Chapter II
Concepts and Review of Literature
CHAPTER-II

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2.0. CONCEPTS:

Scientific research presupposes clarity of thought. Thoughts and arguments become clear when the concepts used in the study do not lead to controversies and therefore before analysis it is necessary that the concepts used in the study are explained and clarified.

Parayars: Thurston, E. in his book, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, says “Bishop Caldwell is of the opinion that the name Parayar is from the Tamil word Parai, a drum, as certain Parayars act as drummers at marriages, funerals, village festivals and on occasion when government or commercial announcements are proclaimed”.

Pallars: They are an agricultural community. Thurston, quoting from the Manual of the Madura District (1868), says that the Pallars are "a very numerous, but a most abject and despised race, little, if indeed at all, superior to the Parayas. Others say Devendra created them for the purpose of labouring in behalf of Vellalans".

Sakkiliars: According to K.S.Singh, “They are called themselves Arundhatiyars, as this is considered more respectable than their original name. Arundhatiyars derive their

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22 Thurston, E. *Castes and Tribes of South India*. (Madras: Govt Press, 1909). pp.77-139.

23 Ibid., pp.472-486.

name from the mythical woman Arundhati. They are probably migrants from the Telugu-speaking region. They exchange water and food with the Paillars and the Parayars. They share wells, water and burial grounds with one and all. They visit the same religious shrines and participate with others in traditional facilities”.

**Poor:** A poor person is one who does not have command over or access to the basic needs of life, both material as well as non-material. On the material plane, the basic needs are fundamental physical needs, like, adequate food, clothing and shelter, etc. The non-material needs include basic social services, like, education and health, etc.

**Poverty:** Almost in every field of anthropological, social, political and economical study the definition of poverty is given. “Poverty is a lack of choice. When you do not have choices you are poor. And when the poor people have no land, no education, no health, and no housing, they do not have choices”.25

Poverty can be explained as a social phenomenon in which a section of the society is unable to fulfill even its basic necessities of life. When a substantial segment of a society is deprived of the minimum level of living and continues at a bare subsistence level that society is said to be plagued with mass poverty. Poverty is not only whether one can afford a bundle of goods but also what prevents one from doing so. Being poor in India means lacking the good health and skills to make the most of economic opportunities. Being poor also means a very high chance of being illiterate.

There are two broad concepts of poverty, i.e., relative poverty and absolute poverty. While relative poverty is measured in terms of inequality in the distribution of income or

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assets, absolute poverty is reckoned in terms of some kind of notion of subsistence considered necessary keeping in view the socio-cultural and climatic circumstances of the area concerned. In India, the discussions of poverty have tended to concentrate on absolute poverty. The largest numbers of absolute poor live in India. "One of every three persons in the globe lacking safe drinking water is an Indian. The country will enter the next century with close to half its population illiterate. Every fourth person in the planet dying of water-borne or water-related diseases is an Indian. No nation has more people suffering from blindness. Tens of millions suffer malnourishment. In India around 40 per cent of the Indian poor are landless labourers. Another 45 per cent are marginal farmers. Of the remaining, 7.5 per cent are rural artisans. 'Others' make up the rest. Within these, Dalits and Tribals account for a disproportionate number."26

**Measurement of poverty:** The concept of poverty is very difficult to measure. It is the much wider than even fulfilment of basic needs. This is because there exists no strict regimen of goods and services that can be characterised as basic. BB.Tandon27 in his book, *Indian Economy*, writes "In 1901,Rountree, the first to measure the level of poverty defined it in terms of the level of subsistence. Though poverty is essentially a physical phenomenon it is an inadequate measure for physical maintenance. The poor are generally identified by drawing poverty line defined by a set of criteria adequate enough

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26 Ibid. , p. 61.

to measure nutritional norms relating to the consumption of food in term of calorie intake known as the subsistence approach”.

**Poverty line:** There have been several studies from time to time to make an estimate of the people who are below the poverty line in India. Poverty line explained in simple terms refers to that minimum income, which is necessary to meet the barest minimum, needs for human existence in a country. To be below that line clearly indicates serious state of destitution. The government of India estimated that only 35 per cent of the population were very poor - too poor to afford a total of 2435 kg of calories a day or about square meal. That was the poverty line, a concept first used in the late 1930s by the Bombay Labour Enquiry Committee to measure poverty in Sholapur and developed by the Planning Commission in 1962.

In 1962, a group of people consisting of Prof.D.R.Gadgil, Dr.B.N.Ganuli, Dr., P.S.Lokanathan, Mr.M.R.Masani, Mr.Ashok Mehta, Mr.Pitambar Pant, Mr.Anna Sahib Sahasrabudha, Mr.Shriman Narayan, and Prof.V.K.R.V.Rao recommended the minimum per capita expenditure of Rs.20 per month in rural India and Rs.25 per month in urban areas at 1960-61 prices. This figure, however, does not include expenditure on health and education, both of which were expected to be provided by the State according to the Constitution and in the light of its other commitments. The estimate is also not related to any nutritional norm and by using various and equally plausible nutritional norms different authors have arrived at a fairly wide range of estimates where the line should be drawn. The per- capita daily calorific minimum has been defined as 2400 calories in villages and 2100 calories in the cities. According to the latest estimate of Poverty by the Government, this is poverty line and all those who live below this line are the poor.
Dandekar and Rath\textsuperscript{28} (1971) by applying the minimum calorie norm of 2250 per capita per day to the NSS consumption expenditure data of 1960-61 concluded that "about 40 per cent rural and 50 per cent urban population fall below the poverty line". Sharma (1982) assessed the extent of rural poverty in the State by applying the normative approach to the national sample survey consumer expenditure data of 1972-73. By defaulting/inflating the poverty lines expenditure (the value of minimum calorie requirements that is 2400 calories per person per day) by the price rise or fall between 1972-73 and 1973-74. He worked out the value of the poverty index (per capita per month) to be Rs.46.50 and Rs.55.86. The extent of rural poverty on the basis of the value of poverty index for 1972-73 and 1973-74 has been calculated equal to 31.53 per cent and 47.01 per cent for the two years respectively.

The definition given by the Government of India:

The Task Force on Minimum Needs and Effective Consumption, constituted by the Planning Commission in 1977, defined the poverty line as a per capita monthly expenditure of Rs.49.09 in the rural areas and Rs. 56.40 in the urban areas (at 1973-74 prices), corresponding to a per capita daily calorie requirement of 2400 in rural and 2100 in urban areas. These calorie requirements represent the minimum biological needs averaged over different categories of production.

In the Sixth Plan (1980-85) the cut off level expenditure per family per annum was taken as Rs.3500. At the commencement of the Seventh Plan the poverty line was defined as an income of Rs.6400 per annum per family in the rural areas and Rs.7200 per annum per family in the urban areas. Applying these criteria the 271 million poor people below poverty line in 1983-84 was estimated to consist of about 50 million urban poor and 222 million rural poor.

Now the Government has decided to increase the annual income for computing the poverty line. "The annual household income for expenditure for computing the poverty line has been increased to Rs.11060 at 1991-92 prices during the Eighth Plan period. Earlier the annual income for the purpose was Rs.6400 at 1984-85 prices".29

**The present scenario:**

The most widely used measure of poverty in India, and the one that still dominates policy and consequent public debate, is the "head-count ratio". This is a measure of income-poverty and measures the proportion of the below a level of income defined as a "poverty line". The poverty line in India is measured by taking the income (separately for rural and urban areas) necessary to buy a rudimentary food-basket, a basket that, head-count ratio is computed on the basis of National Sample Survey (NSS) data on consumption expenditure; people with an income below the poverty line are "poor" and the proportion of the poor to the aggregate population is the head-count ratio.

29 ibid., p.100.
The present study has these criteria as a norm for calculating the people who are below the poverty line. Calculation of intake of calories is very difficult among the Dalits because the rural unorganized Dalits do not have a particular pattern of taking food. When they earn more they add some more vegetables and pulses and eat. Some days in a month they feel satisfied with two ordinary meals (Kanchi, the meal that was left at night) and some days they manage with one meal. Their daily meal depends upon their daily income. Thus no particular norm or criterion of calorie intake can be formulated for the poor rural Dalits in India.

**Worker:**

Before defining the word worker, let us define the meaning of the word "Work".

**Work:** The word ‘work’ has a special connotation to be defined properly. Work is an activity that begins in a person. The value of work is not measured by the kind of work but by the fact that the one who does, is a person and his destiny is just to work. Work is a means used by the human person, and not vice versa. Man is the master of nature and he uses his skills and labour to nurture, to transform and contain nature within himself. Prof. McConnell\(^30\) in his book *Contemporary Labour Economics* has said “Work is time devoted to a paying Job”. The 1991 census of India\(^31\) defines work like this. “Work is defined as participation in any economically productive activity. Such participation may be physical or mental in nature. Work involves not only actual work but also includes unpaid work on farm or in family enterprise”.

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Worker or Labour: The term 'labour' is used in various senses. Labour is the person who contributes his mind as well as physical effort in the productive process. Labour is also called workman, which includes any person including an apprentice, employed in any industry to do any skilled or unskilled manual, supervisory technical or clerical work, for hire or reward, whether the terms of employment be expressed or implied.

In economics, any work whether manual or mental, which is undertaken for a monetary consideration is called labour. In the discussions on labour or worker problems the terms, 'labour', 'labourer', 'worker', workman', and 'employee', are practically synonymous meaning thereby wage labour which may be defined as workers who do not have any other 'adequate' source of livelihood except the sale of their labour power.

T.N. Bhagoliwal in his book says, “According to Marshall, labour may be defined as any exertion of mind or body undergone partly or wholly with a view to some good other than the pleasure derived directly from the work”. In the same way, B.P. Tyagi says in his book Labour Economics and Social Welfare, “According to S.E. Thomas, Labour consists of all human effort of body or of mind which is undertaken in the expectation of reward”. According to Alfred Kuhn, “in one sense worker or labour means human beings who work for a living. This includes groups of farmers, self-employed salesman, professional men and businessmen as well as executive’s lower management and routine employees in the larger business firms. In a similar but more restricted sense, the term is synonymous with employers, which means all non-supervising workers that is workers

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below the rank of fireman or equivalent in all kinds of private and public employment. Still more restrictedly, labour may mean those persons who work with their hands, an in an event narrower sense it includes only unskilled Labour. In economic theory, labour is human effort directed towards making a living and one of the factors of productions. The vernacular also uses labour to mean effort or work. The employer thinks of labour in all these senses but in additions concentrates this attention on it as a cost of production, which he must pay for".

Peter Robb\textsuperscript{35} says "Labour is seen either as ‘rightless’ and ‘protoproletarian’ from the beginning of time or else as deeply and immovable ‘embedded’ in the rational social systems supplied by custom and caste. In India based on Varnasara dharma that is based on caste the work was divided".

The term labour implies different ideas to various people. A) For the television reporters, labour means the union representing the striking employees. B) For some labour refers to a cost or a productive resource used in the manufacturer of a product. C) For some labour is a description of the great mass of persons who work for masses.

Definitions of the government of India:

For the first time, the 1951 census adopted a strict definition of worker - as one gainfully employed or one working for a livelihood - and excluded unpaid family workers. Thus the work force participation rate naturally came down in 1951.

In 1961 census the position was reversed. It defined worker like this. "A worker is a person who participates in production or economic goods or services either for consumption or for sale or for exchange. The following extract from the instructions to enumerators appears to be relevant in this connection. The basis of work will be satisfied in the case of seasonal work like cultivation, livestock, household industry etc., if the person has had some regular work of more than one hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season". This implies that a man or woman engaged in household activity such as cooking for own household or a boy or a girl attending for an institution would not be treated as worker even though he/she may be helping the family in economic activity. The percentage of work force participation declined from 43% to 33%.

In 1961 census the workers were divided into nine categories of economic activities, such as 1) cultivators 2) agricultural labour 3) mining quarry, livestock 4) household industry 5) manufacturer other than household 6) construction 7) Trade and commerce 8) Transport storage and communication 9) other services. This pattern was changed in the subsequent censuses of 1971 and 1981. The activities were divided into two main

However in the 1971 census, the definition of work was made meaningful. "A worker is a person whose main activity is participation in any economically productive work by his physical and mental activity. Work involves not only actual work but effective supervision and direction or work".

In 1981 census, the definition of worker remained the same as in 1971. But the worker class was divided into main worker and marginal worker. That is a person who had worked for major part of the year preceding the date of enumeration (i.e.) one who has engaged in any economically productive activity for 183 date (or Six monthly) or more during the year is termed as main worker. Likewise the marginal worker is one "who worked any time at all in the year preceding the enumeration, but did not work for the major part of the year, i.e. who worked for less than 183 days or six months.

The 1991 census keeps up the same definition of 1981 census but with a difference. It classifies the workers in to various types.

a) Main workers: Those who had worked for the major part of the year are termed as main workers. By major part of the year is meant 6 months (183 days) or more.

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b) Marginal workers: Those who had not worked for the major part of the year (those who had worked for less than 6 months (183 days) in the year are termed as marginal workers.

c) Cultivators: A person working in another person's land for wages in cash or kind or a combination of both (agricultural labourer) is not to be treated as cultivator.

d) Agriculture labourers: A person who works on another person's land for wages in money, kind or share is regarded as an agricultural labourer. He or She has no risk in cultivation but he or she merely works on another person's land for wages. An agricultural labourer has no right of lease or contract on land on which he or she works.

**Agricultural labourers:**

Formerly labour was classified into two main headings in India: Agricultural labour and Industrial labour. There are various definitions for Industrial labour. But the definition for agricultural labour is still under the process even though 1991 census has defined the term 'agricultural labour'. Despite these difficulties, different experts and committees appointed by the government from time to time have made various attempts to divine agricultural labour. The first Agricultural labour Enquiry Commission of 1950-51 regarded those people as agricultural workers who were engaged in raising crops on payment of wages. Since, a large number of workers do not work against payment of wages all the year round, this definition was incomplete. Accordingly, the Committee laid down that those people should be regarded as agricultural workers who worked for 50 per cent or more days on payment of wages. Therefore, even those people were

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included under the category of agricultural workers who possessed some land or were rural artisans but who worked 50 per cent or more days on the land of others against payment of wages.

The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee of 1956-57 took a broad view of agricultural activities to include those workers also who were engaged in allied activities like animal husbandry, dairy, poultry, piggery etc. Finally, there is another definition: “All those persons who derive a major part of their income as payment for work performed on the farms of others, can be designated as agricultural workers. For a major part of the year they should work on the land of others on wages”.38

The agricultural labour is classified like this. The Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee has defined "agricultural labour as one who is employed not only in crop production but also in hired employment’s in other agricultural activities such as dairy farming, horticulture, raising of livestock, bees, poultry etc.; while an agricultural labour family was defined as a family which derived the bulk of its income from agricultural wages".39 Agriculture labourers, unlike industrial labourers, can not be divided into unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers. They have to be categorised in terms of their special features and the conditions prevailing in agriculture.

The 1991 Census defines the agricultural labourer like this “A person who works on another person’s land for wages in one, kind or cash is regarded as an agricultural labourer. He or she has no risk in cultivation but he or she merely works on another


person's land for wages. An agricultural labourer has no right of lease or contract on land on which he or she works".40

The National Commission of Labour (1969) has divided agricultural labourers into two main groups namely: Landless labourers and Very small farmers whose main sources of income are wage employment.

**Landless labourers**: The landless labourers have been divided into two categories.

a) Permanent labourers who are attached to agricultural households- contract or attached. Custom or tradition determines their wages. They are not let free to work anywhere.

b) Temporary and casual labour. They are engaged only during the period of heavy work. They are paid at market rate. They are individually free.

**Landless Agriculture labour**:  

Now it becomes necessary to define the landless labourers separately for our clear understanding.

"Even though it seems to be synonymous, the tow terms, agricultural labourers and landless agricultural labourers, there is no difference in the matter of degree of possessing the land and property. In the group of agricultural labourers, the landless labourers are the major constituents. So it is useful to define the category separately. The definition of landless labourers is explained as cultivators without any land holding but having a homestead and deriving more than 50 per cent of their wage income from agriculture".41

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It implies that the 'non-cultivating' agriculture labourers would fall outside the scope. But this is not suitable and real. To remove the ambiguity in the definition it was again defined as “those persons who do not own any land but have homestead and derive major part of their income from wage paid employment in agricultural operations”.

K.S. Sonachalam has given a three dimensional aspects of approach to this definition as: "a) A labourer without any piece of land whatsoever; b) A labourer-cum- owner of land whose income from labour is larger than that from land; and c) A labourer whose wage income form agricultural labour is larger than that from non-agricultural labour and both together is more than the income from land”. These three concepts will give three different types of population, in the same cadre in a clear sense of understanding. So it is the apt and correct sense of definition. The present study also mainly concentrates on this particular section of these people.

Weaker Sections:

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, the plight of the poor, illiterate masses particularly, that of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, has been marked by gross neglect, denial of access of various social service schemes – unemployment and a poor sense of discerning power.

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42 Ibid., p.114.


The unorganised worker:

The unorganised sector of our economy covers a wide range of occupations. Sharma in his book, The Web of Poverty, defines "It includes agricultural labourers, farmers, petty traders, domestic servants, and casual labourers. Workers in small establishments, traditional artisans both in the rural and urban areas and such like. In the traditional national economy with decentralised agriculture as its base, the farmer was in a strong position".

The National Commission on Labour described “an unorganised labour as those who have not been able to organise in pursuit of a common objective because of constraints such as casual nature of employment, ignorance and illiteracy, small size of establishments with low capital investment per person employed, scattered nature of establishment and superior strength of the employer operating singly or in combination”.

Therefore, the term unorganised labour is understood as labour that is not organised in the form of unions as a result of which it has no bargaining capacity and is liable to be exploited. As Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah puts it, “A such labour is a) non-unionised and so has no protection from a trade union, b) in reality, unprotected by state legislation, regulation conditions or work and has limited or no access to government, c) involved in traditional, indigenous technology which is physically demanding and d) found in small scale agricultural and allied dairying, poultry, fishing, forestry and non- agricultural rural occupation”.


2.1. Review of literature:

After clarifying some of the important concepts and definitions used in the study, an attempt has been made to review some important but related literature on the subject of the socio-economic and conditions of the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The review of the past studies has been done keeping in mind the broad objectives of the study.

O'Malley, L.S.S. (1934)\(^{48}\) in his book 'India's Social Heritage' explained that men and women are not regarded and treated as individuals, but as members of a particular group. Groups of men and women related by blood relationship constitute the units of the early society. India's society continues to be organized in groups. Individuals are subjected to collective standards and are expected to live in harmony with the group, subordinating their individual interest. Groups are of many kinds: tribes, village communities, castes, joint family. This pre-eminence of the group is both a weakness and a strength of the Indian society: a weakness because of the caste system that it has engendered and strength because the individual believes in and endeavors to promote the cohesion of the group.

Dr. Ambedkar, B.R. (1942)\(^{49}\) while commenting upon the Socio-Economic life of these castes, has said that the Scheduled Castes are a body of landless labourers, who are entirely dependent on such employment as upper caste Hindus may choose to give them and on such wages as the upper caste may find it profitable. He further has said that in the villages, in which they could not engage in any trade or occupation due to the social


stigma of untouchability. Therefore it is obvious that there is no other way of earning a living except being a dependent part of the village economy. The ultimate result of the dependency of these castes on others is poverty and exploitation. The upper caste owns everything and also controls everything that is the land, the state, trade and commerce and all such means of production and source of revenue.

Dr. Hutton (1961) in his book 'Caste in India' finally concluded that caste is a unique institution found only in India and the function which it has performed and still performs for the Indian Society as a whole is not found elsewhere.

Srinivas (1966) notes that scheduled castes are integral part of the village life. They perform certain essential tasks in agriculture, they are often village servants, messenger and sweepers and they beat the drum at village festivals and remove the leaves on which people have dined at community dinners.

Beteille, Andre (1969) states that in the case of untouchables, backwardness is not solely a matter of poverty, the extent of which might vary from one individual to another. It is due also to the stigma of pollution, which attaches to the caste or community as a whole. Attitudes to pollution die hard in our society and they reappear in the form of social prejudices, which certainly weigh against the untouchables. The position of other castes, which claim job reservation on par with the untouchables, is hardly comparable. Further he points out that the biggest problem is the removal of social disabilities. These

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51 M.N. Srinivas. Social Change in Modern India. (Bombay: Allied, 1966).

are not automatically removed with the removal of legal disabilities. Legislation is necessary but not enough. Our Indian Constitution makers laid down under Article 46 that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic institutions of the weaker section of the people, in particular of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Lynch (1969)\(^5\) has shown with a wealth of detail how a particular Harijans, community has sought to combine its traditionally low-income occupation with the desire for higher social status by change of religion and political mobilisation.

Verba, Ahmad and Bhatt (1971)\(^5\) have written a book entitled 'Caste, Race and Politics'. The aim of this book is to examine the political involvement and behavior of two groups- Harijans in India and Blacks in USA. As background material, the book contains discussions of social movements among Blacks and Harijans and of the socio-economic positions of the two groups. The historical discussion is focused almost exclusively on Harijans. The authors have approached these groups and at the extent of concentration that is the extent to which the members of a particular group occupy the same position. Occupation, income, education and composite index of socio-economic level are considered. They derived conclusions like this:

1. Blacks and Harijans are deprived group.

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2. The latter are, in absolute terms, much worse off than Blacks.

3. The prospects of Harijans through political mobilization are relatively less promising.

Here the authors feel that Harijans electoral activity is the result of external mobilization and to that extent serves somebody else’s interests. On all other counts, Harijans political activism is practically non-existent.

A publication of the Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Co-operation (1975) highlights school dropout among Harijan children and its causes and cure. School dropout incidence among Hirijan children in the two eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh namely Ballia and Azamgarh have been undertaken. It identifies the socio-economic variables operative in the family, the school and village community at large and highlights their intricate causative relationship on the phenomena of dropout.

Kuppusamy (1975) considered the social problems of scheduled castes, which they have faced from time immemorial. He also dealt with the change in the position of Harijans, which have taken place in the present century. The author points out that three considerations based on caste, endogamy and hierarchy are very important to understand why the constitutional abolition of caste has not resulted in their social abolition. He further states that all the welfare programs are rendered on the basis of the caste. Caste is recognized as a feature of comprehensive social welfare policy of the Republic of India.

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Through education, a person can improve his class status; but not caste status of him and his children forever.

Kuppusamy (1975)\(^{57}\) again wrote that the Constitution has accepted the following elements of backwardness: - 1. Illiteracy and lack of education. 2. Poverty. 3. Exploitation of labour.

4. Non-representation in services and 5. Untouchability. The Constitution has recognized that it is necessary to take special steps to help the socially, educationally and economically backward classes to make use of the opportunities provided.

Premi (1976)\(^{58}\) worked on scheduled castes and educational opportunities. He points out that in order to achieve equality of educational opportunity in the true sense for scheduled castes, it is necessary to take some more radical steps favoring these groups at the grass root level.

Singh (1976)\(^{59}\) worked on occupational mobility among scheduled castes. The author points out that both internal and external forces are responsible for mobility in the traditional structure. The modern forces have accelerated the process of mobility. The author further asserts that if the scheduled castes lag behind, the reason that they have been deprived of educational social and economic opportunities.

\(^{57}\) Ibid.


Kadetotad (1977)\textsuperscript{60} pointed out that theoretically occupation and caste were aligned together. There was little scope of social mobility. He also felt that in a developing society like India, particularly for the weaker sections like scheduled castes, education and occupation are the major currents, which can effectively work as mechanisms for redistribution of power and prestige. For him education is an important symbol of status and prestige and provides basic skills for entering a higher profession. Consequently, education is one of the most important economic foundations of society today. It is a powerful medium through which different individuals and groups can seek mobility in terms of status and power positions. Being an important agent of modernization and social change, education provides necessary skills and knowledge to cope with the demands of the technological age as well as avenues of passage away from "ascriptive status" to "achieve status". The role of education for underprivileged castes like scheduled castes becomes all the more important because they lack other socio-economic resources for entering into higher professions.

Similarly, occupation is an important aspect of man's life. The nature and type of occupation determines values, thoughts, personality and style of life. Though one works for the money he is paid, in modern society it signifies much more than earning a living. Occupational placement specifies one's status, power and prestige. It refers to one's amount of income, which consequently decides his class position and the social group to which he belongs. At the same time, one's occupation also signifies one's functional importance to society.

Abbasayulu (1978)\textsuperscript{61} worked on scheduled caste elites. The author has described the scheduled caste elites. In a paper entitled" The Emergence of Scheduled Caste Elite: Factors and Process" he highlights the factors and processes which are responsible for the emergence of scheduled caste elite. He points out that since the dawn of independence, scheduled caste people have received special attention from the Government of India. Certain special safeguards for scheduled caste people have been provided in the new constitution of democratic India. These special privileges have opened a channel for that section of people, which was hitherto suppressed socially, economically and educationally. A new opportunity has been provided for this section to bring them into inner circles of decision making. The paper attempts to analyze recruitment to elite positions. The author spells out the following as the main contributory factors in the rise of scheduled caste elites: education, awareness from within and without, constitutional provisions, social service and family reputation. He also suggests that the Government pays more attention to the education of scheduled castes, for, education is seen as the main factor in helping the scheduled castes to rise up to elite positions. As many social reformers have pointed out, only education can help the scheduled castes to come up to the level of the forward castes in India. Only then can there be social equality in society.

Sinha (1978)\textsuperscript{62} has observed that every working Scheduled Caste person works for maximum humanly possible days in a year. He expressed that most of the time and


efforts of Scheduled Castes are wasted in earning their bread from the traditional works
because their occupational mobility is restricted by the caste factor.

The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1978-1981, in his report says: the Scheduled Castes are characterised by below the poverty line. Their economic status and asset ownership is very low. Therefore, there is no wonder that illiteracy, economic backwardness, that is low income and higher incidents of indebtedness, fewer assets and social retardation that is low social status and social discrimination are the main distinguishing features of the Scheduled Castes.

Ghose, A. (1979) in his studies about Harijans talks about the incidence of landlessness among Harijans. He says, Harijans earn their livelihood by working on land and they are deprived of control over the land on which they have been working. The incidence of landlessness is more among them compared to other groups. The size of their land holding is also smaller than that of Caste-Hindus. Most of the Scheduled Castes have uneconomic land holdings. They have barren and fallow lands. The fertile and strategically important lands have been allotted to the Caste-Hindus with the connivance of the local leaders and district administrators. Therefore, it is necessary to ask what the meaning of development for the Scheduled Castes really is? There is a need for a Cultural Revolution of planners, leaders, Scheduled caste elites and administrators to ensure the filtering down of the benefits to the rank and file of the Harijans.

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Mumtaz Ali Khan (1979)\textsuperscript{65} in his study ‘Seven Years of Change, Christian Ritual Society has pointed out that the usual criticism about planning in India is that there is a wide gap between theory and practice. This is true particularly in the case of the programmes for the Scheduled Castes. There is a wide gap between the needs of the people and schemes introduced. There is a gap between the schemes and their actual implementations. There is a gap between the adaptive culture of the people and the programmes chalked out for them. Further, he states that there is a communication gap between the Scheduled Castes and the programme implementing agencies of the Government. The village level workers in the Caste Hindus areas conduct meetings. This prevents the SCs from getting to know about the schemes.

Mumtaz Ali Khan, (1979)\textsuperscript{66} in his study on some of the Scheduled Castes in Bangalore district gives the real situation of the Scheduled Caste villages. From his study, 45 percent of the respondents are engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural labour. A little more than 50 percent of them own land. The average acreage of land comes to 1.46; the land possessed by them is dry, wet and garden land. The income from cultivation is very poor in comparison with that of other works.\textsuperscript{66}

Mumtaz Ali Khan (1980)\textsuperscript{67} again in his book 'Scheduled Castes and their Status in India' points out a few problems arising out of educating the rural backward class people. Once they get educated, they are reluctant to go back to the villages and sometimes men find it difficult to mix with their uneducated family members and friends. This point

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
clarifies that the educated ruralites go after white-collar jobs and never want to return to
the soil. Ali's suggestion that there should be enough of employment opportunities
created for them in rural areas is commendable.

**Vakil A.K. (1980)** speaks about the reservation policy with constitutional ideological
perspective and further with its details of implementation. He questions the fact whether
the policy is honestly operated. It covers other issues like atrocities on Scheduled Castes,
the riots that rocked the country and the conversion of the SCs as a result of their
oppression by the Swarna Hindus. It evaluates the success of the reservation policy by
observing its impact on education, employment and economic conditions of the
Scheduled Castes.

**Gupta B.N. (1980)** states that untouchability is based on the concept of pollution and
purity, which again is attributed to the caste, and occupation of particular group of
people. The next aspect dealt with is education. A majority of population of the
Scheduled Castes are illiterates. Their backwardness is mostly due to their low social and
economic status. Women are less educated than men. It is the opinion of the author that
eradication of untouchability helps the Scheduled castes to come out of their age-old
shells, mix with society; and open their eyes to their surroundings.

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69 B.N. Gupta. *Rural Development In India: Some Facts*. (New Delhi: Asia Publication,
1980).
Ghosh (1980)\textsuperscript{70} in his book "Protection of Minorities and Scheduled Castes" has concluded that most of the Scheduled Castes workers are bonded labourers, which is a kind of slavery. He further pointed out that the Scheduled Castes are living in complete isolation from rest of the people. Utter poverty, ignorance and serfdom from time immemorial is a common thing among them. They are required to perform menial duties for a very small quantity of grain given to them at the end of harvest.

While discussing about the characteristics, Rayappa and Grover (1980)\textsuperscript{71} says that the Scheduled Castes are small and marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, but they stand on a very different footings compared with their counterparts from the upper castes. The small farmers and agricultural labourers from Scheduled Castes can not be equated with upper caste small farmers and labourers because in the village's caste hierarchy the Scheduled Castes are at the lowest stage, having a very low social status. Secondly most of them are attached workers. Thirdly wage rates for similar work are likely to be different based on caste considerations. Fourthly they are mostly engaged in such works which are more traditional and less remunerative.

Victor S. D'Souza (1980)\textsuperscript{72} has analysed the educational problem of the scheduled castes in the Punjab State. The author feels that in spite of special educational facilities

\textsuperscript{70} Ghosh, S.K. Protection of Minorities and Scheduled Castes. (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1980).


provided by the state for scheduled castes aimed at raising its educational level to bring it on par with that of the rest of the population, the educational gap between the scheduled castes and the rest of the society is still very wide and the rate of improvement is very slow. He has also thrown light on the existence of educational inequalities among the scheduled castes themselves. He also states that the educational inequalities between the scheduled castes and the rest of the society are due to the long-standing socio-economic exploitation of the former by the latter.

**Pimpley (1980)**\(^{73}\) has examined the educational problems of school and college students belonging to the scheduled castes in Punjab. Information is presented about their progress in the field of education, their study- habits, their educational and occupational aspirations and their social life and outlook on various social issues. He also states it can not be denied that the foremost disability of the scheduled castes stems from their occupations. The most degrading, filthy and labourious occupations are carried out by members of these castes. And attempt at improving the status of scheduled castes has to be concerned with a change in their occupation. When he says about the education of the scheduled caste students in Punjab he says that the Sikh scheduled caste children lag behind their Hindus counterparts in matter of education.

**Kamble N.D. (1981)**\(^{74}\) in his book 'Rise and the Awakening of Depressed Classes in India states that the term Scheduled Caste is only a legal fiction and constitutional myth. Further, the same author reveals that fact that we can find list of castes or groups which

\(^{73}\) P.N. Pimpley. A profile of Scheduled Caste Student- The Case of Punjab. (Chandigarh: Punjab University Press,1980).

\(^{74}\)
come under the depressed class or backward classes. But no writings give a concrete definition of these terms'. While describing about the rural life of the Scheduled Caste people, the author strongly feels that they should be encouraged to migrate to urban areas, where, there will be very less social discrimination.

Shyamal (1981)\textsuperscript{75} has made a study of urban Rajasthan among a lower caste-the Bhangi—a community of scavenging workers who live in city of Jodhpur, Rajasthan. The study covers the early efforts of scattered Bhangis to move first on social front and later on turned to political sphere. The work presents socio-religious conditions of the Bhangis, development and organization of reform group prior to 1947. He states that in India, upward mobility remained closed, especially for the lowest stratum, the untouchables.

Selvanathan (1982)\textsuperscript{76} in his book of ‘Status of Scheduled Castes’ examined the socio economic status of the Harijans in Tamil Nadu. According to him for centuries the Harijans have denied basic civic right. This remains one of the disabilities suggested by the untouchables. An individual if he is to become an integral part of the society in which he is living, should have the same opportunities to enjoy civic rights as any other person in the society. But the depressed classes of India are typical example of what Arnold Toynbee called the “Internal Proletariat”, namely people who are in the society but no of the society.


G.R. Madan (1983)\textsuperscript{77} while discussing the proper meaning concept and definition of depressed class, writes that it is difficult to define the concept of backward class. He highlights the social and economic life of the Scheduled Caste and makes recommendations. Some of them are as follows: There must be strict regulations by the governments regarding land reforms, free them from indebtedness, providing occupational training, enhancement of reservation of seats in government and semi-governmental services, eradication of specific evils and lastly concluded with the statement that the developmental programmes have not reached the targeted people.

Jha, S.K. (1984)\textsuperscript{78} in his article "Indebtedness among agricultural labourers" makes a brief survey of the findings of several expert committees and concludes that the problem of rural indebtedness still remains very acute. It was found that most of the agricultural labourers were indebted to the Babus of the village to the extend of Rs.300 to Rs.600. The percentage of households, belonging to the Scheduled Castes in debt was 71 Percent.

Parvathamma (1984)\textsuperscript{79} has presented a detailed survey of the problems of scheduled castes and tribes. It includes a comprehensive analysis of the socio-economic conditions of the downtrodden communities in Karnataka State. The study has given a picture of the present condition among the most deprived sections of the population. While examining the main problem emanating from economic and social backwardness of scheduled

\textsuperscript{78} G.R.Madan. India's Developing Villages. (Luknow: Print House (India), 1983).
castes, it brings to light their everyday struggle. The constitutional provisions and policy formulations are intended to create conditions conducive for the establishment of equality between people. This study in a way is an evaluation of the schemes provided under the policy of protective discrimination enforced for over 35 years after Independence. The study has covered the various aspects of their social and economic conditions including demographic characteristics, caste and sub-caste composition, educational background, residential pattern, economic conditions, occupational structures, political consciousness and awareness of constitutional benefits and the magnitude of untouchability.

Parvathamma and Satyanarayana (1984)\textsuperscript{80} made a study about the experience of Scheduled Caste college students' life, their family background, economic conditions, social status, educational, occupational and marital aspirations. They finally were of the view that education is as a lever of change.

Rangari (1984)\textsuperscript{81} has conducted a study on group differences. The study is confined to college students, the leaders of the next generation. This study incorporates the theories of deprivation formulated in the West in regard to the problems of American Negroes and applies this concept to the study of Scheduled Castes in India. The investigation compares the self-concept, interpersonal relationship, and personality adjustment


intelligence and academic achievement of scheduled caste students and non-scheduled caste students.

Sham Kumar (1985) in his research study on "Scheduled Caste Socio-Economic Survey" has dealt with various dimensions of economic conditions of SC in the urban areas of the city of Nagpur (Maharastra). The study also reveals that the mobility among the Scheduled Castes during mid seventies was higher due to poverty and unemployment in rural areas. Those who left their villages started living in urban slums and their economic life was worst and lived below the minimum acceptable standard of living.

Hanumantharayappa and Mutharayappa (1986) study deals with dimensions of SCs backwardness and efforts made so far to improve their living conditions. The emphasis has been mainly on economic dimensions such as asset ownership, expenditure, income, indebtedness and skills. The study also lists several measures taken by different agencies of Karnataka to promote their welfare on the basis of available secondary and primary data.

Masilamani, S. (1986) in his study "Educational Achievement of a Scheduled Castes: Sex Bias and A case Study of Sakkiliars of Chinnathadagam village" says that education plays a vital role in social mobility. It is also true that education promotes social change by making available the means to improve the social and economic conditions of individuals in a society. In his study, in spite of reservations, the benefits of education do not seem to have reached them as literacy statistics for various castes

indicates. The literacy rate of Sakkiliars (25.97%) in the village is far below the level of the upper castes (42.2%) in the village. The differential in the literacy rate is a reflection not of the availability of educational institutions but it is a reflection of social inequality in the village. Even among the Sakkiliars male literacy is (43.22%) higher than that of women (10.9%). Thus the Scheduled Caste women are victims of what can be called cumulative inequalities i.e. they combine in themselves class, caste and sex inequalities.

Raj Antony (1988)\textsuperscript{85} in his study, the social bases of obedience of the untouchables in India presents that the untouchables are obedient because of their economic dependency. Traditionally, the ritually pure Brahmains and non-Brahmins controlled land and local government and reduced the Untouchables to a system of agrestic slavery. Invasions, colonization, emergence of consumerism, and political modernization revolutionized the expectations of the Untouchables, but gave them no control over the means of production. The Untouchables' fear of losing their subsistence minimum has thwarted any attempt to mobilize and organize them. The Untouchables do not see any alternative other than continued dependency on land. The Untouchables in India realize that their only means of improving their life chances are through reverence, obedience and loyalty to the landlords.

\textsuperscript{85} Antony Raj. "The Social Bases Of Obedience Of The Untouchables In India (Caste)." Diss.Cichago, 1988.)
Chandra R.C. (1989)⁸⁶ talking about the working force reveals, compared with general population, the Scheduled Caste population, exhibited a relatively higher incidence of participation in work. It is to be understood in the context of their social and economic background. The economic exigencies necessitate the participation of all, young and aged, male and female in the economic struggle. The high incidence of child and female participation in work among the Scheduled Caste population is thus responsible for raising their participation rates. Above all, the nature of jobs in which the Scheduled Castes engage themselves is such that it has little demand on education or skill which it its own turn may delay entry of a person into the work force. Southern states display relatively high participation rates among the Scheduled Caste population in comparison with North India.

Nancharaiah G. (1990)⁸⁷ in his articles *The Changing position of Scheduled Castes as agricultural labourers in the labour market* says: The major disability of the Scheduled Castes is poverty, which they share with poorer groups from other castes. But their special disability, untouchability perpetuates their poverty. Persons from the Scheduled Castes are predominantly agricultural workers and most of them are landless labourers. In Andhra the Scheduled Castes constitute about 15 per cent of the total population but control less than 7 per cent of the total area operated. As a result, they are heavily dependent on the landed people even for their bare existence.


Sharma, Rama (1990)\textsuperscript{88} in his thesis "Marginality, identity and politicization of the Bhangi community, Delhi" explains that the Bhangis have a very low place in the Hindu social order. They are below the pollution line and, therefore outside the Hindu tradition. However, they co-exist with caste Hindus and other religious communities as they do jobs, which though dirty and polluting are essential for the smooth functioning of society. Their social, economic and cultural marginality is reflected in their peripheral settlement pattern. This study is about the various aspects of socio-cultural and economic marginality of Bhangis, their stigmatized identity and their efforts to escape from their marginal situation by bringing about changes in their status. The awareness of exploitation and deprivation has led to unionization and politicization within the ambit of the democratic processes in India.

Jalali, Rita (1990)\textsuperscript{89} in her research on The State and the Political Mobilisation of the Disadvantaged: The case of the Scheduled Castes in India. examines the effect of state actions on the political behavior of the disadvantaged groups in society. Her research examines how government policies shape the ways in which groups organize and the demands they make. It analyzes the manner in which such policies influence the nature of social conflict. The study focuses on India's preferential policies for the Scheduled Caste community for it provides an example of the political process of 'formation from above'. She examines how various forms of government policies and the manner in

\textsuperscript{88} Sharma, Rama. "Marginality, Identity And Politicisation Of The Bangi Community." Diss. Delhi, 1990.

which they were implemented shaped the political organization and behaviour of Scheduled Caste- a minority group whose name is a product of government action.

Yurlova (1990) talking about the conditions of Scheduled Castes in the present day India says: Social humbleness is the common feature of all the Hindu Scheduled Castes. The practice of untouchability persists in one form or other in a number of regions of the country, which is explained by the fact that it is precisely the Scheduled Castes that represent the poorest sections of the population. This is confirmed by the 1985 report of the L.N.Mishra Institute of Economic Growth regarding the work of the Bihar Corporation for the Development of the Scheduled Castes. The report says that more than 95 percent of the Harijans in Bihar State live below the poverty line. It is not only in Bihar that social discrimination against the Scheduled Castes persists in some form or the other. A similar situation prevails even in those states where Harijans had been actively involved in the struggle for improving their conditions during the national freedom movement and where they have registered notable successes in achieving equal right since independence.

Pushpa Kumari (1991) in her study on Poverty alleviation and rural Harijan stated that due to awareness and education among Dalit youths, they have started asking for their share not only in public services but also in national assets. In view of the growing demand for social justice and equality in a country like India, the non-Dalits segment should understand the changing and growing concept of learned youths who represent


the suppressed and oppressed of rural areas with a view to create a society where there will be a healthy atmosphere at least in public life.

Alte, I.D. (1992)\(^92\) says how has this system of castes developed and how the Scheduled Castes have emerged as a distinct community in India? The author also gives some Socio-Economic Characteristics of Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes in India are on the last rung of the ladder of the social hierarchy. They are considered to be inferior in all respects by the higher castes. They are mainly concentrated in rural areas of the country and in slums in the cities.

Sebastian, M. (1994)\(^93\) in his book Liberating the Caged Dalit Panther explains "Caste" and "Caste Discriminations" is a Socio-economic, political and religious reality, which every Indian encounters daily in life. People who experience these ugliest, cruelest and the most shameful discriminations form nearly one-fourth of the population of this country. The Constitution of India envisaged that with the provisions made, in due course this discriminated section of Indians would be enabled to join the mainstream of the Indian Society. For this purpose, since Independence, Government of India and the State Governments had spent substantial amount of funds, by way of grants and subsidies to uplift the Dalits both economically and socially. These schemes were executed more vigorously since the Fourth Five-Year Plan Period. Often questions have been asked 'What benefits have accrued to these people from these schemes and

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projects? How many of the Dalits have been really liberated economically and socially? Is there any use in continuing these useless schemes and projects? As answers to these projects and programmes this study was taken. Liberating the Caged Dalit Panther is a deep analysis based not only on published data but also on the response given by a large number of Dalits spread all over Tamil Nadu. A comparison had been made between what published data say and what the beneficiaries think about them and from these comparisons, evaluation has been undertaken.

**Hemlata Rao and Devendra Babu's** (1994),\(^{94}\) work deals with mainly on Poverty Alleviation and has assumed importance especially during the past one and a half decades when a number of anti-poverty programmes are launched in the country. Such programmes for special category people like the SC and ST have a special importance. There are various agencies through which anti-poverty programmes for SC/ST are implemented. One such agency is the SC/ST Development Corporation, which has taken up poverty eradication and upliftment, programmes for the SC and ST on a massive scale. When expenditure is incurred on a huge and ever increasing scale, it becomes imperative to make an objective evaluation of the success for such schemes and examine where the schemes have failed and why. The study points out the weaker spots of the programmes and comes out with policy suggestions to strengthen and to make the programmes effective.

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James Massey (1995)\textsuperscript{95} in his book ‘Dalits in India’, gives some sources of Dalits in India. According to him some historical sources tell us about the old Dalits living in the post-Harappan era, such as the Rigveda. Massey has mentioned the fight of the Aryans and the Dasyus. The interesting point in the traditional interpretation of that fight consists in interpreting the sources in a moralistic and individualistic way - as a fight of good and bad within the individual. The symbolist interpretation of the social history not only means the dehistorization of the Dalits, but also of the old Aryan winners too. Their so-called successors and descendants covered their own history. They started to divinize and mythologize their actual social conditions. But this divinization or, as Karl Marx says, mystification of their own higher social position means dehistorization or dehumanization of the twice born, particularly the Brahmins and Kshatriya too. They cannot understand any more that their social position and power is the result of very human victories of their very human forefathers and ancestors. This is the reason that they are afraid of the power of the Dalits. It also makes them aware of the fact that they themselves are weak and superfluous. Their only chance to perpetuate their privilege was and is to control the consciousness of the Dalits. The usual moral and individualistic interpretation is one way to close the door of understanding history - the history of Dalits as well as of the oppressors and the reason why the transient character of societies vanished.

If the Gods or the Divine have established the concrete social system, and then the ruling classes are very weak, their superiority does not depend on their actual power. It depends on the manipulation of the consciousness. The consequence of this situation is the immobility of the society. The practical conclusion of this consciousness concept is clear: change the consciousness of the people, that is enough - and then the historical change of the society can be done peacefully - fight isn't necessary anymore.