons	Dalits				Non-Dalits				All				
	Landless	<1	2.50 – 5	Total	<1	2.50 – 5	5.01 – 10	Total	Landless	<1	2.50 – 5	5.01 – 10	Total
Daughters' Marriage	0	0		0	0.50 (1)	0	0	0.50 (1)	0	0.50 (1)	0	0	0.50 (1)
Ill-health of Family Members	1.05 (1)	0.25 (1)	0	1.30 (2)	0	1 (1)	0	1 (1)	1.05 (1)	0.25 (1)	1 (1)	0	2.30 (3)
Daughters' Marriage & Ill-health of Family Members	0	0	.62 (1)	.62 (1)	0.25 (1)	0	0.75 (1)	1 (2)	0	0.25 (1)	0.62 (1)	0.75 (1)	1.62 (3)
House Construction	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.25 (1)	.25 (1)	0	0	0	0.25 (1)	0.25 (1)
To clear mounting Debts	.68 (1)	0	0	.68 (1)	0	0	3 (1)	3 (1)	0.68 (1)	0	0	3 (1)	3.68 (2)
Total	1.73 (2)	0.25 (1)	0.62 (1)	2.60 (4)	0.75 (2)	1 (1)	4 (3)	5.75 (6)	1.73 (2)	1 (3)	1.62 (2)	4 (3)	8.35 (10)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: Figures in parentheses are number of households.

Two households belong to Dalits and who come under landless have sold their land 1.73 acres of land due to ill health of family members and to clear mounting debts. Another two household sold an extent of 0.87 acres of land for performing daughter's marriage and ill health of family members. It is observed that two out of four households sold their own land and they ultimately become landless poor. It is said by one of the respondent that he borrowed some money from landlord by mortgaging his meager land. However, after three years that land was occupied by his landlord with the pretext that the amount borrowed including interest was higher than the mortgaged land value. In fact, the Dalit borrower was so interested to release his borrowed land by paying the interest as well as principal amount in the meanwhile landlord himself took such an exploitative decision with which the borrower eventually lost his ownership right on his mortgaged land.

Therefore, over a period of 35 years, the total extent of land that was sold by Dalits is just 2.60 acres in the village as a whole. Similarly during the same period the total extent of land was sold by non-Dalits is 5.50 acres. And both Dalits and non-Dalits together sold the land an extent of 8.10 acres over a period of 35 years. Based the above analysis it can be said that majority of non-Dalits sold their land for leading quality life through performing daughters' marriage and constructing pucca houses and land could have been used as a dowry. On the contrary, Dalits have sold for meeting their basic requirement such as recover from ill health and clear mounting debts. Moreover, few of the Dalits have also been exploited by non-Dalits through land mortgage system.

6.6.6 Agricultural Assets

As far as agricultural assets are concerned very few of Dalits maintain them and all of them were assisted by State governmental programme. Two households of Dalits possessed motor with pump sets and bore well which were assisted by the State government. Similarly four households provided bullock carts by the state. Therefore, all the assets which are being enjoyed by Dalits were offered by the state assistance. Holding agricultural assets by Dalits with out adequate land is of no use, because there are more than 33 per cent landless and 27 per cent below one acre Dalits exist at this village level. Therefore, there must be prevailing poverty at a greater extent and one cannot own any agricultural assets as long as the poverty continues. And poverty level itself reflects

holding assets in absence of state assistance by Dalits as result no household from Dalits posses any asset pertaining to agriculture.

Table: 6.11 – Caste Wise Number of Agricultural Assets in Panchalamarri Village

Agricultural Assets	With State Assistance			Without State Assistance			Total		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
Motor and Pump sets	2	2	4	0	15	15	2	17	19
Bullock Cart	4	0	4	0	5	5	4	5	9
Open Well	2	0	2	0	8	8	2	8	10
Bore Well	2	0	2	0	7	7	2	7	9
Total	10	0	12	0	35	35	10	35	47

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

However, in the case of non-Dalits, all agricultural assets belonging to them are their own property and no assistance in this regard has been provided by the state so far. Among sample households, there are six motor pump sets, five bullock carts, eight open wells and seven bore wells hold by non-Dalits. It is clear that 15 out of 30 non-Dalits households' lands are cultivated by adequate water sources. Interestingly seven households' main irrigation source is power bore wells and its operational cost would be about Rs.70, 000 to one lakh which includes motor and pump sets and power connection. It can be said that sources of irrigation itself is a significant factor which assess the economic position of Dalits as well as non-Dalits. In that sense, Dalits are largely lagging behind whereas non-Dalits going ahead at a larger scale. It is clear that majority of non-Dalits were sound in terms of possessing agricultural assets. Generally, availability of adequate irrigation facility may cause to improve not only agricultural assets but also other assets.

6.6.7 Housing

The following table reveals the house status and state assistance for house construction. More than 31 per cent of Dalits still reside in thatched houses and about 30 per cent of them living in semi pucca houses. Two households found to be without house and house site in the village and they still reside in rented thatched houses. Interestingly, about 40 per cent of Dalits living in pucca houses under which most them were benefited

by state assistance. It is to be noted that just 20 per cent of Dalits (3 out of 15) were benefited by the state assistance under thatched housed category and 80 per cent yet to cover. Despite they were assisted by the government under housing scheme still they could not construct even semi pucca houses and it appears that the entire assistance was misused. One of the Dalit respondents said, her husband was influenced by the respective officials as a result they received just Rs.3000/- without house construction. In fact, those days (probably in 1984) Rs.8000/- was the actual amount sanctioned by the state for house construction. On the one hand, Dalits were lured by local level officials and on the other they were not in a position to bear addition expenses as the sanctioned amount was very low. Out of the total 14 semi pucca houses 13 households received state assistance. All respondents said, prior to state assistance they were residing in thatched houses and only after state assistance they would be able to construct semi-pucca houses. Therefore, with the state assistance some of the Dalits would able construct semi-pucca houses.

Table: 6.12 – Caste Wise House Status and State Assistance for House Construction in Panchalamarri Village

State Assistance	Dalits				Non-Dalits				All			
	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total
Loan	0	13	17	30	0	0	6	6	0	13	23	36
Loan & Site	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Own	10	1	2	13	2	2	20	24	12	3	22	37
Rented	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
Total	15	14	19	48	2	2	26	30	17	16	45	78

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It is observed that state assistance may be helpful to construct semi-pucca houses when the entire amount is properly sanctioned time to time. However the sanctioned amount is inadequate if the beneficiary desired to construct pucca houses. Conversely, 17 out of 19, pucca houses category among Dalits assisted by the state under developmental programmes. It was reported that, about three times investment, equal to the state assistance, is required to construct pucca houses. It is estimated that state assistance is just one third of the pucca house construction therefore; allocated amount for house

construction must be enhanced if the state is really desired the welfare of the poor particularly in constructing pucca house for the poor.

On the contrary, among non-Dalits no household from the thatched and semi pucca houses category was assisted by the state. As a result, few non-Dalits families still reside in thatched and semi-pucca houses. In absolute number, such houses among non-Dalits were just four (13%) out of the total 30 households. But, majority of the non-Dalits reside in pucca houses, six (20%) out of 30 were assisted by the state. Non-Dalits respondents reported that the proportion of state assistance in constructing pucca houses is just 15 per cent and 85 per cent of expenditure is borne by them. Despite the assistance enhanced by the state towards house construction still about two third of the expenditure is borne by the house owner particularly in pucca house construction.

Table: 6.13 – Distribution of State Assisted Housing in Panchalamarri Village

Particulars	Dalits	Non-Dalits
No. of Households	48	30
No. of Households with State Assisted Housing *	33	6
% with Assisted Housing	68.8	20.0

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: * State assisted either as loan, site or both

According to the above table irrespective of caste group, in the village as a whole, there were 39 households assisted by the state in constructing houses of which 36 households assisted only by loan and the remaining three were given both house site and loan. Importantly, about 69 per cent (33 out of 48 households) of Dalits have benefited under housing scheme and remaining 31 per cent of them yet to be covered. Therefore, more than one third of the Dalits households could not avail it. As a result of this, the proportion of Dalits live in thatched and semi-pucca houses is significantly higher in comparison with non-Dalits. Even among non-dalits, two households appear to be dwelled in thatched houses that should be assisted by the state under housing scheme. Therefore, state should pay serious attention towards Dalits in the house construction so as to pay the total expenditure of the house construction.

6.6.8 Livestock

Growing urbanization and raising incomes are creating significant demand for milk across the country. Thus the increasing demand leads to change in the rural structure and offer opportunities even for landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmer for their economic growth. Above all, keeping livestock can also protect households from shocks such as drought and other natural disasters. Therefore, even for poor households like Dalits rearing livestock can be an important means to achieve potential, but it is not the only means. Thus, livestock has also become a key source of security for the poor and enables many households to obtain access to capital. In that way, livestock is an important asset and it can push households out of abject poverty and into the benefits of market economies. Consequently, dairy industry plays a very important role in rural areas in general and Panchalamarri village in particular. Furthermore, even both BPL and APL families get employed by choosing dairy industry as a subsidiary occupation. Therefore, among all the other occupations livestock has become a main occupation for income generation and food security as well.

At this village level particularly Dalits seem to have less ownership of livestock besides their population in absolute terms is virtually high to that of non-Dalits. Among all other livestock categories cows represent first place followed by young stock and bullock. The total number of cows possessed by Dalits together with loan and own is just 17 and three out of total are reared by share basis. Rearing livestock on sharing basis is a common method which can be applied to all categories of livestock like cows, buffaloes and goats. For instance, in the case of cows, a cow is reared by the shareholder until it gives birth to calf. After that the first young stock is given to shareholder and the same contract and so continues until the cow gives birth to second calf. Based on this contract, three cows are reared by Dalits. Only in the case of Dalits sharing practice has been in vogue for long time and in general such practice exists between Dalits and non-Dalits in which Dalits are shareholder and owners belong to non-Dalits. Therefore, it is clear that due to lack of access to financial services most of the Dalits do not have high breed cows. Due to their low financial status they prefer only low cost high breeds such as *Sindhi Cross Breed* which cost would 10-15 thousand and it produces 6-8 liters in day. And Dalits vulnerability is also a special character for credit institutions in providing the

means of loans. It is observed that three households of the Dalits have been excluded from micro credit scheme particularly for investment on livestock. Instead, they are being financed with less amount of loan which is very meager to satisfy their desire of owning a high breed cow. The loan amount provided for Dalit is limited only to meet their day to day basic needs. Under state assistance only seven households have been given loan on cows. In fact, there were 16 landless and 13 less than one acre (marginal) households suffer with abject poverty. Therefore, under the state assistance those household, at the maximum possibility, should have been covered but that has not been done. Therefore under the state welfare programme which meant for reduce the poverty level among deprived people Dalits are partially excluded. Thus, the lack of the inclusion of the Dalits in the developmental process must be remedied. It is to be noted that the performance of livestock development projects in the efforts to reduce poverty has been mediocre at best. A recent review by Livestock in Development concluded that the majority of animal health projects are not having the intended impact on the poor because project design and implementation have lacked a proper focus on poverty (LID, 1999).

For Dalits livestock keepers, it is a great difficulty to rear them as most of the land virtually occupied by the non-Dalits. It is observed that great reduction in the availability of natural resources such as common lands for grazing was negatively affect poor livestock keepers. These resources, however, are constantly being diminished because of the increased pressure on land exerted by growing populations. Consequently, poor landless farmers particularly Dalits who rely on common lands to graze their livestock sold out. Therefore, shrinking farm sizes, deforestation and erosion, declining soil fertility and the degradation of water and land are the general major obstacles for poor livestock keepers. Very few farmers have bullocks through which all agricultural operations like ploughing, weeding, transporting are made to reduce the cost of cultivation. Virtually all of the non-Dalits are largely encouraged by dairy farm under which 20 (about 67%) out 30 households' possessed milch cows. They owned high producing milk cows like *HF*, *Jersey* and *Sindhi Cross Breed* which cost would be Rs.30000/- to Rs.40000/- range. Among these breeds *HF* alone produces 10-15 liters in a day, therefore owning such breeds only viable for non-Dalits. Though the head of the

household main occupation is cultivation the sub-head (wife) main occupation is promoting dairy industry particularly from non-Dalits community.

Table: 6.14 – Caste Wise Livestock Population in Panchalamarri Village

Livestock Category	Own			Loan		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Cows	9+3*	17	29	7	3	10
Young stock	6	9	15	3	3	6
Bullocks	2	16	18	0	0	0
Young stock	0	2	2	0	0	0
Poultry	2	0	2	0	0	0
Goats	1	0	1	0	0	0
Sheep	2	2	4	0	2	2
Total	25	46	71	10	8	18

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09. * Reared on share basis

Similarly investment on bullocks also shows their social status and still 16 bullocks are owned by them and the old practice of ploughing through bullocks still exists rather than mechanization. It is to be noted that no household, particularly from non-Dalits, is found involving in rearing livestock under share basis. Rearing livestock under sharing (contract) generally happens in the below poverty line households where majority of the women, children and old aged persons take care of this occupation. Now it can be said that most of the Dalits rely on sharing / contract whereas non-Dalits depend on own, in case of livestock rearing. It was also observed that all most all Dalits directly depend on non-Dalits even in livestock rearing occupation. In the case of non-Dalits, at this village in particular, livestock accounts for greater portion of the economic activities, while for Dalits livestock is the only source of livelihood as well as source of income. And very recently particularly when they adapt to be rearing high cross breeds and promote dairy industry since then the old custom of rearing buffaloes was completely forbidden. As a result no household, either from Dalits or from non-Dalits owned buffaloes as the do not find any high cross breed out of it.

Table: 6.15 – State Assisted Milch Animals in Panchalamarri Village

Category	Dalits	Non-Dalits
State Assisted	10	6
Own	18	26
Total	28	32
% of State Assisted	35.7	23.1

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

When it comes to the state assistance for milch animals, about 36 per cent (10 out of 28) of Dalits and 23 per cent (6 out of 32) of non-Dalits were assisted respectively. However, the variation between own and state assistance is drastically high among non-Dalits. In absolute terms, just six milch animals were assisted by state while 26 were owned on their own which is more than four times higher when compared to the state assistance. Similarly, ten milch animals were assisted by the state and 18 were owned on their own which is about two times higher. Dalits have more than two times less owning capacity when compared to non-Dalits. It shows financial weakness of Dalits in possessing milch animals on their own. State must be committed in assisting financial aid for landless Dalits particularly in providing loans which promote either non-agricultural or self employment activities.

6.6.9 Participatory Activity in Local Government

Generally, panchayat surpanch plays a significant role at rural level in any sort of activity. In fact, the 73rd Constitution Amendment's importance is that it aimed at achieving gross roots democracy guaranteeing adequate representation to the marginalized groups like the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes and women. Therefore, even after 60 years of independence only one member was elected as a panchayati surpanch from Dalit community in this village. He was elected in 2006 as this Panchayati surpanch position was reserved for Dalits under Thamballapalli mandal. And one more individual was also elected as a Panchayati vice-surpanch.

Table: 6.16 – Caste Wise Participatory Activity in Local Government in Panchalamarri Village

Position Status	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Panchayati President	1	0	1*	1	1	2	2	1	3
Panchayati Vice-President	1	0	1	2	1	3	3	1	4
DWCRA Leader	0	9	9	0	2	2	0	11	11
Ward Member	2	0	2*	1	0	1	3	0	3
DWCRA Member	0	25	25	0	10	10	0	35	35
Total	4	34	38	4	14	18	8	48	56

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09. * Elected under reservation

In fact Dalits population constitutes one fourth of the total village population. Similarly, another two individuals were also elected as ward members. Above all positions held by Dalit male were completely related to local government (Panchayat). Dalit female participation, in local government was entirely excluded so far. Based on the above table information, Dalit female did not get access into local administration while non-Dalit women are actively involved in both local administration as well as voluntary SHGs promoted by state. It is to be emphasized that getting access into voluntary SHGs for Dalits women is not a challengeable issue because Dalit women organize themselves as one or many groups. Therefore, they are the SHG members and SHGs leader is selected one among them. The voluntary SHGs power is used among Dalit women themselves as every caste or sub-caste is generally isolated at rural level. As we know a Dalit SHG leader do not control other SHG members who belong to non-Dalit vis-à-vis non-Dalit SHG leader can not have access into Dalit SH group to control its activity. As far as the voluntary SHGs promoted by state is concerned powers are assigned equally, but they are enjoyed by the respective caste but not among all the social groups. And once panchayat surpanch position was reserved for Dalit women in local government but she was defeated by a non-Dalit independent candidate with a huge majority.

It is evident that unless there is a reservation for Dalits in Panchayati Raj, Institutions can not have even minimum access into political arena. Amazingly, if a Dalit candidate is put on in Panchayat elections under non-reservation quota, they are defeated at any cost most of the time. Most of the times Dalits are elected Panchayat surpanches particularly under reservation quota but they can not have their own decisions for smooth function of local administration. The main reasons are, most of the Dalits are illiterate, not much aware of local administration system. They pay much obedience towards local landlords under whom Dalits led their life for quite long time either daily wage worker or bonded labour. As far as our study of village is concerned, the Dalit, who was elected as Surpanch was basically an illiterate and his son was working as a daily wage worker regularly, prior to this the elected surpanch was also working as a bonded labour for quite some time. Though the bonded labour system is completely abolished, the existing president is still close to that landlord and for every activity he depends on landlord since

then. Any sort of activity is done by the village landlord indirectly on behalf of the existing Panchayat sarpanch; therefore, all political power is captured by non-Dalits.

Interestingly, landlord's enemy who is also a non-Dalit (upper caste), criticize Dalit's reservation in panchayat election. The opponent and some of his followers started various measures to dilute or sabotage the entry of Dalit into Panchayat election and ultimately they even have created petty violence to prevent the Dalit candidate from contesting the elections. In the entire issue the Dalit candidate was protected by the upper caste landlord therefore he would win the election at last. It is also evident that the non-Dalits (Upper Caste) who control the entire village economy cannot endure the changes that are being brought about by the decentralized democratic institutions. As a result tensions, violence and killings have taken place in order to resist the transformation from the beginning of the implementation of the Panchayat system. At this point we need to remember Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's statement that the villages were the ruination of India because a village in India is a den of ignorance, communalism and corruption. Therefore, what he said 50 years ago is still valid in much of India even after the new Panchayat system has been introduced (George Mathew, 2003).

Hence, it is understood that Dalit leaders, particularly elected to Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), do not effectively participate in the democratic decision making process at the grass level. Above all, it was also observed that the Dalit leaders who are elected to PRIs have low educational status, no political experience, no status in political party and low annual family income. Interestingly, he was the first Dalit sarpanch from this village and there is no scope to get advice from the same Dalit senior leaders in local administration issues. Hence, the economically and politically deprived Dalit leaders need to be adequately empowered by training under the PRI. Therefore, poverty and economic dependency prevent them from enjoying autonomy even after being elected for PRIs at rural level.

6.6.10 Non-farm Self Employment Activity

Turning to the rural non-farm sector, it is recognized that this sector is important both in generation productive employment and alleviating poverty in rural areas. In general, agricultural and urban areas cannot absorb the increasing workforce therefore; the increasing workforce can find employment through non-farm activity. As far as our

study village is concerned most of the Dalits still continue in their traditional hereditary occupations like agriculture labour and it is the principal source of livelihood for them. In particular, majority of the Dalits main source of livelihood is agricultural labour. They are still far behind the non-farm self employment activity like petty businesses, motor sector, poultry industry, dairy industry, hotel / tiffin centers etc.

Table: 6.17 – Caste Wise Non-farm Self Employment Activity in Panchalamarri Village

Non-farm Self Employment Activity	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Tailoring	1	1	2
Milk Vendor	0	2	2
Furniture Repair Work	1	0	1
Total	2	3	5

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Non-farm self employment is limited. Three households out of 30 non-Dalit have opted for non-farm activity as against to just two out of 48 Dalits households at this village level. In fact, Dalits at this village level are unskilled and not financially sound, more so, they constitute hardly 21 per cent of the total households which does not constitute even one fourth of the total village households. It is found that a Dalit (physically challenged person) candidate started petty business (kirana shop) and it was equipped with all necessary items. However, long before a non-Dalit household has already started same kind of business with huge investment. But over a period of one year Dalit candidate had to abstain from this activity as his entire business was experienced by losses. In this context it is to be mentioned that 80 per cent of the non-Dalit purchased all necessary items from non-Dalit shop only. Non-Dalit shop owner influenced Dalit colony by giving necessary items on credit basis and seasonally he started exchange offer system also. For instance, during March and April Dalits usually procure tamarind from non-Dalits field and the same was exchanged with necessary household items such as salt, soaps, eatable items for children sugar and some times rice from non-Dalits shop owner. Three things were closely observed for the reason that the Dalit kirana shop owner had to close that shop; firstly all most all non-Dalits do not enter into Dalit colony for purchasing commodities from Dalit shop as they feel high in terms of caste hierarchy. Secondly, Dalit shop owner could not encourage credit as well as barter system which promoted Dalits to migrate to Non-Dalit shop owner. Lastly Dalit shop owner could not

invest more on it resulting some items which are necessary even for Dalits / poor not available as a result Dalit community itself migrate to non-Dalit shop for purchasing commodities. Even about 5-10 per cent of Dalits themselves purchased from non-Dalits, therefore, in terms of investment it was also high compared to Dalit operated petty shop. Therefore, self-employment activity among Dalits needs to be strengthened by the provision of adequate capital, technology and access to markets.

6.6.11 Migration

It was found that seasonal migration has been taking place for the past seven years because of drought conditions. Thamballapallii mandal declared itself as drought prone mandal in 2004 among 66 mandals in Chittoor district. Therefore, whose agricultural lands depend on seasonal rains, had to migrate to different part of the country. According to priority basis, Bangalore, Tirupati and Hyderabad were the main cities to where seasonally migrated from this village. In 2008-09, 32 workers from Dalit households accounting for 27 per cent of Dalit workers and five from non-dalit households (6 per cent of workforce) migrated seasonally.

According to the respondents migration has been taking place for the past seven years only from landless and marginal households as there was no adequate rain to cultivate their fields. Thus, migrants' workers were influenced more by 'push effect' factors rather than 'pull effect' in the study village. In addition there was remarkable change from non-Dalits community in terms of labour engagement from Dalit community for agricultural operations. Majority of the non-Dalits households started exchange labour system (Reciprocity System) in all the agricultural operations as a result of the entire Dalits who lead their life as agricultural labourers so far were largely excluded from daily wage employment. Among Dalits Landless households (16 out of 48) alone constitute more than 33 per cent as against 20 per cent of non-Dalits. Similarly, less than one acre households (13 out of 48) proportion constitutes 27 per cent among Dalits while it is just 3 per cent among non-Dalits. If we take both landless and less than one acre category into account their proportion among Dalits is more than 60 per cent to that of 23 per cent of non-Dalits. Households belong to these two categories but cannot depend on daily wage employment and have to migrate other places if they do not find employment at their respective village. In addition, migration was also taken place even

among other landholdings households as they experienced with chronic seasonal droughts. It is to be noted that migrant workers population constitutes about 19 per cent of the total workers in this study village.

Table: 6.18 – Gender and Caste Wise Seasonal Migration in Panchalamarri Village

Type of Migration	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Construction works	8	6	14	2	2	4	10	8	18
Hotel Serve	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	3
House Work	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
Security Guard	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Painter	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
Working in Timber Depot	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Polish Work	1		1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bricks Work	4	1	5	0	0	0	4	1	5
Marketing Manager	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>37</i>

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Among the Dalit migrants majority of them are absorbed in construction works followed by bricks works and painting. It is said that Rs.350 is paid for a couple (wife and husband) per day if they are engaged in construction works. Construction workers from this village are informally contracted through the outside village intermediaries. Bangalore and Tirupati are the nearest cities; it absorbs almost all migrants' labourers into construction works. None of the migrants go other than these cities. At this village, due to lack of irrigation sources and existing single crop cultivation in existing irrigation availability are the main reasons apart from landlessness. It was also observed that irrigation, ploughing and threshing operations were increasingly mechanized. However operations like transplantation, harvesting and weeding still continued to be carried out by hand. Finally it gave raise to work many land owners themselves in their field particularly during peak seasons.

Most of the year, landlords required very few paid workers. But for transplanting and harvesting operations required more labour for which landlords could bring them from nearby villages. The two busy periods, transplanting [June – August] and harvesting [October – December] coincided with decreasing migration possibilities for village

workers. Daily wage during peak seasons was a maximum of Rs.150/- per day which is reasonable good when compared to wage paid for urban centres for construction works.

Some of Dalit migrant workers obtained skilled work from urban areas by working as servers and cooks. For instance, cooking occupation provides skills for migrants with which they can migrate to any where in the State. Similarly, initially they joined as servers in the hotels and gradually they become waiters in restaurant and star hostels with this experience they move to work anywhere in the State as well as country. Generally, security guard job is offered by multi national companies (MNCs), star hotels, restaurants, educational institutions, hospitals, shopping malls, super market etc. Unlike other jobs in Hyderabad city, security jobs is almost become out sourcing and it requires language skills apart from minimum education qualification. Therefore, Dalits are unable to obtain such jobs as they are still lagging behind in terms of language skills and educational qualification. According to respondents, this employment created more demand in the city as a result most of them (security guards) are belonged to northeast and other states. A security guard has to work twelve hours, initially he is paid an amount of total Rs.4000/- of which only Rs.3000/- he is given per month and remaining Rs.1000/- is deducted for outsourcing charges. Based on the experience, monthly salary will be enhanced gradually and promotions are also given. It is said that majority of the higher salary promotions are given only to ex-service men. And there is no chance to secure such promotions for persons who joined with minimum language skills and qualification but they are enhanced salary gradually.

Section – II

6.7 Rural Development Programmes: Empirical Evidence

i) **Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP):** The assets provided through IRDP assistance are milch animals, sheeps, bullocks and bullock carts and pump sets etc. It is evident from the table that out of the total 46 households fourteen (30.43%) scheduled castes were benefited by IRDP in Panchalamarri village. It was observed that among the Dalits households, milch cows beneficiaries registered 71 per cent followed the same proportion registered from each category of bullocks and bullock care and sheeps. It is observed that except two households all of them have sold their assets only for repayment of loan.

Table: 6.19 – Caste Wise Loan Availed for Various Assets under Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

Nature of Loan under IRDP	Number of Beneficiaries	Amount of Loan	Subsidy Paid	Status of Assets
Dalits				
Milch Cattle	10	(5000x10)=50000	@1000 per beneficiary	8 Households - Sold to Re-Pay Loan 2 Households – Main Source of Family Income
Bullocks & Bullock Cart	2	(7000x2)=14000	@2000 per beneficiary	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
Sheep	2	(3000x2)=6000	@1000 per beneficiary	Sold to Re-Pay Loan
Total	14	70000		
Non-Dalits				
Milch Cattle	6	(5000x6)=30000	@1000 per beneficiary	Main Source of Family Income
Motor & Pump sets	2	(6000x2)=12000	@2500 per beneficiary	Main Source of Family Income
Total	8	42000		

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Therefore, this programme could not bring fruitful result in Dalits lives though they were benefited by it. It is said that almost all beneficiaries sold their assets within a period of five years from the date of benefited. Nobody retain and enjoy their assets after five years. The only reason for selling assets shown by the concerned beneficiaries is, due

to the local authorities demand to clear the loan amount assets were sold. Furthermore, grants under this programme have been given not enough to this particular village as well. Therefore, this programme could not bring a quality life in Dalits' lives as it has not been implemented rigorously as far as this particular village is concerned.

However, in the case of non-Dalits two households were assisted with pump sets and they still possess the same assets. Another six households benefited by milch cattle. The respondent reported that they could enhance their family income little more even after they were assisted by these assets. Importantly, mounting debts were also cleared through the income derived from these assets. Non-Dalits households were shown considerable improvement by this programme by generating annual family income whereas Dalits have sold their assets resulting to no significance improvement taken place among them.

ii) Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM): TRYSEM is designed to provide technical skills and to upgrade the traditional skills of rural youth belonging to families below the poverty line, so as to enable them to take up self-employment ventures under IRDP or wage employment. Although self-employment was to be generated in all sectors of the economy, the main thrust of the programme was on absorbing the target group rural youth in the services sector, viz, tailoring, carpentry, handloom weaving, sericulture, rural machines (bicycle repair, electric wiring, motor repair etc.). The targeted household under TRYSEM was to be drawn from Dalit identified as the beneficiary of the IRD programme.

Similarly, under TRYSEM programme only one person among Dalits was given training as to how maintain fair price shop. He was provided training for about two weeks in relating to fair price shop maintenance and he still continued self employment in his trade after the completion of training. Presently, he runs PDS shop with his own investment of nearly Rs.60,000/-.According to respondent, he earns nearly Rs.2500 to Rs.3000 by running fair price shop and from every kilogram of rice he is paid 0.25paise and 0.50paise from every liter of kerosene and another 0.50paise from ever kilogram of sugar. In addition, he earns other income also by selling the empty gunny bags which are used for packing of rice and sugar. Generally every gunny bag is sold at the rate of Rs.25 / 30. It is found that though he has been provided training with regard to maintaining PDS

shop he was not given any financial assistance either by bank or by SC Corporation so far. The entire amount that he invested on this was almost procured from his relatives and friends for interest for which some have charged 24% and some other have charged 36% per annum respectively. Under another programme two individuals were also given training with respect to tailoring and motor rewinding work. But they have not been provided any asset after completion of training programme.

Table: 6.20 – Caste Wise Training Given Under Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)

Number of Beneficiaries	Nature of Training under TRYSEM	Duration of Training	Status of Assets
Dalits			
1	Ration Shop Operation	2 Weeks	Main Source of Family Income
1	Tailoring	2 months	Main Source of Family Income
1	Motor Rewinding	3 weeks	Main Source of Family Income

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

According to the respondent, they have been benefited by training programme and improved their skills to a certain extent by which they have started self employment on their own investment. It is observed that government has provided only training programme but failed to provide financial assistance to the concerned trained personnel either in creating employment generation or in continuing their skills at least. Even the government could not play a greater role in reducing poverty level among Dalits either by financial assistance or through subsidy system. As a result Dalits are still plagued with poverty as well as landless at this village and there was no significant improvement in their economic lives. Therefore, it is observed that Dalit community is largely neglected under this programme and it ultimately led to pauperization of the Dalit community.

iii) National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP): This programme (NREGP) was introduced with a view to provide employment for 100 days to every rural household for which every adult member in the household has to register voluntarily his / her name under this programme. According to the above table total out of 68 individuals 35 are male and 33 are female are eligible for this programme from Dalits community. However, out of the total male and female population only 47.3 per cent and 41.2 per cent and village as a whole only 43.6 per cent were registered their names under this programme particularly from Dalit community. Therefore, not even 50

per cent of registration has taken place from both male and female population and across the village. Similarly, 91.4 per cent of male and about 88 per cent of female were actually employed and nearly 90 per cent individuals from Dalits community across the village population were employed. Therefore, almost all registered individuals got employment under this programme. It is found that on an average male got employment 23 days whereas female got just 15 days employment over a period of three months in a year. Likewise, in the case of non-Dalits 29 (about 53%) male persons out of 55 and 33 (55%) female population out of 60 were registered their names and 62 (76.5%) individuals out of 81 in the village as a whole were registered their names under this programme. Thus, non-Dalits proportion, in terms of registration of individuals under this programme, is significantly high as compared to Dalits. It is found that non-dalits proportion is considerable high as activities carried out under this program were completely related to land development. So far, majority of the land belong to the non-dalits. It was only taken into account for development, as a result majority of the non-dalits had to participate under this programme. Interestingly female participation rate among non-Dalits is little high as their proportion is high in the population itself. Therefore, this may be the important reason for higher participation of female under this programme.

Table: 6.21 – Caste and Gender Wise Number of Persons Employed Under National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS) during 2008-09

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Number of Persons Registered	35 (54.69)	33 (50)	68 (52.31)	29 (45.31)	33 (50)	62 (47.69)	64 (100)	66 (100)	130 (100)
Number of Persons Actually Employed *	32 (54.24)	29 (50.88)	61 (52.59)	27 (45.76)	28 (49.12)	55 (47.41)	59 (100)	57 (100)	116 (100)
Number of Days Employed **	737 (63.70)	452 (52.56)	1189 (58.95)	420 (36.30)	408 (47.44)	828 (41.05)	1157 (100)	860 (100)	2017 (100)
Average Days of Employment Per Person Employed	23	16	19	16	15	15	20	15	17
Total Wage Received **	66248 (62.68)	45278 (54)	111525 (58.91)	39452 (37.32)	38326 (46)	77778 (41.09)	105700 (100)	83604 (100)	189303 (100)
Average Daily Wages	90	100	94	94	94	94	91	97	94
Total Wages Earned Per Person	2070	1561	1828	1461	1369	1414	1792	1467	1632

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

* Figures in brackets are percentages to registered.

** Figures in brackets refers to Percentage distribution between Dalits and non-Dalits

As far as employment generation is concerned, out of total number of 116 individuals 61 (about 53%) from Dalits and 55 (about 47%) from non-Dalits provided employment across the village under this programme. Now it is clear that non-Dalits are comparatively less days employed to that of Dalits. In terms of gender wise participation, male proportion is higher when compared to their counter parts. Similarly, in the case of number of days employment provided to the non-Dalits, on an average male have worked (16 days) equal to female. On the contrary, from Dalit community male have worked (23 days) more number of days compared to female (16 days). Therefore, Dalit male employment days are higher when compared to female in the same community as well as non-Dalits. As a result, Dalits are significantly higher (19 days) in terms of average number of days employed over a period of three month. On the contrary non-dalits average number of days employed during the same period is just 15 days. It is observed that non-Dalits participation in general activities such as afforestation, tree plantation, water conservation, tanks renovation, irrigation facility to the land owned by the households belonging to SC and ST etc., is much less. On the other hand, whenever land development related activities are taken up their proportion is very high. This alone may be given rise to reducing the total number of average employment days among non-Dalits. Under this programme wages are not given according to daily wage method but wages are paid as per the work assigned to a group of individuals. For instance, with 10 meters width and three meters depth a water conservation pit is to be completed with an amount of Rs.5000/- however, it is not mandatory with respect to how many individuals can participate and within how many days this work to be completed. Therefore, the assigned work can be completed irrespective of the number of individuals and number of days only prescribed the amount is given to the group of individuals. And it ultimately influences the wage differentiation between male and female. As a result, giving prescribed minimum wage to the individuals may not possible and the wage rate is generally high all the time and in some times it may be less to that of the prescribed wage rate under this programme. Average wage rate per day in the case of Dalit was about Rs.90 for male and Rs.100 for female respectively and overall wage rate for Dalits was Rs.94. Conversely, Rs.94/- was equally paid for both male and female of non-dalits and the overall average wage rate for non-Dalits was also Rs.94/-. Village as a whole, Rs.94/-

was the overall average wage rate paid equally for both Dalits and non-Dalits. Majority of the Dalits are felt that wages are not paid even after a week or ten days and once the assigned work is completed they are not provided employment even after two to three months.

Now it is clear that this programme could bring out considerable change at village level as well as in Dalits lives. Despite its main aim to provide employment to rural poor for hundred days in a year, no household is provided even just 30 days instead of 100 days so far. This programme started two years back and all the registration process of eligible individuals has not been completed so far. Only 68 (about 58%) individuals out of 118 total workers were registered under this programme from Dalit community. However, in the case of non-Dalits the percentage of registered has gone up to 76%, in absolute terms 62 out of the total 81 workers were registered their names under this programme. Therefore, non-Dalits registered 18 percent higher under this programme when compared to Dalits. It is attributed that non-Dalits had to register their names only to develop their agricultural lands under this programme and not for livelihood. When it comes to the activities carried out under this programme, land related activities alone recorded major share among various activities. Therefore, this could be one of the reasons for non-Dalits high registration and when we undertake field work it was found that some of the Dalit were migrated to urban regions, and this might be one of causes for low registration of Dalits. As it is already mentioned, reciprocity system among non-Dalits in agricultural activities led to migration of Dalits and it has been exist for the past ten years. Though government initiated this programme very recently Dalits have already accustomed for seasonal migration where the nature of work is comparatively better. Therefore this programme could not yield plausible support for Dalits as desired in its objective.

iv) Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY): Indira Awas Yojana has been implementing since 1989 and the sanctioning amount has been gradually enhanced three times (from Rs.8000 to Rs.25000) in 11 years period. Initially it has covered only SC / ST and freed bonded labourers living below the poverty line and gradually this scheme has been extended to non-SC/ST rural poor also. It is observed that the sanctioned amount is very low and it not adequate to build pacca house. However, about 50 per cent (17 houses) of

Dalit beneficiaries would be able to construct pucca houses with their own investment together with the government assistance.

Table: 6.22 – Caste Wise Number of Households Benefited Under Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) Scheme

Type of House	Year of Sanction	Number of Beneficiaries	Amount of Loan	Subsidy
Dalits				
Thatched 03	1982	1	8000	8000
	1984	1	8000	8000
	1988	1	10000	10000
Semi- Pacca 13	1980	1	7000	7000
	1980	1	7000	7000
	1980	1	7000	7000
	1980	1	7000	7000
	1980	1	7000	7000
	1982	1	8000	8000
	1982	1	8000	8000
	1982	1	8000	8000
	1982	1	8000	8000
	1998	1	17000	17000
	2000	1	23000	23000
	2001	1	23000	23000
	2000	1	23000	23000
Pucca 17	1984	1	8000	8000
	1992	1	12000	12000
	1995	1	12000	12000
	1997	1	15000	15000
	1982	1	7000	7000
	1982	1	8000	8000
	1980	1	7000	7000
	1984	1	8000	8000
	1984	1	8000	8000
	1980	1	7000	7000
	1990	1	12000	12000
	1991	1	12000	12000
	1995	1	15000	15000
	1998	1	17000	17000
	2000	1	23000	23000
	2001	1	23000	23000
	2003	1	23000	23000
Total		33	396000	396000
Non-Dalits				
Pucca	1982	1	7000	7000
	1998	1	20000	20000
	2003	1	23000	23000
	2000	1	18000	18000
	2001	1	23000	23000
	2003	1	25000	25000
Total		6	116000	116000

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

On the contrary, some of Dalits who are financially not sound cannot be build and manage to live in thatched as well as semi-pucca houses. Beneficiaries revealed that they are not satisfied with the grant-in-aid provided under the scheme. Inadequacy of cash assistance for construction has resulted in poor quality of house, non-fulfilment of requirements of the hilly areas and debt trap on account of the beneficiaries having to borrow funds to complete the construction of a pucca house. Several examples have been reported of poor quality of construction, sagging foundation, use of temporary materials for roofing or leaving the construction incomplete because of inadequate finance. Even after contributing their labour and borrowing from local sources, a significant number of families are not able to complete the house in all respects, and most houses remain without plastering or flooring. There is an overwhelming demand from several respondents to increase the unit cost and to base it on local conditions and socio-economic requirements. There is need for a mechanism that responds to the requirement for upward revision of the unit cost of assistance under IAY from time to time. The facilities relating to the housing viz., side drains, individual sanitation, electricity and protected water supply have been provided. Particularly, Dalit households have received protected water supply system because of the scheme. Toilets have also been constructed for Dalit households but their number is very few. But still a substantial number of Dalits, are using the open space for toilet even after the implementation of the scheme. Because of the scheme, households belonging to all caste categories have got electricity.

v) Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS): Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS) came into effect from 15th August, 1995 and it is a centrally sponsored scheme under which 100% central assistance is extended to the States to provide the benefits in keeping with the norms, guidelines and conditions laid down by the central government. The eligibility criteria is the age of the applicant either male or female shall be 65 years or higher and must be a destitute and no regular means of income either financial support of family member or other sources.

As far as this village is concerned there were 19 total old age. Individuals who completed 60 years of age were only 17 individuals. Out of 17 total individuals only 13 Dalits old age persons were benefited under this programme and remaining four individuals did not get benefit. Interestingly, all eligible individuals particularly from

Dalit community could not benefit by this scheme. It is observed in table 22 that 64 per cent of male and about 75 per cent of females from Dalits community were benefited under this programme. Furthermore, 36 per cent of male and more than 25 per cent of female individuals did not benefit. As a whole nearly one fourth of Dalits old age persons across the village didn't benefit in spite of their eligibility is categorically confirmed as per the terms and conditions laid down by this programme. Though Dalits constitute most of the beneficiaries (73%) the total coverage of eligible Dalits is still only 68%. It may come as a surprise to many that all non-Dalit old age persons were benefited though very few of them did not attain 65 years of age. It is found that two (40 per cent) out of five males and one (14 per cent) out of two females not attained 65 years which is the basic criteria for providing benefit. Therefore, it is clear that non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion is almost high as compared to the Dalits. It may be noted that awareness about this particular programme is found to be low. The proportion of households accessing the benefits is also low in respect of the schemes sponsored and implemented by the central government.

Table: 6.23 – Caste Wise Number of Persons Benefited Under Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS)

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population of Old Age Persons	11	8	19	5	2	7	16	10	26
Number of Beneficiaries Under PNOAPS	7	6	13	5	2	7	12	8	20
Number of Persons not Benefited	4	2	6	0	0	0	4	2	6
% of Beneficiaries	64	75	68	100	100	100	75	80	77

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

According to Dalit respondents, particularly who did not benefit even though they are legitimately eligible, caste prejudices play a significant role which hinder them in attaining not only this programme but all developmental programmes benefits. The PNOAPS become particularly prone to this as it involves cumbersome registration procedures. One beneficiary interviewed for the same study said he tired of going to the village secretary for filling the application for a pension and complained about his misdeeds. In another case one respondent felt that applying process was properly done but it is not categorically known why they could not become beneficiaries. But in the case

of non-Dalits few of them officially not eligible for it, however ultimately they got pension under this scheme and they all belong to the large farmers' category. It is also said that Dalits are deliberately excluded from such benefits and in fact priority was to be given for them and even that is not also happened at this village level. As a result, majority of them neither were unable to become as beneficiaries nor applied for it.

Few respondents also reported that beneficiaries are selected due to recommendations by local leaders or local middlemen. Professor Haragopal recounts an instance when starvation deaths were reported in Mahbubnagar district of AP due to famine type conditions. Visits to the area showed that many eligible families had not received their pensions due to non- proximity to people with local influence. Thus, although pensions are distributed in an open forum (the *Gram Sabha*), the selection of beneficiaries has been prone to political influence. According to Professor Haragopal, this stems from the fact that the number of eligible people in a village are greater than the number of pensions that are sanctioned. However, there have also been cases where non-eligible candidates such as party workers of the ruling TDP party based in the village have diverted pensions to themselves.

vi) National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS): From the following table it is observed that two households from Dalits community are entitled to have National Family Benefit Scheme. As per information available all of them have fulfilled the terms and conditions lay down by the scheme. And not even single household benefited by this programme and these two bereaved households did not covered under this programme.

Table: 6.24 – Caste Wise Number of Households Benefited Under National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)

Number of Eligible Households	Number of Beneficiaries	Year of Death	Died at the Age	Financial Assistance	Number of Households not Benefited
Dalits					
2	1	1991	28	Nil	1
	1	2001	30	Nil	1
Total	2			2	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It is found that Dalits are completely neglected in terms of availing benefit through National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) particularly under NFBS programme. In fact, as per the criterion prescribed by the Government of India the

bereaved household must be a below the poverty line. However the above two households found to be BPL families and their annual family income is just below Rs.7000/- only. The two households' respondents said that they were deliberately disqualified for the benefit by the local panchayat officials with the pretext that the respective household breadwinner age exceeds 45 years. According to the terms and conditions lay down in the NFBS, the primary breadwinner age should be less than 65 years. Therefore, it clearly shows that the panchayat officials did not properly cooperate with Dalits issues in particular. Consequently, Dalits themselves lose their actual benefits which actually assigned for them in various benefits like old age pension benefit, death of breadwinner benefit and maternity benefit etc. It is also observed that all of Dalits do not well aware of basic rural development programmes and they knew and very much aware of pension scheme for old age and widow. It is attributed that both local panchayat leaders and local officials are the main hinders for Dalits in availing their actual benefits at this village level. It was also reported by the Dalits respondents that there are instances of non-poor getting selected for this programme whereas the so called actual Dalit poor are being left out from this programme at this village level.

vii) National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS): This scheme provides financial assistance of Rs.500/- to the BPL pregnancy women up to the first two live births. More than 69 per cent of the Dalits women got benefited by this scheme and only 18 per cent of them could not avail it. In addition to this all of the beneficiaries' children are administered with one dose of oral polio drops and BCG vaccination at birth and the first dose of DPT and polio drops in the sixth week. Moreover, children below five years age group are regularly received polio drops when the medical camp is conducted for it.

Table: 6.25 – Caste Wise Number of Women Benefited Under National Maternity Benefited Scheme (NMBS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Number of Beneficiaries Under NMBS	9	69.2	6	75	15	71.43
Number of Persons not Benefited	4	30.8	2	25	6	28.57
Number of Women under NMBS	13	100	8	100	21	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

According to the Dalit respondents, four out of nine reported that they had to approach private hospitals for delivery of their two children births with this pretext they were disqualified for this programme by the local respective authorities. In general, a three months pregnant woman has to register her name with government ANM nurse who regularly visit the villages and supply medicines such as iron, calcium etc., on free of cost. All registered pregnant women have to admit in their respective government hospital where they have to admit for giving birth to their child and such women only eligible for maternity benefit. These instructions are followed only in the case of Dalits but there are other non-Dalits cases where women are been to private hospitals for cesarean operations and received benefit under this programme. As a result the targeted beneficiaries were deprived of the benefit at this village level in particular.

On the contrary, only 25 per cent of non-Dalits women got benefited and remaining could not benefit. It is observed that few of non-Dalits households do not interested in availing NMBS benefit. In fact, majority of them approached nearby super specialty hospitals if the pregnant women confirm cesarean operation for which about Rs.18-20 thousands is spent. Therefore, they feel that Rs.500/- is nothing for them when they are able to spend about twenty thousand for single delivery. Interestingly, most of the pregnant women feel that only women who registered their names with respective ANM worker should approach the area government hospital for delivery then only they are eligible to claim benefit. However, irrespective of type of delivery, whether it is normal or cesarean, maternity benefit is given to all registered pregnant women. Now a days, irrespective of caste many of the pregnant women approach private hospitals for better. And very few among Dalits approach government hospitals and most of them belong to below poverty line category. Interestingly, majority of Dalits also approach private hospitals at the time of delivery. It was also observed that most of them got normal delivery from this community as against to non-Dalits.

viii) Integrated Child Development Programme (ICDS): Above 87 per cent of Dalits children have benefited in the 'Anganwadi' centre and only 12 per cent of them did not benefit. As against to this, 83 per cent of non-Dalits children from the sample household got benefited and about 17 per cent of them did not benefit by this programme. Dalits non-beneficiaries reported that since the Anganwadi centre is run by their rivals

they are not interested to admit their children into it. Due to the above mentioned reason children of two households from Dalits were away out of the centre.

On the contrary, one out of six non-Dalits households do not accept the supplementary nutrition provided by 'Anganwadi' centre. However, they make use of all other services like health checkups, immunization, referral services etc. Obviously, non-Dalits households do not offer the supplementary nutrition and their children enrolled only for name sake. Anganwadi worker reported that all most all Dalits children will attend regularly whereas irregularity is common among non-Dalits children. She has also reported that there is more number of children between the age group of 0-6 among non-Dalits but they are so reluctant to join in this center. Instead of sending the children who completed three years they are sent to nearby private nursery school. About 15 students between the age group of 0-6 from non-Dalits are attending nursery classes nearby convent run by the private institute. It is found that even Dalit children are found to be attending nursery classes in the same private institute and they also offer supplementary nutrition without fail. More than 86% of children benefited under this programme in the village as a whole. Therefore, more awareness is required and inculcates them about avoiding personnel grudges for admission into Anganwadi centre.

Table: 6.26 – Caste Wise Number of Pregnant Women and Children Benefited Under Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Children						
Number of Beneficiaries Under ICDS	14	87.50	5	83.33	19	86.36
Number of Children not Benefited	02	12.50	1	16.67	03	13.64
Number of Children Covered under ICDS	16	100	6	100	22	100
Pregnant Women						
Number of Beneficiaries Under ICDS	6	66.67	2	40	8	57.14
Number of Pregnant Women not Benefited	3	33.33	3	60	6	42.86
Number of Pregnant Women Covered under ICDS	9	100	5	100	14	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

As far as the pregnant women are concerned, there is much difference between Dalits and non-Dalits community with reference enrollment their names under this programme. About 67 per cent of Dalits pregnant women have enjoyed benefit as against to just 40 per cent of non-Dalits. Similarly, 33 per cent of Dalit pregnant women did not benefit through this programme whereas 60 per cent of non-Dalits showed reluctant towards this programme. As per anganwadi worker no pregnant woman from the non-Dalit community visited for supplementary nutrition so far. Moreover, all pregnant women irrespective of caste have utilized health services like health checkups and immunization at regular intervals. In addition, they are given medicines and supplementary nutrition on free of cost. It is also reported that very few of the non-Dalits pregnant women offered supplementary nutrition but it is not consumed by them instead it is given as feed for their milch cows at times. Therefore, it is clear that majority of non-Dalits desired better service from private service provider during pregnancy. It is also observed that irrespective of caste, all pregnant women attend medical check-up as and when ICDS medical camp is conducted exclusively for them.

xi) Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY): Under this scheme a poorest of the poor family is eligible to have 25 kgs of either wheat or rice. However, rice is generally sold at Rs.3/- per kg and wheat is sold Rs.2/- per kg. Rice alone is sold at all PDS centers in Andhra Pradesh state. It was reported that all households are charged Rs.3.50/- instead of Rs.3.25/- per kg. It is observed that every BPL family has additionally paid 0.25 paisa per kg and about Rs.9/- is additionally charged by the PDS dealer for every 35kgs. Therefore, in terms of quantity, every family is given 35kgs of rice and there is no any shortage from the assigned quantity which is common to all. Respective PDS dealer also agreed with respect to collection of high price from BPL families and he supported that they need to meet various other charges so that it could not but charged additional charge against to the price laid down by the government.

It is to be noted that according to the terms and conditions under AAY programme both landless agricultural labourers and marginal farmers from Dalit community have to be categorically covered. Number of landless agricultural labourers (16) together with marginal farmers (13) at this village level is just 29. However, only 21 (72%) households so far were covered under this programme and more than one fourth

(28%) of households were yet to be covered as they are provisionally eligible for this programme. In addition there are 14 households between 1 to 2.50 acres in this study village among Dalits. If we take even those households into account, in the village as a whole, there were 43 households out of 48 are categorically eligible for this programme from Dalits community along. But, in reality only 21 households were covered under this programme and all remained eligible household still remained under general PDS programme. In other words, more than 56 per cent of Dalits have to get benefit under AAY; however, only 44 per cent of them enjoyed benefits under this programme and rest of them were deliberately excluded by village panchayat officials.

Table: 6.27 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)

Benefited Year	Number of Beneficiaries	Actual Rice to be given (in kgs.)	Rice Given from Dealer (in kgs.)
Dalits			
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
Total	21		
Non-Dalits			
2007	1	35	35
Total	1		

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

In fact, many of the Dalits do not know about the eligibility for this programme. Taking this matter as a tool non-Dalit officials intentionally avoid some of the Dalit eligible households. Many a times some of the Dalits in this regard plead non-Dalit

officials for including them under this programme but in vain. Instead they are generally issued white cards with which every member in a family receives @ 5kgs rice for month. The effort of Dalits regarding inclusion of their household under AAY instead of general PDS has been futile inspite of repeated appeals to the local panchayat non-Dalit officials. Dalits are always excluded from the benefits assigned for them by the government in which both local politics as well as local panchayat officials play a significant role. Thus, it can precisely be said that rural development programme benefits cannot be stretched out to the needy. Instead, the needy are intentionally excluded with the pretext that ‘they do not deserve all eligibility conditions’ laid down by the government.

x) Public Distributed System (PDS): Generally, all BPL families are supplied with the essential commodities like rice, wheat, sugar and kerosene under Public Distribution System (PDS), to targeted beneficiaries at reasonable prices through the fair price shops (FPS). Targeted beneficiaries are supplied with essential food grains once in a month regularly. Therefore, all such BPL households are eligible to be benefitted with the essential commodities at a price equal to half of the economic cost of the Food Corporation of India (FCI).

Out of 48, only five households come under PDS. However 26 households are covered under this programme. As many as 21 households brought into PDS which were actually to be covered under AAY programme. One and only household has not been covered either PDS or AAY programme. It is said by the respective respondent that due to the local officials’ negligence he was not covered under PDS inspite of him being eligible under the category for it. Similarly, among non-Dalits only one household out of 30 neither covered under PDS nor AAY programme as it has possessed adequate permanent assets. It is observed that there were five household which average size of holding is more than 6 acres each and another three households average size of holding is more than 12 acres each owned landholding. Therefore, overall eight households should not have covered under PDS but they enjoyed this programme benefits with local officials influence. It is to be noted that eligible households from Dalits could not enjoy benefit whereas ineligible households from non-Dalits enjoy PDS benefit without any apprehension. It is attributed that local leaders / officials or panchayat leaders / officials play significant role in favour of non-Dalits in any such issues.

In order to improve the delivery system, coupon system has been introduced for commodities like rice and kerosene was introduced during 1998-99 through the public distribution system (PDS) in Andhra Pradesh. With the introduction of the coupon system the number of bogus cards or those with ineligible families has reduced by approximately eight lakh. This system has resulted in saving about 20,000 tonnes of rice and 7,100 kilo litres of kerosene every month. In financial terms, the exchequer has saved Rs. 9 crore per month on rice and Rs. 5.67 crore per month on kerosene as subsidy (Tenth Five Year Plan, 2002-07). Very recently a district-level study has also confirmed that the reduction in the number of cards as well as the amount of rice distributed after the introduction of coupons in six sample districts. Among these six districts, Chittoor also included as one of the districts. Therefore, due to the impact of rice coupon scheme, 4 per cent of cards were reduced which in turn lead to a reduction of 9.8 per cent in the total quantity of rice supplied to this district (Surajit Deb, 2009). It is argued that about 8% of bogus white cards in the state has been weeded out after the introduction of coupon system (Ravi & Indrakant, 2003).

Majority of the beneficiaries expressed their positive views about PDS performance at this village level. According to the above table only four per cent of Dalits and three per cent of non-Dalits beneficiaries reported shortage of rice. In general, every beneficiary household is given five kilogram rice per head for which it is charged Rs.2/- per kg but most of the time few beneficiary receive two to three kgs less instead of their actual quantity to be given. Such households, claiming about shortage of rice, among Dalits are two and one among non-Dalits. Similarly, there are five households among Dalits and three among non-Dalits claimed about shortage of sugar. They claimed that they have not been given one kg of sugar two times in the previous year. They were told by PDS dealer that supplying sugar was due to shortage from the government itself which led to loss of benefit for few households. Interestingly, no household claimed about shortage of kerosene and every household receive it even after ten days from the date of stock announcement. In the village as a whole all respondents felt that when compared to neighbor panchayats their PDS performance most of the times is appreciable.

Table: 6.28 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Public Distributed System (PDS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Number of Households Under AAY	21	43.75	1	3.33	22	28.21
Number of Households Under AS	4	8.33	0	0	4	5.13
Number of Beneficiaries Under PDS	21	97.92	26	96.67	47	60.25
Number of Households under Govt. Service	2	2.08	3	10	5	6.41
Total Number of Households	48	100	30	100	78	100
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Rice	2	4.25	1	3.44	3	3.94
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Kerosene	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Sugar	5	10.63	3	10.34	8	10.52

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

In this village, PDS dealer belonged to the Dalit community and the shop was located in Dalits colony itself. Many a times, non-Dalits tried to shift the shop into non-Dalits locality but all efforts were in vain. Andhra Pradesh state has registered higher proportion in terms of participatory empowerment in PDS dealership. Dalit's participatory empowerment in PDS dealership registered 32 per cent, another 7 per cent ST ownership of PDS shops, and 61 per cent dominant caste ownership. However, the national average came to 81 per cent dominant caste ownership of PDS and 19 per cent combined SC and ST ownership (Sukhadeo Thorat and Joel Lee, 2010). The proportion of PDS shop ownership by Dalits in Andhra Pradesh is quite higher when compared to national average. The study also found the favouritism in the distribution of goods in Andhra Pradesh and 17 per cent of village respondents reported the problem of the PDS dealer who practicing caste-based favouritism. In addition, this study was also found practicing of untouchability in their local PDS shops, 11 per cent (out of the total 180 villages from Andhra Pradesh in 2003) of respondent villages reported untouchability practices in Andhra Pradesh; 25 per cent in Tamil Nadu; 35 per cent in Utter Pradesh; and in Bihar, most disturbingly, 59 per cent. And in terms of scale, more than one out of three PDS shops have caste discrimination conflict. This study also argued that where Dalit participation in PDS implementation through ownership of PDS shop has increased, there are greater proportions of PDS shops in Dalit localities having lower levels of discrimination. PDS in Andhra Pradesh emerges as having relatively low levels of reported caste discrimination in comparison to most other states. The greater proportion

of PDS shops located in Dalit colonies in Andhra Pradesh appears to have decreased the scale of practicing untouchability by the dominant caste dealers.

xi) Millennium Wells Scheme (MWS): Many a times Dalits have tried to open well under this programme but they could not obtain the objective as they failed to fulfill the basic requirements. One of the basic requirements is to show minimum three acres comprising of three families for open wells and minimum five acres comprising with three or more than three families for bore wells is a mandatory.

Table: 6.29– Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Millennium Wells Scheme (MWS)

Caste	Number of Beneficiaries	Year of Sanctioned	Loan	Subsidy	Status of Asset
Non-Dalits	1	1984	18000	5000	Sold to Repay Loan
	1	1985	18000	6000	Main Source of Family Income
Total	2		36000	11000	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

In addition, up to 12 feet, at all initial stage, expenses should be paid by the beneficiaries themselves and the sanctioned amount would be given only after fulfilling the condition of completion of 12 feet depth. Owing to the hard conditions Dalits did not prefer open well. However, Dalits could not obtain benefit under this programme particularly with regard to bore wells, open wells since all of their lands were scattered and not concentrated at one place. Above all there are hardly four or five households having more than 2.50acres of land and remaining all have less than that. It was also found that most of them were small and marginal farmers and they were not in a position to fulfill the terms and conditions formulated by the government particularly with respect to the initial expenses. Above all, coordination in maintaining any unit has been still lacking among Dalits. Ultimately it can be said that though there were more eligible small and marginal farmers from Dalits to enjoy IRDP benefit they were denied irrigation facility under the pretext of the required land location at one place.

Fulfilling the terms and conditions laid down by the government, non-Dalits are very progressive as they are financially sound and their average size of land is also high when compared to Dalits. Importantly, nearly 37 per cent of non-Dalits lands are concentrated in the 2.51 to 5 acres land size category among sample households where as

Dalits share in the same category is just 8 per cent. Therefore, instead of Dalits, non-Dalits have more chances to avail open wells and bore wells under this programme. Therefore, there is substantial progress in non-Dalits community in terms of availing irrigation facility.

xii) Annapurna Scheme (AS): According to PNOAPS the number of persons benefiting from the pension scheme shall not exceed 20% of the total old age pensioners within a State. Thus, the Annapurna scheme's main aim is to provide food security and to meet the requirement of the eligible senior citizens who have remained uncovered under the Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS). In addition, it covers those poverty-stricken senior citizens who are not covered under the targeted Public Distribution System (PDS) and those who have no income of their own for providing food security. Therefore, the Annapurna scheme aims at providing food security to such indigent senior citizens who though eligible for old age pensions remain uncovered under NOAPS and who are not covered under the targeted PDS, by providing 10 kgs. of food grains per month on free of cost.

Table: 6.30 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Annapurna Scheme

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population of Old Age Persons	11	8	19	5	2	7	16	10	26
Number of Old Age Persons Below 65 Years	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Number of Beneficiaries Under PNOAPS	7	6	13	5	2	7	12	8	20
Number of Persons Benefited under Annapurna Scheme	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	2	4
Number of Persons not Benefited by Annapurna Scheme and PNOAPS	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

According to the information available here, there are 19 individuals in the village who crossed 60 years of age among Dalits. Among them 13 individuals were covered under PNOAPS and now they receive Rs.200/- pension per month. Another four old age individuals were covered under Annapurna scheme under which every individual receive 10kgs of rice on free of cost. Similarly, among non-Dalits all seven individuals were covered under PNOAP scheme. It appears that all non-Dalits senior citizens have enjoyed

benefits assigned for them under PNOAP scheme. However, only one individual among Dalits has not been covered either Annapurna or PNOAP scheme. It was also reported that one individual from Dalits was disqualified as he was not attained 65 years according to their voter ID card.

Very few Dalit senior citizens could not enjoy benefits though they possessed all eligibility conditions. In fact, all senior citizens particularly Dalits who do not enjoy or are not covered under PNOAPS should have been covered, in any case, under Annapurna scheme. Dalit respondent said that though they have fulfilled all eligibility conditions they are not given access to enjoy even Annapurna scheme benefit. One year back, local officials have assured them with respect to pension scheme but that has not been fulfilled by them. Even they are not considered under the substitute programme like Annapurna scheme. It is emphasized that the majority of Dalits only could not avail such benefits whereas all non-Dalits somehow make use of either one of these two schemes.

xiii) Mid-Day-Meal Programme (MDMP): The National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSE, commonly known as the 'Mid-Day Meal Scheme') was launched by the Government of India in 1995. In this scheme the central government provided free grains and expected the state governments to make provisions a cooked meal. Again, the Government of India introduced a revised mid day meal scheme in the year 2004. It began contributing for the cooking and transport costs, additional to the provision of free grains. This scheme was subsequently revised in 2006 by increasing the calorie content of the meal to 450 calories (from 300 calories) and protein to 12 grams (from 8 – 12 grams). Currently, the Government of India distributes the grain for the mid day meal (100gms per child per day) free of cost through the Food Corporation of India and further contributes a sum of Rs. 1.50 per child per day towards cooking costs, on the condition that the state government contribute at least 50p per child per day. Additionally the Government of India also contributes some amount towards transportation charges and monitoring and evaluation (Government of India, 2006). The Scheme was recently expanded to cover children in the upper primary schools. Therefore, the mid day meal scheme is widely acknowledged to be one of the more successful schemes of the government. The scheme is operational in almost all the states in the country with a cooked mid day meal being provided to all children in government

primary schools (Commissioners of the Supreme Court, 2007). The mid day meal scheme is the largest school lunch programme in the world covering almost 12 crore children with a current budget of Rs. 8000 crores (Finance Minister's Budget Speech, 2008-09).

The following table reveals the caste wise number of enrolled students attending MDM programme in Panchalamarri village. In absolute number, there were total 42 students enrolled in the primary school of which 29 were Dalits and remaining 13 students were non-Dalits. Enrollment number of Dalit students is more than two times higher to non-Dalits. Interestingly, non-Dalits female students' enrollment is more than one time higher vis-à-vis male. However, in the case of Dalit male students' enrollment is a little higher in comparison with the female. It is to be noted that the proportion of non-Dalit students is registered more than one fourth (about 31%) of the total students' enrollment in this school, since the number of non-Dalits households registered about 80 per cent of the total village households. There were about seven households (about 4%) from non-Dalits without land and living only on daily wage work. It is also observed that most of the non-Dalits students' enrolled in this school belonged to the landless households category.

Table: 6.31 – Number of Dalits and Non-Dalits Students Attending Mid-Day-Meal Program (MDMP) in Panchalamarri Village

Class	Number of Students Attending Government School			Number of Students Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme			Number of Students not Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dalits									
I	3	3	6	3	3	6	0	0	0
II	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0
III	5	2	7	5	2	7	0	0	0
IV	6	3	9	6	3	9	0	0	0
V	3	2	5	3	2	5	0	0	0
Total	18	11	29	18	11	29	0	0	0
Non-Dalits									
I	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	1
II	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
III	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	4
IV	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
V	1	4	5	0	0	0	1	4	5
Total	4	9	13	2	0	2	2	9	11

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

Landless households among non-Dalits were found to be backward community (washer men) and lead their lives by doing non-agricultural work particularly washer men. They said there is no monthly income from this occupation but are annually paid

Rs.2500/- along with two bags of paddy if they wash one household clothes throughout the year. Income derived from their traditional occupation can not meet their daily needs. As a result they depend on subsidiary occupations like agricultural labourers. Whereas, almost all land owned non-Dalits send their children to private management schools / convents. Not even a single household from non-Dalits who owned land do not want to send their child to government run primary school and almost all are impressed by private education. It was observed that every day, four different private convent / school vehicles pick up the students' from this village and all these schools are run at mandal head quarter (Thamballapalli).

As far as the mid day meal is concerned, there were 31 out of 42 attending for this programme. About 74 per cent of the students attended this programme and remaining 26 per cent of non-attendance student belonged to the non-Dalits. It is to be noted that 100 per cent of Dalit students are attending mid day meal programme while the proportion of non-Dalits is just 15 per cent of the total enrollment. It was seen that children of the Reddy caste were not eating the mid day meal in school because the cook belonged to a backward caste. Further, it was seen that more often caste played a role in the form of upper caste children. They not even eating food cooked by lower caste cooks. Rather lower caste children being made to sit separately or treated badly during the serving of the meal. Many of the respondents reported that children are only served rice and either dal or sambar without any vegetables. Providing eggs once or twice a week is not properly implemented instead it is given once in two weeks or once in a month. There was no weekly menu followed, and quality of the meal was so poor that many non-Dalits children did not eat / attend. In addition to this, majority of the Dalit respondents expressed about seat segregation in the MDM programme. Generally, non-Dalit children are segregated at the time of serving mid-day-meal in the primary school and they never eat together with Dalit students. Caste discrimination prevails not only at the time of serving mid-day-meal but in the class room as well. Non-Dalit students are allocated separate sitting rows in the school though it is a procedure that all students shall sit according to their class. In this village, as the teachers themselves belonged to the dominant caste they practice caste favouritism in serving the mid-day-meal and treating the dominant caste children preferentially and reserving the smaller or less desirable

portions for Dalit children. A study found that there is still 24 per cent of caste discrimination that is continued in the mid-day-meal scheme of Andhra Pradesh. Consequently, one out of four schools Dalit students are segregated in seating, opposition to their community's cooks and segregated meals altogether or other forms of discriminatory treatment (Sukhadeo Thorat and Joel Lee, 2010).

6.8 Summary

The issues relate to landholdings, occupational structure, assets, educational and housing status and performance of various governmental programmes have been broadly discussed in this chapter. The micro level evidences suggest that uneven distribution of landholdings among Dalits is a general phenomenon for their socio-economic backwardness. The main reason for the low access to land by Dalits is mainly due to their social and economic oppression. Landless and near landless population together constitute 60 per cent among Dalits whereas, it is 23 per cent among non-Dalits. The existing distribution of landholdings is scattered among the higher and middle castes. According to the government specification, the minimum distribution should have two acres for household. However, in this village the total Dalit households (six households) are given only 1.60acre, that is the maximum extent of land distribution by the government under land ceiling act is 0.35acre which is found below the government specification. It is found that 80 per cent of the non-Dalits were able to purchase the lands while only 20 per cent of Dalit were able to purchase the lands. Further, 50 per cent of Dalits sold their land to meet their immediate problems like health and debt. Thus, Dalits access to the land has been reduced. Thus, there is a need for state intervention to bring an equitable pattern of land distribution and provide land to the landless. Further, the government should implement land reforms more effectively so that the socially and economically vulnerable sections, particularly Dalits, who form major chunk of the landless agricultural laborers would benefit.

The occupation structure of the village shows that about 70 per cent the Dalits are involved in agriculture labour as the main occupation whereas about 30 per cent of the non-Dalits involved in cultivation as the main occupation. About 12 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agriculture related activities. It was also revealed from this village study

that the percentage of attached labourers has significantly declined and converted as casual labourers due to state intervention as part of abolishing bonded labour system.

There is a wide gap between the Dalits and non-Dalits as far as illiteracy rate is concerned. The incidence of illiteracy among Dalits is higher compared to the non-Dalits i.e. 65 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. Dalits female illiteracy rate is significantly high compared to the non-Dalits female. It is found that Dalit children in the Panchalamarri village are enrolled in government schools, whereas non-Dalits children enrolment in government schools very minimal.

Dalits did not possess any agricultural related assets on their own. Whatever they possessed mainly secured from the state assistance whereas non-Dalits control all the agricultural related assets which they obtain on their own presumably without state assistance. It is found that the non-Dalits dug up seven bore wells on their own whereas Dalits got two bore wells with state assistance. Similarly in terms of housing, 19 out of 48 Dalit households built pucca houses of which 17 households were assisted by the government. In addition, 14 semi-pucca and three thatched houses were assisted by the government. As a whole, about 69 per cent of the Dalits houses were constructed by the state assistance. On the contrary, six non-Dalits households were assisted by the state assistance but all of them constructed pucca houses. It is found that due to the inadequate loan amount about 50 per cent of Dalits could not construct pucca houses by the state assistance.

The micro level data on various governmental programmes, which were implemented in the Panchalamarri village is given in the snapshot table (No.32).

Table: 6.32 – Caste-wise Percentage of Beneficiaries under Various Schemes in Panchalamarri Village

Name of the Programme	Number of Households Eligible for the Programme			Number of Households Benefited			Proportion of Households Benefited		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
IRDP	46	27	73	14	8	22	30.43	29.63	30.14
TRYSEM	46	27	73	3	0	3	6.52	0	4.11
NREGS	46	27	73	31	26	57	67.39	96.30	78.08
IAY	46	7	53	33	6	39	71.74	85.71	73.58
PNOAPS	19	7	26	13	7	20	68.42	100	76.92
NFBS	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
NMBS	13	8	21	9	6	15	69.23	75	71.43
ICDS (Children Below the Age of 6 Years)	16	6	22	14	6	20	87.50	83.36	90.91
ICDS (Pregnant Women)	9	5	14	6	2	8	66.67	40	57.14
AAW	43	11	54	21	1	22	48.83	9.09	40.74
PDS	21	26	47	21	26	47	100	100	100.00
MWS	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	100	100.00
AS	19	0	19	18	0	18	97.74	0	94.74
MDMP	29	13	42	29	2	31	100	15.38	73.81

Source: Computed from Scheme-wise Tables

Of the various programmes undertaken by the government, the IRDP is an important major programme undertaken in this village. Under the IRDP the non-land asset group of Dalits benefited only a small proportion. Therefore, it may be noted that the IRDP programme was ineffective. As a result it failed to raise the income of the beneficiaries above the poverty line. About (48 households) 96 per cent of Dalits have land ownership below the poverty line category. Among them only (14households) 30 per cent were benefited. Except two households none of them retained the asset and all of them sold exclusively for repayment of loan amount. However, in respect of animal husbandry scheme, all of them reported that the socio-economic conditions and outstanding debts forced them to dispose of the IRDP assets. Therefore, a considerable percentage of loan amount was repaid to the financial institutions to clear of IRDP loans.

Under the TRYSEM programme just six per cent (3 individuals out of 46 households) of Dalits were benefitted and this enabled them to take up self-employment venture. Though many Dalit youths were supposed to be trained under this programme, but very few were trained. Government has provided for only training but failed to provide financial assistance to the concerned trained personnel either in creating employment generation or in continuing their skills at least. As a result Dalits are still plagued with poverty as well as landless at this village and there is no significant improvement in their economic lives. Therefore, it is observed that Dalit community is largely neglected under this programme and it ultimately led to the pauperization of the Dalit community.

NREG scheme brought a sea change, particularly in case of Dalits in this village. Prior to this programme more than 100 individuals from Dalit community were seasonally migrated (out-migration) to nearby urban areas. However, when the programme started many of the out-migrants started to come back (in-migration) to their native place and found adequate employment days. Few non-dalits who found employment in urban areas based on their educational skills remained in urban areas and found that they are not interested registering their names under this programme.

IAY scheme was initiated in 1985-86 and to avail this scheme all the BPL SC / ST households were included under the eligibility criteria. According to this, all sample Dalits households are eligible for availing IAY scheme, but 72 per cent of Dalit

households (33 out of 46 households) benefited and about 28 per cent of eligible household were substantially excluded from such benefit. It appears that the government has neglected the welfare of Dalits particularly in the case of providing pucca house scheme. Had the government started giving financial assistance for three houses every year (i.e year wise), all household would have been covered by now as this scheme has been in operation for about 25 years.

Though all old age individuals are eligible under the NOAPS, few of them could not benefit out of this programme. Few non-beneficiaries explained that inspite of their their names being registered they were not considered as beneficiaries under this programme. However, there have also been cases where pensions were diverted to non-eligible candidates among non-Dalits in the village by using their local political strength. Caste prejudices play a significant role in hindering them in attaining such benefits. Dalits are deliberately excluded from such benefits inspite of the priority given to the Dalits at this village level. As a result, majority of them were unable to become as beneficiaries or apply for it. Above all, selection of beneficiaries is entirely involved by political influence that precipitated for Dalits as non-beneficiaries.

According to the terms and conditions laid down in the NFBS, the primary breadwinner age should be less than 65 years. Under this programme Dalits were completely neglected from the benefit by the local panchayti officials. In fact, two households were founded to be BPL families and it was observed that they were deliberately disqualified for the benefit by the local panchayat officials with the pretext of breadwinner age exceeds 45 years. Therefore, it clearly shows that the panchayat officials did not properly cooperate with Dalit issues in particular. Dalits do not have proper awareness over this programme, therefore, they do not come to know the breadwinner age and the financial assistance limit.

Under the NMBS scheme pregnant women who were admitted in their respective government hospital are eligible for maternity benefit. However, such instructions are followed only in the case of Dalits and not for non-Dalits women who have been to private hospitals for cesarean operations have received benefit under this programme. In fact, irrespective of type of delivery maternity benefit has to be given to all registered pregnant women. Following this, the targeted beneficiaries, particularly Dalits, were

deprived of the benefit at this village level. Thus Dalits are the most deprived section, in all respects, who exploited either directly or indirectly in every welfare programme.

All most all the Dalits (87.50%) and non-Dalits (83.46%) children are covered under the ICDS centre. On the contrary, non-Dalits children are attending nursery classes nearby convent run by the private institute instead of sending their children to ICDS center. Thus, personnel grudges among the Dalits and financial capabilities of non-Dalits are precipitated as its low enrolment. However, due to internal and financial problems among the Dalits their children enrollment rate is very low, whereas most of the non-Dalits because of their relative economic position their children are sent to private convents instead of ICDS centre run by the government that resulted in low enrollment of non-Dalits in the ICDS centre. About 67 per cent of Dalit and 40 per cent of non-Dalit pregnant women are benefited under this scheme. Further, it is found that Irrespective of caste and class, all pregnant women are attended medical check-up as and when ICDS medical camp is conducted. However, majority of non-Dalits preferred private medical services during pregnancy while the Dalits preferred government hospital. On the whole, this programme brought about more awareness with respect to precautionary measures of pregnant women during their pregnancy.

Among Dalits, landless labour and marginal farmers together constitute 89.58 per cent (43 out of 48 households) of the total households in the village. However, among the eligible households about 49 per cent (21 out of 43 households) of them benefited under AAY programme. About 10 per cent (one out of 11) of non-Dalits benefited though 36.66 per cent (11 out of 19) of them are eligible for it. Therefore, in the case of Dalits this programme partially succeeded while it has utterly failed in the case of non-Dalits mainly because of wrong identification of beneficiaries.

PDS programme appears to be more successful in this village and many of other programmes eligible beneficiaries were substantially covered under the PDS programme. In fact, very few members under this programme should have been covered as the actual beneficiaries. There is a problem in identifying both the actual beneficiaries and eligible beneficiaries by the government. There are also instances of mistargeting in the distribution of ration card i.e. issue of BPL card to non-poor.

MWS programme actually merged with SGSY since 1st April, 1999. the terms and conditions laid down under this scheme i.e. minimum three acres comprising of three families for open wells and minimum five acres comprising with three or more families for bore wells is a mandatory. However, no single Dalit family and even three Dalit families had three acres of land at one place hence the above mandatory measure could not bring any benefits to the Dalits. As far as non-Dalits are concerned, all the small and marginal farmers who are below the poverty line were covered under this programme. However, few non-Dalits because of their access to the authorities could benefit out of it.

Selection of beneficiaries, under Annapurna scheme is generally prepared by gram panchayat. It is found that whenever the non-Dalits are headed the Panchyat the proportion of Dalit beneficiaries is low. In this village 80 per cent of Dalits were covered and rest of them were not promoted to avail all developmental programmes under this scheme.

All Dalit children under MDMP programme have substantially benefited. Contrary, nearly 15 per cent of non-Dalits avail the mid-day-meal. It is found that most of the non-Dalits themselves excluded on their own from the programme because of the caste prejudices. Since the appointed cook belonged to a backward caste (washer man), most of the Reddy caste children are not attending for mid day meal in the school. In addition, there was no weekly menu followed, and quality of the meal was so poor, therefore, this could be another reason for why many non-Dalits children do not eat /attend.

CHAPTER – 7
Village Level Studies – 3
Unagatla Village

7.1 West Godavari District Profile

From Coastal Andhra region, Unagatla village in West Godavari district is selected as a case study. Since Andhra Pradesh has been divided into three parts, West Godavari comes under Coastal Andhra which comprises of nine districts. It is bounded by river Godavari on the east, Krishna district on the west, Khammam district on the north, Krishna district and Bay of Bengal on the south. The district occupies an area of 7742 sq. kms and the density of population is 491Per sq. km. The total population of the district is 3803517 of which 1910038 are male and 1893479 are female. The scheduled caste population is 19.17 per cent while that of scheduled tribe population is 2.54 per cent to the total population in the district. The district literacy rate is 73.53 per cent which is above the national literacy rate. The percentage of main workers and marginal workers is 84.95 and 15.05 respectively to the total workers. About 85 percent of the total main workers are engaged in agricultural and its allied activities. The district comprises of 46 mandals.

The district can be divided into three natural divisions namely 1. the delta, 2. upland and 3. agency track. Godavari is the important river flowing in the district. Apart from this, minor rivers such as Tammileru, Yerrakalva, Byneru, Kovvada kalva, Jalleru, Ralla Madugu and Gunderu feed the irrigation tanks in the upland areas. The Kolleru lake is an important lake which receives a large volume of drainage water of the surrounding deltaic area. The climatic condition of the district is more or less of the extreme type. The hilly areas are comparatively cooler than the plains during winter and likewise severe in summer. The district is very hot during summer and chilly during winter. The average annual rainfall in the district is 1076.2mm. The rainfall during south-west monsoon season (June to September) contributes 64 per cent of the annual rainfall while the retrieving monsoon season accounts for nearly 36 per cent October receives heavier rainfall.

The total forest area in the district is 81200 hectares forms 10.49 per cent of the total geographical area of the district. More than three fourths of the total cropped area is under assured irrigation. Farmers in this district are, by and large, fertilizer-minded and educated for preventing pests and disease through cultural and chemical methods. Greater awareness among the farmers about improved methods of cultivation has led to produce sizeable market surplus every year. So, West Godavari district ranks first among the rice-growing districts in the State, both in regard to area under crop and in respect of crop. Therefore, this district is also called the “Rice Bowl of Andhra Pradesh”.

The irrigated area is about 68 percent, the cultivation is mainly under canals, tube wells and tanks come next in the order of source of irrigations. Apart from paddy, sugarcane, garden crops like plantations, mango, cashew nut, lime and coconut are the other main crops grown in the district.

West Godavari district has a coastline of 19km covering four marine villages. Therefore, this district ranks at the top in pisciculture when compared to other districts of the state. The main sources of e fishing are the river Godavari, the Kolleru lake, the Upputeru. In addition, a large quantum of prawns are cultured in brackish water. For the development of pisciculture the fisheries department has been playing a significant role by establishing the Inland Fisheries Training Institute at Badampudi. Moreover, the department supplies boats, nets, trade cycles and construction of fish tanks on 100 per cent subsidy for the welfare of tribals.

The district industries centre was set up in 1981 to provide all the service needs to motivate the entrepreneurs to set up small and tiny sector industries in the district. There are 29 large and medium scale industries existing in the district which provide employment to 12248 persons. Though there are various industries existing, sugar, paper, oil extraction, distilleries and chemical industries are important among them. In addition, there are 4981 small scale industries like corrugated boxes, egg trays, modern roofing, general engineering works, ice plants etc. which provide employment to 82604 persons. Moreover, under the Gramodaya scheme 4427 units have been started by employing 8854 persons.

7.2 Unagatla Village Profile

Unagatla village is situated towards to the north of Nidadavole town 6kms. away and 3kms. from Chagallu the revenue mandal headquarters. The nearest city Rajahmundry is located at a distance of 18kms from this village. Eluru, district headquarters is 74kms. away from this village. This village has well connected road towards Kovvur from where APSRTC buses ply to Hyderabad which is about 400kms. away from Kovvur. In West Godavari district the most important pilgrimage centre is Dwaraka Tirumala which is about 65kms. from Unagatla village. Dwaraka Tirumala, also popularly known as 'Chinna Tirupati' is the abode of Lord Venkateswara which is second in importance only after Tirumala Tirupati in Chittoor district.

Unagatla village is spread over an area of about 1542 acres. There are 1602 households in the Unagatla village of which nearly 250 households belong to dalits and remaining belong to non-dalit households. Unagatla village panchayat is divided into 14 wards and every ward has a ward member. Therefore, there are 16 panchayat members in panchayat board including panchayat surpanch and vice surpanch. Three members out of 16 were elected from SC community through panchayat elections. In addition to this there are four staff namely secretary, motor operator, sweeper and attender who support the panchayat's activities.

A. Rainfall

Most of the rain (three-fourths) is received by south-west monsoon during the months of June to September and also from North-East monsoons during the months of October to December. However, there is no rainfall during winter season i.e. December to February.

B. Climate

West Godavari district adjoins the Bay of Bengal in the southern direction. Therefore, the sea-breeze to some extent makes the climate moderate and bearable in the southern portion. Thus, this district generally represents moderate climate with occasional high record of temperature during summer. The temperature starts to rise in March, reaches the maximum in May and continues to be high in June too. It starts falling towards the end of June-July to September due to the onset of south-west monsoons.

Temperature further goes down in winter season during December-February. The pleasant season is February-March only.

C. Water Source

To meet the drinking water requirements, one major permanent water tank was built with the capacity of 2,00,000 liters which is located at Uracheruvu. Apart from this, there are three permanent drinking water tanks, each tank was built with the capacity of 10,000 liters these are located at Mahalaxmi Ammavari temple, Amnigunta and S.C. colony. All these four tanks are connected with 75 public taps and 444 private taps. Moreover, many SC households are used a good number of privately owned hand pumps. Therefore, there is no crisis with regard to drinking water. Since public water taps are not properly connected, majority of the SC households mainly depend up on their privately owned hand pumps. Water from hand pumps used for both drinking as well as other households consumption purposes. All these four tanks are maintained by village panchayat.

D. Electricity Supply

All households are electrified and few households belong to S.C. and S.T. communities are still deprived of electricity. Five Hindu temples and six Christian Churches are also electrified. In agriculture sector, more than hundred electrical bore wells are in operation which cover 1380 acres of cultivable land. Important crops cultivated under these bore wells are paddy, sugarcane, chillies and so on. Similarly, there are 250 streets lights covering the entire gram panchayat. These street lights are provided by the village panchayat incurring expenditure of Rs.13000/- per month towards consumption of power.

E. Cooperatives and Banks

The 'Unagatla Vishala Co-operative Credit Society' (UVCCS) is located in the village which had been running as a multi purpose cooperative society till recent years. Interestingly, rice was given by the cooperative society till recent years through PDS. But, now there are three PDS centres in the village instead of the society to distribute the goods. Now, the cooperative society activities are limited to providing crop loans, subsidized seeds and fertilizers. With in the village, there is no bank, however State Bank

of India, Andhra Bank, Indian Bank, Canara Bank and Ramakrishna Co-operative Bank are situated at Nidadavole town. Barring State Bank of India and Indian Bank no other bank provides loans to the farmers. These two banks provide various loans to the farmers of which land mortgage, DWCRA groups loans are the major chunk.

F. Educational Facilities

There are three elementary schools and one high school located in the village which meet the educational requirements. One elementary school is located in the S.C. colony and two other elementary schools and one high school are located in the non-S.C. colony. In addition to this, there are four Anganwadi centres to which more than 300 children are attending. Mid-day-meal programme is in operation in all three elementary schools through which nearly 450 students are benefited. An elementary school called as a 'Board School' located in S.C. colony provides free distribution of text books, note books etc. to all the pupils irrespective of caste and who are considered to be poor students. All three elementary schools impart education up to 5th standard and high schools up to 10th standard. And the medium of instruction in all the public school is Telugu. Besides, there are two English medium convents up to UKG run by private individuals. For collegiate education, students go to Nidadavole and Chagallu. Government junior college is located in Chagallu whereas government Degree College located in Nidadavole. Besides, there is good number of private junior colleges in Nidadavole where the medium of instruction is English. Few students from other caste groups are studying in Rajahmundry and Visakhapatnam for good-quality education and they have opted for expensive courses like medicine, engineering, information technology etc. On the contrary, some of the SC students have joined in social welfare hostel at Samisragudem and Christian Missionary hostels at Samisragudem to meet their basic educational requirements as well as quality education.

G. Medical and Veterinary Facilities

A primary health centre at Chegallu mandal headquarter 3kms away from the village is the nearest government hospital. Generally villagers visit this hospital for normal diseases. People also visit district headquarters hospital at Eluru for serious ailments and for surgical treatments. Within the village there are four private registered

medical practitioners (RMP) providing health service to the villagers at reasonable cost. Majority of the villagers prefer to get first aid from the RMP doctors for all normal diseases. Prescribed medicines are also adequately available in the four medical shops set up in the village. There is one veterinary hospital at Chagallu which serves the needs of this village. Besides the hospital staff, the extension officer, animal husbandry visits the village and attends to the cases of cattle diseases.

H. Marketing Facilities

Number of kirana shops, fertilizers shops, medical shops, tiffin centres, chicken and mutton shops spread in different habitats. There are eight kirana shops, four medical shops, two fertilizers shops, nine petty shops, five tiffin centres, six tea shops, one cobbler shop, one mutton shop and three chicken centres exist in the village. Most of the shops except one petty shop are run by the non-dalit community. However, weekly fair is held every Sunday, therefore, people from across the village purchase their home needs. Usually, fair is held at main road which passes through the village panchayat office and surrounding place of Uravachervu.

Though paddy crop is extensively cultivated, there is no problem for marketing. Surplus paddy is purchased by the Nandigampadu dealers, rice millers and also outside merchants. But, in the case of sugarcane, a sugar factory was established at Chagallu and this is the only place for marketing the sugarcane crop. However, Nidadavole is the nearest market centre for the cultivators who want to dispose of their grain.

I. Temples and Other Public Places

There are ten temples in the village of which Shivalayam, Mahalaxmi Ammavari temple, Subramanya Swamy temple, Vinayaka temple, Anjaneya Swamy temple etc are the important temples. Almost all temples are located in non-dalit area and dalits are not permitted still into the temples. All priests who perform puja in temples are non-dalits. The Malaxmi Ammavari temple is the village main deity which is in human form and worshiped to ward off the epidemics. A Jatara is also held in honour of the deity. Therefore untouchability is still in vogue not only for temple entry but in all aspects all over the village. In addition, there are six churches in the village of which four churches are located at SC colony and remaining are at non-dalits area. Majority of the SC

community switched over to Christians and every Christianity household attends for the Sunday prayer with all family members at any cost. Few household from non-dalits community also became Christians, however, they do not attend for Sunday prayer Churches located in SC colony.

J. Industries

Sugar factory is located at Chagallu which provides employment to the villagers. Many of the marginalized communities find employment in it. Loans such as crop, seed, and fertilizers are provided to the large and medium farmers who raise sugarcane crop. Therefore, both labourers as well as farmers are extensively benefited by it. In addition, there are two coconut fiber industries established in which children are working.

Section – I

7.3 Socio-economic and Political Scenario of Unagatla Village

7.3.1 Population

Unagatla village is a multi-caste village inhabited by gouda, chowdari mala, madiga, mangali, chakali, yarukala, and balija. Goudas are politically and economically dominant in the village.

Table: 7.1 – Caste-Wise Sample Households in Unagatla Village

Caste	Total Number of Households	Number of Sample Households	Male	Female	Total
Dalits Total	253	131	262 (51.57)	246 (48.43)	508 (100)
Non-Dalits Total	1349	30	63 (53.39)	55 (46.61)	118 (100)
<i>Total</i>	<i>1602</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>325</i> (51.92)	<i>301</i> (48.08)	<i>626</i> (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Total 1855 households are inhabited in the village. Out of the total households 161 households were selected for empirical survey. Keep in view the study main focus on Dalits, 50 per cent of the total Dalits household were covered, however for comparative picture only 30 non-Dalits household were selected of which 15 households from BC and another 15 households from OC categories were selected. In the village as whole Dalit households constitutes just 15.79% whereas non-Dalits constitutes as high as 84.21% respectively. The proportion of male in the total Dalits population is nearly 52 per cent and female is 48 per cent. It is notable that female population proportion is slightly higher (50.93%) than male (49.07%) in the case of non-Dalits category. Therefore, in the case of non-Dalits female dominates male population with just one percent higher. The break-up of the village population according to gender, irrespective of caste, shows that male (51.13%) proportion is higher than to that of female (48.87%).

Table: 7.2 – Age and Caste-Wise Population Distribution in Unagatla Village

Age	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-5	17 (6.49)	25 (10.16)	42 (8.27)	1 (1.59)	4 (7.27)	5 (4.24)	18 (5.5)	29 (9.6)	47 (7.51)
6-15	67 (25.57)	51 (20.73)	118 (23.23)	9 (14.29)	11 (20)	20 (16.95)	76 (23.4)	62 (20.6)	138 (22.04)
16-29	77 (29.39)	69 (28.05)	146 (28.74)	24 (38.10)	14 (25.45)	38 (32.20)	101 (31.1)	83 (27.6)	184 (29.39)
30-44	44 (16.79)	50 (20.33)	94 (18.50)	13 (20.63)	9 (16.36)	22 (18.64)	57 (17.5)	59 (19.6)	116 (18.53)
45-59	34 (12.98)	31 (12.60)	65 (12.80)	7 (11.11)	15 (27.27)	22 (18.64)	41 (12.6)	46 (15.3)	87 (13.90)
Above 60	23 (8.78)	20 (8.13)	43 (8.46)	9 (4.29)	2 (3.64)	11 (9.32)	32 (9.8)	22 (7.3)	54 (8.63)
Total	262 (100)	246 (100)	508 (100)	63 (100)	55 (100)	118 (100)	325 (100)	301 (100)	626 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

The above table reveals the age and caste wise population. It may be said that 0-15 and above 60 group population is dependents. Accordingly, dependent population among Dalits is more and about 40 per cent of population is dependent whereas it is 30.51 per cent among non-Dalits. On the contrary, the overall village population dependency rate is as much as 38.18 per cent, besides; male dependency rate is little higher (38.7%) than the female (37.5%) population in the village. Similarly, among Dalits, male dependency ratio is higher (40.84%) against the female (39.46%), but it is quite different in the case of non-dalits as female dependency rate is higher (30.91%) against the male population (20.17%). It is quite interesting to note that the age group of above 60 population percentage among Dalits is just 8.46 per cent while it is little higher i.e. 9.32 per cent among non-Dalits.

7.3.2 Education

There are three elementary schools and one high school located in the village One elementary school is located in the S.C. colony and two other elementary schools and one high school are located in the non-S.C. colony. In addition to this, there are four Anganwadi centres in which more than 300 children are attending. Mid-day-meal programme is in operation in all three elementary schools by which nearly 450 students are benefited. An elementary school called as 'Board School' located in S.C. colony distributes text books, note books etc. free of cost to all the poor students irrespective of caste. All three elementary schools impart education up to 5th standard and high schools

up to 10th standard. And the medium of instruction in all public schools is Telugu. Besides, there are two English medium convents up to UKG run by the private individuals. For collegiate education, students go to Nidadavole and Chagallu. The Government junior college is located in Chagallu whereas government Degree College is located in Nidadavole. Besides, there is a good number of private junior colleges in Nidadavole where English is the medium of instruction. Few students from other caste groups are studying in Rajahmundry and Visakhapatnam for quality of education and they have opted expensive courses like medicine, engineering, information technology etc. On the contrary, some of the SC students have joined in social welfare hostel at Samisragudem and Christian Missionary hostels at Samisragudem to meet their basic educational requirements and for quality education.

The following table reveals the gender and caste wise educational status. The educational levels however vary substantially across caste groups. Among different age groups, the gender gap among Dalits is relatively low when compared to their counter parts. Therefore, Dalit female literacy level and access to education appeared to be on par with males. However, the highest gender gap is registered (13) in the above 60 age group. It appears that both males and females achieve more or less equal proportion of literacy rate among all age groups except in the above 60 age group. Similarly, the gender parity index also reveals the same trend that appeared in gender gap. GPI implies that educational opportunities are equally achieved by both male and female in the study village particularly in the case of Dalits. In absolute terms GPI points in different age groups is more than 0.66 which is the lowest between 45-59 age group. Similarly, the highest GPI points registered as 0.99 between 16-29 age group among Dalits.

On the contrary, non-Dalit male literates proportion among all age groups is relatively higher. Interestingly, males achieved 100 per cent literacy rate between the age groups 16-29 and 30-44. Female literacy rate particularly among above 60 age group is zero as against to 33 per cent of male. With respect to gender gap, it is also little higher among non-Dalits when compared to Dalits. In addition, the gender parity index also reveals that, the females are in a disadvantaged position in the village when compared to males. The highest GPI registered is 0.93 point between 16-29 age group, followed by the 0.92 points between 06-15 age group. Interestingly, all age groups points were 0.83

which shows little equal proportion of literacy rate. According to gender parity index especially female are little disadvantaged position in attaining educational opportunities. When we observe village level scenario, female literacy rate is almost 50 per cent less than their counterparts. It is evident from the table that only non-Dalits females are lagging behind in achieving literacy rate as Dalits proportion is more or less equal. It is attributed that majority of non-Dalits preferred private school education and providing education for both male and female might be expensive in their case. At this juncture, all non-Dalits preferred to educate their male children instead of female. This could be one of the reasons for backwardness of low level female literacy rate.

Table: 7.3 – Age Group, Caste and Gender Wise Literacy in Unagatla Village

Age Group	Dalits Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	1	2	3	4	5 (4/1)	6	7 (6/2)	8	9 (8/3)	10 (5-7)	11 (7/5)
06 – 15	67	51	118	59	0.88	43	0.84	102	0.86	4	0.96
16 – 29	77	69	146	71	0.92	63	0.91	134	0.92	1	0.99
30 – 44	44	50	94	18	0.41	18	0.36	36	0.38	5	0.88
45 – 59	34	31	65	13	0.38	9	0.29	22	0.34	9	0.76
Above 60	23	20	43	3	0.13	0	0.00	3	0.07	13	0
Total	245	221	466	164	0.67	133	0.60	297	0.64	32	4
Age Group	Non-Dalits Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	06 – 15	9	11	20	8	0.89	9	0.82	17	0.85	7
16 – 29	24	14	38	24	100	13	0.93	37	0.97	7	0.93
30 – 44	13	9	22	13	100	6	0.67	19	0.86	33	0.67
45 – 59	7	15	22	5	0.71	8	0.53	13	0.59	18	0.75
Above 60	9	2	11	3	0.33	0	0.00	3	0.27	33	0.00
Total	62	51	113	53	0.85	36	0.71	89	0.79	15	0.83
Age Group	Total Population			Literates							
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Ratio	Female	Ratio	Total	Ratio	GG	GPI
	06 – 15	76	62	138	67	0.88	52	0.38	119	0.86	50
16 – 29	101	83	184	95	0.94	76	0.41	171	0.93	53	0.44
30 – 44	57	59	116	31	0.54	24	0.21	55	0.47	34	0.38
45 – 59	41	46	87	18	0.44	17	0.20	35	0.40	24	0.45
Above 60	32	22	54	6	0.19	0	0.00	6	0.11	19	0.00
Total	307	272	579	217	0.71	169	0.29	386	0.67	41	0.41

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: GG=Gender Gap; GPI=Gender Parity Index

In fact, about 81% of Dalits are landless and another 16% belong to less than one acre category, therefore, it can be said that almost all Dalits households still suffer from poverty. However, with help of government scholarships and financial supports of

parents, Dalits students are going ahead particularly in higher studies. It is also found that the non-Dalits community seemed to be a little reluctant about higher education enrollment as they are sound in terms of permanent assets like land. Therefore, without higher education non-Dalits can lead their lives with other permanent means like land or other self employment activities. But, Dalits have only means of education by which they can lead quality life and break free from the shackles of abject poverty. It can be said that Dalits have more awareness over education as a result about 64% of them became literates.

7.3.3 Workforce

Unagatla village continues to be predominantly an agricultural village in terms of the occupational distribution of the working population. Table 4 shows workforce distribution in Unagatla village. There has been a high concentration of workforce in agriculture and allied activities. The rural non-farm sector is considered to be a very important source of supplementary income for all categories of farmers; therefore it plays a significant role in general and in the case of Dalits in particular.

Table: 7.4 – Population and Workforce in Unagatla Village

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population	262	246	508	63	55	118	325	301	626
Total Non-Workers	122	145	267	21	19	40	143	164	307
Non-Workers % to Total Population	46.56	58.94	52.56	33.33	34.55	33.90	44.00	54.49	49.04
Total Workers	140	101	241	42	36	78	182	137	319
Workers % to Total Population	53.44	41.06	47.44	66.67	65.45	66.10	56.00	45.51	50.96
Agricultural Workers	107	96	203	38	31	69	145	127	272
% of Agricultural Workers to Total Workers	76.43	95.05	84.23	90.48	86.11	88.46	79.67	92.70	85.27
Non-Agricultural Workers	33	5	38	4	5	9	37	10	47
% of Non-agricultural Workers to Total Workers	23.57	4.95	15.77	9.52	13.89	11.54	20.33	7.30	14.73

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Out of the total population in the village the proportion of total workers among Dalits is just 47.44 per cent whereas it is substantially higher i.e. 65.45 per cent. Dalits total workers proportion is little lower compared to the total village level proportion. Conversely, in the case of non-Dalits it is largely high. When it comes to the gender wise

proportion, male workers proportion among both Dalits and non-Dalits is high. It is interesting to note that agricultural workers (88.46 per cent) among non-Dalits constitute substantial proportion to the total workers. As against this, non-agricultural proportion among Dalits registered higher (about 16 per cent) proportion to the total workers. Thus, almost equal proportion of both Dalits and non-Dalits are still dependent on agricultural labour work. Similarly, the same trend continued even in non-agricultural activities as a result of this about 17 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agricultural activities whereas around 12 per cent of non-Dalits absorbed in non-farm agricultural activities.

7.3.4 Occupations

Following table reveals the caste and gender wise occupational distribution. Cultivation is the main activity of non-dalits, therefore 38.46 per cent of non-dalits main occupation was cultivation as against to 0.83 per cent Dalits. It is observed that Dalits workers are predominantly engaged as agriculture labourers (82 per cent) and engagement in this occupation is favoured by the upper caste. It is observed that among Dalits few of them still engaged as attached labour at non-Dalits households, which may be one of the reasons for Dalits absorbed higher proportion in agriculture labour. Dalits absorption into other jobs has been also difficult since majority of them are illiterates. About 16 per cent of Dalits appeared to be employed in non-agricultural activities as they acquired little technical skills. Money lenders are the main source to perform self employment activity as their main occupation but it is subsidiary occupation in the case of non-Dalits.

It is to be noted that though the majority of the Dalits lead their lives as agricultural labourers the next occupation which gives boost to their lives is only self employment in which male proportion is high rather than female and tailoring is the only self employment activity that is opted by females. The proportion of self employment activity among Dalits females is about five per cent whereas males registered about 24 per cent. In addition few Dalits have also chosen rearing livestock as their subsidiary occupation, which registered more than one per cent (1.24%). In the same occupation, non-Dalits registered remarkable proportion i.e. 15.38 per cent, which is more than 12 times higher than Dalits. Rearing milch cow / buffalo involves huge investments that can generally be maintained by those who are sound economically. Interestingly, all sample

households of non-Dalits possessed either milch cow or buffaloes and few households have both. According to them the cost of buffalo is between Rs.30000/- to 40000 and the same cost would be paid even for a milch cow. Therefore, such huge budget is feasible only for the non-Dalit community consequently they are more sound in that occupation and mainly females involve in it. Among self-employment activity, non-agricultural work plays a significant role and families taking this up seasonally migrate to nearby rural as well as urban areas near by where they perform toddy tapping, tobacco cultivation, attached labour, cook, driver, welding, home caretakers, nurse etc. It is also observed that all non-agricultural work households belong to either landless or marginal farmers.

Table: 7.5 – Gender and Caste Wise Occupational Distribution of Workers in Unagatla Village

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
I – Agriculture									
Cultivators	2 (1.43)	0 (0)	2 (0.83)	19 (45.24)	11 (30.56)	30 (38.46)	21 (11.54)	11 (8.03)	32 (10.03)
Agriculture Labourers	104 (74.29)	94 (93.07)	198 (82.16)	18 (42.86)	9 (25)	27 (34.62)	122 (67.03)	103 (75.18)	225 (70.53)
Livestock etc.	1 (0.71)	2 (1.98)	3 (1.24)	1 (2.38)	11 (30.56)	12 (15.38)	2 (1.10)	13 (9.49)	15 (4.70)
II – Non-Agriculture									
Self Employment	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
(i) Rikshaw Puller	(2.86)	(0)	(1.66)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2.20)	(0)	(1.25)
(ii) Electrician	2 (1.43)	0 (0)	2 (0.83)	1 (2.38)	0 (0)	1 (1.28)	3 (1.65)	0 (0)	3 (0.94)
(iii) Carpenter	1 (0.71)	0 (0)	1 (0.41)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.55)	0 (0)	1 (0.31)
(iv) Tailor	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	1 (0.41)	0 (0)	3 (8.33)	3 (3.85)	0 (0)	4 (2.92)	4 (1.25)
(v) T.V. Mechanic	1 (0.71)	0 (0)	1 (0.41)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.55)	0 (0)	1 (0.31)
(vi) Auto Driver	2 (1.43)	0 (0)	2 (0.83)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.10)	0 (0)	2 (0.63)
(vii) Vegetable Vendor	1 (0.71)	0 (0)	1 (0.41)	0 (0)	2 (5.56)	2 (2.56)	1 (0.55)	2 (1.46)	3 (0.94)
(viii) Painter	2 (1.43)	0 (0)	2 (0.83)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.10)	0 (0)	2 (0.63)
(ix) Other Non-Agricultural Work	16 (11.43)	0 (0)	16 (6.64)	2 (4.76)	0 (0)	2 (2.56)	18 (9.89)	0 (0)	18 (5.64)
Other Services (Govt.)	4 (2.86)	4 (3.96)	8 (3.32)	1 (2.38)	0 (0)	1 (1.28)	5 (2.75)	4 (2.92)	9 (2.82)
Total	140 (100)	101 (100)	241 (100)	42 (100)	36 (100)	78 (100)	182 (100)	137 (100)	319 (100)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It is interesting to note that a very small proportion of Dalits (3.32 per cent) are engaged as regular salaried employees in government sector. In absolute terms eight out of 122 households secured jobs in governments where as only one household from non-Dalits obtained job from government sector. It is clear that somehow Dalits particularly who took up higher studies had confidence in securing employment and proved it

accordingly. Teaching as an occupation among Dalits alone registered about 50 per cent in government services and remaining all of them belong to various other sectors. According to respondents, majority of them showed interest in B.Ed., course as it is a one-year course and in other words a course which assured them of job security as well. As per their notion completing this course is not much expensive and children who obtained degree with this course have increased confidence about settlement in life a little early. Awareness about higher studies has considerably improved which eventually lead to securing jobs in government sector among Dalits.

7.3.5 Landholdings

About three fourths of the scheduled caste people live in rural areas where the main source of income is either cultivation of agricultural land, wage labour or some type of non-farm self or wage employment. The surplus land through ceiling on private agricultural land, government land and other lands is distributed to the landless SC families. In surplus land distribution, the share of beneficiaries among the states, West Bengal accounted nearly 43 per cent of total beneficiaries followed by Uttar Pradesh (13%), Bihar (12.4%) and Andhra Pradesh (12%). The percentage of landless households among SCs was relatively high in Maharashtra followed by Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala. The landless and near landless those owning less than one acre, put together accounted for nearly 70 per cent of the total SC households. The proportion of landless and near landless households among SCs was amazingly high at 93 per cent in Punjab and Kerala, followed by 88 per cent in Bihar, 86 per cent in Tamil Nadu, 84 per cent in Haryana and around 70 per cent in West Bengal, Orissa , Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (Sukhadeo Thorat, 2000).

The following table represents more detailed information about the percentage of households owning no land (i.e. landless), and those owning less than one acre and proportion of marginal, small, semi-medium, medium and large farmers at this village level. More than 16 per cent of Dalits households owned less than one acre and of them nearly 56.03 per cent owned less than half acre. Therefore, the landlessness and near landless (i.e. those owning less than one acre) put together accounted for nearly 97 per cent of the total Dalits households. Now it is clear that the highest incidence of landlessness is among the SCs in Unagatla village. The proportion of landless among

Dalits is about 81 per cent and another 16.03 per cent of them possess only less than one acre of land. Whereas in non-Dalits landless proportion is just 20 per cent and another 20 percent is registered under less than one acre of land category. But it is argued by Thorat that the percentage of landless and near landless at all India level remained stable, however it increased in states like Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh and also declined in nine states (Sukhadeo Thorat, 2000)

Table: 7.6 – Caste and Size-Wise Distribution of Landholdings in Unagatla Village

Landholdings (in acres)	Dalits		Non-Dalits		All	
	Number	%	Number	%	Total	%
Landless	106	80.92	6	20	112	69.6
< 1 acre	21	16.03	6	20	27	16.8
1.01 –2.50	4	3.05	5	16.67	9	5.6
2.51 – 5.00	0	0	8	26.67	8	5
5.01 – 10	0	0	4	13.33	4	2.5
10.01 – 25	0	0	1	3.33	1	0.6
25.01 above	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	131	100	30	100	161	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Percentage of Dalits from landless to large apparently declined and no household possessed land from small, medium, semi-medium and large farmers' category. Therefore, landlessness among Dalits is predominantly higher and registered about 12 percent higher than the village level percentage (69.6%). Minimum size of landholding households from Dalits is 0.38 as against 1.10 cent of non-dalits. Similarly, the maximum size from Dalits is only 0.82 cents whereas in the case of non-dalits it is relatively high at 15 acres. No household covered under large farmers' category, as single household not owned land equal to that category even from non-Dalits. Percentage of marginal farmers in the total from non-dalits group recorded about 17 per cent whereas in Dalits it is as low as just three per cent. Non-Dalits proportion even from marginal farmers' category is about five times higher than Dalits. In all sizes of landholdings Dalits percentage is almost zero barring marginal farmers category (1.01 –2.50 size) where Dalits proportion is very minimal i.e. just 3 per cent. It is also observed majority of the Dalits who come under less than one acre landholding size have only possessed dry land which entirely depends on monsoons. However, in the case of non-Dalits there are less than one acre

households but majority of their land is being cultivated through canal where two crops are possible in a year.

Table: 7.7 - Social Group Wise Number of Holdings and Area Operated in Unagatla Village

Size Group (in acres)	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)	Number of Holdings	Operated Area (in acres)	Average Size (in acres)
Marginal (1.01 – 2.50)	4	4.12	1.03	11	20.13	1.83	15	24.25	1.61
Small (2.51 – 5)	0	0	0	8	33.7	4.21	8	33.7	4.21
Semi-Medium (5.01 – 10)	0	0	0	4	28	7	4	28	7
Medium (10.01 – 25)	0	0	0	1	15	15	1	15	15
Large (25.01 above)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Households of different size categories and the proportion of land accounted for by them and also average size of land is given in the above table. Insofar as distribution of land between Dalits and non-Dalits is concerned, a household of non-dalits operated a maximum size of 15 acres land which comes under medium size category, whereas no household from Dalits has operated the same size nor anywhere nearer it. Therefore, 4.16 per cent of non-dalits operated 15 acres of land. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that while average size of land owned by non-dalits from large size category was much higher than their per cent (4.16 per cent) share in total households in comparison to Dalits. According to Dalit respondents, no household owned even five acres of dry land from their fore fathers generation to present generation. However, in the case of non-Dalits there were households in the past who owned nearly 50 acres of wet land when joint family system existed but gradually it was worn away as soon as the nuclear family system set up. Most of such land was distributed when joint families separated as nuclear families. However, details are not clearly known if the surplus land has been surrendered to the government under the land ceiling act.

Numerical proportion of landless households among Dalits was high followed by marginal farmers as a result the average size of land was highly skewed among them. All (four) Dalits marginal farmer households operated just 4.12 acres and their average size of

land is 1.03 acres, while non-dalits operated 20.13 acres by just 11 households and the average size of land is about two acres (1.83 acres). It is evident from the fact that while the average size of land accounted for by Dalits households, marginal households in particular, was very high in comparison with their share in the total households. It is to be noted that, at this village level 19.08 per cent of Dalits households owned some land. However, of these 84 per cent of the Dalits were belong to less than one acre category. This ratio was much higher compared to 54.54 per cent for non-Dalits.

It is also observed that there is no significant impact for the poor through land reforms. The major factors for the poor impact, according to the study, are on the one hand government failed to collect the surplus ceiling land from higher castes, and on the other unwillingness of higher castes to surrender the surplus ceiling land to the government. As a result the effort of surplus land distribution has not taken place at this village level so far. More so, it ultimately leads to the dependency on agricultural labour works and self employment activities, particularly in the case of Dalits, have increased gradually. And it still proves that Dalits have inseparable relation with agricultural labour activities as well.

Table: 7.8 – Caste wise Land Purchased by Different Sources in Unagatla Village

Size of Landholdings (in acres)	Dalits		Non-Dalits		All	
	Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)	Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)	Source of Finance	Extent of Land Purchased (in acres)
	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings	Own Savings
Landless	1	.02	0	0	1	.02
	1	.03	0	0	1	.03
	1	.04	0	0	1	.04
1.01 – 2.50	1	.40	1	.23	2	.63
	1	.50	1	1	2	1.50
	1	.40	1	1	2	1.40
	0	0	1	1.40	1	1.40
2.51 – 5	0	0	1	.85	1	.85
	0	0	1	1	1	1
	0	0	1	1	1	1
	0	0	1	1.50	1	1.50
	0	0	1	4	1	4
	0	0	1	4.50	1	4.50
Total	6	1.39	10	16.48	16	17.87

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: In all cases land was purchased out of 'Own Savings'. No State or private loans provided for this purpose.

It was reported that the average transactions cost for Dalits in terms of number of visits paid to the revenue officials, amount paid as bribe etc was very high. Prior to the distribution of ceiling land, Dalits were lured by the revenue official with the pretext of allotting wet land with which they paid some amount as a bribe to satisfy them. Almost all the land allottees had taken into possession of the allotted land without difficulties. Finally, all of them were given dry land which is little far from the village and it involves more cost if they desired to cultivate the allotted land. Most of the households had made permanent improvements on the land allotted to them and more than 90 per cent of the land allottees had started cultivation their land within one year of its allotment.

i). Land for Agricultural Purpose

The involvement of SCs in the purchase of land for agricultural purposes is very limited. Out of total 122 sample households only six households reported purchase of land for both house construction as well as agricultural land. In addition, out of total 1.39 acres only 1.30 acre land was purchased by three Dalits households for the purpose of agricultural. On an average only 0.43 cents was purchased by three Dalits households which is not even equal to half acre. All these three respondents indicated that they purchased it long before, probably during 1980s. The land had been purchased from BCs, their own caste members and STs. Therefore, on the whole, land transactions for purchase by Dalits were with landowners belonging to BCs, STs, or own caste. Non-Dalits, particularly other than BCs, did not figure in land transactions with the Dalits. All Dalits who purchased land also reported that the purchased land was not found to be of good quality. Though they have purchased agricultural land they reported different kinds of difficulties. Firstly the purchased land is located at a long distance from the native place, secondly, it is away from high-caste land, thirdly, away from the catchment areas of irrigation canals, and lastly it is even a little inferior in quality. Two households (about 67 per cent) out of three respondents mentioned that discrimination also figured in the form of refusal by higher castes to sell good-quality land, which ultimately forced the Dalits into buying inferior quality land. The same households said that they were also denied land that was in the catchment area of an irrigation canal.

ii). Land for Residential Purpose

In general, non-Dalits neither buy land for construction of houses in a low-caste locality nor permit Dalits for construction of houses in their locality or in the near by premises. All Dalits who purchased land for residential purpose have bought it with in their locality. One out of three respondents tried to buy residential land near the higher caste locality but he was not allowed to do so by the non-Dalits as there was mounting caste prejudice existing in this village. More than 80 per cent Dalits respondents said higher caste individuals showing unwillingness to buy land for house construction in a high caste locality. Out of 122 respondents 118 reported that generally the non-Dalits do not allow Dalits to purchase land for house construction in high caste locality. On the contrary, almost all Dalits mentioned that the non-Dalits generally do not purchase land for residential purposes in Dalits localities because of caste prejudice. About all Dalits mentioned that they themselves are not socially comfortable about staying in a non-Dalit locality as they are not allowed to purchase land for residential purpose.

The following table deals with the caste-wise land sold for various reasons in Unagatla village. In absolute terms 15 out of 122 households sold their lands from Dalits community for various reasons. Precisely, from all respondents, four reasons were identified for selling land, namely, daughters' marriage, ill-health of family members, house construction, and clear mounting debts. Households such as land sold with multiple reasons were also identified but they were very few in number. Therefore, among Dalits only more than 12 per cent have sold their cultivable land for various reasons whereas it is 16.6 per cent in the case of non-Dalits. The total land sold by 15 households of Dalits is 10.94 acres where as five households of non-Dalits sold land to an extent of 8.70 acres. Therefore, even in terms of extent, proportion of land sold by Dalits is considerably higher than that of non-Dalits.

An extent of two acres by three Dalits households which includes landless and less then one acre categories, sold their land merely to perform their daughters' marriage. Similarly, Dalits have largely sold an extent of 5.10 acres towards their family members' ill-health. It is to be noted that in Dalits higher proportion of land seems to have been sold to meet the medical needs of family members. It was identified that, among various reasons 'land sold due to ill-health of family members' occupies first place followed by

both daughters' marriage and ill-health of family members and only daughters' marriage. Dalits seem to have given least priority for house construction and the extent of land sold for constructing house is just .04 cents. It was said by one of the respondents that when he desired to construct house he required some extent of land for that he had to sell some extent more land which was higher than the required land. Lastly, some more land i.e. 1.30 acres was sold by Dalits to get rid of mounting debts. It is found that increased debts are due to perform their daughters' marriage as well as to get their family members recovered from ill-health. Therefore, land sold for clearing mounting debts is also part and parcel of the above mentioned main reasons such as daughters' marriage and ill-health of family members.

Table: 7.9 – Caste wise Land Sold for Various Reasons in Unagatla Village

Land Sold Reasons	Dalits			Non-Dalits				All					
	Landless	<1	Total	1.01 – 2.50	2.51 – 5	5.01 – 10	Total	Landless	<1	1.01 – 2.50	2.51 – 5	5.01 – 10	Total
Daughters' Marriage	.20+ .20 (2)	1.60 (1)	2 (3)	.70 (1)	1.50 (1)	2.50 (1)	4.70 (3)	.40 (2)	1.60 (1)	.70 (1)	1.50 (1)	2.50 (1)	6.7 (6)
Ill-health of Family Members	.50 (1)	.10+ 2.50+ 2 (3)	5.10 (4)	0	0	0	0	.50 (1)	4.60 (3)	0	0	0	5.10 (4)
Daughters' Marriage & Ill-health of Family Members	2+ .50 (2)	1 (1)	2.50 (3)	0	3.50 (1)	0	3.50 (1)	2.50 (2)	1 (1)	0	3.50 (1)	0	7 (4)
House Construction	.04 (1)	0	.04 (1)	.50 (1)	0	0	.50 (1)	.04 (1)	0	.50 (1)	0	0	0.54 (2)
To Clear Mounting Debts	.40+ .20 (2)	.20+ .50 (2)	1.30 (4)	0	0	0	0	.60 (2)	.70 (2)	0	0	0	1.30 (4)
Total	4.04 (8)	7.90 (7)	10.94 (15)	1.20 (2)	5 (2)	2.50 (1)	8.70 (5)	4.04 (8)	7.90 (7)	1.2 (2)	5 (2)	2.50 (1)	20.64 (20)

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: Figures in parentheses are number of households.

One of the Dalit respondents expressed his grief regarding how debts are mounting due to his ill-health. According to him, while he was ploughing, as a daily labourer, in the non-Dalit land a sharp iron screw poked into his leg and immediately that was removed. The injured part was cleaned and instantly he applied some *boric* powder. Afterwards he could not take any measure to get healed completely. But after one month when his whole leg started to swell up, he approached various hospitals. By

then his entire leg became septic according to doctors. As per doctors' advice some portion of his leg was gradually removed and at the time of field survey about half of his leg was removed but still the respondent hoped that he would recover. Hitherto, he spent about two lakhs to overcome such a dangerous condition. What this study wants to explain by this instance is that the Dalits have not much awareness as regards precautionary measures when a disease is at preliminary stage. Most of them do not approach either doctor or hospital for fear of high cost of consultancy and medicines. Though they generally visit government hospitals they still feel treatment in government hospitals is bad resulting in diseases not being cured properly. In addition, the working hours of the PHC were 9 to 12 in the morning and 2 to 4 in the afternoon. If the landless were to go to a PHC on a working day, he/she would have to forego one day's wage, which would have pushed the family to virtual starvation. It is also observed that Dalits do not take proper care at the initial stage of the disease but they may take utmost care when it becomes extreme but it ultimately is found to be futile.

On the contrary, the lion's share of land sold by non-Dalits is to perform daughters' marriage. In fact, daughters' marriage and house construction are the main costs among non-Dalits. Therefore, together with marginal, small and medium farmers sold an extent of 4.70 acres just for performing their daughters' marriage. Among non-Dalits the custom of dowry is also given in kind of land rather than cash. One of the respondents also reported that he has given about one acre land as part of dowry at the time of his daughter's marriage. It is observed that no household found as if land is sold for the purpose of house construction and to clear mounting debts. Generally, non-Dalits have various sources for borrowing money as they have sufficient permanent assets like land. If any unforeseen incidents occur they mortgage land with the banks through which they borrowed money. Therefore, majority of the non-Dalits depend on formal credit facility system. Thus rural non-Dalits households have financial inclusion from the formal credit system. In the village as a whole the third main reason of land sold for daughters' marriage and ill-health of family members' registered significant place followed by the single reason of daughters' marriage and ill-health of family members.

7.3.6 Housing

According to the following table nearly 47 per cent of Dalits still reside in thatched houses and about 33 per cent of them living in semi pucca houses. Similarly, the proportion of Dalits living in pucca houses is about 21 per cent. Only one household was given house site among Dalits who reside in thatched houses. Therefore, one out of 57 households was benefited by state assistance through house site. Similarly, state assistance was also given for six households in the form of loan and another 16 households were also benefited in the form of both loan and site. Out of the total 25 pucca households just four households got benefited by state assistance in the form of both loan and site. Now it is clear that only four Dalit households could construct pucca houses through state assistance. It appears to have spent about one lakh by each Dalit beneficiary to complete the house construction. Therefore, out of the total 122 sample households only 23 Dalits were benefited by state assistance either in the form of loan or site. In absolute terms, there are still 50 and 17 households of Dalits live in thatched and semi pucca houses. As per thatched houses respondents' information on the condition of the houses, it was reported that most of the thatched households live in dilapidated houses. Palmyra tree leaves and mud are the materials typically gathered for constructing thatched houses. Generally, landless households do / may not like toilets in or near their home, or may not wish to construct toilets at all.

Table: 7.10 –Caste Wise State Assistance for House Construction in Unagatla Village

State Assistance	Dalits				Non-Dalits				All			
	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total	Thatched	Semi Pucca	Pucca	Total
Own	50	17	19	86	3	7	17	27	53	24	36	113
Site given by Govt.	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Loan	0	6	0	6	0	0	1	1	0	6	1	7
Loan & Site	0	16	4	20	0	0	0	0	0	16	4	20
Rented	6	1	2	9	2	0	0	2	8	1	2	11
Total	57	40	25	122	5	7	18	30	62	47	43	152

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Thus, by looking at the materials used for flooring, walls and roofing, one is able to identify the housing poverty of this study village. It is also observed that the thatched houses are problem houses, because they do not give protection against wind, rain and

cold. They lack adequate lighting and ventilation and basic sanitation, drinking water and the most fundamental requirements for hygiene. Above all, these houses are also infested with insects and rodents, which are dangerous to health and are incapable of giving protection against natural calamities like floods and cyclones. Interestingly, nine Dalit households who are mostly affected without any state assistance still reside in rented houses for them no house site has been even allotted by the state. According to their financial ability they dwell in rented houses and two third of them have resided in thatched houses for a long time. In brief, there is not much evidence that public intervention programmes reduce the disparities between Dalits and non-Dalits with respect to state assistance in constructing pucca houses. Therefore, one may note that the right to food, clothing, and shelter are perhaps the most important of all human rights relating to human survival itself.

On the contrary, out of the total sample non-Dalit households 60 per cent of them dwell in pucca houses and 23 per cent in semi pucca and remaining 17 per cent only live in thatched houses. To recapitulate, the proportion of non-Dalits households which live in pucca houses was found to be higher when compared to Dalits at this village level. In absolute terms, only one household got benefited by the state assistance in the form of loan among non-Dalits.

Table: 7.11 – Distribution of State Assisted Housing in Unagatla Village

Particulars	Dalits	Non-Dalits
No. of Households	122	30
No. of Households with State Assisted Housing *	27	1
% with Assisted Housing	22.13	3.33

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Note: *State assisted either as loan, site or both

According to the above table irrespective of caste group, in the village as a whole, there were 28 households assisted by the state in constructing houses of which seven households were assisted only by loan and 20 households were assisted by both loan and site and another one household was assisted only by house site. Importantly, about 22.13 per cent (27 out of 122 households) of Dalits have benefited under housing scheme and majority of the remaining households yet to cover. Therefore, more than one fourth of

Dalits households could not avail it. As a result of this, the proportion of Dalits that lives in thatched and semi-pucca houses is significantly higher in comparison with non-Dalits. Even among non-dalits, five households appear to be dwelling in thatched houses that should be assisted by the state under housing scheme. Therefore, state should pay serious attention towards Dalits in house construction so as to pay the total expenditure of the house construction.

7.3.7 Agricultural Assets

As far as agricultural assets are concerned, very few of Dalits maintain them and all of them were assisted by State governmental programme. A much smaller proportion, 2.4 per cent (3 out of 122) of Dalits possessed electric engine with pump sets and bore wells which were assisted by the State government. In brief, with out state assistance Dalits could not maintain any sort of agricultural assets which helps in generating subsidiary income to the family. Holding agricultural assets by Dalits without adequate land is of no use, because there is about 81 per cent landless and 16 per cent below one acre Dalits exist at this village level. Therefore the proportion of landless together with less than one acre is as high as 97 per cent among Dalits. It is a clear indication of prevailing poverty at a greater extent and one cannot own any agricultural assets as long as the poverty continues. Poverty level itself reflects holding assets in absence of state assistance by Dalits as a result no household from the Dalits possessed any asset pertaining to agriculture. However, 16 households possessed wooden or iron plough and another six households owned animal craft.

Table: 7.12 – Caste Wise Number of Agricultural Assets in Unagatla Village

Agricultural Assets	With State Assistance			Without State Assistance			Total		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
Plough (Wooden & Iron)	0	0	0	16	12	28	16	12	28
Open Well – Diesel Engine Pump sets	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Bore Well – Electric Engine Pump sets	3	0	3	0	3	3	3	3	6
Tractor	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Sugarcane Crushers	0	0	0	0	5	5	0	5	5
Animal craft	0	0	0	6	5	11	6	5	11
Spraying Machine	0	0	0	0	16	16	0	16	16
Total	3	0	3	22	43	65	25	43	68

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

All respondents who owned these agricultural assets reported that they are not used for their own cultivation but used in daily agricultural wage and also hiring in sometimes. According to them, cost of plough together with animal craft is less than Rs.6000/- which is not expensive for them. It is also observed that, in the case of non-Dalits, all agricultural assets belong to them are their own property and no assistance in this regard has been provided by the state so far. Among sample households, there are three motor pump sets, five sugarcane crushers, one tractor, one open well with diesel engine and pump sets, 16 spraying machines, 11 animal crafts and 28 ploughs. Households having tractor, sugarcane crushers and spraying machines reported that these assets are generally used for both own purposes as well as hiring. All of them who possessed bore well with motor pump sets are medium farmers and one among them owns a tractor. Remaining households have irrigation sources through canals either directly or indirectly. It can be said that sources of irrigation itself is a significant indicator to assess the economic position of both social groups namely Dalits and non-Dalits. In that sense, Dalits are largely lagging behind whereas non-Dalits are going ahead at a larger scale. It is clear that majority of non-Dalits were sound in terms of possessing agricultural assets. Generally, availability of adequate irrigation facility may cause to improve not only agricultural assets but also other assets. Thus, possessing of agricultural assets in large numbers, in various forms, is feasible only non-Dalits rather than Dalits. Consequently, majority of non-Dalits have access to subsidiary income from difference sources but Dalit lives are more or less limited to daily agricultural labour work.

7.3.8 Livestock Population

Livestock keeping is essential for rural poor people. Livestock not only help cultivate fields and provide transportation, they also represent an important asset for rural people. Livestock are a form of currency, often given as loans or gifts, and their sale can provide quick cash in times of need. Income from livestock and their products enables poor families to put make both ends meet, improve their nutrition, send their children to school and buy medicines for themselves and their animals. Therefore majority of poor in general and Dalits in particular have preferred rearing livestock as their main occupation. In brief, irrespective of social group wherever the proportion of landless is high, the first

and foremost occupation may be considered to be the livestock rearing. As a result livestock will contribute reducing the poverty level at rural areas.

Table: 7.13 – Caste Wise Livestock Population in Unagatla Village

Livestock Category	Own			Loan		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Cows	15	4	19	8	0	8
Young stock	3	2	5	0	0	0
Buffalos	15	22	37	7	0	7
Young stock	6*	3	9	0	0	0
Bullocks	2	0	2	0	0	0
Young stock	0	0	0	0	0	0
Poultry	6	2	8	0	0	0
Goats	30	0	30	0	0	0
Pigs	7	0	7	7	0	7
Total	84	33	117	22	0	22

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

* Reared on share basis

According to the above table Dalits ownership in possessing livestock appeared to be a significant indication to overcome poverty level. Majority of Dalits preferred to rear cows and buffaloes as they are the main income generation sources among livestock. In absolute terms, number of cows together with buffaloes owned by Dalits are 38 in which eight cows were purchased through loan. Another 30 goats, seven pigs, six poultry and two bullocks are owned by Dalits. There are nine young stocks of which six rear on shared basis. As far as this village is concerned, rearing livestock on share basis is confined to Dalits. It is found that in some households, livestock accounts for only a small portion of the economic activities, while, in others, livestock is the only source of livelihood. According to respondents who owned livestock through wives, a cow is given to woman at the time of marriage which is generally considered to be bride wealth. It shows that women contribution seems to be relatively higher which involved in caring for livestock in most production systems. In addition to this eight cows are being reared after obtaining loan from SHGs for which the entire contribution is of women.

Interestingly among the Dalits who owned cows and buffaloes at present were previously obtained by them through loan. For a long period, both landless poor and marginal farmers completely depended on SHGs for purchasing milch cow or buffalo. Altogether, nine families, all of them landless received loans for dairy animals from DWCRA. During the first phase, seven families received loans (Sep. 2004) and two

families received loans in 2006 from their running SHG. All of the beneficiaries were mostly families of Dalits. The loans were assigned in the name of the women household members. The women had no information about the business transactions of the unit. But they only knew that the group management was incurring losses. For about ten months, all the profits from the sale of milk were spent on the maintenance of the animals and on the loan repayments. There was no money left for the individuals, and a few families had to take an advance. Thus, they were able clear loan amount on livestock and ultimately to keep the existing one with them. According to them the income derived through selling milk could sustain from all households daily needs. There was also another private micro finance institute called SHARE which mainly concentrate on providing loans but the way its operation is little difficult for Dalits to rear the livestock. Therefore, private micro finance institute's loans are largely utilized for their daily household needs and other auspicious occupations like festivals.

According to respondents the remaining livestock like goats, pigs and poultry are considered to be less income generated assets. In case of Goats, there are no adequate grazing lands and they felt that rearing them is also little difficult. Many poor farmers rely on common lands to graze their livestock. These resources, however, are constantly being diminished because of the increased pressure on land exerted by growing populations. Similarly, in the case of pigs, these are not reared by Dalits but they rear by scheduled tribe family. As per the respondents they are taking utmost care as all fields are located very much adjacent to the village. For the past 12 years they continue this occupation and their main occupation is pig rearing. Though we have covered one household under this study there are about another 12 households depend on pig rearing occupation. Hitherto, no institution comes forward to encourage their occupation, instead many a times village elders forced them to ban this occupation as pigs are caused for epidemic diseases. In such instances, pig keepers could manage and convinced village elders as well as health department officials by migrating nearby villages temporarily. Thus, they still believe that their occupation is not well recognized by the society as it is the only means for their livelihood. Even in the case of investment on their occupation, money is generally borrowed from neighbors and relatives which is the only most important source of capital for them.

Likewise, in the case of non-Dalits by and large they possessed cows, buffaloes and related young stock. In absolute terms, four cows, 29 buffaloes and five young stock which equal to the total of 31. If you take the total sample households of 30 into account, on an average every household have either one cow or one buffalo. Even among non-Dalits, seven households who owned buffaloes had to approach SHGs for livestock loan. The women of all these seven households are members in SHGs and they belong to backward classes but not from higher caste group. It is found that higher caste households maintain their milch cows / buffaloes through the bonded labour or *paleru*. About nine bonded child labourers were found during the field survey. They are the livestock actual caretakers. They take these livestock to the fields at 10am in the morning and bring them back at 6pm in the evening. They are paid Rs.6000/- per annum and one pair of clothes in addition two meals in a day are also provided. There are few instances that show the existence of bonded child labourers in agricultural related activities at times. They attend at 8am in the morning whenever the owner wishes to make use of their service for agricultural related activities. Higher caste respondents reported that they do not rely on livestock investment and they use to utilize their own savings for it. Similarly, all the income which is derived from livestock is more or less saved for future unforeseen needs.

Table: 7.14 – State Assisted Milch Animals in Unagatla Village

Category	Dalits	Non-Dalits
State Assisted	8	0
Own	18	6
Total	26	6
% of State Assisted	30.8	0

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

The above table reveals the state assistance for milch animals, it shows about 31 per cent (8 out of 18) of Dalits were alone assisted and no household is benefited among non-Dalits. However, the variation between own and state assistance is drastically high among Dalits. In absolute terms, just eight milch animals were assisted by state while 18 were owned on their own which is more than two times higher when compared to the state assistance. Contrary to this, six milch animals were owned on their own by non-Dalits. Dalits have three times higher owning capacity when compared to non-Dalits. It shows Dalits are financially sound in possessing milch animals on their own. State must

be committed in assisting financial aid for landless Dalits particularly in providing loans which promote either non-agricultural or self employment activities.

7.3.9 Participatory Activity in Local Government

The 73rd Amendment, which came into force on 24th April, 1993, provided Dalits and Women an opportunity to participate in the political and social decision-making process. According to Article 243 D of the Constitution, the Scheduled Castes (SCs) / Scheduled Tribes (STs) are provided reservation in Panchayat in proportion to their population in that area. Similarly, one third of the seats are reserved for women belonging to SC/ST community. As a result, as of now, nearly eight lakh women and six lakh of SCs and STs were elected to different levels of Panchayat Raj Institutions in the country (Manoj, 2002).

Table: 7.15– Caste Wise Participatory Activity in Local Government in Unagatla Village

Position Status	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Panchayati President	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Panchayati Vice-President	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2
SHARE Member	0	42	42	0	2	2	0	44	44
DWCRA Leader	0	6	6	0	3	3	0	9	9
Ward Member	3*	0	3	0	1	1	3	1	4
DWCRA Member	0	12	12	0	9	9	0	21	21
SHARE Leader	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
DWCRA – President	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cooperative Society Director	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total	3	63	66	3	16	19	6	79	85

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09. * Elected under Reservation.

Among the Dalits sample households no one is elected either for Panchayati Sarpanch or Vice-President. But, three individuals were elected as ward members. In fact, Dalit population constitutes about 16 per cent of the total village population. However, from non-Dalits, three households were identified as having entered the panchayati elections in which one household secured panchayati president position and another two households secured panchayati vice-president positions each. It is to be noted that none among the 50% of Dalit households elected or entered into local government. Whereas, just 2 per cent (30 out of 1349) of non-Dalits appeared to have secured different positions in panchayati elections. Therefore, it appears that Dalits were unable to capture enough local political power either by their strength or reservations as their proportion is about

16% in the total village households. It was also observed that there might be local government leaders among Dalits whom this study uncovers. But, they might have been elected through reservation in promoting the participation of Dalits and women in Gram Panchayats. It was also found that the Dalit female participation, in local government was also entirely excluded so far. Based on the information in the table above, Dalit females did not get access to local administration while non-Dalit women are actively involved in both local administration as well as voluntary SHGs promoted by state. Political awareness among Dalit women village-level workers particularly in contesting local level / Gram Panchayat elections is pretty less. Strong kinship ties, group support structures, money and muscle power seem crucial for winning local elections, with the result that Dalit women village-level workers have often succumbed to pressures from caste-Hindu leaders and dacoits who maintain power over the rural voters.

Therefore, this study found many hindrances for Dalit community to enter into Gram Panchayat. General factors which influence Dalits' for non-access local politics are illiteracy, economic dependence, ignorance about roles and functions and lack of money. Above all, caste prejudices such as low opinion about Dalit members and reluctance to share public space with them, biased attitude of officials and lack of community and family support are also some of the external factors that have created hurdles for Dalits individuals. Most of the times Dalits are elected as Ward members particularly under reservation quota but they can not have their own decisions for smooth functioning of local administration. The main reasons are, most of the Dalits are illiterate, not much aware of local administration system, pay much obedience towards local landlords under whom Dalits led their life for quite long time either daily as a wage worker or bonded labour. Keeping in view the difficulties experienced by the Dalits, they were asked about previous training underwent by them and about their present training needs. They reported that the panchayat sarpanches are attending such training programmes immediately after the panchayat elections. However, such training programmes were not conducted exclusively for ward members as a result they never attended such programmes. They expressed that they will be in a better position if such training is organized for them too. As far as our study village is concerned, the Dalit, who are elected as Ward members basically studied up to primary level. Prior to this they used to

work as daily wage workers at the landlords' home. With respect to programme implementation they were advised, soon after they elected as ward members, by their respective landlords to contact them. Therefore, it appears that the landlords indirectly act as proxies on behalf of their daily wage workers. In most of the cases, proxies decisions are final and ward members followed accordingly, therefore, more or less all local panchayat power is captured by non-Dalits. For instance, many a time Gram Sabha meetings were organized but these Dalit ward members used to sit in one corner and do not raise their voice unless they received proper message from their respective landlords. Hence, it is understood that Dalit leaders particularly elected to Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) are not able to effectively participate in the democratic decision making process at the grass-root level. Above all, it was also observed that the Dalit leaders who have been elected to PRIs had low educational status, no political experience, no status in political party and low annual family income. Hence, the economically and politically deprived Dalit leaders need to be adequately empowered by training under the PRI. Poverty and economic dependency prevent them from enjoying autonomy even after being elected for PRIs at rural level. Thus, the legislative order (73rd Amendment Acts) can not be realized unless social promoting and social support is provided to the Dalits. Interestingly, a large number of self-help groups are exclusively Dalit women's collectives. As a result of this, Dalit women have also been employed as grassroots/village-level workers for coordinating these ventures. Therefore, they are the SHG members and one among them is selected as SHGs leader. The voluntary SHGs power is used among Dalit women themselves as every caste or sub-caste is generally isolated at rural level. As we know a Dalit SHG leader do not control other SHG members who belong to non-Dalit vis-à-vis non-Dalit SHG leader can not have access into Dalit SHG to control its activity. As far as the voluntary SHGs promoted by state is concerned powers are assigned equally, but they are enjoyed by the respective caste but not among all the social groups.

Obviously, there were two microfinance institutions working at this village level namely DWCRA and SHARE. DWCRA is related to public and SHARE belongs to private microfinance institutions. According to the above table 42 women were members SHARE and only 12 women took membership in DWCRA. In addition, there were six

DWCRA leaders and one woman working as a DWCRA president among Dalits. On the contrary, there were two members in SHARE and three leaders in DWCRA. Above all, there was a woman elected for panchayati vice-president and another woman elected as a ward member. It clearly shows that non-Dalit women have enjoyed local political power whereas Dalits are excluded out of it. Therefore, the dominant communities use their economic superiority to grasp political power. This often makes the empowerment of oppressed sections quite a task. As far as this village is concerned, every household of dalits is associated to one household of non-Dalits for generations either as domestic labour or farm servants. In fact, there were nine bonded child labour still working at higher caste households as livestock keepers. Therefore, keeping in mind the socio-economic inequalities, and the social structure, which rationalises such inequalities, it is almost impossible for the dalits either individually or as a community to walk over their landlords. There certainly were no substantive efforts to create enabling conditions for the dalits to overcome the dependency-conditions and thus allowing them to participate in the new panchayat system. It is observed that Dalits have failed to capture the local political power and they actively involved in SHGs and tried their level best to overcome poverty. It is to be noted that a Dalit women joined in both public and private SHG and borrow loans from these and payment is made at regular intervals.

7.3.10 Non-farm Self Employment Activity

Turning to rural non-farm sector, there are different factors which influence the rural non-farm sector among them change in taste and competition from factory sector, administrative development, social services and rural electrification, flow of remittance and growth in consumer demand, literacy rate, transport system, caste and landlessness are the main factors (Kishore C. Samal, 1997). As far as this village is concerned, factors such as literacy rate, transport system, caste and landlessness appear to have played a significant role in non-farm self-employment activity.

The following table gives more insight into village level non-farm self employment. In fact, the village is located in the close vicinity of a large town and is also situated in an industrial belt. Therefore, the level and pattern of growth of various sub-sectors of rural non-farm self employment activities are also expected to be different at this village level. In fact, self-help groups, with the participation of women, are

promoting various non-farm activities through micro finance. All the micro enterprise activities are generally run by women. As a result, women's participation rate in non-farm sector according to gender wise work force may be significantly high. It is believed that many activities are carried out by SHGs at rural level which in turn produced different goods but they can not generate adequate price in the market when compared to branded items. However, most of the non-farm activities could not but depend on agriculture. This resulted in generation of income and employment by both agriculture and non-agriculture sectors at rural level. Above all, it is evident that empowerment of women is possible up to the mark by non-farm activities alone at rural level.

Table: 7.16 – Caste Wise Non-farm Self Employment Activity in Unagatla Village

Non-farm Self Employment Activity	Dalits	Non-Dalits	All
Auto driver	1	0	1
Petty Kirana Shop	0	3	3
Tailoring	5	1	6
Rikshaw Puller	5	0	5
Cloth Merchant	0	2	2
Shoe Stitching	4	0	2
Cycle mechanic shop	0	1	1
Barber Shop	0	1	1
Carpenter	1	0	1
Livestock Rearing	34	5	9
Total	50	13	31

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

According to the above table the major portion of rural non-farm self employment activity among Dalits is livestock rearing though which 50 households are employed. It is observed that livestock / dairy scheme was financed by the DWCRA a public microfinance institute as well as SHARE which is private microfinance institute. Majority of Dalits are benefited by the public MFI rather than private MFI. Public MFI started its activities from 1998 onwards whereas private MFI began its activities from 2002 onwards. Under public MFI the total number of groups in 2003 was 50 which increased to 110 by 2007. Therefore 60 groups were formed over a period of four years. On the contrary, the total number of groups under private MFI was only four in 2002 with which it started activities; however, by end of 2007 the number of groups increased to 19. Therefore, over a period of five years just 15 groups were formed. As a result of this, many Dalits received milch cow loans after completing three years as members in

the public SHGs. There are also Dalits who obtained milch cow loans from private MFI but their number is very few.

In absolute terms, there were one auto driver, five tailors, five rikshaw pullers, four cobblers and one carpenter among Dalits. More or less, all Dalits barring auto driver felt that the income derived from their self-employment activity is very meager. Therefore, they can not but depend on other subsidiary occupations either agriculture sector or industrial sector. It is found that very few Dalits got employment from nearby sugar factory but it is a seasonal employment. Industrial employment is available hardly two or three months in a year. Even in this factor, most of the jobs which are related to labor are allocated to Dalits. Therefore, even in the industrial sector Dalits can not obtain tireless jobs. In general, shoe stitching is a Dalit's traditional occupation and it doesn't require much investment. Therefore, Dalits still continue their inherited occupations like shoe stitching as it is an inevitable principal source of livelihood for them. However, no one particularly from non-Dalits go for shoe stitching as it is a heinous job. As per the hindu caste system ladder, Dalits themselves should go for such occupations, therefore, nobody selects it either as their main or subsidiary occupation.

Among non-farm employment activities businesses like petty shops and cloth merchant require little huge investments and they also require business skills and managerial experience. However, these activities are significantly limited to non-Dalits and five households (about 17%) out of 30 samples are employed under these activities. It was reported that any *kirana* shop business at this village level can not be worked out if a Dalit desired to run it. It generally happens because Dalits can not compete with non-Dalit *kirana* shops in terms of goods availability, quality maintenance and selling goods by credit system etc. In this context it is to be noted that all of the non-Dalit purchase their necessities from non-Dalit shop only. In addition, non-Dalit shop owner influences the Dalit colony by giving necessary items on credit basis. It was also observed that very few non-Dalit *kirana* shop owners selling goods on credit for Dalits which in turn Dalits will go for their agricultural activities to clear the due amount. Agricultural activities of non-Dalit are performed through exchange system particularly who owned *kirana* shop as well as agricultural land. Thus, non-farm self employment activity is ultimately lead to

performing agricultural activities in time. Therefore, self-employment activity among Dalits needs to be strengthened by providing adequate capital and managerial skills.

7.3.11 Migration

In order to survive, Dalits must often migrate in search of work. The main cause of this migration at this village level is lack of land ownership. Without their own land, Dalits are unable to produce crops for their own consumption or for sale in the market. This, combined with the limited employment opportunities available in their village, forces them to leave their village in search of work elsewhere. Another cause of migration in general is economic hardship, such as high seasonal unemployment in agriculture sector. Dalits do not have the resources needed to get through such periods, as they are often refused loans even after agreeing to exorbitantly high interest rates and are unable to turn to their equally challenged Dalit neighbors for help. Lastly, Dalits prefer migration to permanent establishment in new communities since such an endeavor would require vast resources and would result in the loss of their existing social networks.

In general, migration takes place from rural to urban areas however from this study village it was observed that majority of the migrants migrated to rural areas. Interestingly, about 67 per cent of migrant Dalits, particularly from this study village, migrate to other villages of different districts in Andhra Pradesh. In absolute numbers, 14 out of total 21 migrants were engaged in agriculture and its related activities. Interestingly, female proportion among migrants is little higher as tobacco cultivation absorbs more female workers in its all operations. The proportion of employment in agriculture and its related sector among migrants is significantly high when compared to non-agriculture employment.

It was found that seasonal migration has been taking place in the *rabi* season only. *Rabi* season begins in October and ends in February and March. According to priority basis, Guntur, Prakasam and Hyderabad were the main cities to where Dalits seasonally migrated from this village. In 2008-09, 21 workers from Dalit households accounting for about nine per cent of Dalit workers and only one from non-dalit households (one per cent of workforce) migrated seasonally. According to the respondents, migration from landless and marginal households has been taking place for the past five years only as there were no adequate landholdings and rain fall to cultivate their fields. It was observed

that this village does not have canal irrigation facility as it is located in uplands of coastal districts. Thus, migrant workers were influenced more by ‘push effect’ factors rather than ‘pull effect’ in the study village. In addition, traditional bonded labour system still continues under which about 10 to 15 Dalit households either directly or indirectly employed.

Table: 7.17 – Gender and Caste Wise Seasonal Migration in Unagatla Village

Type of Migration	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Welding work	3	0	3	1	0	1	4	0	4
Toddy Tapping	2	2	4	0	0	0	2	2	4
Nurse	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Home Take Carer	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Attached Labour	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tobacco Cultivation	3	6	9	0	0	0	3	6	9
Cook	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Driver	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	10	11	21	1	0	1	11	11	22

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Among the Dalit migrants majority of them are absorbed in tobacco cultivation in Guntur and Prakasam districts where migrant Dalits work as daily labourers. Tobacco crop is the important *rabi* crop and seasonal migration begins in October and ends in February and March. It is found that Rs.250 is paid for a couple (wife and husband) per day and there is no limited working hours so day and night they spend all their time at tobacco field. Both wife and husband work as tobacco field guards even at night times and participate in various operations during day time. According to migrants every couple earns 15 to 20 thousand for a period of four months excluding their day to day expenses. It was also reported that female workers’ participation is more in tobacco cultivation. The female labourers are specialized in some aspects relating to the processes of tobacco cultivation. For instance, even after harvesting, female labourers are more efficient than their male counterparts in the process of grading of tobacco. However, in some operations like plantation and cutting leaves male and female labourers are engaged in the same proportion. In addition, about 13 years old boy was also migrated to Guntur district and he works as an attached labour in tobacco cultivation landlord’s house. He is paid Rs.12000/- per year and two pairs of clothes, food and shelter is provided at land

lord's home. Generally, his main work is cattle rearing and apart from this he works as a guard at times for commercial crops like tobacco.

Similarly, toddy tapping is the second operation which influenced migrant workers. Generally, migrant workers from this village migrate to Rajahmundry and its surroundings regions during March, April and May. Interestingly, migrants invest about 5 to 10 thousands over toddy tapping for which they purchase about 100 Palmyra trees and this contract takes a year in advance. Accordingly, migrant workers migrate and stay there for about five months for toddy tapping. Male migrants are completely involved in toddy tapping operation whereas female migrants take up the responsibility of selling toddy. It was reported that Rs.10000/- can be earned if the migrant workers invest Rs.5000/- over a period of two months in which all their day to day expenses are excluded. It is clear that about two times income over its investment is easily possible for toddy tapping migrants for a period of three months.

In addition to this, there are various type of migrants namely welding work, nurse home caretaker, cook and driver among them Dalits migrants proportion in welding work is higher than in any other. All these migrants found employment in urban areas. Furthermore, there is also a female migrant who migrated to Gulf countries (Sharjah) where she works as a home caretaker for nine months. Her husband reported that both of them had a plan to go to the Gulf but she had gone since there were employment opportunities available only for females. She is paid Rs.12000/- per month along with food and shelter. Therefore, Dalit females, particularly illiterates, migrated to the Gulf for their livelihood. Remaining migrant workers found employment in Hyderabad and worked as auto driver, cooks in hotels, nurses in hospitals but their number is very few. And all of these migrants are skilled workers as they are working with their own skills which were obtained through education and experienced by profession. Precisely, it may also be said that lack of irrigation sources coupled with single crop cultivation are the main reasons for migration apart from landlessness. It was also observed that irrigation, ploughing and threshing operations were increasingly mechanized. However operations like transplantation, harvesting and weeding still continued to be carried out manually. Finally it gave rise to many land owners themselves working in their field particularly during peak seasons.

Section – II

7.4 Rural Development Programmes: Empirical Evidence

This section mainly deals with the impact of various types of rural developmental programmes on Dalits and Non-Dalits in this village. Importantly, three categories of developmental programmes namely income enhancement, food and nutritional and social security programmes were covered. Therefore, performance of these programmes as per the social groups was also analysed in detail based on primary level survey.

i) Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP): The IRDP programme was intended to assist the rural population to derive economic benefits from the developmental assets of each area. The main objective of the programme is to assist selected families below the poverty line in rural areas by taking up self employment ventures. The families of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes constitute the bulk of the poverty group. In order to ensure that these families are not denied their due share, it is provided that at least 30 per cent of the assisted families should be drawn from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

It is evident from the table that out of the total 122 households among Dalits only three (2.45%) scheduled castes were benefited by IRDP and one household (3.33%) out of the total 30 sample households of Non-Dalits were benefited in the Unagatla village. All of them irrespective of social group were provided only minor irrigation assets. The total three Dalit beneficiaries were provided bore well and power connection and a single beneficiary among non-Dalits was benefited by motor and pump sets. It is observed that all (100%) Dalits beneficiaries have retained their assets and the same is still being utilized and ultimately that has become their main source of family income among all other sources of family income. It was observed that all Dalits benefited by IRDP in 1980s during this period at least five households should show minimum five acres of land to provide bore well irrigation facility. And even the three Dalits beneficiaries maximum extent of landholdings are 2.05 acres and on an average 0.68 acre only. Obviously, no household particularly from Dalits was registered even under small holdings category and all of them belong to less than one acre category. The study found that in majority of cases the improvement does not seem sufficient to enable them to cross the poverty line.

Table: 7.18 – Caste Wise Loan Availed for Various Assets under Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

Nature of Loan under IRDP	Year of Sanction	Number of Beneficiaries	Amount of Loan	Subsidy Paid	Status of Assets
Dalits					
Digging Bore Well and Power Connection	1980	1	60000	20000	Main Source of Family Income
Digging Bore Well and Power Connection	1980	1	70000	25000	Main Source of Family Income
Digging Bore Well and Power Connection	1984	1	90000	30000	Main Source of Family Income
Total		3	220000	75000	
Non-Dalits					
Motor & Pump set	2004	1	100000	25000	Main Source of Family Income
Total		1	100000	25000	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It was reported that all beneficiaries increased their annual income between 6 to 8 thousands per annum which is inadequate for a family's livelihood. Even though all the beneficiaries could not derive much income directly under this programme, every beneficiary has made marked improvement in their asset position indirectly. This improvement can be witnessed more with respect to the improving additional income generation in the form of milch cows which happened to be feasible only through IRDP assets. The disturbing fact is that the share of the annual income (Rs.7000/-) under this programme is very meager. In addition, the proportion of beneficiaries among Dalits was also another equally disturbing fact. However, in the case of Non-Dalits the proportion of beneficiaries is little better than Dalits. It was observed that the proportion of IRDP beneficiaries among Dalits and non-Dalits is very meager and did not even reach the double digit level at this village level. All the beneficiaries who were provided assets have retained the given assets and it shows that 100% retention of assets was feasible for both Dalits and non-Dalits. Retention of assets ultimately led to generating family income which appears to be very meager.

It is clear that though there were more eligible households of Dalits to enjoy IRDP benefits however, grants under this programme have been given very meagerly to this

particular village. Importantly, there are different schemes under IRDP namely agriculture, minor irrigation, animal husbandry, industry and small business (ISB) etc. But, except minor irrigation, other schemes were not implemented even though the deserving number of poor is more. As far as this village is concerned identification of poor living at subsistence level who are eligible to receive financial benefits is not an uphill task as 93 per cent of Dalits are landless. Therefore, it can be said that paying attention over Dalits' upliftment was largely neglected by government. As a result, majority of Dalit households still suffer from object poverty even if the IRDP has been initiated with the main objective of providing assistance to the below poverty line people at rural areas. Based on the above data / information it may be concluded that neither targets nor achievement was done in the process of upliftment of poor in general and Dalits in particular.

ii) Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM): Diesel mechanic training was received by only one person among Dalits. He was provided training for one year in relating to diesel engines' mechanic work. He was not given any sort of financial assistance from the government though he received training. As a result, he could not find self employment either by his own or under government programme. Respondent agreed that he could not properly benefit out of this programme and he was interested in the stipends; he did not use the knowledge gained under the programme for furthering his self employment prospects.

Table: 7.19 – Caste Wise Training Given Under Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM)

Number of Beneficiaries	Nature of Training under TRYSEM	Duration of Training	Assistance Received after Training	Amount of Loan	Subsidy Paid	Status of Assets
Dalits						
1	Diesel Mechanic	1 Year	No	No	No	No

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

The basic purpose of TRYSEM is to promote self-employment among the rural youth below the poverty line. Most of the eligible households from Dalit community could not benefit out of these programmes, since considerable leakages were existing in the development programmes. Therefore, an assurance must be given to the unemployed

youth before giving training in their interested unit. In addition, after completion of the training programme government itself should take up the responsibility of providing financial assistance, in the form of loan, to the successfully trained youth. Such steps may promote interest in rural in self-employment training programmes. Though there are a number of eligible youth interested in such training programmes, government has failed to reach its targets and achievement. Above all, government should focus on and cover more landless labour households' youth so as to bring out substantial change among these households by way of giving training to all or at least majority of youth population.

A study conducted in Anantapur, a drought-prone and backward district of Andhra Pradesh, has revealed that as high as 12,449 individuals have been trained under the TRYSEM for a period of 15 years. Training was provided in 51 trades for the candidates selected under which women constitute about 45 per cent, while Scheduled Castes about 42 per cent of the total individuals trained. After completion of the training, 26 per cent are self-employed in their trade, 22 per cent working as wage employees, and the rest 42 per cent are not able to use the training in any useful way. Therefore, this gives an evidence of improper planning of the programme; and forward and backward linkages are not provided for the economic activities undertaken after the training (Galab et al, 1997).

iii) National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS): The following table reveals the caste and gender wise number of persons employed under NREG programme. According to the above table, the total number of eligible Dalit individuals are 305 as against 82 of non-Dalits. Among the Dalit eligible individuals, a substantial number of them registered their names under this programme. In absolute numbers, 273 out of 305 Dalit individuals were registered of which 135 are male and 150 are female. About 90 per cent of Dalits registered their names under this programme across the village and the female proportion is little higher i.e. 92 per cent than male (87 per cent). Contrary to this, among non-Dalits around 15 per cent registration was done from the total population of which male proportion registered was two times higher (20.45%) than female (7.89%). Therefore, not even one by fourth of non-Dalit individuals have registered under this programme.

When it comes to the number of persons employed under this programme, there were just 61 individuals employed though as many as 273 were registered among Dalits. It shows that about 24 per cent of male and 21 per cent of female and across the village just 22 per cent of Dalits were employed so far. Thus, males have dominated female in obtaining employment opportunities under this programme. Interestingly, the same trend is also seen in the case of non-Dalits, however, female proportion was nil. Therefore, all female population from non-Dalits have not got completely involved in it. It is to be noted that individuals' registration non-Dalits community seem to be significantly low i.e. 12 (14.63%) despite the eligible individuals total number is as high as 82. At registration level large number of non-Dalits showed their reluctance in joining this programme which ultimately led to low status of employment level. It is attributed that possession of permanent assets like land and irrigation facilities are largely high among non-Dalits. In addition, majority of non-Dalits females are engaged in rearing livestock particularly milch cows and buffaloes which becomes their subsidiary occupation at this village level. It was also observed that the total number of milch animal population together with buffaloes was 27 among non-Dalit total number of 30 sample households. This may be one of the main reasons for not employing female population under this programme despite very few of them having registered for the same. Thus, proportion of non-Dalit females, in terms of registration of individuals under this programme, is significantly low as compared to Dalit females.

As far as number of employment days is concerned, Dalit males have worked for 23 days and females worked for 15 days. Both male and female were provided 19 days employment on an average. It appears that male workers have dominated female workers even in the case of number of days of employment provided. Consequently, additional eight days were employed by male over female. Now it can be said that female employment days under this programme is rather low as they are engaged in other subsidiary occupations like rearing milch cows. In addition to this majority of the female actively participated in self help group activities like attending gram panchayat, district and state level meetings, bank transactions etc. Due to these reasons some of the female workers were unable to attend daily wage particularly in activities initiated by NREG programme.

Table: 7.20 – Caste and Gender Wise Number of Persons Employed Under National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP) during 2008-09

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Number of Individuals Eligible	155	150	305	44	38	82	199	188	387
Number of Persons Registered	135 (87.09)	138 (92)	273 (89.51)	09 (20.45)	03 (7.89)	12 (14.63)	144 (72.36)	141 (75)	285 (73.64)
Number of Persons Actually Employed *	32 (23.70)	29 (21.01)	61 (22.34)	02 (22.22)	0 (0)	02 (16.66)	34 (23.61)	29 (20.56)	63 (22.10)
Number of Days Employed **	737 (97.87)	452 (100)	1189 (98.67)	16 (2.13)	0 (0)	16 (1.33)	753 (100)	452 (100)	1205 (100)
Average Days of Employment Per Person Employed	23	15	19	8	0	8	31	15	46
Total Wage Received **	65504	43935	108946	1456	0	1456	66960	43935	110895
Average Daily Wages	89	97	92	91	0	91	89	97	92
Total Wages Earned Per Person	2044	1458	1741	728	0	728	2757	1458	4233

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

* Figures in brackets are percentages to registered.

** Figures in brackets refers to Percentage distribution between Dalits and non-Dalits

It is said that the wage rate per day for both male and female is Rs.67/- only. It is observed that various works related to land development or water conservation were not carried out by the concerned authorities and only water harvesting was being carried out. Majority of the Dalits stated that wages are not paid even after a week or ten days and once the assigned work is completed they are not provided employment even after two to three months. Therefore, they borrowed some amount from landlords to meet their household needs and it can not be paid in kind or cash but they work as daily labour at the behest of landlords. Most of the time Dalits unable to participate under this programme due to their work in landlords' fields as daily labourers to clear the borrowed amount. In addition, majority of the Dalits depended on landlords either for investment on cultivation or for any marriage or auspicious occasion's expenses. This could be one of the main reasons for low registration of Dalits under this programme.

Now it is clear that this programme could not bring considerable change at village level as well as in Dalits' lives. Despite its main aim to provide employment to rural poor for hundred days for a year, no household is provided even just 30 days instead of 100 days so far. In fact, this programme had started two years ago and not even the registration process of eligible individuals had taken place. About 67 per cent of the eligible individuals are yet to be registered and of the registered individuals nearly 78 per cent of them were not provided even a single days employment under this programme. Since its inception, this programme is running at a snail's pace in terms of different activities carried out and payment made to working labourers. Above all, majority of the agricultural labourers particularly Dalits are still in the clutches of landlords because they only lend a hand in their financial emergencies. Majority of the households' income earned through this programme is not saved for future emergencies most of it is spent on daily needs. Therefore this programme could not yield plausible support to labour class as desired in its objectives.

iv) Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) Scheme: The IAY scheme was made part of the wage employment scheme as the construction of houses was also expected to generate employment. In April 1989, the IAY was transferred to the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) which was constituted by merging the two wage employment programmes in the country namely the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). The budgetary share of the IAY was also fixed at 6% of JRY funds. The IAY is targeted at all rural people below the poverty line. However, it is impossible to provide an IAY house to all people eligible, as the number is too large (about 125 Dalit households). There is thus a need to redefine the criteria for targeting under the scheme. In fact, almost all Dalit sample households do not have pucca houses and economically all of them belong to the landless poor. Only 26 households out of 122 samples were covered under this programme since its inception of the IAY programme. The Centre for Management Development (2000) found in its survey of non-beneficiaries under IAY that non-cooperation of concerned officials was a major reason for their applications being rejected.

Only four out of 26 households were able to construct pucca houses and remaining 22 still could construct semi-pucca houses. It was reported that many of them

could not complete house construction as the sanctioned amount is not enough. It is observed that the sanctioned amount is very low and is not adequate to build pucca house. However, just 15 per cent (4 out of 26 houses) of Dalit beneficiaries were able to construct pucca houses with their own investment together with the government assistance. On the contrary, some of Dalits who are financially not sound could not build and managed to live in thatched as well as semi-pucca houses.

Table: 7.21 – Caste Wise Number of Households Benefited Under Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY) Scheme

Type of House	Year of Sanction	Number of Beneficiaries	Amount of Loan	Subsidy Paid
Dalits				
Semi- Pucca	1980	1	7000	Not Paid
	1980	1	7000	Not Paid
	1980	1	7000	Not Paid
	1980	1	7000	Not Paid
	1980	1	7000	1200
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1980	1	7000	Not Paid
	1980	1	7000	Not Paid
	1981	1	7000	1000
	1981	1	7000	900
	1981	1	7000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1982	1	8000	Not Paid
	1990	1	12500	Not Paid
	1990	1	12500	Not Paid
1990	1	12500	2500	
1998	1	18000	3000	
Pucca	1984	1	8000	900
	1982	1	7000	2000
	1991	1	12500	Not Paid
	2001	1	25000	Not Paid
Total		26	242000	
Non-Dalits				
Pucca	2001	1	25000	Not Paid
Total		1	25000	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It was also observed that though the eight households out of 22 semi-pucca category showed as beneficiaries they still live in thatched houses in the absence of proper walls. This could be due to the unit cost under the IAY in Andhra Pradesh has

been reduced from Rs.20, 000 (the amount prescribed by Central guidelines) to Rs.16,500 in plain areas and from Rs.22,000 to Rs.18, 500 in hill areas, in an ostensible bid to maintain uniform unit costs for all types of rural housing schemes (Andhra Pradesh has State sponsored schemes in existence as well) in the State (Chakravarty and Rajeshwar, 1998). However, as Chakravarty and Rajeshwar's study of Srikakulam district (ibid.) showed, this often results in poor quality and incomplete construction since beneficiaries have to give up considerable amounts of money for bribes (on average Rs4,000 and Rs.4,300 in plain and hill areas, respectively) to meet the demands of officials. (Radhika Nayak, et. el, 2002)

Therefore, not even one fourth of landless Dalits benefit and just 21 per cent benefit out of this programme and remaining 79 per cent are yet to covered. The large number of potential beneficiaries awaiting the allotment of a free house has also led to a great deal of 'local pressure' (Thomas, 2000). Many respondents reported that their respective constituency MLA uses his influence with District Collector and makes changes in the final lists of beneficiaries. Therefore, the beneficiaries selected by the Gram Sabha list ultimately can not be given top priority, instead the beneficiaries list recommended by the MLA is often handed over to the administrative machinery. As a result, original list of beneficiaries is modified again and again to accommodate local political leaders' recommendations.

Chakravarty and Rajeshwar (1998) found that in the process of selection of beneficiaries, manipulation is openly practised because of the political lobby. Caste affiliations play a great role in these selections. A study in Srikakulam district showed that many SC/ST families who applied for shelter under IAY have been covered under the MLA Constituency Development Scheme where loan component is involved, whereas many of the non-SC/ST families have been considered under IAY, even above their prescribed proportion. Interestingly, though a vast body of literature is now available which deals with the design and implementation errors in the poverty alleviation programmes, governments seem to be reluctant to accept the results of these studies seriously (Nair, 1999). As one author has observed, there is disagreement between MPs and MLAs with regard to the Indira Awaas Yojana as MPs feel that supporters of MLAs get greater benefits at the local level, even though the scheme is sponsored by the

Central government. In view of this clash, MPs have recently demanded a quota for allotting a fixed number of houses under the scheme at their own discretion. This request has been resisted so far by bureaucrats at the Centre.

v) **Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS):** The PNOAPS was modified slightly in 1998–9 to increase the number of beneficiaries under the scheme. It was perceived as being a successful scheme, evaluation studies showed it was well targeted, and it also performed better than the other components of the NSAP. However, coverage of the scheme remains low (Willmore, 2001). By 2000, some 5 million persons had benefited out of the total eligible population of about 70 million which registered only around 7% of the total eligible population. As the recent OASIS report on old age pensions in India concludes (OASIS in Willmore, 2001), that the absolute number of the elderly is too large, and the resources of the State are too small. Therefore, policy has also been affected by the low political interest in the scheme. As one author observed, a recommendation by the Planning Commission to increase the number of people targeted under the scheme was not accepted by the policymakers.

Table: 7.22 – Caste Wise Number of Persons Benefited Under Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS)

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population of Old Age Persons	24	20	44	13	3	16	37	23	60
Number of Beneficiaries Under PNOAPS	18	15	33	12	2	14	30	17	47
Number of Persons not Benefited	6	5	11	1	1	2	7	6	13
% of Beneficiaries	75	75	75	92	67	85	81	74	78

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

In Unagatla village there are total 60 old age eligible individuals were found who completed 65 years of age. Out of 60 individuals 44 belong to Dalits and remaining 16 belong to non-Dalits. Interestingly, all eligible individuals can not benefit by this scheme, as far as Dalits are concerned 25 per cent of male and the same proportion (25%) of female of female individuals did not benefit. As a whole, 25 per cent of Dalits across the village didn't benefit though they are eligible as per the terms and conditions laid down by this programme. In fact, *Gram Panchayat* is expected to play an active role in the

identification of beneficiaries under the PNOAPS once the State Government has communicated targets. In fact, till 1998, the Below Poverty Line (BPL) list available to States pertained to 1992. Further, this list was not available to most village Panchayats. Though the list has since been updated, it is still not available to many village Panchayats. One of the PNOAPS's major weaknesses is in the scope for arbitrary decisions over eligibility for the scheme. The non-availability of up-to-date BPL information increases the scope for confusion and possibly corruption here. The procedure of registration for the PNOAPS involves several proofs and certificates such as of age and income status, which makes it very cumbersome (Thomas, 2000)

Contrary to this, about eight per cent of male and 33 per cent of female individuals from non-Dalits did not benefit. Moreover, only 12.5 per cent of non-Dalits in the village did not benefit and beneficiaries' proportion is as high as 87.5 per cent in case of non-Dalits whereas it is low i.e. 75 per cent in Dalits. Therefore, it is clear that non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion is always high as compared to the Dalits at this village. Evaluation studies found the fact that potential beneficiaries often have to make several trips to relevant officials to get themselves listed as beneficiaries. A survey conducted in Kerala found that difficulties were faced due to the 'non-cooperation of officials' to certify age and 'destitution' (Centre for Management Development, 2000) and it ultimately results increasing non-beneficiaries proportion. According to this study, majority of Dalits, particularly one fourth, lost benefit under this scheme. Obviously, they are the real beneficiaries who should have been benefited. It is important to note that caste prejudice also plays an important role which hinders them in attaining such benefit.

All beneficiaries, irrespective of caste, reported that pension benefit is distributed once in three months. It appears to be delayed and irregular payment to the beneficiaries. It is attributed that beneficiaries are not powerful enough to exercise political pressure for the release of funds. ORG (1998) found that while in some States benefits were distributed once in two months, in others there was no fixed frequency for distribution. In several States, the timely release of States' contributions has proved to be a problem for the PNOAPS. It is to be noted that the direct transfer mechanism has resulted in a low level of leakages in the actual disbursement of benefits. The low amounts of individual benefits have resulted in richer and more powerful people not being attracted to the

scheme, as a result of which it is well-targeted. Another advantage of the PNOAPS lies in the low handling costs of disbursements.

vi) National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS): According to the following table it is observed that four households from Dalits community are entitled to have National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS). As conditions laid down by the scheme, all of them have fulfilled the terms and conditions. However, one bereaved household from Dalit community did not benefit / covered under this programme. In fact, as per the criterion prescribed by the Government of India the bereaved household must be below the poverty line. However the above household found to be BPL families and their family annual income (as per income certificate issued by the MRO) is just below Rs.12000/- only. It is said by the respondent that they were deliberately disqualified from the benefit by the local panchayat officials with the pretext that the date of scheme came into force after his death. In fact the breadwinner died in the month of November, 1995 but this scheme came into effect in August, 1995. Therefore, it is clearly shows that due to 'non-cooperation' of the panchayat officials and personal grudges the Dalit family had lost its benefit at last.

Bereaved family respondent expressed their grievance with local panchayat secretary as to why they were denied the benefit. Obviously, the breadwinner of the households used to work as almost bonded labour at Panchayat secretary house. However, for about four years they abstained from the work and started seasonal migration to different parts of the state. As a result of this, few agricultural activities were unable to run in proper time which ultimately led to experienced loses in agriculture for some years. Many a time Panchayat secretary sent a word to the bereaved family head to rejoin but they turned deaf ear as he was not financially supported at the time of his daughter's marriage. Unfortunately, he died in a road accident and his household is categorically eligible for it, but due to personal grudge this household was neglected by the entire panchayat officials. It is important to note that one to the non-Dalit household had benefited in the same year though the breadwinner of household died before two months (i.e. Sep. 1995) of the Dalit breadwinner. It is the first household which availed benefit first under this programme from this village; however, many people were not aware of it barring Panchayat officials. The subsequent incident happened in Dalit

community but they could not avail. Therefore, Dalits are always neglected from basic rural development programmes due to caste prejudice, personal grudge, and non-cooperation of local panchayat leaders and local officials.

Table: 7.23 – Caste Wise Number of Households Benefited Under National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)

Number of Eligible Households	Number of Beneficiaries	Year of Death	Died at the Age	Financial Assistance	Number of Households not Benefited
Dalits					
4	1	1997	30	5000	0
	1	1995	37	Nil	1
	1	1998	35	5000	0
	1	2000	32	7000	0
Total	4				1
Non-Dalits					
1	1	1995	28	9000	0
Total	1				0

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

The evaluation revealed that the NFBS Dalit beneficiaries used it to repay old debts while non-Dalit beneficiaries saved the assistance money in a bank. Therefore use of benefit in income generating activities was negligible in case of Dalits. There have been cases of corruption in implementation of the programme. Out of the three Dalit beneficiaries two of them received each just 50 per cent of the total benefit and remaining one household received 70 per cent. It was observed that due to illiteracy, caste prejudice lack of awareness of basic rural development programmes, Dalits could not avail entire assistance. In absolute terms, two Dalit households received Rs.5000/- each and one household assisted Rs.7000/- instead of Rs.10000/-. On the contrary, non-Dalit household was paid Rs.9000/- and this household itself had paid just Rs.1000/- towards local officials personal expenses out of the total assistance. However, in the case of Dalits, local panchayat officials themselves demanded the bereaved household 50 per cent of the total assistance with the pretext of the 50 per cent amount has to be distributed to the higher officials for releasing the fund in time. Dalits are exploited at every stage, for instance, obtaining eligibility for availing benefit is more difficult and after obtaining eligibility availing entire assistance is another uphill task.

vii) National Maternity Benefited Scheme (NMBS): Below Poverty Level (BPL) pregnancy women are financially assisted Rs.500/- up to the first live births under National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS). This scheme is also the part and parcel in

the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) and it has been implementing since 15th August, 1995 across the county.

Table: 7.24 – Caste Wise Number of Women Benefited Under National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Number of Beneficiaries Under NMBS	18	75	2	20	20	59
Number of Persons not Benefited	6	25	8	80	14	41
Number of Women under NMBS	24	100	10	100	34	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

It appears that large proportion of Dalit women got benefited by this scheme and exactly three fourth (i.e. 75%) them covered under this programme and only one fourth (i.e. 25%) of them could not avail it. Moreover, all children of the beneficiaries' received one dose of oral polio and BCG vaccination at birth and the first dose of DPT and polio in the sixth week. Moreover, children below five years age group regularly received polio drops when the medical camp is conducted for it. On the contrary just 20 per cent of non-Dalits women got benefited and remaining could not benefit from it. In absolute numbers, only two out of 10 individuals were benefited and remaining eight did not benefit since they belonged to above poverty level category.

According to Dalit non-beneficiaries all of them reported that they had to approach private hospitals inevitably in emergency for delivery of their two children which made them not to avail such benefit. In fact, only the pregnant women who registered their names with ANM nurse are entitled to have this benefit. However, in the case of non-Dalits all of them who benefited under this scheme are neither BPL category nor approached government hospital for giving birth two children. But they received benefit under this scheme by showing false information; all this happened due to the patronage given by local panchayat surpanch. Local level panchayat officials and leaders will always exercise their influence and encourage non-Dalits for any kind of such benefits which resulted in non-beneficiaries become beneficiaries among non-Dalits and beneficiaries becoming non-beneficiaries among Dalits. It is inevitable for pregnant women, irrespective of caste, to approach private hospitals for better care during delivery.

Most of them are confident about treatment at private hospitals particularly women deliveries which made them to go for better delivery in private hospitals. Even, very few among Dalits, BPL women have also approached private hospital as the government hospital doctors advised when deliveries become difficult. According to them, government hospitals are not fully equipped with proper infrastructure when deliveries become difficult. Most of the NMBS beneficiaries reported having received the benefit after the delivery. This was due to late submission of claims. There is need to create awareness about the scheme among the target segment so that claims are made well in time.

viii) Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS): Under this programme, pregnant women and lactating mothers and children below 6 years are covered to provide supplementary nutrition food. Basically, three services namely immunization, health check-up and referral are delivered through public health infrastructure viz. Health Sub Centres, Primary and Community Health Centers. Apart from these, supplementary nutrition, health and nutrition education and pre-school education are also provided through 'Anganwadi Centres' run by the State government.

Table: 7.25 – Caste Wise Number of Pregnant Women and Children Benefited Under Integrated Child Development Programme (ICDS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Children						
Number of Beneficiaries Under ICDS	28	66.67	1	20	29	61.70
Number of Children not Benefited	14	33.33	4	80	18	38.30
Number of Children Covered under ICDS	42	100	5	100	47	100
Pregnant Women						
Number of Beneficiaries Under ICDS	8	100	0	0	8	72.73
Number of Pregnant Women not Benefited	0	0	3	100	3	27.27
Number of Pregnant Women Covered under ICDS	8	100	3	100	11	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Above table reveals the number of children social group wise and pregnant women benefited under the ICDS programme. Among Dalits about 67 per cent of

children are attending pre-school education and remaining 33 per cent of them attending primary school education. In absolute terms, 14 Dalit children who did not benefit were really benefited beforehand under the age of five years. It is observed that mainly Dalit agricultural labourers are sending their children to ICDS schools. On the contrary, only one out of five non-Dalit children is sent ICDS schools and rest of them send their children private nursery schools. It is observed that majority of non-Dalits are rather reluctant to send their children to 'Anganwadi' centre. In the village as a whole about 62 per cent of children are attending pre-school run by the State government and almost all of them belong to Dalits while the rest of the proportion (38%) are attending private nursery schools in which most of them belong to non-Dalits.

It is found that non-Dalit households never accept the supplementary nutrition supplied by 'Anganwadi' centre either for children or pregnant women. Even they do not accept other services like health checkups, immunization, referral services etc. Generally they do not accept enrollment even for non-Dalit children in 'Anganwadi' centre. Anganwadi worker reported that all children belonging to Dalits attend regularly and even if they failed to attend classes, they certainly attend at the time of distribution of supplementary nutrition food. Full attendance, from Dalits students, is possible only during distribution of supplementary nutrition food. Therefore, one can estimate as to how poverty prevails among Dalits at this village level.

There are four children between the age group of 0-6 among non-Dalits but they do not attend 'Anganwadi' pre-school. Instead of sending them to this centre they are being sent to nearby private nursery school. In absolute number, four students are attending nursery classes in nearby convent run by a private institute. It appears that both quality of education and medium of instruction play a significant role in case of non-Dalit children and this alone made them to prefer private convents. According to non-Dalit parents, the teacher at the 'Anganwadi' centre does not teach properly and the medium of instruction is Telugu. The quality of education available at this centre is very poor when compared to private convents. In fact, such quality education which is available at private convents is desired by the parents to provide for their children. More so, they preferred to provide English medium education for their children instead of telugu which is the only medium available at 'Anganwadi' centres. It is found that very few Dalit children are

attending nursery classes in the private institute and they also offer supplementary nutrition without fail.

Similarly, in the case of pregnant women, there is much difference between Dalits and non-Dalits community with reference to enrollment their names under this programme. 100 per cent of Dalits pregnant women have enrolled their names under this programme and enjoy all benefits. Surprisingly, not even single non-Dalit woman is registered under this programme as they do not require services available under this programme. As per the anganwadi worker no pregnant woman from the non-Dalit community attended either for supplementary nutrition or for health services so far. Dalit pregnant women reported that they are given single ration of supplementary nutrition though it is mentioned in the scheme that pregnant women and nursing mothers are to be given double ration. It is observed that all non-Dalits pregnant women desired better service from private service provider during pregnancy. Consequently, not even single pregnant women attended medical check-up as and when ICDS medical camp is conducted exclusively for them.

ix) Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY): This scheme is completely sponsored by the central government. The main objective of this scheme is to provide food grains to the poorest of the poor families at highly subsidized prices. Under this scheme, 35 kg of food grain is given to each eligible family at highly subsidized rates of Rs.2/- per kg for wheat and Rs.3/- per kg for rice respectively. Over a period of three years, in Andhra Pradesh state 9.35 lakh households were issued AAY card by 2003-04 (Surajit Deb, 2009). A study pertaining to PDS observed that majority of the eligible beneficiaries are excluded from this programme. In this regard, very recently, the Supreme Court has issued an interim order in the right to food case directing certain groups to be included compulsorily in the Antyodaya list. Several violations of this scheme were found by a team, for instance, many eligible widows did not have Antyodaya cards. 34 landless widows in the sample with BPL cards, although by virtue of being landless alone they should have been on the Antyodaya list (Reetika Khara, 2011).

As per as the study village is concerned there were 11 Dalit households and one non-Dalit household were issued AAY cards over a period of eight years. However, during field survey it was found that there were 98 landless, 20 less than one acre and

four marginal farmers among Dalits. Similarly, there were six landless, another six with less than one acre and five marginal farmers among non-Dalit households. According to the criteria laid down under AAY programme both landless agricultural labourers and marginal farmers are eligible for it. In the case of Dalit community, altogether, including different eligible individuals, there were all 122 households were to be eligible under various type of eligibility conditions. Among the total Dalit eligible households just 9 per cent (11 out of 122) of them enjoy AAY benefit. The study also found several violations of this programme. For instance, few eligible widows did not have Antyodaya cards despite they being categorically eligible. There were four landless widows in the sample with BPL cards; among them just one household enjoys AAY benefits. Similarly, among non-Dalit sample households, six landless, and another six less than one acre and five marginal farmers' households respectively. Altogether, there were 17 eligible households from non-Dalits, come under different categories, should have been benefited under AAY. But, only seven out of 17 households issued AAY cards and 10 households were excluded. It is to be noted that about 42 per cent of eligible non-Dalits benefited against just 9 per cent of Dalits. Non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion is pretty nearly seven times higher when compared to Dalit total eligible population proportion. Therefore, it can be said that the AAY list was very patchy and there were enormous exclusion errors particularly in the case Dalits.

Obviously, majority of the Dalits do not have the first idea of this programme's eligibility criteria. With this pretext non-Dalit officials intentionally exclude some of the eligible Dalit households. Few respondents reported that in order to include them under this programme many a times they appealed to local non-Dalit officials but all their efforts were in vain. In response to the Dalits representation, they were pacified by saying that their requisitions are under process and until then they can enjoy similar benefits under PDS. As a result of this, few Dalits who do not have even white card were issued PDS cards under which every member in a family receives 5kgs rice per month. Now it can be said that Dalits are always excluded from programmes exclusively assigned for them by the government as both local politics as well as local panchayat officials played a significant in determining the beneficiaries in determining the beneficiaries.

Table: 7.26 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)

Benefited Year	Number of Beneficiaries	Actual Rice to be given (in kgs.)	Rice Given from Dealer (in kgs.)
Dalits			
2002	1	35	32*
2002	1	35	32*
2004	1	35	35
2004	1	35	35
2005	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
2005	1	35	35
2005	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
Total	11		
Non-Dalits			
2002	1	35	35
2002	1	35	35
2002	1	35	35
2004	1	35	35
2004	1	35	35
2006	1	35	35
2007	1	35	35
Total	7		

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09. NOTE: *Not given @3kgs per household

Two Dalits households reported that the assigned quantity of rice was not given many a time and were given three kgs less. Though it is not regular they felt that this happened intentionally as other beneficiaries from the same community received same quantity at the same time. It shows that few Dalits are also exploited by way of not being given the assigned quantity of rice. No non- Dalits household reported of such irregularities. Now, it can be said that any higher caste individual can exploit lower caste individuals particularly from enjoying government benefits. It has been proved in this village as the PDS dealer belong higher caste and himself has given less quantity of rice to the Dalits. Though the government desired to implement the developmental programmes in effective manner, leaders and officials at the local level are becoming stumbling-blocks resulting in progress of BPL families, particularly Dalits, not being satisfactory.

x) Public Distributed System (PDS): Central and state governments jointly manage PDS with the centre being responsible for procurement, storage, transportation and allocation. The states are responsible for the distribution through fair price shops as well as for identification of families below poverty line (BPL), issuing cards, supervision

and monitoring. The Indian Government's Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS, or, often, simply PDS) is reputed to be the largest system of controlled food distribution for the poor in the world. The PDS provides essential food grains, to poor households at subsidized rates. It is a three tiered network with the Food Corporation of India (FCI) as a national agency, wholesale at the State/District level, and Fair Price Shops (FPS) at the retail level. At the village level, the system is operated through government-recognized "Fair Price Shops", or PDS shops, run by local, government-recognized PDS dealers. Besides, various schemes have been devised, under food security system, for poor people living at different levels of poverty. Hence the origin of (a) BPL ration scheme for people below poverty line; (b) Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) for the extremely poor; and (c) Annapurna scheme a provision of free rice to the old / senior citizens.

There is one shop for every 1,965 persons in Andhra, as against the government of India norm of one FPS for 2,000 persons (GoAP 2006). As on 30 September 2006, there are about 41,296 FPS functioning in Andhra Pradesh, out of which 83% are in rural areas, with each shop holding 485 family cards in the state (rural and urban). Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh 158.75 lakhs white card holders, 12.90 lakh Antyodaya Anna Yojana cardholders (AAY), 52,610 Annapurna cardholders and 39.54 lakh Pink,, totaling 211.72 lakh Iris based ration cards have been issued as on 31-10-2006. For the financial year 2006-07, Rs. 720 Crores has been provided in the budget towards subsidy on supply of rice at the subsidized rate of Rs.5.25 per kg. to BPL families (AMR-A.P. Academy of Rural Development). Thus, the PDS coverage appears to have remained extensive in rural Andhra Pradesh. This huge network can play a more meaningful role only if it ensures the availability of food to the poor households.

The following table shows the social group wise number beneficiaries under PDS scheme in Unagatla village. In absolute numbers, out of 131 households 115 (87.78%) under PDS, 11 (8.39%) under AAY and three (2.29%) under Annapurna scheme were benefited respectively. However, just two (1.53%) households among Dalits were excluded from the food security system. Two households complained of having no ration card at all. The study found that these two households are landless agricultural labourers and they do not have even proper shelter to live in the village. They expressed their grievance with regard to their effort towards obtaining white cards. It was found that they

were separated from joint family and they have been separately living for five years. It seems, often, younger households – i.e., newly married couples – did not have any ration card. Their representations, for obtaining PDS cards, were turned down by local panchayat officials just by virtue of them newly being married couple. Therefore, a satisfactory system for issuing new cards needs to be put in place, for instance, names for new ration cards could be sent from the gram panchayat to the district or state capital for approval. Besides, well-known general problems associated with the entire BPL identification exercise, one important source of exclusion errors is the absence of arrangements to update the BPL list over time. On the contrary, 18 (60%) PDS and 7 (23.33%) AAY enjoys food security system under different schemes among non-Dalits. Obviously, there were six households which belonged to the landless category and another six households possessed less than one acre and if we take both of them their total households are 12 and they are real beneficiaries. But, 25 households among non-Dalits enjoy food security benefits; it means additional 52 per cent (13 households). This study found that all of these were included due to inclusion errors and they all possessed about 5 acres of land which is contrary to the eligibility criteria. In this regard, a study confirms that a substantial number of non-poor also receive the PDS benefits due to high errors of inclusion since the PDS coverage in Andhra Pradesh has remained extensive particularly in rural areas. Similarly, in comparison to the all-India average under the BPL scheme the off take of rice as percentage of allocation is the highest in Andhra Pradesh (Surajit Deb, 2009). According to a study conducted on the relative functioning of PDS in AP and Maharashtra on targeting and efficiency, the figures reveal that the error of inclusion in AP is as high as 22.35% in rural areas while it is 4.29% in urban areas and the error of exclusion for rural and urban areas is 20.42% and 36.40% respectively (CH. Srinivas & Abdul Thaha, 2004).

Overall, it appears that an overwhelming majority of Dalits are covered under food security system. A study also revealed that the proportion of households participating in the TPDS is the highest in Andhra Pradesh (90%), followed by Maharashtra (53%) and then Rajasthan (32%). In terms of caste wise proportion of beneficiaries in Andhra Pradesh, the share of OBCs among all TPDS participant is the highest (nearly 50 per cent), followed by SCs (nearly 29 per cent) and STs (under 10 per

cent). Similarly the share of landless among TPDS participants, Andhra Pradesh had the highest share (nearly 44 per cent), followed by Maharashtra (above 36 per cent). The share of land owned participants declines increasingly in both Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh (Raghbendra Jha et.al, 2010).

Table: 7.27 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Public Distributed System (PDS)

Category	Dalits	%	Non-Dalits	%	All	%
Number of Beneficiaries under PDS	115	87.78	18	60	133	82.61
Number of Beneficiaries under AAY	11	8.39	07	23.33	18	11.18
Number of Beneficiaries under Annapurna Scheme (AS)	03	2.29	0	0	03	1.86
Number of Persons not Benefited under any of above three schemes	2	1.53	05	16.67	07	4.35
Total Number of Households	131	100	30	100	161	100
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Rice	106	92.17	11	61.11	117	87.97
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Kerosene	115	100	17	94.44	132	99.25
Number of Households Claimed about Shortage of Sugar	115	100	18	100	133	100

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

When it comes to the actual quantity of commodities reaching the BPL households, 92 per cent of beneficiaries reported that the prescribed quantity was not given and minimum 3kgs and maximum 5kgs less was given every time. With respect to sugar and kerosene all beneficiaries reported that 50 per cent out of the total actual quantity is not reaching them. On an average 97 per cent of Dalit beneficiaries expressed their negative views about less quantity of all essential commodities distribution in the village. Similar views are also expressed by non-Dalits, 61 per cent, 94 per cent and 100 per cent of non-Dalit beneficiaries reported less quantity of rice, kerosene and sugar distribution. Overall, 85 per cent of non-Dalits expressed their negative views. Therefore, almost all sample households complained about corruption in the distribution of all essential commodities namely rice, kerosene and sugar. For preventing corruption in PDS an innovative method was introduced which is call ‘food coupon scheme’.

“The food coupon scheme was introduced in the state for rice distribution in September 1999 and came into effect from September 2000. Under this scheme, the Civil Supplies Department distributes coupons to the card-holders, who obtain their supply from FPS by submitting the coupons. The FPS dealer has to surrender these coupons to

the department to get subsequent supply, and the latter has the full knowledge about the PDS offtake pattern before releasing the next period's allocation. The system has two immediate advantages, viz, it can reduce the scope of diversion of PDS rice to the open market along with the elimination of dealer's malpractices, and second, it can reduce the number of bogus cards including reduction in the number of members in the household cards" (Surajit Deb, 2009).

Though the newly 'food coupon scheme' introduced in 2000, this study was conducted in 2008-09 even then corruption was going on. Most of the sample households complained about corruption in the distribution of all essential commodities like rice, kerosene, and sugar. However, by making of counterfeit coupons through unscrupulous persons, there is still chance for irregularity. In addition to this, it was complained about overcharging (charging more than the official issue price) of PDS commodities. The official price of kerosene is just Rs.13/- litre but PDS dealer collects Rs.14/- from every BPL card holder.

Since corruption prevails in food security programme it is pertinent to examine food grain diversion at state as well as national level. Looking at the overall proportion of grain diverted, between 1999-2000 and 2007-8 (i.e., the 55th and 64th rounds of the NSS), the situation is far from encouraging. At the beginning of the period, 15.2% of grain was diverted. The situation got worse until 2004-5 when 23.2% of grain leaked but since then, there has been a reversal of that trend. At the end of the period, 19.6% of PDS grain was diverted at Andhra Pradesh state level. The same trend also continued at all India level as well, the proportion of rice that is diverted has been increasing rapidly - from just 9.9% in 1999-2000 to 18.2% in 2001-2 and to 41.3% in 2004-5. Since 2004-5, there has been a marginal decline (approximately five percentage points) to 39.6% in the rice that is diverted (Reetika Khara, 2011).

xi) Annapurna Scheme (AS): The Annapurna Scheme aims at providing food security to meet the requirement of those senior citizens, who, though eligible, have remained uncovered under the Politics of National Old Age Pension Scheme (PNOAPS). Under the Annapurna scheme 10 Kgs of food grains per month are to be distributed free of cost to the beneficiary. Gram Panchayats play a vital in identifying beneficiaries and have to display lists of person eligible receive benefits under the Annapurna scheme. Prior to benefit of this scheme, every beneficiary shall ensure that they are not already

receiving any old age pension. And it is the Panchayat's responsibility for dissemination of information about the scheme and the procedure for securing benefits under the same. In Andhra Pradesh, there were 52,610 cardholders enjoying Annapurna scheme benefit as on 31-10-2006 (AMR-A.P. Academy of Rural Development)

Following table reveals caste wise number of beneficiaries covered under Annapurna scheme in Unagatla village. There were 44 old age persons who crossed 65 years of age, of which 24 were male and 20 were female among Dalits. There were another 16 old people among non-Dalit population together with 13 male and 3 female. Among Dalits 33 out of 44 and 14 out 16 among non-Dalits were covered under PNOAPS. Similarly, the remaining 11 persons who did not benefit under PNOAPS, just four individuals were covered under Annapurna scheme from Dalits while no individual was covered under this scheme from non-Dalits despite there being two individuals uncovered under PNOAPS. It is found that both caste groups all old age persons are categorically eligible for this scheme as all of them crossed 65 years as per their voter ID cards. Among Dalits, both, male and female benefited equally under PNOAPS while under Annapurna scheme about 17 per cent of male and 60 per cent of female were benefited. As a result, proportion of female beneficiaries is more than three times higher than male under this scheme. The remaining seven (five male and two female) among Dalits and two (one male and one female) senior citizens among non-Dalit have neither benefited by PNOAPS nor Annapurna scheme so far.

Table: 7.28 – Caste Wise Number of Household Benefited Under Annapurna Scheme

Category	Dalits			Non-Dalits			All		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Total Population of Old Age Persons	24	20	44	13	3	16	37	23	60
Number of Beneficiaries Under PNOAPS	18	15	33	12	2	14	30	17	47
Number of Persons Benefited under Annapurna Scheme	1	3	4	0	0	2	7	6	13
Number of Persons not Benefited by Annapurna Scheme and PNOAPS	5	2	7	1	1	2	6	3	9

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

All non-Dalit senior citizens among non-beneficiaries reported that they were personally asked by local panchayat officials if they wished to be included into Annapurna scheme but non-beneficiaries themselves denied. Instead, they requested them

to include under PNOAPS as it is a pension scheme. Non-beneficiaries of non-Dalits do not want to enjoy benefits under Annapurna scheme as this scheme provides 10kgs of rice for free of cost which is not actually required for them. They said quality of rice providing under this scheme is not of good quality and they eat best quality of rice. According to them pension scheme will help them meet their future expenses as they are not given money by any of their household members. It is attributed that enjoying benefits under this scheme were intentionally avoided by non-Dalits senior citizens in this village as benefits just were in kind rather than cash.

However, in the case of Dalits, about 16 per cent of them were unable to enjoy either PNOAPS or Annapurna scheme. Dalit non-beneficiaries reported that the same age of non-Dalits some how covered either one of these schemes while they are not covered by the local panchayat officials. It is emphasized that in any village only Dalits have problems with local panchayat officials / leaders' with reference to enjoy rural developmental programmes. Though it is mentioned to give most priority to the weaker sections like Dalits, they are unable to enjoy by virtue of local or village level officials / leaders' disregard. Non-beneficiaries of Dalits again said, even inclusion process into developmental programmes has not been done so far. As against this, non-Dalits beneficiaries of the same age have already been enjoying the benefits of the scheme for the past two to three years. Therefore, it can be reiterated that majority of Dalits only could not avail such benefits whereas all non-Dalits somehow make use of either one of these two schemes.

xii) Mid-Day-Meal Programm (MDMP): The aim of the programme is to provide nutritional support to school children in order to improve retention and this helps to achieve total literacy in the state. The government of Andhra Pradesh introduced the Mid Day Meal Programme in 1982 on an experimental basis in all the Abhyudaya Pradhamika Patasalas. But the programme did not sustain due to financial constraints. This programme was resumed in 2001, the Government of Andhra Pradesh introduced the cooked Mid Day Meal Programme in all government, local body and government aided primary schools. Subsequently it was extended to children enrolled under Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative & Innovative Education (AIE) Centres. Under the Mid-Day Meal programme, amounts of Rs. 177.41 crores, Rs. 206.61

crores and 144.00 crores were spent respectively during 2007-08, 2008-09 and 2009-10 (till Dec. 2009) totaling to Rs. 528.02 crores. The amounts include the state contribution besides the Central allocation. Similarly, number of students covered under the scheme has gradually increased from 54.30 lakh during 2007-08, 68.87 during 2008-09, and 86.07lakh students during 2009-10 in Andhra Pradesh. (11th Five Year Plan – An Appraisal).

Table: 7.29 – Number of Dalits and Non-Dalits Students Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programm (MDMP) in Unagatla Village

Class	Number of Students Attending Government School			Number of Students Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme			Number of Students not Attending Mid-Day-Meal Programme		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dalits									
I	16	6	22	16	6	22	0	0	0
II	4	4	8	4	4	8	0	0	0
III	6	10	16	6	10	16	0	0	0
IV	8	6	14	8	6	14	0	0	0
V	0	10	10	0	10	10	0	0	0
Total	34	36	70	34	36	70	0	0	0
Non-Dalits									
I	1	3	4	1	0	1	0	3	3
II	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
III	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
IV	2	1	3	0	1	1	2	0	2
V	2	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	3
Total	5	6	11	1	1	2	4	5	9

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09.

Above table reveals the caste and gender wise number of students attending mid-day-meal programme in Unagatla village. It shows that there are 70 (34 male and 36 female) students from Dalit community and 11 (5 male and 6 female) students from non-Dalit attending the government school. It is to be noted that the number of female students attending government school is relatively higher in this village. Obviously, West Godavari district is among the nine districts which secured higher female literacy than the State average (Yazali Josephine & Vetukuri P.S. Raju, 2008). It has been found that the mid day meal scheme also has many benefits such as increased enrolment and attendance in schools especially of girl children (Dreze and Goyal 2003), and addressing the issue of classroom hunger thereby also increasing learning ability. As far as the MDM programme is concerned, the implementation of this scheme at school level in this village is carried out mainly by DWCRA/SHGs. Similarly, the gram Panchayat is responsible for implementation and supervision of the MDM programme in this panchayat. Out of the

total 70 students among Dalits all are attending MDM without fail. Contrary to this, only two students, one male and another female, are attending which constitutes just 18 per cent of the total students among non-Dalits. Majority of non-Dalit respondents expressed their notion about why their children are not attending MDM is, just by virtue of Dalit woman is working as cook. Non-Dalits do not accept Dalits access into MDM scheme. Though the non-Dalit community sends their children to local government primary school, they desired their children to come home for lunch and in any case forbid their children to eat food prepared by the Dalit cook.

“Some examples may help illustrate the above patterns. The first is adequately exemplified by Komara village in West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh. There, dominant caste women organized in the state government’s Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas (DWACRA) scheme successfully mobilized community and administrative support to prohibit a qualified Dalit women’s DWACRA group from obtaining employment as cooks in the village MDMS” (Sukhadeo Thorat and Joel Lee, 2010).

Now it clearly shows dominant caste opposition and power struggle over Dalit cooks’ livelihood rights. It is to be noted that the rural dominant caste observed Dalit entries into new economic spheres as threatening and, therefore, responds with a backlash. As a result of this, few schools also could not but shut down, for instance, the MDMS of a government school in Ranga Reddy district, Andhra Pradesh, lasted exactly ten years before the dominant caste community, incensed that Dalit cooks had been hired, shut down the school (Sukhadeo Thorat and Joel Lee, 2010). However, studies also reported that caste discrimination particularly in MDMS in Andhra Pradesh is relatively low in comparison to most other states. In terms scale, caste discrimination afflicts more than one out of three government schools serving MDMS. It was also found that where higher proportions of MDMS cooks and organizers are Dalits and where higher proportion of the MDMS programmes is held in Dalit colonies, lower incidences of caste discrimination in the MDMS were reported. In Andhra Pradesh, where indicators of Dalit participatory empowerment and access were relatively high reported caste discrimination in MDMS stood at 24 per cent, 36 per cent in Tamil Nadu and it was extremely high at 52 per cent in Rajasthan.

7.5 Summary

The issues related to landholdings, occupational structure, assets, educational and housing status and performance of various governmental programmes have been broadly discussed in this chapter. The micro level evidences suggest that, uneven distribution of landholdings and greater proportion of landlessness among Dalits is a general phenomenon for their socio-economic backwardness. The main reason for the low access to land by Dalits is mainly their social and economic oppression. Landless and near landless together constitute 97 per cent among Dalits whereas, it is 40 per cent among non-Dalits sample households. It is also observed that there is no significant impact on the poor through land reforms. The major factors for the poor impact, according to the study, are on the one hand government failed to collect the surplus ceiling land from higher castes, and on the other unwillingness of higher castes to surrender the surplus ceiling land to the government. As a result, the effort of surplus land distribution to the landless poor by the government has not been taken place at this village level so far.

It is found that 33 per cent of the non-Dalits were able to purchase the lands, whereas a marginal proportion about five per cent of Dalit were able to purchase the lands. Further, 12 per cent of (Dalits 15 out of 122 households) sold their land to meet their immediate problem like ill health, daughters' marriage and debt. Thus Dalits access to the land has been reduced. Therefore, there is a need for state intervention to bring an equitable pattern of land distribution and provide land to the landless. Land ceiling act will not be sustainable unless surplus ceiling land identification is not properly taken place.

The occupation structure of the village shows as many as 82 per cent the Dalits involved in agriculture labour as the main occupation whereas 38 per cent of the non-Dalits involved in cultivation as the main occupation. About 16 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agriculture related activities while about 12 per cent of non-Dalits engaged in the same occupation. Among Dalits few of them still engaged as attached labour which may be one of the reasons for Dalits absorbed higher proportion in agriculture labour. Therefore, state intervention is needed to abolish bonded labour system.

There is a wide gap between the Dalits and non-Dalits as far as illiteracy rate is concerned. The incidence of illiteracy among Dalits is higher compared to the non-Dalits i.e. 36 per cent and 21 per cent respectively. Dalits female illiteracy rate is significantly high compared to the non-Dalits female. It is found that there is a huge gender gap between Dalits and non-Dalits in terms of age group literacy rate between 30-44, 45-59 and above 60. Among non-Dalits male achieved 100 per cent literacy rate between 16-29 and 30-44 age groups while Dalits registered 0.92 and 0.41 respectively.

Dalits did not possess any agricultural related assets on their own, whatever that they possessed mainly secured from the state assistance whereas non-Dalits control all the agricultural related assets which they obtain on their own presumably without state assistance. It is found the non-Dalits dug up three bore wells and owned one tractor, one diesel engine-cum-pump sets and five sugarcane crushers on their own whereas Dalits got three bore wells with state assistance. Similarly in terms of housing, 19 out of 122 Dalit households built pucca houses of which only four households were assisted by the government. In addition, 22 semi-pucca and one thatched houses were assisted by the government. As a whole, only 22 per cent of the Dalits could construct houses under housing scheme by the state assistance. On the contrary, only one non-Dalits household was assisted by the state assistance but about 57 per cent pucca houses 23 per cent semi pucca houses were constructed. It is found that majority of Dalits do not have access into housing scheme since most of them are neglected at identifying stage. In addition, due to inadequate loan amount 81 per cent of Dalits could not construct pucca houses; instead they built semi-pucca houses by the state assistance. The micro level data on various governmental programmes that were implemented in the Unagatla village has been given in the snapshot table.

Table: 7.30 – Caste-wise Percentage of Beneficiaries under Various Schemes in Unagatla Village

Name of the Programme	Number of Households Eligible for the Programme			Number of Households Benefited			Proportion of Households Benefited		
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Total
IRDP	123	16	139	3	1	4	2.44	6.25	2.88
TRYSEM	123	16	139	1	0	1	0.81	0	0.72
NREGS	123	29	152	26	2	28	21.14	6.90	18.42
IAY	123	16	139	26	1	27	21.14	6.25	19.42
PNOAPS	44	16	60	33	14	47	75	87.50	78.33
NFBS	4	1	5	3	1	4	75	100	80.00
NMBS	24	10	34	18	2	20	75	20	58.82
ICDS (Children Below the Age of 6 Years)	42	5	47	28	1	29	66.67	20	61.70
ICDS (Pregnant Women)	8	3	11	8	0	8	100	0	72.73
AAY	123	16	139	11	7	18	8.94	43.75	12.95
PDS	123	24	147	115	18	133	93.50	75	90.48
MWS	25	19	44	0	0	0	0	0	0.00
AS	11	4	15	4	2	6	36.36	50	40.00
MDMP	70	11	81	70	2	72	100	18.18	88.89

Source: Computed from Scheme-wise Tables

Of the various programmes undertaken by the government the IRDP is an important major programme undertaken in this village. Under the IRDP the non-land asset group of Dalits benefited only a small proportion. Therefore, it may be noted that the IRDP programme was ineffective as a result it failed to raise the income of the beneficiaries above the poverty line. All Dalit households i.e. 100 per cent of them based on their land ownership come under below poverty line category out of which (three households) just two per cent were benefited. All benefited (under IRDP programme) households retained the assets that ultimately gave rise to generate income among beneficiaries. It was found that none of the beneficiaries sold assets exclusively for repayment of loan amount.

Under the TRYSEM programme about one per cent (0.82) (one individual out of households) of Dalits would be able to benefit and it failed ultimately in taking up self-employment venture. Though many Dalit youth individuals were supposed to be trained under this programme, but only one individual was trained. Government has provided only training but failed to provide financial assistance to the concerned trained personnel either in creating employment generation or in continuing their skills at least. As a result Dalits are still plagued with poverty as well as landless at this village and there was no significant improvement in their economic lives. Therefore, it is observed that Dalit community is largely neglected under this programme and it ultimately led to pauperization of the Dalit community.

NREG scheme brought a significant change, particularly in case of Dalits in this village. Under this programme, nearly 90 per cent eligible individuals registered their names out of which only 22 per cent of them got employment. Contrary to this, about 15 per cent of non-Dalit eligible individuals registered their names out of which nearly seven per cent of them got employed. No female individual found to be registered under this programme. Therefore, it may be said that non-Dalits not much interested in registering their names because they are financially sound when compared to Dalits. This programme absorbs comparatively more labour from Dalit community resulting it is very useful only in Dalits case.

IAY scheme was initiated in 1985-86 and to avail this scheme all the BPL SC / ST households were included as the eligibility criteria. According to this all sample Dalits

households are eligible for availing IAY scheme, but only 21 per cent of Dalit households (26 out of 123 households) benefited and about 79 per cent of eligible household were substantially excluded from such benefit. It appears that the government has neglected the welfare of Dalits particularly in the case of providing pucca house scheme. Conversely, just six percent of non-Dalits (one out of 16 households) benefited under this scheme. It appears that government could not pay plausible attention towards landless Dalits who lived in thatched houses so far Government has to pay special attention over Dalits who live in thatched house, in constructing pucca houses through IAY scheme in future.

Though all old age individuals are eligible under the PNOAPS, few of them could not benefit out of this programme. 25 per cent of Dalit senior citizens were unable to benefit out of it as government particularly gram panchayat officials failed to identify them. Few non-beneficiaries explained that though their names were registered they have not been considered as beneficiaries under this programme. However, there have also been cases where pensions were diverted to non-eligible candidates among non-Dalits in the village by using their local political strength. Caste prejudices play a significant role which hinder them in attaining such benefits. Dalits are deliberately excluded from such benefits. As much as 87.5 per cent of non-Dalits benefited under this scheme. Non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion under all developmental programmes is always high despite the landlessness; BPL households' proportion is comparatively high among Dalits. Selection of beneficiaries is entirely involved by political influence that precipitated for Dalits as non-beneficiaries.

Under NFBS programme 75 per cent Dalits were benefited and remaining one fourth of them were excluded though they are eligible for benefit. In fact, four eligible households found to be BPL families and it was observed that one out of four was deliberately disqualified for the benefit by the local panchayat officials with the pretext that the date of scheme came into force after his death. Apart from this, Dalits do not have proper awareness over this programme, therefore, they did not come to know this scheme exact inception year and date. However, 100 per cent of non-Dalits benefited though there were few ineligible found. In fact, both Dalit and non-Dalit breadwinners died during the same year particularly in the same month, but only a non-Dalit household benefited out of

it and Dalit household is deliberately excluded. Therefore, it is clearly shows that the panchayat officials did not properly cooperate with Dalits issues in particular.

Under the NMBS scheme 75 per cent of Dalit pregnant women who admitted in their respective government hospitals only got maternity benefit. 25 percent of Dalit non-beneficiaries reported that they were excluded since they were found to be approached private hospitals. Only 20 per cent of non-Dalits availed this scheme though majority of them eligible for it. According to few non-Dalits, they are showing reluctance in availing NMBS benefit since the amount is very meager for them. They generally fed up with the process at various stages while availing such benefit. Thus NMB scheme was really helpful to the landless and BPL families however, one fourth of them are unable to avail it.

About 67 percent of the Dalits and 20 percent of the non-Dalits children were covered under the ICDS centre. It appears that majority of the non-Dalits children are attending nursery classes nearby convent run by the private institute instead of sending their children to ICDS center. Similarly, more than one fourth (33%) of Dalit children are also attending private convents which resulted low enrollment in ICDS centre. Thus, much priority for quality of education is given by both Dalits and non-Dalits at nursery level itself. All pregnant women (100%) among Dalit were benefited under this ICDS scheme while none of the non-Dalit pregnant women benefited out of it. Further, it was reported that irrespective of caste, all pregnant women were attending medical check-up as and when ICDS medical camp is conducted. All of the non-Dalits preferred private medical services during pregnancy while few Dalits preferred government hospital. On the whole, this programme brought about more awareness, particularly among Dalits, with respect to precautionary measures of pregnant women during their pregnancy.

Landless labourers and marginal farmers together with constitute 100 per cent among Dalits of the total households in the village. Therefore, all Dalits households are eligible for availing AAY programme benefits. However, among the eligible households about nine per cent (11 out of 123 households) of them benefited under AAY programme. Contrary to this, about 44 per cent (7 out of 16) of non-Dalits benefited though 53.33 per cent (16 out of 30) of them are eligible for it. Therefore, in the case of non-Dalits this programme partially succeeded while it is utterly failed in the case of Dalits mainly because of wrong identification of beneficiaries.

PDS programme appears to be successful in this village. In absolute numbers, 115 out of 123 Dalits 18 out of 24 non-Dalits enjoyed benefits under PDS. Many of other programmes like AAY and AS eligible beneficiaries were substantially covered under the PDS programme. Therefore, most of the eligible individuals of AAY and AS could not benefit from its respective scheme instead they were largely covered under PDS. None of the Dalit individual eligible for it as per the eligibility criteria laid down under PDS. Thus there is a problem in identifying both the actual beneficiaries and eligible beneficiaries by the government. Instances like distribution of ration card (BPL card) to non-poor were also found to be more.

MWS programme actually merged with SGSY since 1st April, 1999. the terms and conditions laid down under this scheme i.e. minimum three acres comprising of three families for open wells and minimum five acres comprising with three or more families for bore wells is a mandatory. However, no single Dalit family and even three Dalit families had three acres of land at one place hence the above mandatory measure could not bring any benefits to the Dalits. As a whole, just four marginal farmers operated 4.12 acres in different parts of the village. As a result of this, none of the Dalit households benefit out of this programme. Among non-Dalits none of them did not benefit from this MW scheme as almost all of their lands are cultivated either canal or tank irrigation.

The proportion of beneficiaries under Annapurna scheme among Dalits and non-Dalits was 36 and 50 per cent respectively. Though they were not covered under this programme the remaining proportion of eligible individuals were taken into account in another programme like PDS as a subsidiary measure. The actual benefit is not given to the eligible individuals instead they are pacified with less benefit.

All Dalits children (100%) under MDMP programme have substantially benefited. Contrary to this, 18 per cent of non-Dalits availed the mid-day-meal. Non-Dalits children are not sent for attending mid-day-meal despite they attend school regularly. Some of the non-Dalits respondents expressed that they can not allow their children to join with Dalit children for mid-day-meal. It may be said that caste prejudice alone paved the way for low attendance for mid-day-meal particularly from non-Dalit community. But, all Dalit children enjoy MDM programme benefit without any complaints.

CHAPTER - 8

Conclusions

Babasaheb B. R. Ambedkar, the founding father of the Indian Constitution, the believer in the establishment of social democracy and the advocate of state socialism has contemplated on the rural development and the total rural transformation in India. His insistence on the socioeconomic emancipation of the poorer sections especially the Dalits has substantial relevance because of his rationalist-humanist approach. The essential feature of his rational economic approach is not siding with extreme positions and stands for the progressive transformation of society in which all the glaring social and economic inequalities are removed. Thus, Ambedkar's perspective strongly advocates economic development of all through a conscious democratization of society on the economic, political and cultural, ideological and moral values.

Ambedkar's strategies on the development of agriculture, industry, monetary and fiscal fields are more relevant for the present economic development in India. His economic ideas constitute an important development strategy for the rural India. It is based on the problems of rural development and village economy. Ambedkar observed that the Indian village republics have ruined the Indian social order. He says that villages are a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow mindedness and communalism with practice of caste and untouchability. Thus Ambedkar has shown dissatisfaction about the Indian villages which are central to the inhuman practice of untouchability and caste system. As strategy to counter these practices, Ambedkar emphasized on the economic development by eradication of poverty, elimination of inequalities based on caste and class and ending the exploitation of the weaker sections in general and in particular, the Dalits.

Ambedkar in his writings and speeches dealt comprehensively with the problems of landless labourers, small holdings, khoti system, mahar watan, collective farming, abolition of landlordism, land revenue in colonial India and political economy of caste. Ambedkar's contribution to agriculture economics relates to land reforms, consolidation of holdings, size of holdings, and treating agriculture as an industry is an important dimension of his economic thought. Ambedkar also advocated the nationalization of agriculture, solving the problem of food security through public distribution system.

Ambedkar was fully aware of the socio-economic conditions which prevailed in the rural India and visualized the transformation and democratization through Constitutional means. As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar tried to give expression to his philosophy of economic reorganization of society in India. The basic tenets of his economic philosophy found expression in the Directive Principles of State Policy and the planning process in which the state action towards the realization of social and economic justice.

He preferred nationalization of industries in which owning and running of key industries by the State. Therefore, the basic industries shall be owned by the state and shall be run by the state or corporations established by the State. This is all viable through the process of parliamentary democracy and by the law of a parliamentary majority to suspend, amend or abrogate it. Thus, the process of Dalit development lies in the nationalization of key industries and agriculture and within the ambit of parliamentary democracy. In the area of industrialization this model of development has been followed in India after independence with some modifications. Ambedkar emphasized that the emancipation of Dalits lies in the liberation of the country as a whole.

Taking the cognizance of the above understanding on the Ambedkar's concept of rural development, the present study tried to evaluate the progress of economic status of Dalits initiated by the government in the name of rural development in Andhra Pradesh. Though Ambedkar's concept of development comprises many development indicators, the present study was confined to limited parameters such as: performance of land distribution through land reforms, employment opportunities, incidence of poverty, educational development, performance of budgetary allocation to SCSP, atrocities and offences on Dalits, and impact of rural development programmes on Dalits were taken into account.

Historically, Dalits were treated as untouchables and ostracized by the dominant castes. They were economically exploited and alienated, politically marginalized, educationally disabled, socially excluded and culturally suppressed. Dalits were forced to take up menial jobs and denied access to education which made them occupationally immobile. However, the colonial state that initiated certain measures has provided space for the Dalits to articulate their demands.

The development of Dalits in the post independent period reveals that the constitutional and legal measures initiated by the post-independent state helped in the eliminating of the age-old, oppressive and inhuman untouchability. The secondary data on the role of the state in relation to Dalits development in the process of economic growth, implementation of reservation policy, growing literacy and spread of higher education, industrialization, development of communication and transport, urbanization and occupational mobility have been instrumental in the process of eliminating untouchability and slackening the bondage of destructive and hierarchical caste system.

The process of liberalization, privatization and globalization during 1990's in the name of new economic policy measures have led to decline in the employment of Dalits in government services. The available data shows that the absolute number of employees has gone down from 6.28 lakh in 1991 to 6.04 lakh in 1992. Interestingly, the decadal growth rates of Dalits employed in the government services for the 1960s, the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s stood at 4.82 percent, 4.36 per cent, 1.54 per cent and -0.65 per cent respectively. It is evident that because of the implementation of the new economic policy and ultimately the government participation in various sectors was also reduced.

Dalits access to land, the primary means production, shows that the percentage of number of Dalits holdings were about 12 per cent and they operated just about 8 per cent of the total area and only 0.80 hectares were their average size of holdings by 2005-06. The present study found that the number of holdings marginally declined from 13.46 per cent in 1976-77 to 11.81 per cent in 2005-06 and the average size has also drastically declined from 1.19 to 0.80 during the same period. On the whole, it may be mentioned that access to land is still beyond the reach of Dalits. Thus, a substantial section of landowning households among Dalits are either nearly landless or largely marginal and small farmers. Consequently, majority of them continued to be landless agricultural labourers.

Occupational structure revealed that Dalit cultivators' proportion declined about one percent from 12.77 per cent to 11.59 per cent during 1991-2001, likewise even in Andhra Pradesh cultivators proportion declined nearly two percent from 27.74 per cent to 25.47 per cent during the same period. And the same trend has also continued in the case of agricultural labourers proportion, with respect to Dalits agricultural labourer proportion, it declined largely from 72.05% to 64.21% during 1991-2001 and even at state level their

proportion has drastically declined from 40.87% to 33.83% during the same period. In the case of SCs 'other workers' proportion has largely increased from 14.19 % to 22.36% (more than 8 per cent) and even at state level their proportion increased from 28.03 % to 36.04% during 1991-2001. This trend shows that SCs and state agricultural workers seem to be shifting slowly for other activities like non-farming and household industry.

Similarly, the incidence of poverty among SCs (74.56%) and STs (75.71%) is higher than BCs (53.4%) and OCs (36.72%) in 2002. Interestingly, in the case of BCs and OCs the percentage of below poverty line population is lower than that of state average. In addition, even poorest of the poor and poor population among SCs (27.67% and 46.89%) and STs (33.39% and 42.32%) are higher than that of BCs (15.875 and 37.53%) and OCs (9.61% and 27.1%) which is also lower than that of state average.

On social front, atrocities against the Dalits are continuously increasing and Andhra Pradesh state was the fourth among Indian major states in crimes against Dalits that includes the Scheduled castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). A total number of 31177 cases and 515 incidents of crimes against SC and ST were recorded in the state in 2005 alone. The crime rate (i.e. number of crime incidents per lakh population) was 23.7 and 9.5 for SC and ST in Andhra Pradesh. The corresponding figures at the all-India level were 14.5 and 6.2 respectively.

In all the Five Year Plans allocation under SCSP has not been made as per the proportionate percentage of Scheduled Castes in the State and at the Central level, during Fifth Plan (1974-78) and Sixth Plan (1980-85) no allocation was made under SCSP for the Central Sector. However, during the 8th Five Year Plan, Central Sector allocation was only 3.36% whereas State allocation for SCSP was 11.26%. It was observed that during the Ninth Five Year Plan under the Central sector allocation for SCSP had been picked up (10.63%) which was almost on par with the allocation under State Sector (11.24%). Similarly, even at central level as against to the plan allocation of Rs.2726 crore proposed by the MSJE, the Planning Commission finally approved Rs.2400 crore for the year 2008-09. The reasons for reducing the actual plan allocations by around 12 percent were unavailability of the Gross Budgetary Support (GBS) and inter-sectoral priorities that motivated our policy makers to reduce the proposed budget. It may be emphasized that the SCSP has not been effectively implemented in Andhra Pradesh. The hope of the deprived

section of the people with regard to effective implementation of the SCSP still remains a desideratum.

After reviewing the secondary data pertaining to the economic development of Dalits, the present thesis took up village studies to examine at the micro level development. The issues related to landholdings, occupational structure, assets, educational and housing status and performance of various governmental programmes have been broadly discussed.

The micro level evidences suggest that, uneven distribution of landholdings and greater proportion of landlessness among Dalits is a general phenomenon for their socio-economic backwardness. Landless and near landless together constitute 97 per cent among Dalits whereas, it is 40 per cent among non-Dalits in Unagatala village however in Panchalamarri it is 60 per cent and 23 per cent and in Antharam village 61 and 27 per cent. Unagatla village appears to be high proportion of landlessness among three villages. It is attributed that there is no significant impact on the poor through land reforms. The major factors that gave rise for the poor impact, according to the present study, are on the one hand government failed to collect the surplus ceiling land from higher castes, and on the other unwillingness of higher castes to surrender the surplus ceiling land to the government. Above all, government has not paid proper attention even in distributing surplus ceiling land among the landless poor. As a result, the effort of surplus land distribution to the landless poor by the government has not been taken place at this village level so far.

Furthermore, most of the Dalits, particularly from Unagatla and Antharam villages, sold their lands to the non-Dalits and opted agricultural labour occupation was their main source of income for their livelihood. It may be noted that the main reasons, for selling their lands, are to meet their immediate social needs as treatment of ill-health of family members, construction of pucca houses and performing daughters' marriages etc. In addition, economic needs like lack of irrigation facilities and high cost of cultivation also gave rise to the need to sell their lands to non-Dalits.

Table: 8.1 – Distribution of Landholdings in Three Different Villages

Landholdings (in acres)	Antharam Village		Panchalamarri Village		Unagatla Village	
	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Dalits	Non-Dalits
	No. of Households	No. of Households	No. of Households	No. of Households	No. of Households	No. of Households
Landless	15 (20.8)	4 (13.33)	16 (33.33)	6 (20)	106 (80.92)	6 (20)
< 1 acre	29 (40.3)	4 (13.33)	13 (27.08)	1 (3.33)	21 (16.03)	6 (20)
1.01 – 2.50	13 (18.1)	6 (20)	14 (29.17)	4 (13.33)	4 (3.05)	5 (16.67)
2.51 – 5.00	11 (15.3)	8 (26.67)	4 (8.33)	11 (36.67)	0 (0)	8 (26.67)
5.01 – 10	3 (4.2)	4 (13.33)	1 (2.08)	5 (16.67)	0 (0)	4 (13.33)
10.01 – 25	1 (1.4)	3 (10)	0 (0)	3 (10)	0 (0)	1 (3.33)
25.01 above	0 (0)	1 (3.33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total	72 (100)	30 (100)	48 (100)	30 (100)	131 (100)	30 (100)

Source: Computed from Village Survey Tables

The occupational structure of the Unagatla village shows as many as 82 per cent of Dalits involved in agriculture labour as the main occupation whereas 38 per cent of the non-Dalits involved in cultivation as the main occupation. About 16 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agriculture related activities while about 12 per cent of non-Dalits engaged in the same occupation. In Panchalamarri village about 70 per cent of the Dalits took agriculture labour activity as the main occupation whereas about 30 per cent of the non-Dalits involved in cultivation as the main occupation. About 12 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agriculture related activities. However, 72 per cent the Dalits involved in agriculture labour as the main occupation whereas 48 per cent of the non-Dalits involved in cultivation as the main occupation in Antharam village. Only 6 per cent of Dalits engaged in non-agriculture related activities while non-Dalits proportion in the same activity was about three times higher i.e. 17 per cent. It was observed that among Dalits, in Unagatla village, few of them still engaged as attached labour, therefore, existing attached labour system together with high proportion of landlessness may be the main reasons for Dalits' high absorption in agriculture labour. In all villages, non-agricultural activity is dominated by the dominant class as they are economically and financially sound over Dalits.

In the spear of education, the present study found that there is a wide gap between the Dalits and non-Dalits as far as illiteracy rate is concerned. The incidence of illiteracy among Dalits is higher compared to the non-Dalits i.e. 36 per cent and 21 per cent

respectively in Unagatla village. However, these figures were 65 per cent and 40 per cent respectively in Panchalamarri village and in Antaram village 45 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. It is attributed that awareness and access to education in Panchalamarri village about 20 years back could be very less. Among these villages, Panchalamarri village registered high illiteracy rate as 30-44, 45-59 and above 60 age groups found to be low literacy level compared to the other two villages.

In terms of agricultural assets, the study found that all 65 per cent of open and bore wells were owned by non-Dalits on their own. In addition to this, assets like tractors, diesel engine-cum-pump sets and sugarcane crushers were all owned by non-Dalits whereas 35 per cent of open and bore wells were with Dalits without any state assistance in Unagatla village. In Panchalamarri village 100 per cent of bore wells were owned on their own by Dalits without state assistance whereas all eligible non-Dalits were assisted by bore wells with state assistance under million wells scheme. It was observed that the agrarian structure which is dominated by the rural rich still influencing the political and administrative structure in their favour. About 36 per cent of milch animals were assisted to Dalits by the state under IRDP programme whereas non-Dalits proportion in this particular assistance was about 19 per cent. About 81 per cent of non-Dalits and 64 per cent of Dalits owned milch animals on their own without any state assistance. However, in Antharam village, about six per cent of non-Dalits owned open and bore wells by the state assistance under MWS whereas about 17 per cent of Dalits benefited from the same scheme with state assistance. Thus, the study found that the Dalits in the surveyed villages most of them have not acquired any agricultural related assets on their own, whatever that they possessed mainly secured from the state assistance. In case of non-Dalits, the agriculture related assets were owned and controlled on their own presumably without state assistance. In overall the study shows that more than 70 percent of the assets were owned by the non-Dalits of which majority of them were agricultural related like bore wells and motor pump sets on their own and rest of them assisted by the state. However, it is interesting to know that the Dalits owned more milch animals units by the state assistance.

Here an attempt is made to summarise the benefits under various state intervention programmes availed by Dalits and non-Dalits. The programmes are broadly divided into three groups viz. i. income enhancement programmes, ii. basic minimum services and iii.

food and nutrition security programmes and results from each of the three villages are presented.

Table: 8.2 – Proportion of Beneficiaries under ‘Income Enhancement Programmes’ in Three Different Villages

Name of the Programme	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Dalits	Non-Dalits
	Proportion of Households	Eligible Receiving Benefits	Proportion of Households	Eligible Receiving Benefits
Antharam Village				
IRDP	95.8	17.39	90.0	3.7
TRYSEM	95.8	1.45	90.0	0
NREGS	95.8	10.14	90.0	7.41
MWS	73.6	16.98	60.0	5.56
Panchalamarri Village				
IRDP	95.8	30.43	90.0	29.63
TRYSEM	95.8	6.52	90.0	0
NREGS	95.8	67.39	90.0	96.3
MWS	95.8	0	6.7	100
Unagatla Village				
IRDP	93.9	2.44	53.3	6.25
TRYSEM	93.9	0.81	53.3	0
NREGS	93.9	21.14	96.7	6.9
MWS	19.1	0	63.3	0

Source: Computed from Village Survey Tables

The above presented empirical data collected from the field suggests that the various rural development programs which were initiated by the post- independent India has created various levels of beneficiaries among the Dalits and non-Dalits. The ‘income enhancement programmes’ have given less than 20 per cent result if NREG scheme is excluded from three villages. Interestingly, the proportion of Dalit beneficiaries under IRDP and TRYSEM were higher with that of non-Dalits. Under MW scheme in Panchalamarri village all non-Dalits eligible households were benefited whereas no single Dalits household was benefited though their eligible proportion was about 96 per cent.

Under ‘basic minimum services’ the PNOAPS and NFBS schemes were dominated by non-Dalits. The Dalits proportion, under these two schemes has shown less than 75 per cent results whereas non-Dalits registered more than 86 per cent. Interestingly, Panchalamarri village witnessed cent per cent result among the non-Dalits under PNOAPS whereas Antharam and Unagatala villages succeeded in providing cent per cent results under NFB scheme among non-Dalits. However, under NMB scheme both Dalits and non-Dalits were benefited with equal proportion (82 per cent) in Antharam village. Dalits beneficiaries’ proportion was three times higher over non-Dalits in the remaining two

villages under the NMB scheme. Similarly, under IAY scheme Dalits were substantially benefited over non-Dalits from both Antharam and Unagatla villages and Panchalamarri village non-Dalits beneficiaries' proportion was 14 per cent higher with that of Dalits.

Table: 8.3 – Proportion of Beneficiaries under ‘Basic Minimum Services - Housing, Health, and Income Maintenance Programmes’ in Three Different Villages

Name of the Programme	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Dalits	Non-Dalits
	Proportion of Households	Eligible Receiving Benefits	Proportion of Households	Eligible Receiving Benefits
Antharam Village				
IAY	95.8	26.09	23.3	14.29
PNOAPS	25.0	44.44	43.3	84.62
NFBS	5.6	50	6.7	100
NMBS	30.6	81.82	36.7	81.82
Panchalamarri Village				
IAY	95.8	71.74	23.3	85.71
PNOAPS	39.6	68.42	23.3	100
NFBS	4.2	0	0.0	0
NMBS	27.1	69.23	26.7	75
Unagatla Village				
IAY	93.9	21.14	53.3	6.25
PNOAPS	33.6	75	53.3	87.5
NFBS	3.1	75	3.3	100
NMBS	18.3	75	33.3	20

Source: Computed from Village Survey Tables

The study found that the ‘food and nutritional security programmes’ had better performance with regard to the proportion of beneficiaries benefited under these schemes. PDS and MDMP schemes have given cent per cent result among Dalits in both Antharam and Panchalamarri villages whereas in Unagatla village the PDS scheme registered as high as 93 per cent and MDMP scheme registered 100 per cent results respectively. It is also found that these two schemes have given cent per cent results even among non-Dalits in the three study villages. However, it is found that the Unagatla village has 75 per cent of non-Dalits beneficiaries under PDS. The ICDS scheme among Dalits has registered 94 per cent in Antharam, 87 per cent in Panchalamarri and 67 per cent in Unagatla village respectively. AAY scheme has given poor results in both Antharam and Unagatla villages. The study found that only less than ten per cent of Dalits eligible individuals got benefited under the AAY scheme in the above two villages. However, among non-Dalits the beneficiaries' proportion from the same two study villages registered 17 per cent and 44 per cent respectively. Similarly, AS has also shown same trend, therefore, in Antharam and Unagatla villages non-Dalits beneficiaries proportion registered 100 per cent and 50 per

cent while Dalits registered 70 per cent and 36 per cent respectively. Thus, under food and nutritional security programmes, non-Dalits beneficiaries dominance is still continued except MDMP and ICDS schemes from which Dalits benefited substantially.

Table: 8.4 – Proportion of Beneficiaries under ‘Food and Nutritional Security Programmes’ in Three Different Villages

Name of the Programme	Dalits	Non-Dalits	Dalits	Non-Dalits
	Proportion of Households	Eligible Receiving Benefits	Proportion of Households	Eligible Receiving Benefits
Antharam Village				
ICDS (Children Below 6 Years)	48.6	94.29	33.3	20
ICDS (Pregnant Women)	15.3	81.82	36.7	63.64
AAY	79.2	7.02	60.0	16.67
PDS	94.4	95.59	73.3	100
AS	13.9	70	23.3	100
MDMP	95.8	100	90.0	55.56
Panchalamarri Village				
ICDS (Children Below 6 Years)	33.3	87.5	20.0	83.36
ICDS (Pregnant Women)	18.8	66.67	16.7	40
AAY	89.6	48.83	36.7	9.09
PDS	43.8	100	86.7	100
AS	39.6	97.74	0.0	0
MDMP	60.4	100	43.3	15.38
Unagatla Village				
ICDS (Children Below 6 Years)	32.1	66.67	16.7	20
ICDS (Pregnant Women)	6.1	100	10.0	0
AAY	93.9	8.94	53.3	43.75
PDS	93.9	93.5	80.0	75
AS	8.4	36.36	13.3	50
MDMP	53.4	100	36.7	18.18

Source: Computed from Village Survey Tables

Along with the above presented empirical evidence, the present study also undertakes program wise in-depth analysis. The study found mixed results for the Dalits and non-Dalits under the IRDP. Of the three villages under study the Unagatla village found to be less benefited (2%) to Dalits under IRDP. In Panchalamarri and Antharam villages’ the beneficiaries’ under the same program registered 30 per cent and 17 per cent results respectively. Under the IRDP the non-land asset group of Dalits benefited only a small proportion. Similarly, in respect of animal husbandry scheme, all of them reported that IRDP assets were disposed only to repay the loan amount. Therefore, a considerable

percentage of loan amounts were paid to the financial institutions to clear IRDP loans. Income that was generated under this program was not able to cross above poverty line. The poorest of the poor and very poor were not able to get expected benefits under IRDP. It may be noted that the IRDP programme was ineffective and somehow failed to raise the income of the Dalit beneficiaries above the poverty line. However, the study revealed that retention of assets was very high under IRDP among the non-Dalits. The programme also created considerable income and employment to the non-Dalit beneficiaries. Creation of individual assets in IRDP under animal husbandry and irrigation strengthened physical capital as well as natural capital for the non-Dalits.

Under the TRYSEM programme about one per cent (0.82) (one individual out of total households) in Unagatla village and another one per cent (one individual out of 96 households) of Dalits in Antharam village would be able to benefit and it failed in taking up self-employment venture ultimately. On the contrary, in Panchalamarri village six per cent of Dalits got benefited and this enables them to take up self-employment. Dalits ability to invest in self-employment venture depends upon their successful completion of training in self-employment activity. However, poverty and financial weaknesses could be the main reasons for not taking up self-employment venture in Unagatla and Antharam villages. Apart from this, government has provided only training but failed to provide financial assistance to the concerned trained personnel either in creating employment generation or in continuing their skills at least. Eligible Dalits youth individuals were supposed to be trained under this programme, however, very few were trained. It is observed that Dalit community is largely neglected under this programme and the Dalits youth could not get the opportunity to enhance their skills hence they continued to be in poverty and destitution.

Of the 90 per cent Dalit eligible individuals registered their names under NREGS, only 22 per cent of Dalits got employment in Unagatla village. Contrary to this, about 15 per cent of non-Dalit eligible individuals registered their names, out of which nearly seven per cent of them got employed. Similarly, in Antharam village only 10 per cent of Dalits and 7 per cent of non-Dalits got employment. Majority of Panchalamarri villagers got employment under this scheme, non-Dalits and Dalits registered 96 and 67 per cent respectively. Among these three villages Antharam appears to be less benefited village.

Reluctance among eligible individuals is observed and majority of them were far away from the registration. Interestingly, most of the BPL household individuals preferred to work in urban areas as the Antharam village is located 65 kms away from Hyderabad city. However, in Panchalamarri this scheme brought a sea change, particularly in case of Dalits. Prior to this programme, more than 100 individuals from Dalit community were seasonally migrated (out-migration) to nearby urban areas. Many of the out-migrants started to come back (in-migration) to their native place and found adequate employment days when the programme started. No female individual found to be registered under this programme in Unagatla village. Therefore, it may be said that non-Dalits were not much interested in registering their names because they are financially sound when compared to Dalits. As a whole, this programme absorbs comparatively more labour from Dalit community resulting majority of them obtained adequate employment days.

In the case of housing construction only 18.42 per cent of eligible households have been covered under IAY. It ranges from 21.14 per cent among Dalits to 6.25 per cent in the case of non-Dalits. Only 15 per cent of Dalits built pucca houses among the beneficiaries and 81 per cent and four percent built semi-pucca and thatched houses respectively. As a whole, only 22 per cent of the Dalits could construct houses under housing scheme by the state assistance in Unagatla village. Similarly in Panchalamarri village about 72 per cent of Dalits 86 per cent of non-Dalits were covered under IAY scheme. Among the Dalit beneficiaries 7%, 28% and 37% were identified as built thatched, semi-pucca and pucca houses respectively. On the contrary, about 86 per cent of non-Dalits households were assisted by the state assistance under this scheme but all of them constructed pucca houses.

In Antharam village, 26 and 14 per cent of Dalits and non-Dalits were covered under this scheme. However, 50 per cent of Dalit built pucca houses, 17 and 33 per cent of beneficiaries built semi-pucca and thatched houses respectively. On the contrary, 14 per cent non-Dalits households were assisted by the state assistance and they were all built semi pucca houses. Except Panchalamarri village where 72 per cent of Dalits substantially covered under IAY scheme and in remaining two villages just 21 and 26 per cent of Dalits were only covered under this scheme. It is found that majority of Dalits do not have access into housing scheme since most of them are neglected at identifying stage itself. In addition, due to inadequate loan amount and lack of financial source more than 70 per cent

of Dalits could not construct pucca houses either by the state assistance or on their own. It appears that in spite of the government striving hard in building pucca houses under IAY scheme the physical capital is misused. About 38 per cent, out of the total sanctioned amount had been paid towards concerned officials personnel pocket money (as a bribe) to get the entire amount sanctioned. In this way, both officials and beneficiaries are given rise to misuse the loan without construction of pucca houses.

In Unagatala village 25 per cent of Dalit senior citizens were unable to benefit out of PNOAPS. On the contrary, about 88 per cent of non-Dalit senior citizens were benefited under this scheme. However, from Panchalamarri and Antharam villages, the beneficiaries' proportion registered as 68 per cent and 44 per cent respectively. Thus, Antharam village found to be registered less proportion of beneficiaries and 56 per cent of senior citizens were largely excluded from this scheme. Though all old age individuals are eligible for PNOAPS, majority of them could not benefit out of this programme as government particularly gram panchayat officials failed to identify them. There have also been cases where pensions were diverted to non-eligible candidates among non-Dalits in the village by using their local political strength. Caste prejudices play significant role and hinder in attaining benefits. Dalits are deliberately excluded from such benefits. BPL households' proportion is comparatively high among Dalits. Selection of beneficiaries is entirely involved by political influence that precipitated for Dalits as non-beneficiaries. Non-Dalit beneficiaries' proportion under all developmental programmes always high and pensions are diverted in favour of the non-Dalit non-beneficiaries with local political influence.

Under NFBS programme 75 per cent Dalits benefited and remaining one fourth (25 per cent) of them were excluded though they were eligible for the benefit in Unagatala village. However, 100 per cent of non-Dalits benefited in spite of their ineligibility. In the Panchalamarri village no households was benefited though there were two households eligible for this scheme. And from Antharam village, only 50 per cent of eligible households benefited. It is concluded that under this programme Panchalamarri village Dalits were completely neglected by the local Panchayat officials. Dalits were deliberately disqualified from the benefit by the local Panchayat officials on the pretext that breadwinner age exceeded 45 years which was against the eligibility criteria. Thus,

majority of the Dalit eligible individuals were unable to benefit due to Panchayat officials indifference and non-cooperation.

From Unagatla village, 75 per cent of Dalit pregnant women who admitted in their respective government hospitals got maternity benefit under the NMBS scheme and rest 25 percent of Dalits reported that they were excluded from the benefit since they approached private hospitals. However, only 20 per cent of non-Dalits availed this scheme though majority of them eligible for it. In Panchalamarri village 69 per cent of Dalit pregnant women and 82 per cent from Antharam village Dalit pregnant women were benefited under this scheme. As a whole, Panchalamarri village was identified as less benefited village among the three selected villages. Non-beneficiaries of Dalits explained that only pregnant women who were admitted in their respective government hospital are accessed for maternity benefit. However, such instructions are followed only in the case of Dalits whereas such instructions were relaxed for non-Dalits. It was found that the many of the non-Dalit women who have been to private hospitals for cesarean operations received benefits under this scheme. Obviously, irrespective of type of delivery, maternity benefit has to be given to all registered pregnant women but this was not followed in the case Dalit women. Following this, the targeted beneficiaries, particularly Dalits, were deprived of the benefits at the village level.

About 67 percent of Dalits and 20 percent of non-Dalit children were covered under the ICDS centre in Unagatla village. It is found that in Antharam village, almost all the Dalits (94.29%) and marginal proportion (20%) of non-Dalit children were covered. However, from Panchalamarri village, 87.50 per cent of Dalits and 83.46 per cent of non-Dalits children were covered under this scheme. It is observed that from Unagatla village more than one fourth (33%) of Dalit children are attending private convents which resulted in low enrollment in ICDS centre. It is also found that much priority for the quality of education is given by both Dalits and non-Dalits at nursery level itself. Larger proportion of non-Dalits children, compared to Dalits, are attending nursery classes nearby convents run by the private institutes. Thus, instead of sending their children to ICDS center non-Dalits prefer private convents in which they expect high quality of education.

All pregnant women (100%) from Unagatla village among Dalits benefited under the ICDS scheme while none of the non-Dalit pregnant women benefited out of it. From

Panchalamarri village, about 67 per cent of Dalit and 40 per cent of non-Dalit pregnant women are benefited under this scheme. Similarly, from Antharam village about 82 per cent of Dalit and around 64 per cent of non-Dalit pregnant women were benefited under this scheme. It is found that 33 per cent of non-beneficiaries from Dalit community in Panchalamarri village reported that the centre is taking care of children below six years age and not paid much attention over pregnant women. Therefore, both Dalits and non-Dalits pregnant women showed reluctance over registering their names under this scheme.

Among the eligible households, about nine per cent of Dalits benefited under AAY programme from Unagatla village. Contrary to this, about 44 per cent of non-Dalits benefited. Among the eligible households about 49 per cent of Dalits from Panchalamarri and just seven per cent from Antharam village benefited. Both Unagatla and Antharam villages were badly affected by this scheme. Therefore, in the case of non-Dalits this programme partially succeeded while it utterly failed in the case of Dalits mainly because of wrong identification of beneficiaries.

PDS is one of the highly to be a successful programmes that benefited almost all Dalits in all the three villages. The study found that 75 per cent of non-Dalits and about 94 per cent of Dalits enjoyed benefits under this scheme in Unagatla. From Panchalamarri village 100 per cent of both Dalits and non-Dalits were benefited. Similarly, 96 per cent of Dalits and 100 per cent of non-Dalits were benefited from Antharam village. However, many of the other programmes like AAY and AS eligible beneficiaries were substantially covered under the PDS programme. Therefore, most of the eligible individuals of AAY and AS could not benefit from its respective scheme instead they were largely covered under PDS. Thus there is a problem in identifying both the actual and eligible beneficiaries by the government. Instances like distribution of ration card (BPL card) to non-poor were also found to be more.

No eligible household among Dalits and non-Dalits availed MW scheme from Unagatla village. Similarly, no household was eligible for this scheme from Panchalamarri village among Dalits, whereas 100 per cent of eligible households among non-Dalits benefited. However, about 17 per cent of Dalits benefited while non-Dalits proportion stood at around 6 per cent from Antharam village. Dalits from both Unagatla and Panchalamarri villages went not entirely without the benefit. Instructions laid down under

this scheme i.e. minimum three acres comprising of three families for open wells and minimum five acres comprising with three or more families for bore wells is a mandatory. However, no single Dalit household owned three acres of land at one place and even if three Dalit households taking together, three acres of land is not available at one place hence the above mandatory measure could not bring any benefits to the Dalits. As a whole, just four marginal farmers operated 4.12 acres in different parts of the both the villages. Thus, none of the Dalit households benefit out of this programme.

The proportion of beneficiaries under Annapurna scheme among Dalits and non-Dalits was 36 per cent and 50 per cent respectively in Unagatla village. Conversely, from Antharam and Panchalamarri villages, 70 per cent and 80 per cent of Dalit households benefited respectively. Majority proportion of Dalit non-beneficiaries from Unagatla village were not covered under this programme. However, the remaining proportions of eligible individuals were taken into account in another programme like PDS as a subsidiary measure. Thus, the actual benefit is not given to the eligible individuals under Annapurna scheme instead, the beneficiaries were pacified with less benefit scheme of PDS as a substitute.

All Dalits children (100%) under MDMP programme have substantially benefited in three study villages. Contrary to this, 18, 15 and 56 per cent of non-Dalits availed the mid-day-meal from Unagatla, Panchalamarri and Antharam villages respectively. Non-Dalits did not allow their children to take part in the mid-day-meals despite they attend school regularly. Some of the non-Dalits respondents expressed that they can not allow their children to join with Dalit children for mid-day-meal. It may be said that the caste prejudice alone paved the way for low attendance for mid-day-meal particularly from non-Dalit community. But, all Dalit children enjoy MDM programme from three villages.

The present study concludes that the rural development programs which were initiated by the post-independent state for development of marginalized sections specifically the Dalits yielded mixed results. In the first instance, the programmes like PDS, MDMP and ICDS have reached almost all the eligible beneficiaries in the study villages of the three districts in Andhra Pradesh. Secondly, the programs like NMBS, NFBS, PNOAPS, AS, IAY, AAY and NREGS were though could not reach all the households eligible, they were able to attain nearly fifty to seventy five percent results.

However, in order to realise the total results in these programs, special attention may be given to the remaining eligible individuals. Lastly, the study also found that the programs like IRDP, MWS and TRYSEM have yielded less than ten percent of results. These programs were unable to bring out plausible change among the non-Dalits in general and Dalits in particular. The main reason for these low level of results could be attributed to the ineffective implementation by the state agencies in the rural areas.

The rural development programs in general and poverty alleviation programs in particular seem to be in right direction as far as the government's approach of fulfilling the targets are concerned. The government mainly concentrates and directs all its energies to fulfill the targets in the given time period. However, there seems to be less concentration on the effective implementation of all these programs in the field. The study found that there is arbitrariness, nepotism and manipulations in the selection of beneficiaries. According to the selection guidelines, the beneficiaries have to be selected from the actual BPL families but in reality, the Panchayat members / Sarpanch arbitrarily select the beneficiaries, some cases, the BPL list is manipulated. Therefore, the BPL list must be prioritized according to their level of income and land holding criterion or any other specified measure. The middlemen who manipulate must be dealt with stringent action in order to pave the way for fair selection of the beneficiaries. Thus, minimum transparency and accountability from the implementing authorities and better awareness and proper utilization of the benefits by the eligible beneficiaries would ensure appropriate results.

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Appendix

Questionnaire HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

House No	Village	Mandal	District

A) Identification of the household Main work

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|----------|
| i) | Head of the household | Surname: |
| ii) | Caste M/F | Age |
| iii) | Were you born in this village: Y/N | |
| iv) | Do you have white card: Y/N | |

A) Household Details

S. No	Name	Age	Sex	Relationship to the Head	Education	Marital status	Occupation / Employment	Remarks *

* Specify work, employment status (permanent, temporary, casual)

B) Housing

Type of House	Status		Value	State assistance*
	Own	Rented		
1. Thatched				
2. Pucca				
3. Others				

*Any assistance from government for site or house/loan/subsidy/year (give details)

C) Land Particulars (No. of acres)

	Recorded / Unrecorded	Right Patta/DKT/ Others	Irrigated land	UnIrrigated land	Total
Land owned					
Land Leased -in					
Land Leased -out					
Total area cultivated					

D) Land Purchased and Sold

	No. of acres (year)	Amount Rs.	Reason/purpose for selling/buying	Source of Funds*
Sold 1				
Sold 2				
Purchased 1				
Purchased 2				

* Give Details – If buying, Own Savings, Loan or Both – If selling, utilization

E) Agricultural Assets (Other than land)

Item	Number	Value	Source of Finance*

*Own/Loan from Banks, Cooperatives, Government, Money lenders – Give details

F) Source of Income and Employment (One Year:)

F.I. Gross Farm Income

Crops	Area (acres)	Output quantity specify	Retained for self-consumption		Output sold		Value (Quantity x Price)	Total Value (5+8)
			Quantity	Imputed Value	Channel*	Quantity		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Total Gross Farm Income								

*1. Village trader with mortgage of output, 2. Village trader without mortgage 3. Regulated market, 4. Town trader, 5. Neighbours, 6. Others (specify)

F. II. Gross Expenditure

(i) Labour Cost

Crops	Area (Acres)	Labour Employed			Total	Total Labour Cost	
		Own Labour (Persons x Days)	Exchange labour (Persons x Days)	Hired Labour (Persons x Days)		Wages Per Day / Month	Total Persons x Days / Wages
Total Gross Farm Income							

* Including imputed wage rate

(i) Labour Cost - Own Labour

Crops	Area (Acres)	Own Labour		Total	Total Labour Cost	
		Persons	Days		Wages Per Day / Month	Total Persons x Days / Wages
		Persons	Days			

F.II. (ii) Other Farm Costs

Crops	Seeds	Fertilizers	Pesticides	Irrigation cost	Interest on loans	Hire Charges (Tractor /Ploughing etc)	Other Costs	Total (Non-wage Input cost)

F. II. (iii) Earnings from Wage Labour of Members of the Household

Sl. No	Name	Agriculture wage labour*		Non-agricultural employment*		Total	
		Days of employment in a year	Average daily wage	Days / months of employment in a year	Wages daily / monthly	Employment days /	Earning wages

* Other than Migration

F. II. (iv) Livestock and Gross Income

Category	Number	Value	Year of Purchase	Source of Finance	Earnings from Sale last year		
					Quantity*	Price	Value
Cows/Bufalos							
Bullocks							
Poultry							
Goat/sheep							
Pigs							
Young stock							

* Quantity of milk/meat/units of Livestock

F. II. (v) Migration for Employment and Earnings by Members of the Household

Sl No.	Name	M/F	Seasonal / Permanent	Place of migrated	Type of Work	Duration		Savings/ Remittances
						Days/Months	Earnings Rs.	

G) Sources of Credit

Sl No.	Channel	Amount Borrowed Rs.	Amount Repaid Rs.	Purpose	Interest rate	Collaterals
1	Banks					
2	Cooperatives					
3	Money lenders					
4	Commission agents					
5	Relatives/friends					
6	Traders					
7	Others (Specify)					
8	Total Outstanding					

H) Participatory Activity

	Yes	No	If yes, position status
Local Government			
Self-help groups			
Cooperatives			
Others			

I) Details of Government Land Allotment

1. Land Assignment of Ceiling Surplus / Government land

Year	Land owned (Area)	Out of total land owned, area under							Land area irrigated	Land area un-irrigated	Land leased-in	Land leased-out
		Present Status *	Cultivation	Non-agricultural use	Barren and uncultivable land	Homestead	Other purposes	Litigation				

*1. Under Possession, 2. Sold out, 3. Leased-out, 4. Disputed (Note on details of dispute), 5. Under Mortgage

- 1) The present status of land. Cultivate/Not Cultivated/ Transfer
- 2) Reason if not taken position:
- 3) Reason if not cultivated:
- 4) Reason for sale/ transfer:
- 5) Reason for transfer of land:
- 6) Is land cultivated before allotment? Yes/No.
- 7) Source of irrigation land, Canal/Tank/Well/Un Irrigated
- 8) Crop cultivated on allotted land:

Rural Development Programmes

1. Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

1.1 Assets provided under IRDP schemes

1. Milch Cattle			Financial Assistance			Status of Livestock (1/2/3/4/5/6/7) ¹	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8) ²	Insurance Status
Date / Year	No.	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total			
Credit Details								
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instalment.	Amount per instalment (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instalment Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided *

* Marketing support / Feed / Medical

2. Bullocks			Financial Assistance			Status of Assets (1/2/3/4/5/6/7) ³	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8) ⁴	Insurance Status
Date / Year	No.	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total			
Credit Details								
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instalment.	Amount per instalment (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instalment Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided

¹ 1. Main source of family income 2. Unable to nurture 3. Died 4. Sold off 5. Stolen 6. Not supplied at all 7. Others

² 1. Low income 2. Defective/poor quality 3. Costly maintenance 4. Sold to meet consumption needs 5. Sold to repay loan 6. Died 7. Not supplied at all 8. Others

³ 1. Main source of family income 2. Unable to nurture 3. Died 4. Sold off 5. Stolen 6. Not supplied at all 7. Others

⁴ 1. Low income 2. Defective/poor quality 3. Costly maintenance 4. Sold to meet consumption needs 5. Sold to repay loan 6. Died 7. Not supplied at all 8. Others

3. Bullocks Cart			Financial Assistance			Status of Assets (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9) ⁵	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8) ⁶	Insurance Status
Date / Year	Bullock Cart No.	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total			
Credit Details								
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instalment.	Amount per instalment (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instalment Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided

4. Ration Shop		Financial Assistance			Status of Assets (1/2/3/4/5/6) ⁷	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6) ⁸	Insurance Status	
Date / Year	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total				
Credit Details								
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instalment.	Amount per instalment (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instalment Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided *

*Supply of tools and equipment

⁵ 1. Main source of family income 2. Unable to nurture 3. About to be sold, 4. Died 5. Partially maintained 6. Sold off 7. Stolen 8. Not supplied at all 9. Others

⁶ 1. Low income 2. Defective/poor quality 3. Costly maintenance 4. Sold to meet consumption needs 5. Sold to repay loan 6. Died 7. Not supplied at all 8. Others

⁷ 1. Main source of family income 2. Unable to run 3. About to be sold, 4. Partially maintained 5. Not supplied at all 6. Others

⁸ 1. Low income 2. Costly maintenance 3. Sold to meet consumption needs 4. Sold to repay loan 5. Not supplied at all 6. Others

5. Agriculture Implements		Financial Assistance			Status of Assets (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9) ⁹	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8) ¹⁰	Insurance Status		
Date / Year	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total					
Credit Details									
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instal.	Amount per instal. (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instal. Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided *	

*Supply of Raw material/Supply of tools and equipment

6. Pump Sets		Financial Assistance			Status of Assets (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9) ¹¹	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8) ¹²	Insurance Status		
Date / Year	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total					
Credit Details									
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instal.	Amount per instal. (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instal. Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided *	

*Supply of Raw material/Supply of tools and equipment

7. Sheep & Goats		Financial Assistance			Status of Assets (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8/9) ¹³	If assets not existing, reasons thereof (1/2/3/4/5/6/7/8) ¹⁴	Insurance Status		
Date / Year	Value	Loan	Subsidy	Total					
Credit Details									
Date of loan disbursement	Amount of loan (Rs.)	Rate of interest per annum (%)	Periodicity of instal.	Amount per instal. (Rs.)	Amount repaid so far (Rs.)	Date of last instal. Paid	Amount outstanding (Rs.)	Other Assistance provided *	

*Medical assistance/Feed

⁹ 1. Good Condition 2. Unable to maintain 3. About to be sold, 4. Perished 5. Partially maintained 6. Sold off 7. Stolen 8. Not supplied at all 9. Others

¹⁰ 1. Low income 2. Defective/poor quality 3. Costly maintenance 4. Sold to meet consumption needs 5. Sold to repay loan 6. Died 7. Not supplied at all 8. Others

¹¹ 1. Good Condition 2. Unable to maintain 3. About to be sold, 4. Perished 5. Partially maintained 6. Sold off 7. Stolen 8. Not supplied at all 9. Others

¹² 1. Low income 2. Defective/poor quality 3. Costly maintenance 4. Sold to meet consumption needs 5. Sold to repay loan 6. Died 7. Not supplied at all 8. Others

¹³ 1. Good Condition 2. Unable to maintain 3. About to be sold, 4. Perished 5. Partially maintained 6. Sold off 7. Stolen 8. Not supplied at all 9. Others

¹⁴ 1. Low income 2. Defective/poor quality 3. Costly maintenance 4. Sold to meet consumption needs 5. Sold to repay loan 6. Died 7. Not supplied at all 8. Others

1.2 Gross income of the household from various resources (for the previous year in Rs.)

Income from Cultivation	Income from land leased-in	Income from land leased-out	Income from hiring out labour	Income from non-farm	Income from IRDP asset	Remittances from outside	Income from other sources	Total income

2. TRYSEM

2.1 Training of IRDP beneficiaries under TRYSEM

Details of Scheme Benefited	Whether training was provided (1/2/3) ¹⁵	Duration of training (1/2/3/4/5) ¹⁶	Nature of training	Whether daily allowance received at the time of training (1/2) ¹⁷	Assistance received after training (1/2) ¹⁸	Whether the training was able to enhance skill (1/2) ¹⁹
1						
2						
3						
4.						

3. Employment Guarantee Scheme

3.1 Wage employment under EGS

Selection Procedure	No. of days employed (1/2/3/4/5/6) ²⁰	Wage received per day (Rs.) (1/2) ²¹	Is there wage differentiation if yes, how much for male / female workers.	After how many days of work wages received (1/2/3/4/5/6) ²²

3.2 Place of work

	If you have not worked at your native village how far you had to travel for work (1/2/3/4) ²³	If you worked in some other place who paid the travel expenses (1/2/3) ²⁴
1. Own/Native Village		
2. Neighboring Village		
3. Some Other Place		

¹⁵ 1. Yes 2. No 3. Not required

¹⁶ 1. 0-2 day 2. 2-5 day 3. 1-2 week 4. 2-5 week 5. >5 week

¹⁷ 1. Yes 2. No

¹⁸ 1. Yes 2. No

¹⁹ 1. Yes 2. No

²⁰ 1. 2odays 2. 40 days 3. 60days 4. 80 days 5. 100 days 6. >100days

²¹ 1. Rs.60 2. Note down all the wages if he/she received different wages for different works

²² 1. Same day 2. Within two days 3. Within a week 4. Within a month 5. >month

²³ 1.<5kms 2. 5-10kms 3. 10-15kms 4. >15kms

²⁴ 1. On your own 2. Bored by contractor 3. Others

4. Indira Awas Yojana (IAY)

4.1 Approach for house construction

Have you constructed house under this programme (1/2) ²⁵	If yes, what type of house was constructed (1/2/3/4) ²⁶	Area allotted for the house (in cents/sq. ft.)	Amount sanctioned for the house (in Rs.)	Amount of subsidy for the house (in Rs.)

4.2 Constraints for house construction

Actual amount spent on house construction apart from loan (in Rs.)	If bribe is given to someone, specify how much	Constraints faced at which level (1/2/3/4) ²⁷	Remarks if any

5. National Old Age Pension Scheme (NOAPS)

5.1 Any one of your family member benefited by Old Age Pension Scheme ²⁸ (1/2)

Name of the Old Age Person	How much money receive per month (1/2/3) ²⁹	Since How long? (1/2/3/4/5/6) ³⁰	Is he/she receiving it monthly regularly (1/2) ³¹	Remarks, if any

6. National Family Benefit Scheme (NFBS)

6.1 Applicable to the Household? (Y/N) If yes, details

Died at the age (1/2/3/4/5) ³²	Financial assistance received (in Rs.) (1/2/3) ³³	Remarks, if any

²⁵ 1. Yes 2. No

²⁶ 1. Pucca 2. Kucha 3. Combination 4. Other

²⁷ 1. Village level officials 2. Bank officials 3. Mandal level official 4. Others

²⁸ 1. Yes, 2. No

²⁹ 1. Rs.<75 2. Rs.75 only 3. Rs.>75

³⁰ 1. For one year 2. For two years 3. For three years 4. For four years 5. For five years 6. For >five years

³¹ 1. Yes, 2. No

³² 1. Below 21 years 2. 21-30 years 3.30-40 years 4. 40-50 years 5. Above 50 years

³³ 1.Rs.<10000 2. Rs.10000 3. Rs.>10000

7. National Maternity Benefit Scheme (NMBS)

7.1 Has any one of your family member ever benefited by National Maternity Benefit Scheme (1/2)³⁴

If yes, how many members got benefited by this scheme so far (1/2/3) ³⁵	Money received (1/2/3) ³⁶	If not specify reasons (1/2) ³⁷	Remarks, if any

8. Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS)

8.1 About your child

Does your child receive any nutrition food under this scheme (1/2) ³⁸	At what age (1/2/3/4/5) ³⁹	Specify, nutrition food items	Has your child received those items till 6 th year (1/2) ⁴⁰	Remarks, if any

8.2 About pregnant woman

Does your pregnant woman receive any nutrition food under this scheme (1/2) ⁴¹	Since when (1/2/3/4/5) ⁴²	Specify, nutrition food items ⁴³	Has your pregnant woman received those items till her delivery time (1/2) ⁴⁴	Remarks, if any

³⁴ 1. Yes, 2. No

³⁵ 1. Only one 2. Two 3. > two

³⁶ 1. Rs.<10000 2. Rs.10000 3. Rs.>10000

³⁷ 1. Yes, 2. No

³⁸ 1. Yes, 2. No

³⁹ 1. Below 1year 2. 1-3 years 3. 3-5 years 4. 5-6 years 5. 0-6years

⁴⁰ 1. Yes, 2. No

⁴¹ 1. Yes, 2. No

⁴² 1. First month onwards 2. 2 month onwards 3. 3 month onwards 4. 4 month onwards 5. 5 month onwards

⁴³ Note down the food items

⁴⁴ 1. Yes, 2. No

9. Public Distribution System (PDS)

9.1 To which card do you belong? – White / Pink / Green

Date / Year of Allotment	Commodities given to you (1/2/3/4/5/6) ⁴⁵	How many times in a month (1/2/3) ⁴⁶	Ration actually obtained	Regularity	Remarks, if any

10. Million Wells Scheme

10.1 Benefits under this scheme (1/2)⁴⁷

Year	Facility provided (1/2/3) ⁴⁸	Amount sanction (1/2/3/4) ⁴⁹	Amount subsidy	Has your family income increased by this, if yes, specify how much per annum.	If not, specify reasons

11. Annapurna

11.1 Number of household members benefiting from the scheme

SL. No.	Name	Age	Sex	Since when	Items given (1/2) ⁵⁰	Regularity

⁴⁵ 1. Wheat, Rice, sugar, edible oil, Kerosene, soft care 2. Only Rice, Kerosene 3. Wheat, rice, kerosene 4. Rice, Kerosene, Sugar 5. Rice, Kerosene, edible oil, soft cake 6. Rice, Edible oil, Kerosene, Sugar

⁴⁶ 1. Once in every 15 days 2. Once in a month 3. Once in two months

⁴⁷ 1. Yes, 2. No

⁴⁸ 1. Power supply 2. Power motor with pump sets 3. Not provided any thing

⁴⁹ 1.Rs.1000 2. Rs.20000 3. Rs.30000 4. Above Rs.30000

⁵⁰ Wheat 2. Rice

L. Health

Person	Type of Disease	Hospital Visited		Amount Spent for In-Patient*					Amount Spent for Out-Patient*			
		Private**	Govt. **	Consultation	Medicines	Accommodation	Transport	Total	Consultation	Medicines	Transport	Total

*Details ** Location / Distance / Type of facility – PHC, Hospital etc, specify.

M. Education

Children	Age /Sex	Class	School		Location of School		Fees (Rs.)		State Government			Own Expenses *		
			Private	Govt.	Within Village	Outside Village (Distance KM)	Monthly	Other Charges	Mid-day meal	Books	Uniform	Books	Uniform	Others

*Details