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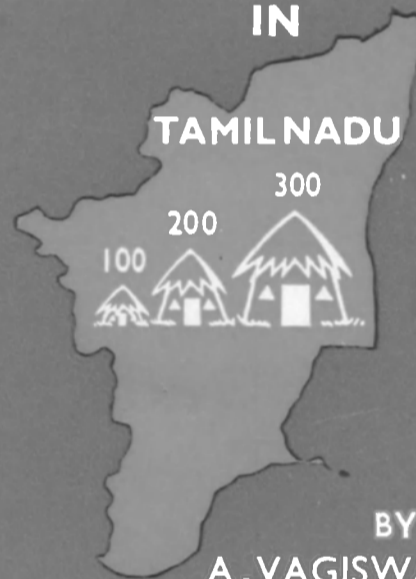
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**INCOME-EARNING TRENDS
AND
SOCIAL STATUS
OF**



PUBLICATION 1

The **HARIJAN COMMUNITY
IN**



TAMILNADU

BY
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FOR

MADRAS INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

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SOCIAL STATUS
OF
The Harijan Community In Tamil Nadu**

ALLADI VAGISWARI
Research Assistant



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The Harijan Community in Tamil Nadu

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PREFACE

A former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister referring to the place of economic research and studies in his administration remarked : "There is no need to count the number of mosquitoes in Mambalam in order to eradicate them. Just eradicate them." This study on the economic and social status of Harijans may seem from the point of analysis an exercise in mosquito counting. However, an understanding of the nature and magnitude of a significant social issue, the discrimination—economic and social—suffered by one-sixth of the people of the State, calls for a very careful counting. The earlier wisdom applies to this deep-rooted anti-development problem :

“ அழிவதும் ஆவதும் ஆசி வழியாகும்
ஊதியமும் சூழ்ந்து செயல்.”

(Reflect well over what will be the cost and what will be acquired and gained, and then act.)

Development is holistic. Development is the total development of the totality of people or it is not development. An increase in the total State income accompanied by destruction of the biosphere is anti-development. An increase in the per capita income of the people along side of deterioration of their social, cultural or moral life is anti-development. An increase in the State's domestic product along with an increase in the incomes of its rich minority and a decline in the incomes of its poor majority is anti-development. An increasing standard of living accompanied by social and religious handicaps imposed on a section of the people is anti-development. The commitment of Tamil Nadu to scientific socialism is a commitment to holistic development. Development in the State starts with the improvement—economic, social, cultural and moral—of the poorest and most discriminated section of its people.

There are 60,67,327 Harijans in Tamil Nadu. This study uses a sample of 1,000 families—Harijan and non-Harijan—spread

over four districts in the State. The sample is wide and representative and provides an over-view of the economic and social status of the Harijan community. In the sample in 1970, the per capita income of the Harijan is Rs. 227 and the non-Harijan is Rs. 406. The per capita expenditure of the Harijan is Rs. 349 and the non-Harijan is Rs. 434. These figures show a double problem of Harijan poverty. For the decade 1950-60, rural prices rose by 25 per cent and the Harijan household incomes rose by 50 per cent. In the decade 1960-70, rural prices rose by 90 per cent and the household income rose by 45 per cent. Between the two decades, the Harijans' income level worsened and did not keep pace with the price rise. The other facet of Harijan poverty is that the gap between their incomes and those of the non-Harijan community widened as between the two decades. The ratio of Harijan to non-Harijan household income which was 3:4 in 1960 increased to 3:5 in 1970. All economic indices—land holding, saving and dis-saving employment and under-employment, income-earning—indicate the same two facets of Harijan poverty—their worsening in 1960-70 as compared to 1950-60 and their worsening in 1960-70 in relation to similar indices of the non-Harijan community.

The social status indicators show varying levels and degrees of discrimination. In regard to the use of common facilities like wells, temples and streets, there is a noticeable improvement for the Harijans. On the matter of inter-dining, social mixing and other ritualistic acts, the discrimination against Harijans continues. In this ritual field, there are differences. In some districts, where orthodox religious beliefs and traditions are prevalent, the social status of the Harijans continues to be low. The trend effects of education, increased incomes and land holdings among Harijans, particularly the two latter, on social attitudes is seen to be positive.

It is at this point that the study concludes with a recommended programme. The study is an empirical analysis of the Harijan situation and its conclusions are aimed at assisting the Governments of Tamil Nadu and India in strengthening and in some cases reorienting their Harijan development programmes. *Its overall recommendation is to raise the per capita income*

of the Harijans from its current Rs. 227 to Rs. 555 during the Fifth and Sixth Plan periods. This involves an average annual rate of 7 per cent increase in Harijan incomes. To achieve this aim, to the State's three-point programme of Harijan development—education, economic development and health and rural housing—the study brings the following additional or restructured programme suggestions. Under education, there is a proposal for an intensified adult literacy programme which is currently absent. Such a programme will be employment-oriented for Harijans and will emphasise the need for removing Harijan discrimination in the non-Harijan literacy programme. It also recommends an expanded programme of scholarships and hostels for secondary, professional and higher education for Harijans.

In the sphere of economic development, the analysis of the cause of Harijan poverty leads to a proposal of supplementing the current State programme by a scheme of land distribution to agricultural Harijan labourers together with a programme of increased farm production for Harijan landholders—old and new. It is also proposed that a start be made in initiating a scheme of minimum wages for agricultural labourers, leading later to a programme of what is termed reasonable wages. It is further proposed to strengthen and widen the programme of small and cottage industries as a means of combating under-employment of Harijan farmers and labourers.

The third area of rural public works, rural housing and health includes continuing and extending existing health and nutrition services and introducing an expanded programme of public works in land use and development, roads, wells, school buildings, etc., to counter Harijan unemployment. It is also proposed to restructure the rural housing programme of the Government so that the present distinction between the caste and Harijan villages are gradually broken down. The new rural housing schemes should be so planned that there is single integrated village site in which the residences are constructed and sold or leased to occupants in such a manner that there is a mixing of the two groups. This might involve adopting the principles used in reserving places in government employment or educational institutions for members of the Harijan community.

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The programme proposed is a long term programme concerning the Fifth and Sixth Plans. It will involve an increase in expenditure on this aspect of State Development from Rs. 14 crores in the Fourth Plan to Rs. 20 crores in the Fifth Plan and Rs. 25 crores in the Sixth Plan. There is need during this period for the Centrally sponsored part of the programme to be increased sharply. The additional suggestions made in the study will, during the two plan periods, call for credit supply of Rs. 21 crores per annum and a further annual outlay of Rs. 45 crores on rural works.

This is the start of the studies series that will be issued by the Madras Institute of Development Studies. They are empirical studies based on urgent problems faced by the Government and people of the State within the Agro-rural complex. They are addressed to the competent departments of government and to research specialists in the subject. This study has been financed by a research grant from the Indian Council of Social Science Research. It has had the co-operation of staff and students of three Universities in the State—the Annamalai University, the Madurai University and the Madras Christian College, Tambaram and Sri Pushpam College, Poondi of the Madras University—in the sampling work covering four districts and 1,000 households. The Harijan Welfare and other departments of the State Government have co-operated willingly in the study. The study has been to some extent the collective work of the Institute, particularly in using the services of two Research Associates, R.K. Sampath on Economic Analysis and Statistics and Deborah Thiagarajan on the Sociological Analysis. The responsibility for the study, its analysis and judgments is, however, entirely that of its author, Alladi Vagiswari.

I commend the study to the attention of the Government and people of Tamil Nadu.

Madras, }
3-12-1971. }

Malcolm S. Ariseshiah

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUDY DESIGN OF THE HARIJAN COMMUNITY IN TAMIL NADU

Hindu society is characterized by the institution of caste. According to this, the society is divided into four major castes or Varnas—The Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras—arranged in their particular order with the Brahmins at the top and the Sudras at the bottom. Then there is the fifth group which does not form an integral part of the caste system but to which the 'untouchables' or 'out-castes' (now called Harijans) belonged. As the name suggests, these people were under-privileged and suffered discrimination of every kind. Very few jobs were open to them and then these were menial and inhuman. This discrimination was carried to such an extent, that even the shadow of an untouchable was considered polluting to a caste Hindu. An individual was born into a caste and his status in the society depended largely on the caste to which he belonged and not on his personal success or failure.

Under the impetus of the freedom struggle and its educational impact, the rationality of this institution was questioned. So when India attained its Independence and adopted its Constitution, the framers took special care to remove the injustice done to the Harijans. Article 17 of the Constitution has, thus, expressly abolished untouchability and made it a legal offence to practice it in any form, an offence punishable under law. Special compensating privileges were given to the Harijans

in the fields of education and employment. A few seats were also reserved for them in both Central and State Parliaments. These provisions were aimed at helping to improve their standard of living and in reducing the wide gap between Harijans and non-Harijans.

This study reviews the economic and social status of Harijans in Tamil Nadu during the last twenty years. It attempts to propose for the future, programmes for increasing their income-earning potential and for improving their social status.

The untouchables are shown as the scheduled castes and depressed classes for the purposes of law and census. According to the 1961-Census, scheduled castes represent those communities which suffered from untouchability in one form or another chiefly by birth or caste or by the profession which they practise and for which they have been subjected to social disabilities. For purposes of this study, this definition is maintained. Mahatma Gandhi coined the term Harijan to refer to them. Hence the two terms, Harijan and scheduled caste are interchangeable and are so used in this report.

Scheduled Caste Population

The scheduled castes or Harijans constitute a sizable portion of the total population. The population of scheduled castes in Madras State in 1961 was 6,067,327, consisting of 3,044,822 males and 3,022,505 females. They formed 18.0 per cent of the total population of the State. Their percentage to the total population was also the same in the reorganised State in 1956. Since the precise figures are not available for 1971, the projected figures work out to 7,398,562 for Tamil Nadu. Table 1, presented below, shows that the percentages for Tamil Nadu are much higher than the corresponding figures for India. While scheduled castes account for 18 per cent of Tamil Nadu's population, India has only 14 per cent. Among the Southern States, Tamil Nadu has the highest percentage of scheduled castes and it stands fourth in the all-India classification. Another feature is its contribution to the total all-India scheduled caste population which is 9.4 per cent. This percentage is higher than what the State population bears to the total population of India, which is only 7.7 per cent.

TABLE 1

Table showing the scheduled caste population and its percentage to total population of India and Madras during 1951, 1961 and 1971 :

	General population	Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Scheduled Caste to the total
<i>India</i>			
1951	36,11,51,669	5,51,70,886	15.32
1961	43,92,34,771	6,45,11,513	14.69
1971	54,69,55,945	8,04,72,532	14.7
<i>Madras</i>			
1951	2,99,74,936	58,94,035	18.0
1961	3,36,86,953	60,67,327	18.0
1971	4,11,03,125	73,98,562	18.0

Source : Census of India, Vol. IX, Part V.A.

Scheduled Caste Population in the Districts

The districtwise figures as of 1961 are given in Table 2 presented below.

The percentage of scheduled castes to the total population is highest in the three districts of Chingleput, South Arcot and Thanjavur. The percentage in the Nilgiris is also appreciable, where a large number of them are employed in tea plantations. The percentage distribution of the scheduled castes according to the 1961-Census also shows that these three districts occupy the first three ranks. It shows that South Arcot has the largest number of scheduled castes and Thanjavur occupies the second position. The distribution of the scheduled caste population as between the urban and the rural section shows that 15.3 per cent are in urban areas as against 26.7 per cent of the total population found in rural areas.

TABLE 2

Table showing the districtwise percentage of scheduled castes to total population of the district and to the total scheduled caste population of the State :

<i>District</i>	<i>Percentage to the total population of the district</i>	<i>Percentage to the total Scheduled Caste population of the State</i>
Madras	12.4	3.5
Chingleput	28.1	10.2
North Arcot	19.7	10.2
South Arcot	26.3	13.2
Salem	14.5	9.1
Coimbatore	15.0	8.8
Nilgiris	19.0	1.3
Madurai	15.3	8.1
Tiruchirapalli	17.7	9.3
Thanjavur	23.1	12.4
Ramanathapuram	15.4	6.1
Tirunelveli	15.8	7.1
Kanyakumari	4.0	0.7

Source : Census of India, Vol. IX, Part V.A, 1961.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study is part of a larger long term programme undertaken by the Indian Council of Social Science Research on an all-India basis relating to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The present study concentrates on Harijans in Tamil Nadu.

The main objectives of the study are to examine the trends in income earned and spent by Harijans from the year 1950 to date, to analyse the pattern of their expenditure and determine their economic well-being. In determining the extent of under-

employment, the distribution of land, and the dependency ratio for Harijans are examined. On the basis of this analysis, the study attempts to project their earning capacity into the seventies. In the social field, the position of the Harijans to the total society in the 1970's is reviewed and their educational development during the last 20 years is evaluated. The study attempts a comparative analysis of the distance which exists between Harijans and non-Harijans in the fields of education, economic and social development.

The Design

The study is primarily in the nature of a survey. It was undertaken in small villages, which are not influenced to a major extent by urban forces. Attention was focussed on the rural population, since according to the 1961-Census, nearly 74 per cent of the population and 84.7 per cent of the scheduled castes reside in rural areas. Again based on the percentage of scheduled castes in each district (1961-Census), four districts which have a high percentage of scheduled castes namely, Chingleput, South Arcot, Thanjavur and Madurai were chosen for investigation.

From each of these districts 10 villages were selected depending on their size, distance from the nearest city and their accessibility to the investigators. This was done with the help of road maps. For the study, a total sample of 800 Harijan households and 197 non-Harijan households was drawn. The choice of the sample was done on the following basis: With the help of census figures and with the co-operation of the village headmen, the number of Harijan households and caste Hindu households was estimated for each village. The total number of households in each community was divided by the required number of houses to arrive at a particular number. This formed the basis of choice of households for investigation.

Data was collected mainly through the help of the questionnaires. There were two types of questionnaire: one for the caste Hindus and one for the scheduled castes. The questionnaires were similar except for a few questions on social status. The male-head of the household, who was in the majority of the cases the earning member, was interviewed. There were two sets of questions one relating to all the members of the household

and the other concerning the respondent alone. The data collected through investigation was further co-ordinated and completed with the information provided by the Census and National Sample Surveys (second round and 16th round). Simple statistical methods were used for the analysis of the data.

The questionnaires were administered by post-graduate students belonging to Madras Christian College, Madurai University, Annamalai University and Pushpam College, Poondi (Thanjavur district). They were given preliminary briefings by the supervisor and before the investigation was started the officer accompanied the students to the villages, and conducted a few interviews with the investigators.

A Note on the Districts Chosen

The four districts chosen for the sample, Thanjavur, Chingleput, Madurai and South Arcot are different from each other and have certain distinct features. Thanjavur has an area of 3,738 sq. miles and lies between 9° 50' and 11° 50' of the eastern longitude. To the north of the district lies South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli of which the latter extends to the western border. Palk Strait and Ramanathapuram district form the southern border and the Bay of Bengal is on the eastern side. Thanjavur is divided into 12 taluks for administrative purposes. The district has a vast plain of fertile soil. It is essentially agrarian and is rightly called the granary of the State.

Chingleput adjoins the city of Madras. It is about 35 miles from the City. It has an area of 3,155 sq. miles, and is bounded on the east by the Bay of Bengal and the City of Madras, on the north by Nellore, on the south by South Arcot and on the west by North Arcot. It is divided into eight taluks. The importance of the district is partly due to its being in proximity to the State capital. Many people live in the district and commute for employment in the city.

Madurai is not economically a highly developed district. It has an area of 4,869 sq. miles. It is bounded on the north by Coimbatore and Tiruchirapalli, on the east by Tiruchirapalli and Ramanathapuram, on the south by Ramanathapuram and Kerala State. An important feature of this district is the University which contributes to the progress of education.

South Arcot is the most barren and scorched area. It has an area of 4,208 sq. miles. It lies south of Madras City. In the north lies Chingleput and North Arcot and to the south lies Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli. The district has eight taluks. The important feature of this district is its still developing industry and agriculture.

The scheduled caste population figures for the four sample districts are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Table showing the scheduled caste population in the four sample districts for 1961 and 1971 :

	1961		S.C. as % of popu- lation	1971 Projected	
	Popu- lation	S.C.		Popu- lation	S.C.
<i>Thanjavur</i>					
Total	32,45,927	7,50,599	23.1	38,32,740	8,85,362
Males	16,10,241	3,75,751		19,21,548	4,41,796
Females	16,35,686	3,74,848		19,11,192	4,43,566
<i>Chingleput</i>					
Total	21,96,412	6,16,640	28.1	28,89,143	7,11,849
Males	11,42,135	3,14,842		14,88,272	3,69,974
Females	10,54,277	3,01,798		14,00,871	3,41,975
<i>Madurai</i>					
Total	32,11,412	4,90,133	15.3	39,31,104	6,01,458
Males	16,05,720	2,45,269		19,77,819	3,00,930
Females	16,05,692	2,44,864		19,53,285	3,00,528
<i>South Arcot</i>					
Total	30,47,973	8,01,681	26.3	36,00,961	9,48,729
Males	15,45,471	4,01,380		18,30,906	4,73,346
Females	15,02,502	4,00,301		17,76,055	4,75,383

Source : Census of India, Vol. IX, Part V.A, 1961 and II B,

Villages Chosen

The forty villages chosen for the purposes of this survey are representative of other villages in Tamil Nadu and conform more or less to a general pattern. Each consists of separate blocks of houses inhabited by one particular caste and divided by streets running from one end to another. Beyond this, there is the 'colony' or 'cheri' which is isolated and lies in the periphery of the main village where the 'untouchables' or Harijans reside. In many villages there are separate wells for the Harijans and for the rest of the village.

The table below gives the average population estimates for the villages chosen in each district. These are the figures collected from the village headmen.

TABLE 4

Table showing the average population and average Harijan population in the villages in the four sample districts :

	1971		1961	
	<i>Average total Population</i>	<i>Average Harijan Population</i>	<i>Average total Population</i>	<i>Average Harijan Population</i>
Thanjavur	2292	780	1361	445
Chingleput	3700	2200	1209	594
Madurai	3039	777	2509	294
South Arcot	1276	877	1153	531

The villages are situated at distances of 2 to 20 miles from a main city or town. The majority of them are not accessible to bus transport. Agriculture is the main occupation in all the villages except in Thanjavur where mat-weaving is the major source of employment. In general, the villages are backward and have no modern amenities.

Educational facilities are poor. Only five villages have any schools for those who wish to continue studies after the primary level, and in two villages, there is not even a primary school.

The Harijans who constitute this sample represent all the scheduled castes living in each district. Table 5 below summarises the situation.

TABLE 5

Table showing the break-up of scheduled castes by sub-castes* in the four districts :

	Thanjavur	Chingle- put	Madurai	South Arcot	Total	Per- cen- tage
Parayan	78	184	116	188	566	70.7
Pallan	117	—	62	—	179	22.3
Chakkiliyan	—	1	—	3	4	0.5
Kuravan	1	1	—	—	2	0.3
Valluvan	—	10	—	9	19	2.4
Others	4	4	22	—	30	3.8
Total	200	200	200	200	800	100.0

Source: Survey Data.

Name of the group	Constituent Class
Parayan	Parayan, Adi Dravida, Samban and Vettiyan.
Pallan	Devendra Kulathan, Kudumban, Pallan, Pannadai and Kadaiyan.
Chakkiliyan	Aruthathiyar, Chakkiliyan, Madurai Pagada.
Kuravan	Kuravan.
Valluvan	Thiru Valluvar, Valluvan.
Others	All scheduled castes not coming under any of the five groups.

Special tables for scheduled castes and tribes for Madras, Part IV, A and B.

The scheduled castes have been grouped under six major heads corresponding to the 1961-Census break-down. Parayans form the largest group with 70.7 per cent, then come the Pallans who constitute 22.3 per cent of the sample. The remaining four groups add up to 7.0 per cent and constitute the rest of the sample.

Pallans and Parayans, who form the bulk of the scheduled caste population in all the four districts, are the backbone of agricultural labour. Chakkiliyans represent those who are engaged in leather work and Valluvans are the priestly class who cater to the needs of other Harijans.

This study is divided into seven chapters, the second Chapter deals with educational aspects of Harijans. The following three Chapters discuss the economic situation, and causes of poverty. The social aspect is reviewed in the sixth Chapter. The last Chapter details some of the recommendations and conclusions arising from the study.

Group	Percentage
Parayans	70.7
Pallans	22.3
Chakkiliyans	0.3
Koravans	0.3
Valluvans	19.2
Others	30.2
Total	100.0

CHAPTER TWO

LITERACY AMONG HARIJANS

The status of a community depends to a certain degree on the educational level of its members. Education not only qualifies people for better jobs, but it also creates an awareness of opportunities open to them, which enriches life.

In the traditional Hindu society, the Harijans were the most backward class in education. They had no opportunity to learn, to read or write. This was one of the reasons why other castes were not only able to suppress them but also to delegate menial jobs to them.

The first attempt to tabulate the literacy levels of Harijans was done in 1901. Later, the 1911-, 1921- and 1931-Census also published information on this, but it was scanty and incomplete. None of these deals with the entire Harijan population of Tamil Nadu. Hence, it is not possible to use the partial information. In 1961, the Census office published exhaustive tables on scheduled caste literacy rates for each state separately.

For the purposes of this study the census definition of literates has been retained. Any person who can read or write is considered to be literate, irrespective of whether he has received any formal schooling or not.

The table presented here gives a picture of the literacy levels of Harijans as compared with non-Harijans in the State in 1961. The figures have been taken from the Census Report. The Census gives data for the entire population and for the scheduled castes as a separate community. For purposes of comparison, the percentages for non-Harijans were compiled by deducting the scheduled caste figures from the total population figures. For the 1970's, data was collected from the 800 Harijan households interviewed. The education level of each member of the household was computed. Using the percentage arrived at in this study, the separate non-Harijan figures were also calculated. This

became necessary because the 1971-Census figures for Harijans and non-Harijans have not yet been published.

TABLE 6

Table showing the literacy level of Harijans and non-Harijans in Tamil Nadu in 1961 :

	<i>Total Literates</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Non-Harijan Literates</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Harijan Literates</i>	<i>%</i>
Total	10580616	31.4	9681101	35.0	899515	14.0
Males	7532323	44.0	6814925	49.0	717398	22.0
Females	3048293	18.0	2866176	21.0	182117	6.0

The literacy level for Tamil Nadu in 1961 is 31.4% for the total population, 44.0% for the males and 18 per cent for the females. When compared with these figures, the literacy level of Harijans is far behind. The table shows that the literacy level of the general population is 17 per cent greater than that of the Harijans. This disparity increases when the Harijans are separated from the general population and non-Harijans are treated as a separate group. The difference between Harijans and non-Harijans is 21 per cent. For male Harijans and male non-Harijans, the difference reaches about 27 per cent which is a very distressing fact. The difference in general literacy between non-Harijan and Harijan is much less in the case of females ; it is approximately 15 per cent. Since no Census information is available for the 1950's, it is not possible to assess the growth of literacy for the two classes during that decade.

A districtwise break-down of the 1961 figures for the sample districts has been presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7

	General	%	Non-Harijans	%	Harijans	%
<i>Thanjavur</i>						
Total	874360	33.5	779830	42.0	94530	12.0
Male	645790	48.6	556733	50.4	89057	21.0
Female	228570	18.6	223097	24.0	15473	4.5
<i>Chingleput</i>						
Total	602798	27.9	516185	32.5	86613	13.1
Male	459252	40.2	390634	47.0	68618	21.0
Female	153546	15.0	125551	16.5	17995	5.8
<i>Madurai</i>						
Total	1073710	33.4	1011820	36.0	61890	14.0
Male	752672	48.1	702626	51.0	50056	21.0
Female	321038	18.6	309194	22.0	11834	4.8
<i>South Arcot</i>						
Total	813808	26.7	708764	31.0	105044	13.6
Male	625688	40.5	539420	47.0	86268	21.4
Female	188120	12.6	168324	15.0	19776	4.8

From this table it is evident that Thanjavur, in 1961, had the highest rate of literacy for non-Harijans and Madurai for Harijans. The percentage of literates among Harijan males in all the four districts is almost the same and even the differences which exist among Harijan women are insignificant. The most apparent difference in literacy levels of 30 per cent is between Madurai Harijan males and non-Harijan males. This is considerably higher than in other districts, and 3 per cent higher than the total Madras figures. Both in Thanjavur and Madurai the gap between Harijan and non-Harijan literates was higher than the State figures.

TABLE 8

Table showing the literacy levels of Harijans and non-Harijans (1971) for Tamil Nadu :

	All Classes	Non-Harijans	Harijans
Total	16189712 39.4 (31.4)	14221695 43.0 (35.0)	1968017 26.6 (14.0)
Male	10734758 51.6 (44.4)	9330837 54.5 (49.0)	1403921 37.8 (22.0)
Female	5454954 26.8 (18.0)	4891858 29.4 (21.0)	565096 15.3 (6.0)

Source: Census of India: 1971, Madras: Provisional figures. Figures in the brackets are for 1961 (Percentages).

A comparative study of the 1961 and 1971 literacy rates presented here, shows that there has been a marked increase in the literacy rates of all Classes. For the total population, the figure has increased from 31.4 in 1961 to 39.4 in 1971. The Harijan figures show an increase from 14.0 in 1961 to 26.6 in 1971. The growth rate has been 1.26 for Harijans as against 0.8 for non-Harijans. The number of literate Harijan women has more than doubled during the last 10 years but it is still 14.1 less than the number for non-Harijan women. One notable feature is that the gap between Harijan and non-Harijan literates has decreased considerably. Even though the reduction is not much in the case of women it is significant for males. The difference (for males) is a decrease from 22.27 in 1961 to 16.7 for the next 10-year period. The small increase in the level of literacy for Harijans can be attributed to some extent to the special educational privileges given to Harijans and also to the general increase in awareness of the need for education among the entire population.

The growth of literacy rates between 1961 and 1971 in the four districts displays certain interesting features (Table 9).

Madurai has the highest literacy rates for all classes followed by Thanjavur, Chingleput and South Arcot. Among Hari-

ans. Chingleput Harijans show the highest literacy rates. This might be explained to some extent because Chingleput lies close to the State Capital, and hence people are in a position to avail themselves of some of the facilities found in the city.

TABLE 9

Table showing the literacy rates for the four districts in 1971:

	All Classes		Non-Harijans		Harijans	
<i>Thanjavur</i>						
Total	39.9	(33.5)	45.0	(42.0)	27.0	(12.0)
Male	53.4	(48.6)	57.0	(50.4)	38.0	(21.0)
Female	26.6	(18.6)	29.0	(24.0)	15.0	(4.5)
<i>Chingleput</i>						
Total	39.1	(27.9)	42.0	(32.5)	31.0	(13.1)
Male	50.7	(40.2)	53.0	(47.0)	44.0	(21.6)
Female	26.6	(15.0)	20.0	(16.5)	16.0	(5.8)
<i>Madurai</i>						
Total	41.6	(33.4)	43.0	(36.0)	29.0	(14.6)
Male	54.9	(48.1)	58.0	(51.6)	35.0	(21.0)
Female	28.1	(18.6)	31.0	(22.0)	8.0	(4.8)
<i>South Arcot</i>						
Total	31.5	(26.7)	32.0	(31.0)	29.0	(13.6)
Male	44.6	(40.5)	41.5	(47.0)	40.0	(21.4)
Female	17.9	(12.6)	18.6	(15.0)	15.0	(4.8)

Another important finding is an almost negligible difference in the literacy rate levels of non-Harijans and Harijans in South Arcot. In South Arcot, a relatively barren area, even the non-

Harijans have been found to be educationally and economically backward. The difference in literacy rates, though not significant between Harijan and non-Harijan men in South Arcot, is particularly large (25%) between Harijan men and Harijan women. This gap between male and female Harijan literates is also evidenced in Chingleput where the figure of difference is 28 per cent. The difference between non-Harijan women and Harijan women is highest in Madurai. We find that 31.0% of the non-Harijan women are literates in the district as against 8 per cent of Harijan women. In the other three districts the difference is not so high.

When compared with 1961 Harijan figures, Chingleput has the highest literacy growth rate at 1.79 per cent. In all the districts except Madurai the number of women literates (Harijans) trebled. The growth rate for Harijan men is different in each district. In Thanjavur it is 1.7, in Chingleput 2.3, 1.4 in Madurai and 1.9 in South Arcot. The highest literacy development is in Chingleput.

TABLE 10

Table showing the consolidated figures relating to the educational level of Harijan adult household members in the four districts :

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Primary School	10.4	2.6	7.1
Middle School	9.0	1.7	5.6
High School	7.2	0.8	4.3
Pre-University Course	1.4	—	0.8
B.A. and M.A.	0.9	—	0.6
Not formally educated	71.1	94.9	81.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Table presented above shows the educational level of adult Harijans. Of the total number, 7.1 per cent were educated upto the level of primary school, 5.6 per cent have studied upto the level of middle school and about 4.3% have been to high school. The number of Harijans at the collegiate level is insignificant. Women are far behind men. Only 0.8 per cent have been to high school. The data collected shows that Madurai and South Arcot have the highest number of college educated adults, the number being 9 in Madurai and 11 in South Arcot in a sample of 200. This may be due to the presence of a University in the two districts.

TABLE 11

Table showing the education level of Harijan children :*

	Boys	%	Girls	%	Total	%
<i>Harijans</i>						
Primary School	196	23.4	122	16.0	318	19.5
Middle School	55	6.4	26	3.3	81	5.0
High School	48	5.5	15	2.1	63	3.9
P. U. C.	1	0.1	1	0.3	2	0.1
Not in School	246	28.9	315	40.0	561	34.6
Below 5 years	305	35.7	293	38.3	598	36.9
Total	851	100.0	772	100.0	1623	100.0
<i>Non-Harijans</i>						
Primary School	89	34.7	59	29.5	148	32.3
Middle School	37	14.5	29	14.5	65	14.2
High School	36	14.1	15	7.5	52	11.2
P. U. C.	1	0.1	1	0.5	2	0.1
Not in School	39	15.2	45	22.5	84	18.3
Below 5 years	54	21.4	51	25.5	105	23.9
Total	256	100.0	200	100.0	456	100.0

* Children below 18 years and not married

The low levels of literacy among adult Harijans is not very surprising. But it is difficult to understand why the participation rates of Harijan children in schools is so much lower than non-Harijan children of the corresponding age. Of the total number of Harijan children which is 1623 in the sample, 598 are below the age of 5. In the remaining numbers, 561, a very high percentage, 34.6 per cent, of the children do not attend school. Only 19.5 per cent of the Harijan children are in the primary level, 5.0 per cent are in middle school and 3.9 per cent are in high school. A comparison of Harijan boys and girls reveals that as against 35.4 per cent of the boys, only 21.7 per cent of the girls attend schools. A greater number of school age girls do not attend schools. The figures show that 40 per cent of Harijan girls have never been enrolled which is 11.1 per cent more than for the boys.

Between Harijan and non-Harijan, more non-Harijan children are in schools. The participation rate is 57.8 per cent for non-Harijan children. Even though this figure is nowhere near the target of 100.0 per cent enrolment as envisaged by the Constitution, it is considerably higher than the 31.4 per cent of the Harijan children. In the case of Harijan and non-Harijan boys, 65.4 per cent of non-Harijan boys are in schools as against 35.4 per cent of Harijan boys, and for girls, the figures are 55.0 per cent for non-Harijan girls and 21.7 per cent for Harijan girls. The figures show that school-attending children in non-Harijan families are nearly double the corresponding figures for Harijans.

The low participation rates of Harijan children can be explained in terms of their parents' poverty, ignorance of the benefits of education and lack of schools in the villages.

Poverty stands as the most outstanding reason. When 75 per cent of the scheduled castes have hardly enough to eat, it is unreasonable to expect them to send their children to schools. Every child is considered an economic asset. He earns a few more Paise when he aids his parents in the fields. Hence there is a great reluctance on the part of the parents to send them to schools. In the case of girls the unwillingness is greater. In the majority of households, girls take care of the cooking and other household duties while the mother works outside. This shows that any effort on the part of the government to persuade Harijans

to send their children to school will not succeed unless the economic situation of the household is taken care of.

The second reason, which is no less important, is the ignorance of the parents and the uncongenial atmosphere in which the child is brought up. The parents, who are mostly illiterate and uneducated, cannot understand the need for education. It is difficult for them to perceive the social values of education. Moreover, since they cannot evaluate the benefits that will accrue to them in terms of money, employment and wages, the primary and middle school education for their children becomes irrelevant to them. Even in cases where the child attends a school, education poses a problem. Outside school hours he has no inclination or incentive to study. The parents cannot teach him. This is the reason why Harijan children often fare badly in their classes, or repeat the same class two or three times and finally drop out.

Another type of ignorance prevalent in Harijan families is the ignorance of what the Government is doing for them. Some of them have a vague idea about the privileges to which they are entitled, but have no information as to how they can avail themselves of these opportunities. This was the answer given by the respondents when asked in the interview about the educational privileges provided for them by the Government.

The fourth problem is the distance of schools from the homes of the children. The few who are bright and wish to pursue their studies, are forced to give up their education as there are no schools at a walking distance from their homes.

CHAPTER THREE

INCOME

The well-being of a community can be measured in two ways. One is by income level and the other is by expenditure. Both these factors are dealt with in chapters Three and Four.

Income Distribution

Unless a family has a certain minimum income flowing steadily into the home, it cannot meet the demands of its members for essential services. In the absence of such minimum income, health, education and social life of both the individual and the family will be affected. This chapter deals with income earnings and distribution of Harijan households. Their expenditure and saving pattern are examined with a view to measuring poverty in this community. Finally, the standard of living of Harijans as compared with that of the non-Harijans is evaluated.

This chapter concentrates on the incomes. Per capita income is computed by dividing the total income receipts of the household by the total number of members of the household. For purpose of analysis a household is defined as comprising of all the members living and eating under one roof and sharing a common kitchen. These per capita incomes have been arbitrarily grouped under 6 divisions of Rs. 100 from 00-100 to 500 and above.

Tables 12A, B, C, D show the income distribution of 800 Harijan households in the four sample districts.

The poorest household in Thanjavur has a low average per capita income of Rs. 82. These households (00-100 per capita income) constitute 22% of the total population and shares 8.4% of the total income. 71.8% of the members whose per capita income ranges between Rs. 101-400, however, have almost equal share in the total income which is about 74.3%. Those with per capita incomes of Rs. 501 and above are few, numbering only

TABLE 12A

THANJAVUR SCHEDULED CASTES

Distribution of Sample Scheduled Castes Households according to per capita income groups in Thanjavur District.

<i>Income Group Rs.</i>	<i>Average house- hold members</i>	<i>Average per capita income</i>	<i>Average per capita expendi- ture</i>	<i>Average per capita saving</i>	<i>Saving as % of income</i>	<i>Total No. of house- hold members</i>	<i>Total members of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total income of the group in the sample</i>	<i>Total income of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total No. of house- holds</i>
00—100	6	82	144.3	— 62.3	—75.6	204	22.1	16728	8.4	34
101—200	4.8	190.5	206.5	— 16.0	— 9	355	38.4	73302	36.94	74
201—300	4.7	215.2	329	—113.8	—54	238	25.7	51217	25.84	53
301—400	3.6	322.3	348	— 25.7	— 8	71	7.7	22883	11.54	22
401—500	3.6	548.5	439	109.5	20	33	3.6	19193	9.68	9
Above 500	2.8	647.5	628.1	19.4	3	23	2.5	14892	7.56	8
Total (average)	4.6	214.6	394	— 79.4	—37	924	100	198217	100	200

Total No. of villages : 10

Sample households : 200

TABLE 12B

CHINGLEPUT SCHEDULED CASTES

Distribution of Sample Scheduled Castes Households according to per capita income groups in Chingleput District.

<i>Income Group Rs.</i>	<i>Average house- hold members</i>	<i>Average per capita income</i>	<i>Average per capita expenditure</i>	<i>Average per capita saving</i>	<i>Saving as % of income</i>	<i>Total No. of house- hold members</i>	<i>Total members of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total income of the group in the sample</i>	<i>Total income of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total No. of house- holds</i>
00—100	6.0	85.0	258.1	—183.1	—220	123	11.3	10455	3.6	21
101—200	5.8	154.0	276.3	—122.3	—80	365	33.6	55210	19.3	63
201—300	5.8	245.5	346.1	—100.6	—38	286	25.3	70210	24.7	49
301—400	4.8	352.1	382.7	—30.6	—9	145	13.3	51055	17.2	30
401—500	4.5	444.1	575.1	—131.0	—3	77	7.2	34195	12.2	17
Above 500	4.5	683.2	568.7	114.5	12	91	8.3	62153	23.0	20
Total (average)	5.4	244	353	—109	—44	1087	100	284278	100	200

Sample villages : 10

Sample households : 200

TABLE 12C

MADURAI SCHEDULED CASTES

Distribution of Sample Scheduled Castes Households according to per capita income groups in Madurai District.

<i>Income group Rs.</i>	<i>Average house- hold members</i>	<i>Average per capita income</i>	<i>Average per capita expendi- ture</i>	<i>Average per capita saving</i>	<i>Saving as % of income</i>	<i>Total No. of house- hold members</i>	<i>Total members of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total income of the group in the sample</i>	<i>Total income of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total No. of house- holds</i>
00—100	6	75	233	—148	—197.3	103	10.8	7725	3.10	17
101—200	5	143	253	—110	—70.9	317	33.1	45330	18.20	65
201—300	4.7	249.5	341.5	—92	—36.8	246	25.7	61380	24.65	52
301—400	4.5	340.6	340	6	0	169	17.7	57560	23.15	38
401—500	4.6	417.6	383	34.6	8.4	60	6.3	25055	10.05	13
Above 500	4.1	851	516	335.0	39.3	61	6.4	51910	20.85	15
Total (average)	4.7	260	313	—53	—20	956	100	248760	100	200

Sample villages : 10

Sample households : 200

TABLE 12D

SOUTH ARCOT SCHEDULED CASTES

Distribution of Sample Scheduled Castes Households according to per capita income groups in South Arcot District.

<i>Income group Rs.</i>	<i>Average house- hold members</i>	<i>Average per capita income</i>	<i>Average per capita expendi- ture</i>	<i>Average per capita saving</i>	<i>Saving as % of income</i>	<i>Total No. of house- hold members</i>	<i>Total members of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total income of the group in the sample</i>	<i>Total income of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total No. of house- holds</i>
00--100	5.7	74.3	299	-224.7	-302.0	40	4.2	2970	1.0	7
101--200	5.9	166.5	263	-96.5	-58.0	165	18.0	27475	7.8	28
201--300	4.9	257.0	325	-68.0	-25.0	212	22.3	54435	15.4	43
301--400	4.8	349.4	325.5	23.5	6.7	198	20.8	69180	19.5	41
401--500	4.5	455.6	369.5	86.1	18.9	140	14.7	63785	17.8	31
Above 500	3.9	700.2	407.2	293.0	41.9	195	20.0	136540	38.5	50
Total (average)	4.7	373	334	39	10	950	100	354435	100	200

Sample villages : 10

Sample households : 200

6.1% of the total, but their share of the total income is 17.2%. The average income of this group is about 683 rupees.

The corresponding figures for Chingleput exhibit a similar variation. 11.3% of the Harijan population constituting the poorest households in Chingleput have an average income of Rs. 85 and share only 3.6% of the total income. 15.5% of the members who have a per capita income of more than Rs. 400 share 25.5% of the total income. Those in the middle group (Rs. 101—400) account for more than 73.0% of the population but get only 56.2% of the income.

The average per capita income of the poorest (Rs. 00—100) families in Madurai is lower than the corresponding figure for Thanjavur and Chingleput. 10.8% of the families form this group and share 3.10% of the total income. The middle income groups (Rs. 101—500) who are about 82.8% of the members share 76% of the income. A major share of income, 20.8%, is held by those, 6.4%, who have relatively high per capita incomes of Rs. 500 and above. The average per capita income of this group is nearly Rs. 851.

The poorest households in South Arcot have an average per capita income of Rs. 74.3. They constitute a very small group of 4.2% and share 1% of the total income. The affluent group has an average income of Rs. 700 and controls 38.5% of the income, but constitutes only 20% of the sample.

The income figures for the 197 non-Harijan households have been presented in Tables 13A, B, C, D. The poorest household in Thanjavur has an average per capita income of Rs. 87. The 7.5% members who constitute this group share 1.1 per cent of the total income. Approximately 35.5 per cent falls in the last group (Rs. 500 and above) and have an average per capita income of Rs. 1260 which is the highest average among all the four districts. They not only have the highest average per capita income, but also share 76.3% of the total income. The remaining 23.7 per cent of the total income is distributed among 64.5 per cent of the population. There is greater inequality among non-Harijans than among Harijans in Thanjavur.

Inequalities in distribution of incomes among non-Harijans are not so great in Madurai and Chingleput as it is in Thanjavur.

TABLE 13A
THANJAVUR NON-HARIJANS

Distribution of non-Harijan households according to per capita income groups in Thanjavur District.

<i>Income group Rs.</i>	<i>Average house- hold members</i>	<i>Average per capita income</i>	<i>Average per capita expendi- ture</i>	<i>Average per capita saving</i>	<i>Saving as % of income</i>	<i>Total No. of house- hold members</i>	<i>Total members of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total income of the group in the sample</i>	<i>Total income of the group as % of total</i>	<i>Total No. of house- holds</i>
00—100	7.0	87	141	—54	—62	21	7.5	1830	1.1	3
101—200	6.7	150	193	—43	—28.7	81	29.4	12150	7.5	12
201—300	5.3	243	308	—65	—26.8	37	13.4	8990	5.6	7
301—400	4.6	354	432	—78	—22.0	23	8.4	8140	5.0	5
401—500	5.3	459	409	50	10	16	5.8	7345	4.5	3
Above 500	4.9	1260	1068	192	15.2	98	35.5	123450	76.3	20
Total (average)	5.3	583	546	37	6	276	100	161905	100	50

Sample villages: 10

Sample households: 50

TABLE 13B

CHINGLEPUT NON-HARIJANS

Distribution of non-Harijan households according to per capita income groups in Chingleput District.

Income group Rs.	Average house- hold members	Average per capita income	Average per capita expendi- ture	Average per capita saving	Saving as % of income	Total No. of house- hold members	Total members of the group as % of total	Total income of the group in the sample	Total income of the group as % of total	Total No of house- holds
00—100	8.2	62	264.7	—202.7	—327	33	11.1	2050	2.7	4
101—200	5.6	153.6	314.7	—181.0	—119.4	91	30.7	13983	14.8	15
201—300	6.9	243.5	366.2	—122.7	—50.4	69	23.3	16801	17.7	10
301—400	5.8	346.6	468.2	—111.6	—35.3	45	15.4	15598	16.5	8
401—500	4.4	453.7	506	—52.3	—11.5	19	6.8	8621	9.1	4
Above 500	4.4	976.8	636	340.8	34.8	38	12.7	47118	39.2	9
Total (average)	5.9	318	398	—80	—25.1	295	100	104171	100	50

*Sample villages: 10**Sample households: 50*

TABLE 13C

MADURAI NON-HARIJANS

Distribution of non-Harijan households according to per capita income groups in Madurai District.

<i>Income group</i> Rs.	<i>Average</i> <i>house-</i> <i>hold</i> <i>members</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>per</i> <i>capita</i> <i>income</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>per</i> <i>capita</i> <i>expendi-</i> <i>ture</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>per</i> <i>capita</i> <i>saving</i>	<i>Saving</i> <i>as % of</i> <i>income</i>	<i>Total No.</i> <i>of house-</i> <i>hold</i> <i>members</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>members</i> <i>of the</i> <i>group</i> <i>as % of</i> <i>total</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>income</i> <i>of the</i> <i>group in</i> <i>the</i> <i>sample</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>income of</i> <i>the group</i> <i>as % of</i> <i>total</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>No. of</i> <i>house-</i> <i>holds</i>
00--100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
101—200	6.4	158.4	300.7	-142.3	-90	70	27.2	11090	11.1	11
201—300	4.6	262.1	454.4	-192.3	-70	32	12.5	8390	8.3	7
301—400	6.4	364.2	413.7	-59.5	-13.5	70	27.2	25490	25.3	11
401—500	4.3	476.0	583.0	-107.0	-22.5	30	11.7	14280	14.2	7
Above 500	4.0	750.7	669.8	80.9	10.8	55	21.4	41290	41.1	14
Total (average)	5.1	391	466	-75	-19	257	100	100540	100	50

Sample villages : 10*Sample households :* 50

TABLE 13D

SOUTH ARCOT NON-HARIJANS

Distribution of non-Harijan households according to per capita income groups in South Arcot District.

<i>Income group</i> <i>Rs.</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>house-</i> <i>hold</i> <i>members</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>per</i> <i>capita</i> <i>income</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>per</i> <i>capita</i> <i>expendi-</i> <i>ture</i>	<i>Average</i> <i>per</i> <i>capita</i> <i>saving</i>	<i>Saving</i> <i>as % of</i> <i>income</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>No.</i> <i>of house-</i> <i>hold</i> <i>members</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>members</i> <i>of the</i> <i>group</i> <i>as % of</i> <i>total</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>income</i> <i>of the</i> <i>group in</i> <i>the</i> <i>sample</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>income of</i> <i>the group</i> <i>as % of</i> <i>total</i>	<i>Total</i> <i>No. of</i> <i>house-</i> <i>holds</i>
00—100	7.4	83	259.0	-176.0	-202.0	37	15.9	3070	4.4	5
101—200	4.8	142.5	341.8	-199.3	-139.0	38	16.4	4415	6.3	8
201—300	5.0	260.4	346.3	-85.9	-21.0	50	21.6	13020	18.5	10
301—400	4.2	353.0	382.8	-29.8	-8.9	51	21.9	18000	25.6	12
401—500	6.6	433.8	447.3	-13.5	-3.0	40	17.2	17355	24.6	6
Above 500	2.6	805.0	677.7	137.3	17.0	16	7.0	14480	20.6	6
Total (average)	5.0	303	382	-79	-26	232	100	70340	100	47

*Sample villages : 10**Sample households : 47*

The poorest households have an average income of Rs. 158.4 in Madurai and Rs. 62 in Chingleput respectively. They hold respectively 11 per cent and 2.7 per cent of the total income and constitute 27.2 per cent and 11.1 per cent of the total members in each district. Those households with per capita incomes of Rs. 101—500 constitute 51.4 per cent in Madurai and control 47.8 per cent of the total income. In Chingleput, 76.2 per cent of the households have per capita income of Rs. 101—500 and total 58.1 per cent of the income.

In South Arcot, the average per capita income of the first group is about Rs. 83. These households constitute quite a big group, 15.9 per cent, but share only 4.4 per cent of the total income. The most affluent group form a small percentage in South Arcot, being smallest among the four districts. Only 7 per cent fall in this group and they share 20.6 per cent of the income.

A comparative analysis of income figures throws light on the inequalities in income distribution among Harijans and non-Harijans. Table 14 shows the average per capita incomes of the poorest and the richest households among Harijans and non-Harijans. Since the incomes of both Harijan and non-Harijan households are computed under specific income groups, it is felt that any comparison made would be meaningful only for these poorest and richest groups. Hence the middle income groups (Rs. 101—500) have been left out.

The poorest households in the Harijan groups have a lower average per capita income than the corresponding average for non-Harijans in all districts except in Chingleput where non-Harijans have an average per capita income of Rs. 62 as against Rs. 85 for Harijans. In Madurai, the non-Harijans average income is more than double that of the Harijans and in the other two districts it is higher than the Harijan average but not significantly higher.

The poorest homes (00—100) both among Harijans and non-Harijans share less than 5 per cent of the total income. The exception is Thanjavur Harijans whose percentage of total income is 8.4 per cent, and the Madurai non-Harijans whose percentage to total income is 11 per cent. But it would be wrong to conclude that the distribution of income is less unequal among Thanjavur

TABLE 14

Table showing the average per capita income, percentages to total income and percentages to total population of the poorest (100) and richest (500 and above) groups among Harijan and non-Harijan households:

Per capita Income group	Thanjavur		Chingleput		Maturai		South Arcot		Total	
	Harijan	Non- Harijan	Harijan	Non- Harijan	Harijan	Non- Harijan	Harijan	Non- Harijan	Harijan	Non- Harijan
(a) Poorest										
Rs. 00—100	82	87	85	62	75	158.4	74.3	83	79.5	76.3
Percentage to total income	8.4	1.1	3.6	2.7	3.1	11.0	1.0	4.4	—	—
Percentage to total members	22.1	7.5	11.3	11.1	10.8	27.2	4.2	2.6	9.9	6.1
(b) Richest										
Per capita income of Rs. 500 and above	647	1260	683	976.8	851	750.7	700	805	730	996
Percentage to total income	7.5	76.3	23.0	39.2	20.8	41.1	38.5	20.6	—	—
Percentage to total members	2.5	35.5	8.3	12.7	6.4	21.4	20.0	7.0	11.6	24.9

Harijan households and Madurai non-Harijan households, because the percentage of households in these two above-mentioned groups is higher than the corresponding percentage of members in all other groups (both Harijans and non-Harijans). In Thanjavur, the percentage of households earning Rs. 00-100 per capita income is three times higher than the non-Harijan households. The percentage of Harijan households and non-Harijan households in this group (Rs. 00-100) is equal in Chingleput. In Madurai, unlike in the other two districts, the number of non-Harijan in this group are two and a half times greater than the Harijan households. Even in South Arcot, the non-Harijan households are greater in this income group than the Harijan, their percentages being 4.4 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

As in the case of the poorest households (Rs. 00-100) the average per capita incomes of non-Harijan households in the affluent groups (Rs. 500 and more) is greater than the per capita incomes of Harijans. In Thanjavur, the average per capita incomes of non-Harijan households in the group, Rs. 500 and above, is 200 per cent greater than that of Harijan households. In Chingleput it is greater by 150 per cent, in South Arcot by 12 per cent. Madurai is the only exception; there the average is less than the Harijan average. But the percentage of non-Harijan in this group (21.4) is thrice the number in the Harijan group. Not only is the non-Harijan percentages in this group very high but their share in income is nearly 41 per cent of the total income. Thanjavur presents a very interesting picture. The affluent non-Harijan groups in Thanjavur constitute 35.5% of the total non-Harijan members and they share as much as 76.3% of the income. In contrast only 2.5 per cent of the Harijans are in this affluent group and they share about 7.5 per cent of the total income. In Chingleput, the percentage of non-Harijan members is 4.4 per cent higher than the percentage of Harijan in the same group but the share of income for non-Harijans is 17 per cent higher than the share for Harijans. In South Arcot, the average per capita income of non-Harijans in this group is higher, but the percentage to the total members and their share in the total income are both less than corresponding figures for Harijans.

According to the Economic appraisal for Tamil Nadu 1971, the latest (1968-69) average per capita income figures at current

prices for India is Rs. 542 and for Tamil Nadu it is Rs. 551. It will be noted that only 11 per cent of Harijans comes anywhere near this average. Since the above-mentioned per capita income figures for India and Tamil Nadu are for 1968-69 it may be assumed that per capita figures will be higher for 1971, thus reducing further the percentage of Harijan households in this category.

Inequalities in income can be further analysed by computing the average per capita incomes of the Harijan and non-Harijan households for every 10 per cent of the population starting from poorest 10 per cent to the richest 10 per cent. The comparative figures are presented in Table 15.

The combined figures for the four districts show that there are marked differences in the average per capita incomes in each income group for Harijans and non-Harijans. The Harijan average in all cases is less than the non-Harijan average. For the poorest 10 per cent, the average per capita income of Harijan household is Rs. 81 as against Rs. 92 for non-Harijan households. This difference steadily widens and for the most affluent 10 per cent of the Harijan households the average income is Rs. 791 as against Rs. 1617 for non-Harijans.

In Thanjavur the difference is clearly marked. The average per capita income of non-Harijan household in every group is higher than the corresponding figure for Harijans. In the most affluent group the difference is almost 5 times greater (non-Harijans Rs. 2694—Harijans Rs. 556). This difference can also be noticed in Chingleput. The top 10 per cent of the Harijans in this district have only an average per capita income of Rs. 625 as against Rs. 1236 for non-Harijans in the same group. In Madurai there are few Harijans who have an almost equal average per capita income with the non-Harijans, and they belong to the most affluent 10 per cent of the population.

South Arcot is the exception to the general pattern. It is the only district where the differences in average per capita income between the Harijan and non-Harijan groups are minimal and in some cases, the Harijan averages of per capita income are more than the non-Harijan per capita income.

Inequalities in income distribution between different income groups in the Harijan community and between Harijans and non-

TABLE 15

Table showing the average per capita incomes of the successive 10 per cent of the population (starting from the first 10 per cent) among Harijans and non-Harijans in the four districts :

	Thanjavur		Chingleput		Mazurai		South Arcot		Total	
	Harijan	Non-Harijan	Harijan	Non-Harijan	Harijan	Non-Harijan	Harijan	Non-Harijan	Harijan	Non-Harijan
Poorest 10%	71	99	80	68	84	120	93	131	81	92
10-20	96	148	126	119	120	158	116	193	134	140
20-30	123	167	154	159	153	230	243	175	169	188
30-40	154	228	174	192	181	302	290	294	200	524
40-50	178	311	220	271	219	356	327	313	236	302
50-60	202.8	429	247	284	260	406	375	336	273	414
60-70	231.9	559	310	361	297	470	434	377	318	435
70-80	276	701	363	423	341	586	499	429	312	535
80-90	367	868	455	613	419	669	599	500	460	662
90-100	556	2694	625	1236	1263	1393	923	996	791	1617

Har'ians can be demonstrated, with the help of Lorentz curves. If incomes were perfectly distributed then the first 20 per cent of the population would receive exactly 20 per cent of the total income, or 40 per cent of the population would receive 40 per cent of the income and so on. But in life this rarely happens; the deviations from the ideal of perfect income distribution for the four districts, separately and combined, have been charted using the Lorentz curves.

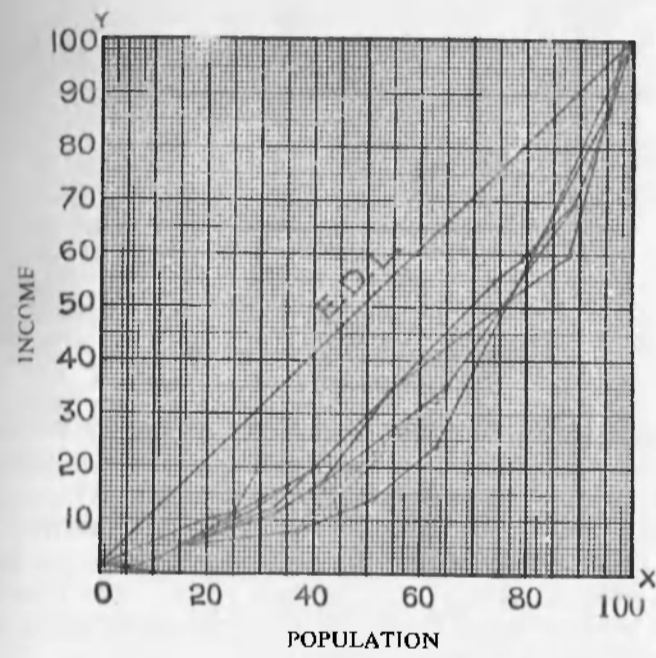


Fig. 1(a)
Distribution of Income among Non-Harijans
in the Four Districts.

Figure 1(b) shows the distribution of incomes among the different income groups in the Harijan community. The income

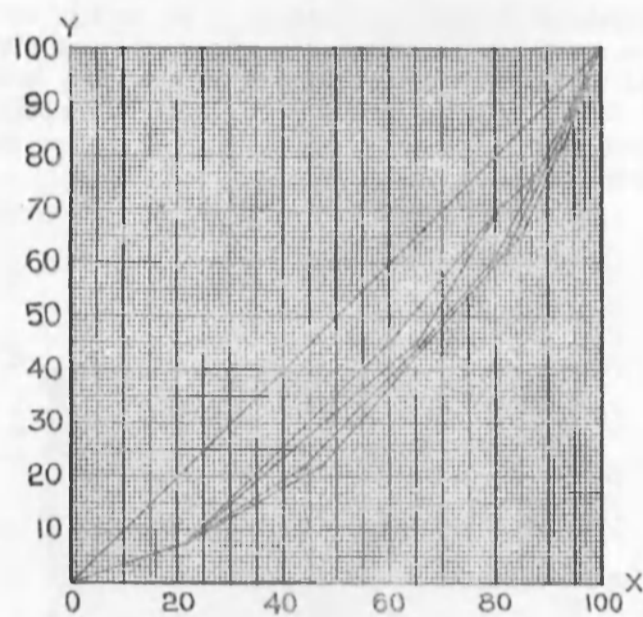


Fig. 1(b)

Distribution of Income among Harijans
in the Four Districts.

distribution follows an almost similar pattern in all the four districts except in Thanjavur where the distribution is more equal than in the other three districts. In this district there is inequality between the lowest and the highest groups, but the distribution in the middle group is normal. Madurai and Chingleput have almost identical curves, that is, distribution follows a very similar pattern, with the lowest 10 per cent of the population getting less than 3.5 of the incomes and the next 80 per cent getting almost 74.5 per cent of the income and the top 10 per cent of the population sharing the rest—22 per cent of the total income.

Figures 2, 3, 4 and 5 represent the differences in income distribution among Harijans and non-Harijans in each district. Figure 2 portrays the greater inequality in income distribution between non-Harijans and Harijans in Thanjavur. Though poverty is

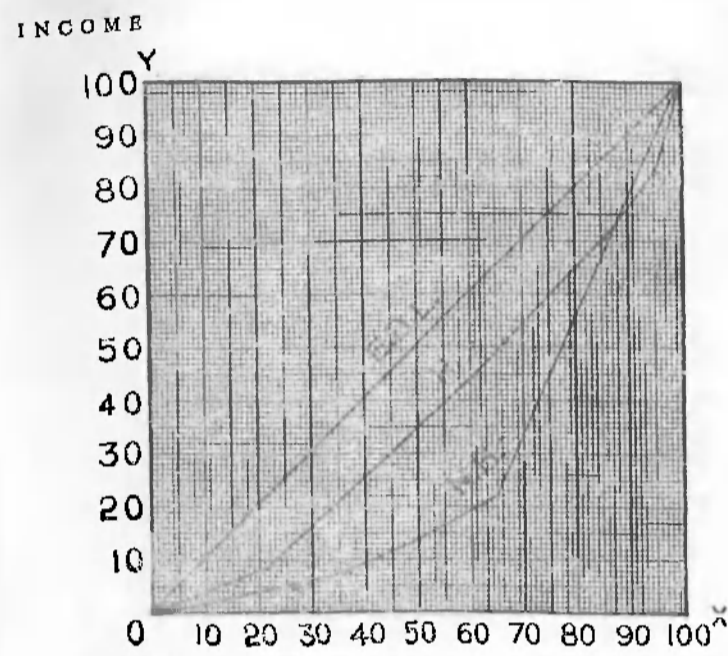


Fig. 2. Distribution of Income among Harijans and Non-Harijans
THANJAVUR

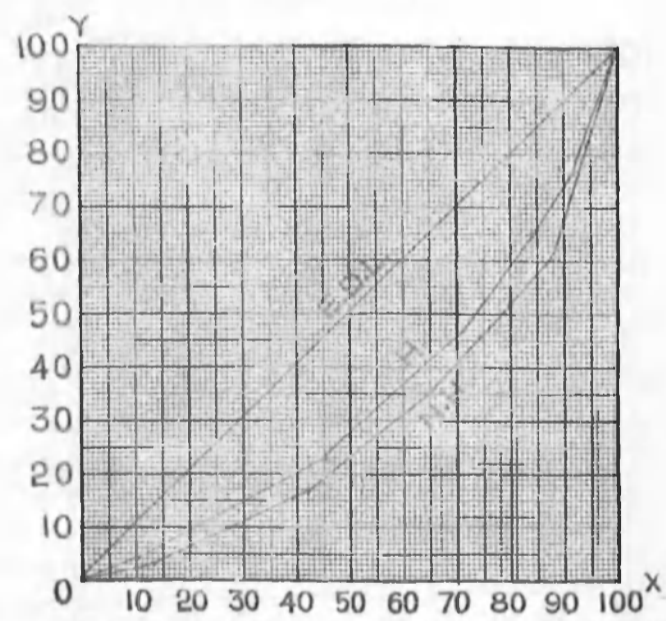


Fig. 3. Distribution of Income among Harijans and Non-Harijans
CHINGLEPUT

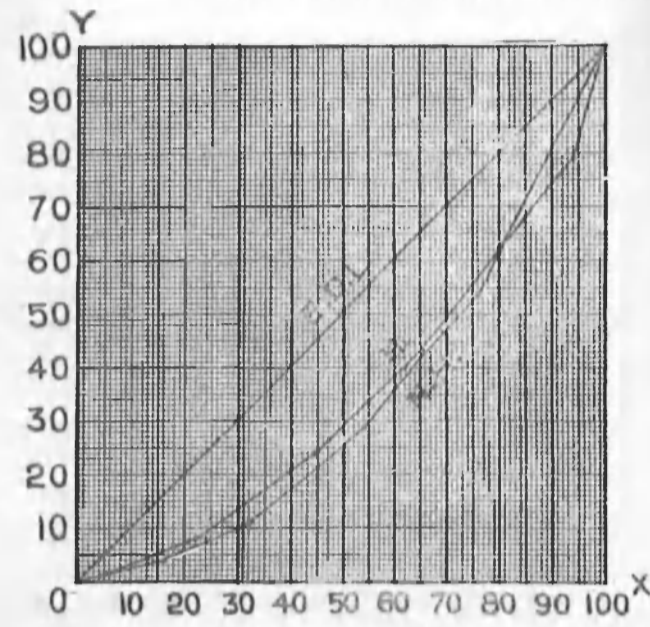


Fig. 4. Distribution of Income among Harijans and Non-Harijans SOUTH ARCOT

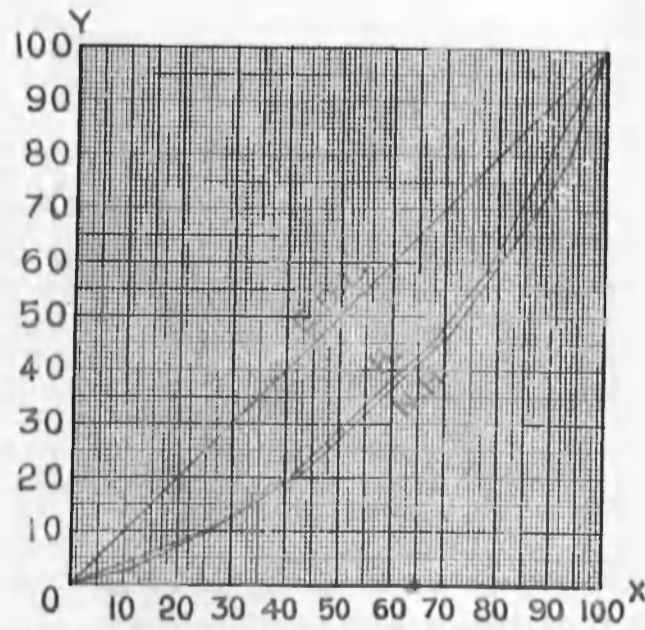


Fig. 5. Distribution of Income among Harijans and Non-Harijans MADURAI

prevalent among Harijans in Thanjavur, it is equally distributed among the entire Harijan population. But in the case of non-Harijan there are a few who enjoy a high standard of living and a few who are very poor. Figure 3, for Chingleput, exhibits a similar pattern but the inequality among the non-Harijan group is not as great as it is in the case of Thanjavur. In Madurai and South Arcot the distribution of incomes follow a similar pattern for both Harijan and non-Harijan households.

Figure 6 represents the total income distribution among both Harijans and non-Harijans combined. The non-Harijan curve shows that the top 24 per cent of the non-Harijan population share nearly 50 per cent of the income as against the top 30 per cent of the Harijans who share 50 per cent of the income.

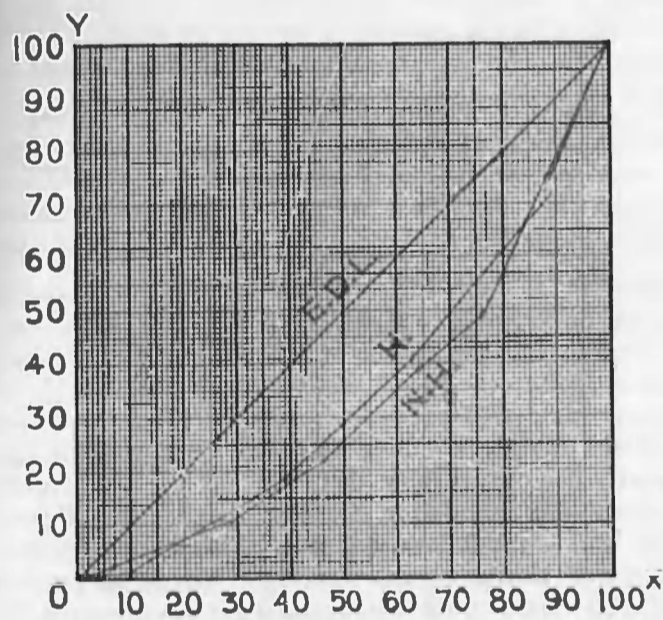


Fig. 6

Distribution of Income among Harijans and Non-Harijans
(Combined figures).

In general the data collected on income shows that (i) the average incomes of Harijans are in almost all cases lower than

that of non-Harijans and (ii) that incomes of Harijans are more equally distributed among the Harijan population than in the case of non-Harijans.

Income-earning

The cost of living in rural Tamil Nadu has increased by 25 per cent in the 1950-1960 period, and by 90 per cent within the 1960-1970 period according to the rural consumer price index published by State Statistical Bureau. A worker should be earning 25 per cent more in 1960, to maintain the same standard of living that he had in 1950 and he should be earning 90 per cent more than what he was earning in 1960 to maintain the same standard of living in 1970. Here an attempt is made to study the trends in income-earnings of Harijans during the last two decades with a view to establishing whether the standard of living of Harijans has improved, remained stable or deteriorated.

For purpose of studying the trends in income-earnings, the respondents have been classified into four groups according to their major occupations, and changes have been analysed for each class separately. The four occupations are the owner-cultivator, the tenant, the agricultural coolie, and non-agricultural worker.

According to Table 15A, among the four major occupational groups the owners have consistently had incomes higher than the other three groups. The Harijan owner-cultivator who was getting Rs. 689 in 1950 received Rs. 1586 in 1960 and Rs. 2161 in 1970. The rates of increase for the two decades are 130 per cent during 1950-60 and 36 per cent during 1960-70. Corresponding figures for non-Harijan owners show that their incomes have registered 40 per cent increase during the first decade and 58 per cent increase during the following decade. The percentage increase of incomes of Harijan owners was higher (by 90 per cent) than non-Harijan owners in the first decade and it was lower (by 22 per cent) in the second decade. Though the percentage increase in incomes of non-Harijan owner-cultivators was less than that of Harijan cultivators in the 1950-60 period, the average income of non-Harijan owner-cultivator was much more than Harijan owner-cultivator. It was Rs. 2020 in 1960 for non-Harijan owner-cultivator as against Rs. 1586 for Harijans.

TABLE 15(A)

The average incomes of Harijans and non-Harijans according to their occupation during the last two decades.

Combined Harijans				In Rupees	
	1950	1960	1970	Percentage increase 1950-1960	Percentage increase 1960-1970
Owner-cultivators	689	1586	2161	130.0	36.0
Tenants	460	708	885	53.0	24.0
Coolies	240	451	560	87.0	26.0
Non-agricultural occupations	496	751	1132	51.5	51.0

Combined Non-Harijans				Percentage increase	
	1950	1960	1970	1950-1960	1960-1970
Owner-cultivators	1437	2020	3262	40.0	58.0
Tenants	431	601	836	41.0	37.0
Coolies	306	388	629	27.0	62.0
Non-agricultural occupations	777	1061	1441	36.5	69.0

Followed by the owners are the non-agricultural workers who have a higher earning capacity when compared with the other two occupations (Tenants and Coolies). These workers are employed in household industries or follow caste professions other than agriculture; many of them also work for the government and private companies. They enjoy a more permanent tenure. Data shows that 76 per cent of the Harijan workers constituting this group have full employment, unlike those in the other three occupations where only 6 per cent work throughout the year.

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Followed by the owners are the non-agricultural workers who have a higher earning capacity when compared with the other two occupations (Tenants and Coolies). These workers are employed in household industries or follow caste professions other than agriculture; many of them also work for the government and private companies. They enjoy a more permanent tenure. Data shows that 76 per cent of the Harijan workers constituting this group have full employment, unlike those in the other three occupations where only 6 per cent work throughout the year.

They have a high average income which is Rs. 1132 (in 1970) as against an average annual income of Rs. 560 for coolies and Rs. 885 for tenants. For these non-agricultural workers the increase in income during the two decades has been steady at approximately 50.0 per cent for both the periods. But during the first decade this increase was 20 per cent higher than the rural price increase and in the following decade it was 39 per cent less than the rise in prices. The non-Harijan respondents falling into this category also share a high average income second only to the owners. The monthly income for non-Harijan non-agricultural worker in 1970 was about Rs. 120 as against Rs. 93 for the Harijan worker. The increased incomes of non-Harijan non-agricultural worker exceeded the increase in rural prices during the first decade by 11.5 per cent elevating their standard of living. During the decade 1960-1970 as in the case of Harijan non-agricultural workers, the rise in income was less than rural price increase by 54 per cent.

As for the tenants, both Harijan and non-Harijan tenants have done badly in the last decade.

During the second decade (1960-70) the percentage of increase in incomes varies with each occupation. The only trend discernible is that in no class the income increase is at par with the rural prices. All incomes rose less than the 90 per cent increase in the rural price index. Hence the standard of living of both Harijans and non-Harijans has deteriorated during the last decade. But in the case of Harijans, the situation is worse. In three occupations the percentage increase in incomes of Harijans has been less than the corresponding percentage of income increase for non-Harijan. In the case of owner-cultivators, non-Harijan percentage of increase during the second decade is 22 per cent more than Harijan owner-cultivator, in the case of the non-Harijan tenants the increase in the percentage in income is more, and for agricultural coolies, the percentage increase incomes for non-Harijan has been 36 per cent more, and for the non-agricultural workers there was an 18 per cent difference between non-Harijan non-agricultural workers and Harijan non-agricultural workers.

The trend in income-earnings during the two decades shows a lower rate of increase for the Harijan community compared to that of the non-Harijan group.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPENDITURE

A more direct measure of standard of living is the household expenditure pattern. Expenditure here means the total expenditure incurred by the households on items like food, fuel, clothing, education and travelling. All items of expenditure are included in this except investments in business or investments for production. The estimates are for a period of one year. Per capita expenditure of each income class has been tabulated and presented in Table 16 for Harijan households for the four sample districts.

The average per capita expenditure for each family increases with the increase in income but not necessarily proportionately. Table 16 shows the average per capita expenditure of Harijan households according to the per capita income groups. The level of autonomous consumption for a Harijan is Rs. 232. This means that irrespective of what a Harijan earns, he will incur a minimum of Rs. 232 of expenditure per year. Further calculations show that marginal propensity to consume is Rs. 36 for every additional income of Rs. 100 he earns.

The difference in the standard of living of the poorest and the most affluent class among Harijans is less when we compare the expenditure pattern and not the income pattern. The average per capita income of the poorest household members in Thanjavur is Rs. 82 as against his average expenditure which is Rs. 144.3. The gap is wider in the case of the other three districts. In Madurai, the average per capita income is Rs. 75 against an average expenditure of Rs. 233. In Chingleput and South Arcot, the incomes of the poorest families are Rs. 85 and Rs. 74.3 respectively and their corresponding expenditures are Rs. 268.0 and Rs. 299 which means they spend 182.1 per cent and 302 per cent more than what they earn in both Chingleput and South Arcot. In the combined figures for four districts together, the average per capita income for the lowest

TABLE 16

Table showing the average per capita expenditure of the Harijan households according to the per capita income groups :

	<i>Tanjavur</i>		<i>Madurai</i>		<i>Chingleput</i>		<i>Sou'h Arcot</i>		<i>Combined</i>	
	<i>PCE</i>	<i>PCI</i>	<i>PCE</i>	<i>PCI</i>	<i>PCE</i>	<i>PCI</i>	<i>PCE</i>	<i>PCI</i>	<i>PCE</i>	<i>PCI</i>
00—100	144.3	82	233.0	75	268.0	85	299	74.3	204.5	79.5
101—200	206.5	190	253.0	143	273.3	154.0	263	166.5	241.3	153.2
201—300	329.0	215	341.5	249.5	346.1	245.5	325	257.0	323.8	253.7
301—400	348.0	322.3	340.0	340	382.7	352.1	325.5	349.4	346.5	343.0
401—500	439.0	548.5	383.0	417	575.1	441.1	369.0	455.6	469.0	418.8
501—more	628.1	647.5	516.0	851	568.7	683.2	407.0	700.2	474.2	730

PCE—Per capita expenditure.

PCI—Per capita income.

group is Rs. 79.5 and for the highest income group, the average per capita income is Rs. 730. The difference is approximately Rs. 650.5 in incomes. In the case of expenditure the difference is only Rs. 269.7.

Table 16 also shows that in a district like Thanjavur, the poorest households have a very low per capita expenditure when compared to the corresponding expenditure of the poorest households in the other three districts. Also in Thanjavur, those in the highest income group have the highest average per capita expenditure when compared to the average per capita expenditure of the other three districts in this group. This further emphasises the wide discrepancy in Thanjavur between the standard of living of the poorer sections and the affluent. This trend is also noticed in the distribution of incomes. On contrasting, in South Arcot, the standard of living of the lowest income groups is higher than in all the other three districts, and the average per capita expenditure of the affluent group is the lowest.

Table 17 gives the average per capita expenditure of non-Harijan households and their average per capita income. As in the Harijan households, the per capita expenditure increases with the increase in their incomes.

Combined figures show that the average per capita expenditure of the non-Harijan households having a per capita income between Rs. 00—100 is Rs. 248.4. These families spend Rs. 172.1 more than what they earn. Those with per capita incomes of Rs. 101—200 have per capita expenditures of Rs. 252.7 and those households with per capita incomes of Rs. 201—300 have an average per capita expenditure of Rs. 348.5. The next two income groups, i.e., those with per capita incomes of Rs. 301—400 and Rs. 401—500 have per capita expenditures of Rs. 400.8 and Rs. 505 respectively. Households with per capita incomes above Rs. 500 have average per capita incomes of Rs. 996 and spend Rs. 830.

The poorest households (00—100) in the non-Harijan community spend Rs. 248.4 as against Rs. 204.5 in the Harijan community in this income group. The average expenditure of non-Harijan households is higher than Harijan households in all the income groups. The most affluent (500 and above incomes) among the non-Harijans have per capita expenditures of Rs. 830.5

TABLE 17

Table showing the average per capita expenditure of non-Harjan households according to their per capita incomes :

	Thanjavur		Chingleput		Madurai		South Arcot		Combined	
	PCE	PCI	PCE	PCI	PCE	PCI	PCE	PCI	PCE	PCI
00—100	141	87	284.7	62	—	—	259.4	83	248.4	76.3
101—200	193	150	314.2	153.6	300.7	158.4	341.8	142.5	252.7	148.4
201—300	308	243	366.2	243.5	454.4	262.1	346.3	260.4	348.5	253.2
301—400	432	354	460	346.6	413.7	364.2	382.8	353.0	400.8	353.7
401—500	409	459	506	453.2	583	476.0	447.3	433.0	505	480.9
501—more	1068	1260	636	976.8	669.8	750.7	677.7	805	830.5	996.0

PCE — Per capita expenditure.

PCI — Per capita income.

as against Rs. 474.2 of the Harijan households in this income group. The difference is nearly Rs. 356.3.

In Thanjavur, the average per capita expenditure of the poorest households of both Harijans and non-Harijans is almost the same. The average per capita expenditure of these falling in this income group is Rs. 144.3 for Harijans and Rs. 141.0 for non-Harijans. The average per capita expenditure in the following two income groups namely Rs. 101—200 and 201—300, is higher for Harijans than for non-Harijans. But the average per capita expenditure of the remaining three higher income groups is higher for the non-Harijans than for the Harijan households. Finally, among the most affluent (501 and above), the average per capita expenditure of non-Harijans is 100 per cent more than the Harijans.

In Chingleput, except in the case of households with per capita incomes of Rs. 401—500, all other non-Harijan households have higher per capita expenditures than the corresponding expenditures of Harijan households. The most affluent group (501 and above) have expenditures of Rs. 636 as against Rs. 568.7 for Harijan households in the same income group. The difference in the per capita expenditures of non-Harijan and Harijan households in the most affluent groups is less in Chingleput than in Thanjavur.

In Madurai, again we find that the average per capita expenditures of Harijans are lower than non-Harijans in all income groups. Finally in South Arcot, except for poorest households (00—100) all the other per capita income groups in non-Harijan households have higher per capita expenditures as compared with per capita expenditures of Harijans in the corresponding income groups.

In conclusion, it can be said that Thanjavur is the district where there is maximum difference in expenditures between Harijans and non-Harijans. The average per capita expenditure for total non-Harijans in Thanjavur is Rs. 546 as against Rs. 394 for Harijans. The average per capita expenditure of Harijans and non-Harijans in all the other three districts do not show such wide variance. In Chingleput, the average per capita expenditure for non-Harijans is Rs. 398 as against Rs. 353 for

Harijans, in South Arcot, the average per capita expenditure for non-Harijans is Rs. 382 as against Rs. 324 for Harijans. Lastly, for Madurai, the corresponding figures are Rs. 466 for non-Harijans and Rs. 313 for Harijans.

The higher per capita expenditures in non-Harijan households can be explained in terms of higher expenditures on education and travel which Harijan families do not consider worth while.

Poor families must spend their incomes largely on the necessities of life, like food, shelter and to a lesser degree on clothing. In most of the Harijan households very insignificant amounts are spent on clothing and shelter, and major portion is spent on food. As the income increases expenditure on food items goes up in the very initial stages. Then, however, there are limits to the amount of extra money they will spend on food when income increases. Engel's Law, as income increases the

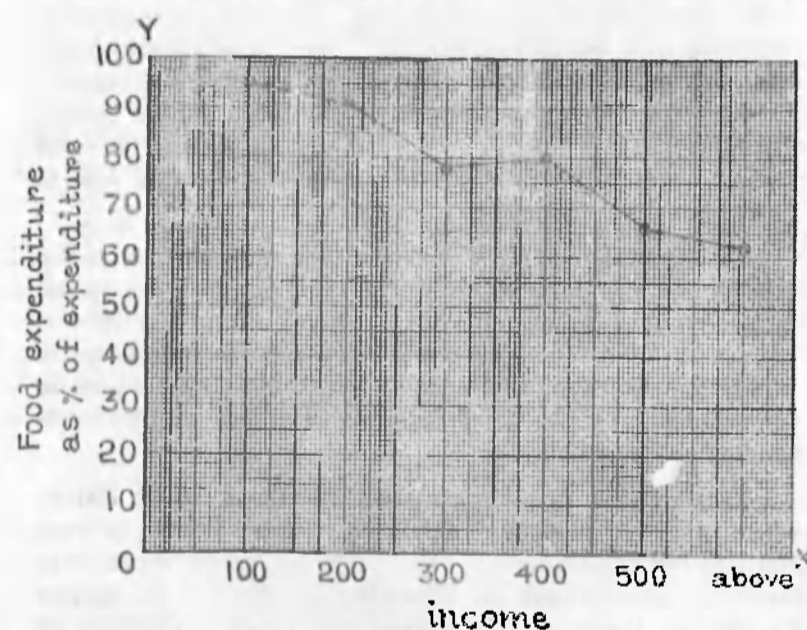


Fig. 7

Graph showing the pattern of food expenditure according to per capita income groups.

proportion of income spent on food decreases, becomes applicable here. This is true of both Harijans and non-Harijans. Figure 7 shows Engel's curve as an example of the statistical determination of the dependence of expenditure on food and income for Harijans.

Tables 18 and 19 indicate the percentage of expenditure devoted to food by income classes for the four districts separately and combined for Harijans.

The proportion of expenditure devoted to food decreases steadily with the increase in expenditure and income. In the poorest homes, 95.6 per cent of the total expenditure is on food items alone. The proportion slowly decreases with every successive increase in income. Those with the highest per capita income and consequently the highest per capita expenditure devote only about 62.5 per cent of their total expenditure to food items. The trend is similar in each district.

This is true not only of the Harijan households, but also of the non-Harijan households. If the percentage of consumption of households on items other than food can be taken as a criteria for measuring the standard of living of a community, this is definitely higher in the case of non-Harijans than Harijans.

In the non-Harijan households, the percentage of expenditure devoted to food increases initially between the first two groups then continues to decrease. The percentages are almost similar for Rs. 301-400 and Rs. 401-500 income groups. In the last group Rs. 501 and more, the percentage of food expenditure to total expenditure is only 54 per cent. The corresponding figure for Harijans was 62.5 per cent. A comparative analysis shows that the proportion of expenditure devoted to food is considerably higher in all classes in the Harijan households than in the non-Harijan households of the same income groups. Table 21 gives the districtwise break-up of percentage of food expenditure for non-Harijan households.

Expenditure and Poverty Line

To measure poverty among the 800 Harijan families and 197 non-Harijan families, their expenditure was tabulated following the National Sample Survey expenditure pattern for

TABLE 18

Table showing the per capita food expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure according to the income classes for Harijans :

Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	204.5	241.3	323.8	346.5	469	474.2
Per capita expenditure on food	196.0	220	252.3	279.5	312.9	296.5
Food expenditure as percentage of total expenditure	95.6	90.9	77.81	80	66	62.5

TABLE 19

Table showing the per capita expenditure as a percentage of total expenditure according to the income classes for non-Harijans :

Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	248.4	252.7	348.5	400.8	505.0	830.5
Per capita expenditure on food	173	223.8	256.1	279.1	348.3	449.3
Expenditure on food as a percentage of total expenditure	70	88.5	73.4	67.2	68.0	54.1

rural households. The National Sample Survey offers direct and independent estimates of private consumer expenditure for each State. These are based on direct enquiries made from a random sample. The National Sample Survey has separate data for rural and urban households. For the purposes of this study, the rural consumer expenditures for South India 1951 (second round) and Madras 1961 (sixteenth round) have been used. The fractile used by National Sample Survey is for 30-day period, but to simplify the analysis the figures have been multiplied to give the annual pattern. These tables for each district for both Harijan and non-Harijan communities have been included in Appendix 1.

Poverty in a community can be measured by means of various methods. Here an attempt is made to measure poverty using the nutritional method. As it is evident from this study and other similar studies that major portion of money is spent on food and its substitutes, it would be interesting to find out how many people are able to consume the barest minimum. According to a recent study made by Dandekar and Rath on Poverty in India, it has been concluded that in rural Tamil Nadu, a minimum of 2,321 calories are required per day to avoid poverty and a per capita income of Rs. 235 was required to maintain this standard of living in 1960. It should, however, be noted that the All-India average as per the same study is 2194 calories per day at a per capita consumption expenditure of Rs. 170 per annum.

The cost of minimum living varies not only between rural and urban areas but also between different states. This is due to several variations in consumer preferences, prices and other variables.

This instant study relates to the four selected districts in Tamil Nadu and is further intended to effect a comparison between Harijans and non-Harijans living below the poverty line.

TABLE 20

Table showing the per capita expenditure on food and expenditure on food as a percentage of total per capita expenditure according to per capita income groups by districts for Harijans :

<i>Thanjavur</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	144.0	206.5	329.0	348.0	439.0	628
Per capita food expenditure	104.4	161.2	201.9	266.7	333.5	282
Food expenditure as percentage of total expenditure	72.5	80.0	54.8	76.7	76.2	44.9
<i>Chingleput</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	268.1	276.3	346.1	382.7	575.1	568.7
Per capita food expenditure	254.0	239.0	261.0	306.0	364	306.0
Food expenditure as percentage of total expenditure	95.0	86.6	75.5	80.0	63.3	69.5

<i>Madurai</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	223	253.0	341.5	340.0	383.0	516
Per capita food expenditure	222.4	243.0	291.8	294.7	287.4	321.9
Food expenditure as percentage of total expenditure	99.9	96.0	85.3	83.8	75.0	62.4
<i>South Arcot</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	299.0	263.0	325.5	325.0	369.5	407.2
Per capita food expenditure	203.4	237.8	254.4	250.7	267.0	277.2
Food expenditure as percentage of total expenditure	68	90.4	78.0	76.0	72.0	69.4

TABLE 21

Table showing the per capita expenditure on food and expenditure on food as a percentage of total per capita expenditure according to per capita income groups by districts for non-Harjans :

<i>Thanjavur</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	141.5	193.4	308.6	432.7	409.5	1068
Per capita expenditure on food	101	135.8	157.1	288.8	239.3	535.5
Expenditure on food as a percentage of total expenditure	70.7	70.2	50.9	66.8	58.4	53.0
<i>Chingleput</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	264.7	314.7	356.2	460.2	506	636
Per capita expenditure on food	213.2	256.8	284.0	353.0	391.7	447.2
Expenditure on food as a percentage of total expenditure	80.7	81.5	80.0	74.0	77.0	70.0

<i>Madurai</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	...	300.7	454.4	413.7	583	669.8
Per capita expenditure on food	...	240.9	328.6	233.4	410	424
Expenditure on food as a percentage of total expenditure	...	80	72.2	56.6	70.4	63.4

<i>South Arcot</i>						
Per capita income groups	00—100	101—200	201—300	301—400	401—500	501 and more
Per capita expenditure	259.4	314.8	346.3	382.8	447.3	667.6
Per capita expenditure on food	207.6	262.5	254.6	241.1	352.2	390.5
Expenditure on food as a percentage of total expenditure	80.0	79.7	73.5	63.0	78.9	58.5

Table 22 gives the percentage of Harijans and Non-Harijans under the poverty line in 1970 and it also gives an account of poverty in Rural Tamil Nadu in 1950 and 1960 based on National Sample Survey Tables on Rural Consumer Expenditure. For 1970 we have the survey data for the four sample districts.

TABLE 22

Table showing the poverty among Harijans in Tamil Nadu :

	Poverty line in Rupees	Expenditure below 50% of the poverty line	Expenditure above 50% but below 100% of the bare minimum	Total under poverty line
1950	188 (180—216)	10.15	24.25	34.40
1960	235 (216—252)	14.0	27.49	41.49
<i>1970—Harijans</i>				
	446 (408—516)			
Thanjavur		48.5	36.0	84.5
Chingleput		26.0	42.0	68.0
Madurai		14.0	64.0	78.0
South Arcot		15.5	58.5	74.0
<i>Non-Harijans</i>				
Thanjavur		24.0	24.0	48.0
Chingleput		20.0	40.0	60.0
Madurai		4.0	34.0	38.0
South Arcot		10.6	48.9	59.5
Total for Tamil Nadu		20.4	43.4	63.8

Compiled and derived from NSS data for 1950 and 1960.
Poverty line based on *Dandekar Report on Poverty*.

An attempt to measure poverty has been made here, using the nutritional method adopted by Dandekar and Rath. Using the Dandekar and Rath base, and taking into account the increase in rural prices (based on rural consumer price index for Tamil Nadu) it is estimated that a per capita expenditure of Rs. 446 is needed in 1970 to consume food items and their substitutes which will provide the same number of calories. If a per capita expenditure of Rs. 446 is required to be just on the subsistence level, any person with an expenditure below this can be said to be in poverty. In other words a per capita expenditure of Rs. 446 is considered to be the poverty line.

Based on National Sample Survey accounts on consumer expenditure for rural households in 1961, 41.49 per cent of rural population in Madras were below the poverty line, as against 34.40 per cent of rural South India in 1950. In 1950, it is estimated that a per capita expenditure of Rs. 188 was required to be on the subsistence level. Table 22 shows that 34.40 per cent of the rural population was in poverty. 10.15% of the population experienced extreme poverty, i.e., they had expenditures below 50 per cent of the required Rs. 188, and 24.25 per cent had expenditures between 50 per cent and 100 per cent (Rs. 94-188) of the bare minimum. In 1960, 14.0% were in extreme poverty with per capita expenditures between Rs. 0-117.5 and 27.49 per cent had a per capita expenditure between 50 per cent and 100 per cent of the bare minimum. Since separate figures for Scheduled Castes are not available it is not possible to gauge the extent of poverty among Harijans during these two periods.

In 1970, 76.1 per cent of the Harijans and 50.8 per cent of the non-Harijans are below poverty line. 26.0 per cent of the Harijans and 14.3 per cent of the non-Harijans experience extreme poverty. They have per capita expenditures between Rs. 0-223, that is less than 50 per cent of the subsistence level.

A comparative analysis of the four districts shows that Thanjavur Harijans are the poorest followed by Madurai Harijans, South Arcot Harijans and Chingleput Harijans in the above-mentioned order. In Thanjavur, 84.5 per cent of the Harijans have per capita expenditures of less than Rs. 446. 48.5 per cent of the Harijans have per capita expenditures below Rs. 223 and

the remaining 36.0% have per capita expenditures between Rs. 223 and Rs. 446. In Madurai, 78 per cent of the Harijans are in poverty, but unlike in Thanjavur, a smaller percentage, only 14 per cent are in extreme poverty (having per capita expenditure below Rs. 223) and the remaining 64.0 have per capita expenditures between Rs. 223 and Rs. 446, i.e., expenditures above 50 per cent but below 100 per cent of the bare minimum. In South Arcot, 74.0 per cent of Harijans are in poverty and 15 per cent of Harijans experience extreme poverty. Lastly in Chingleput, 68 per cent of Harijans are below the poverty line. Chingleput has the lowest percentage of Harijans below the poverty line among the four districts.

Non-Harijan figures confirm that despite the fact that a large percentage of non-Harijans fall below the subsistence level, extreme poverty (per capita expenditure below 50 per cent of the subsistence level, which is Rs. 0—223) is not widespread among the non-Harijans as among Harijans. In Thanjavur, 48.0% of the non-Harijans are under poverty line as against 84.5 per cent of Harijans, and 24 per cent of the non-Harijans experience extreme poverty as against 48.5 per cent of Harijans. In Chingleput, the percentage of non-Harijans in poverty is the highest among the four districts. There are 60 per cent of non-Harijans with per capita expenditures below Rs. 446 in this district. The number of non-Harijans in poverty in this district is only 8 per cent lower than the Harijan figures. The figures are 60 per cent for non-Harijans and 68.0 for Harijans. Madurai has the lowest number of non-Harijans under poverty line, the percentage being only 38.0. Only 4 per cent of non-Harijans in Madurai are in the extreme poverty group. In South Arcot, 59.5% of non-Harijans are under poverty line as against 74 per cent of Harijans in this district.

The combined figures for Tamil Nadu derived from the above figures (both Harijans and non-Harijans) show that 63.8 per cent of rural households are in poverty in 1970 as against 41.49 per cent in 1960, and 34.40 per cent in 1950. There is evidence of a steady decline in the standard of living of rural population.

Very few Harijan families save, or in other words a very high percentage of Harijans have unfavourable family budgets. Table 23 showing the extent of dissaving and saving and percen-

EXPENDITURE

tage of households having unfavourable family budgets for Harijans and non-Harijans makes an interesting study.

The majority of the Harijan households have unfavourable family budgets. The number of families with favourable budgets increases with each increase in per capita income. Of those Harijan households which have a per capita income ranging from Rs. 0-100, 99 per cent of them have unfavourable family budgets. More than 50 per cent of the Harijan households with a per capita income of Rs. 101-200 have unfavourable family budgets. The tables show that only households which can balance their budgets and also save are those with per capita incomes above Rs. 500. This is true of both Harijan and non-Harijan families. But since a much lower percentage of Harijans fall into the affluent group, the percentage with unfavourable budgets is greater among the Harijan group than in the non-Harijan group.

In terms of savings, in the case of both Harijans and Non-Harijans, only those households with per capita incomes of Rs. 501 and more save.

In Thanjavur, except for 7.1% of the Harijan members who constitute the top two income groups (401-500 and more) all others dissave. The lowest income group dissaves upto 75.6 per cent; the next income group (101-200) dissaves approximately 9.0 per cent. The following income group dissaves 54 per cent. The savings of the last two income groups (401-500 and 501 and more) is 20 per cent and 3 per cent respectively. In Chingleput, only those in the most affluent group (501 and more) save. The poorest dissave upto Rs. 183 or 220.0 per cent. In Madurai, as in Thanjavur, the last two groups save. In South Arcot, the poorest homes spend 302 per cent more than what they earn and still live far below the subsistence level. As in other districts, in South Arcot, the highest income households alone save. These households save upto 41.9 per cent which is the highest percentage among the four districts.

When compared with Harijan households, the non-Harijan families have a lower percentage of savings. Except for those in the lowest income groups, the non-Harijans in all other four income groups have a higher percentage of dissaving according to the combined figures. In a district like Chingleput, the poorest

301—400	26.3	— 8.0	40.0	— 9.0
401—500	Nil	20.0	18.0	— 3.0
501 and more	Nil	3.0	Nil	12.0
<i>Non-Havijans</i>				
00—100	75.0	—62.0	75.0	—327.0
101—200	31.0	—28.7	80.0	—119.4
201—300	42.0	—26.8	40.0	— 50.4
301—400	40.0	—22.0	50.0	— 35.3
401—500	33.0	10	25.0	11.5
501 and more	Nil	15.2	Nil	24.8

26.3	...	19.0	— 6.7	29.0	— 2.0
25.4	8.4	9.0	— 10.9	14.3	— 5.0
Nil	39.3	Nil	41.9	Nil	26.4
...	...	80.0	—202.0	75.0	—186.2
63.7	—90.0	75.0	—139.0	68.0	— 92.1
100.0	—70.0	40.0	— 21.0	51.9	— 46.2
45.0	—13.5	33.0	— 8.9	41.6	— 26.7
57.1	—22.5	17.0	— 3.0	35.0	— 6.6
Nil	10.8	Nil	17.0	Nil	16.5

TABLE 23
 Table showing the percentage of households having unfavourable family budgets and the extent of saving and
 dissaving according to the per capita income groups:

Per capita incomes	Thanjavur		Chingleput		Madurai		South Arcot		Combined		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
		Percentage of households with unfavourable budgets		Percentage of households with unfavourable budgets		Percentage of households with unfavourable budgets		Percentage of households with unfavourable budgets		Percentage of households with unfavourable budgets	
		Percentage of savings		Percentage of savings		Percentage of savings		Percentage of savings		Percentage of savings	
<i>Hajians</i>											
00—100	73.0	—75.6	100.0	—220.0	100.0	—197.3	100.0	—302.0	99.0	—195.8	
101—200	50.1	—9.0	69.9	—80.0	69.2	—70.9	64.1	—50.0	64.3	—52.0	
201—300	28.7	—54.0	45.0	—38.0	52.0	—36.8	60.4	—26.0	47.7	—37.7	

non-Harijan family dissaves approximately 327.0 per cent, as against 222.0 per cent in the Harijan group. We find that in Thanjavur and Chingleput, the highest two income groups (401-500 and 501 and more) save. The Harijans in these two income groups save more than non-Harijans. The higher percentage of dissaving in the first five income groups and the lower percentage of saving in the highest income group among the non-Harijan households as compared with the Harijan households can be explained by the variance in the expenditure pattern in these two communities. Non-Harijans with higher incomes and also with similar incomes to that of Harijans spend less on food than Harijans and spend greater amounts on non-food items like clothing, education and health.

The question of dissavings leads one to the question of indebtedness as set forth in Tables 24 and 25. Of the 800 Harijan families, 566 are in debt of which nearly 453 or 80.5 per cent have borrowed for unproductive purposes and only 113 or 19.5 per cent have borrowed for productive purposes or for further investment. Most of them have borrowed just to survive. Three major sources of credit are the relatives, the money-lenders and other organised sources like co-operative banks, employers and government. 25.2 per cent borrowed from relatives and close friends. 22.3 per cent borrowed from money-lenders paying exorbitant rates of interest and about 52.5 per cent borrowed from a more organised sector like the banks, co-operative societies and employers. Of these, who borrowed from the last source, the majority borrowed from landlords under whom they work.

Only 68 per cent of the non-Harijan households borrow as against 80.5 per cent of the Harijan households. A greater number borrow for productive purposes than among Harijan households. 51.1 per cent of non-Harijans borrow for productive purposes as against 19.5 per cent of the Harijans. Though many borrow from relatives and money-lenders, nearly 60 per cent get their loans from banks, co-operative societies and employers.

TABLE 24

DATA ON INDEBTEDNESS OF SCHEDULED CASTES

District	Total No. of borrowers	For productive purposes	For unproductive purposes	Sources of Credit			Total
				Relatives	Money-Lenders	Others†	
Thanjavur	119	30	89	44	47	28	119
Chingleput	171	40	131	50	14	107	171
South Arcot	120	33	87	32	25	63	120
Madurai	156	10	146	17	40	99	156
	566	113	453	143	126	297	566
Total %	100.0	19.5	80.5	25.2	22.3	52.5	100.0

Total No. of Samples : 800

Total No. of Villages : 40

†Others : It includes Banks, Co-operative Societies, Government and Employers.

TABLE 25

DATA ON INDEBTEDNESS OF NON-SCHEDULED CASTES

District	Total No. of borrowers	For productive purposes	For unproductive purposes	Sources of Credit			Total
				Relatives	Money-Lenders	Others†	
Thanjavur	35	20	15	8	10	17	35
Chingleput	31	10	21	7	3	21	31
South Arcot	35	16	19	10	13	12	35
Madurai	34	24	10	2	3	29	34
	135	70	65	27	29	79	135
Total %	100.0	51.1	48.9	19.5	21.0	59.5	100

Total No. of Samples: 197

Total No. of Villages: 40

†Others: It includes Banks, Co-operative Societies, Government and Employers.

APPENDIX
CONSUMER EXPENDITURE PATTERN OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS 1951—RURAL SOUTH INDIA

	0—96	96—132	132—156	156—180	180—216	216—252	252—288	288—336	336—408	408—516	516—660	660—900	900 more
Food expenditure	45.00	82.92	111.72	124.08	161.06	161.28	195.60	266.04	225.00	274.80	307.32	402.72	...
Non food expenditure	18.00	25.20	20.64	38.04	49.20	64.92	71.16	83.52	129.12	179.52	227.04	440.88	...
Total expenditure	63.84	108.22	132.36	162.12	210.36	226.20	266.76	309.56	356.12	453.32	534.36	343.60	...
Food as a percentage of total expenditure	70.49	76.65	84.33	76.54	76.58	71.31	73.30	86.18	63.54	60.49	57.50	47.74	...
No of households	40	43	22	31	40	34	36	37	35	35	20	21	...
No. of households as a percentage of sample	10.15	10.91	5.58	7.86	10.15	8.63	9.14	9.39	8.88	8.88	5.07	5.33	...
Average household size	6.28	5.19	5.78	6.03	5.13	6.61	4.38	5.57	4.91	5.65	6.00	3.69	...

EXPENDITURE PATTERN 1961—TAMIL NADU
RURAL

	1960-61	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-408	408-516	516-660	660-900	900 more
Food items	51.60	97.92	110.2	127.1	145.6	179.3	198.4	233.2	252.3	298.5	345.5	429.4	430.8	
Nonfood expenditure	13.80	19.2	35.04	40.32	47.52	51.84	71.52	79.07	116.5	157.0	227.4	345.8	724.0	
Total expenditure	65.40	117.12	145.24	167.42	193.12	231.14	269.92	312.27	368.8	455.5	572.9	775.2	1154.8	
Food as Percentage of total expenditure	78.89	83.62	75.9	75.9	75.19	77.62	63.5	74.69	68.41	65.52	60.13	55.4	37.3	

No. of households	29	73	44	55	101
No. of households as a percentage of sample	3.98	10.02	6.05	7.56	13.88
Average household size	5.17	4.52	5.01	4.59	5.18

107	76	56	69	45	37	21	15
14.7	10.44	7.69	9.48	6.18	5.08	2.88	2.60
4.65	4.21	4.04	4.05	3.32	3.42	2.88	3.10

107 76 56 69 45 37 21 15

14.7 10.44 7.69 9.48 6.18 5.08 2.88 2.60

4.65 4.21 4.04 4.05 3.32 3.42 2.88 3.10

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS
THANJAVUR

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-408	408-516	516-660	660 more
Food exp- enditure	70	84.2	105.4	133.8	150.9	159.7	202.8	225.9	232.9	337.0	370.3	357
Non-food expen- diture	5	35.1	28.5	34.1	36.1	75.3	60.7	79.5	139.0	124.4	203.7	662.4
Total expen- diture	75	119.3	133.9	167.9	187.0	235	263.5	305.4	371.9	461.4	574	1019.4

Food as percentage of total expenditure	93	70.58	73.26	81.5	76.96
No. of households	9	15	16	24	33
No. of households as a percentage of sample	4.5	7.5	8.0	12.0	16.5
Average household size	6.1	6.2	6.5	5.6	5.6

67.97	76.96	74.15	62.56	74.27	64.51	35.05
22	15	21	14	19	7	5
11.0	7.5	10.5	7.0	9.5	3.5	2.5
5.0	4.3	3.1	4	2.7	3	3

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS

CHINGLEPUT

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-408	408-516	516-660	660 more
Food expen- diture	76	84.2	118	155.6	180.2	197.3	214.4	259.4	286.0	332.3	420.6	591.7
Non-food expen- diture	8	36.3	24.1	11.1	18	39	58	57	68	85.1	142.7	353.1
Total exp:n- diture	84	120.5	142.1	166.7	198.2	236.3	272.4	316.4	354.0	417.4	563.3	944.8

Food as percentage of total expenditure	90.0	70.0	83.05	93.35	90.93
No. of households	1	7	7	15	22
No. of households as a percentage of sample	0.5	3.5	3.5	7.5	11
Average household size	9	7.1	5.3	6.8	6.7

83.52	78.7	81.94	80.63	79.62	74.66	62.62
21	22	21	20	34	19	11
10.5	11	10.5	10	17	9.5	5.5
5.9	5.3	5.2	4.3	4.3	5.2	4.8

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS

SOUTH ARCOT

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-408	408-516	516-660	660 more
Food expen- diture	...	94	100.7	114.4	138.4	174.5	213.2	240.7	278.7	352.6	431.6	512.8
Non food expendi- ture	...	27.4	45.8	48.5	57.1	60.5	58.3	76.4	88.7	66.8	131	232.6
Total expen- diture	...	121.4	146.5	162.9	195.5	235	271.5	317.1	367.4	419.4	562.6	745.4

Food as per- centage of total exp- enditure ...	77.57	69.18	70.23	70.86
No. of house- holds ...	5	4	11	11
No. of households as a percen- tage of sample ...	2.5	2	5.5	5.5
Average house- hold size ...	6	5.7	6.0	5.9

69.98	78.52	75.90	74.3	84.1	76.72	68.8
21	22	35	39	29	18	5
10.5	11	17.51	9.5	14.5	9	2.5
5.2	4.0	4.8	4.7	4.0	4.0	3.2

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS

MADURAI

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-408	408-516	516-660	660 more
Food expen- diture	71	83.6	123.2	128.5	143.2	192	231.4	251.9	290.3	358.3	404.8	458.6
Non-food expendi- ture	...	36.4	15.6	18.8	55.8	42.8	36.5	61.5	80.4	88.7	175.5	893.4
Total expen- diture	71	120	138.8	147.3	199	234.8	267.9	313.4	370.7	447.0	580.3	1325

Food as percen- tage of total exp- enditure	100	69.6	86.72	87.24	71.78
No. of house- holds	2	3	5	8	10
No. of households as a percen- tage of sample	1.0	1.5	2.5	4.0	5.0
Average house- hold size	4	5.3	6.8	5.1	5.7

81.77	86.44	80.41	77.64	79.00	69.77	34.61
23	34	46	26	29	9	6
11.5	17.0	23.0	13.0	14.5	4.5	3
5.1	4.9	4.3	4.9	5.7	5	3

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—NON-HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS

THANJAVUR

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-392	392-516	516-660	660 more
Food expen- diture	...	90	107.6	125	134.2	176.9	...	131	315	269	327	854.6
Non-food expen- diture	...	24.6	35.7	47.5	55.5	59.5	...	185	45.5	191.5	268.1	824.0
Total expen- diture	...	114	143.3	172.5	189.7	236.4	...	316	360.0	460.5	595.1	1678.6

Food as percen- tage of total exp- eniture ...	78.52	75.18	72.40	70.73
No. of house- holds ...	3	3	2	4
No. of house- holds as a percen- tage of sample ...	6.0	6.0	4.0	8.0
Average house- hold size ...	6.3	7.6	10	5.5

74.84	...	41.46	87.5	58.41	54.94	50.9
7	...	2	3	6	10	9
14.0	...	4	6	12	20	18
5.8	...	7.5	4.67	5.2	4.9	5

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—NON-HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS

CHINGLEPUT

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-392	392-516	516-660	660 more
Food expen- diture	60	...	104	109	165.5	140	251	234	255	380	489	667
Non-food expen- diture	34	...	31	62	49.5	76	22	73	101	71	112	286
Total expen- diture	94	...	135	171	215	216	273	307	356	451	601	953

Food as percentage of total exp- enditure	64	...	84.4	63.7	77
No. of house- holds	1	...	1	5	2
No of house- holds as a p rcent- tate of sample	2	...	2	10	4
Average house- hold size	12	...	7	6.4	8

65.7	91.9	76.2	71.6	84.3	81.3	70
1	3	13	4	9	5	6
2	6	26	8	18	10	12
6	6.7	7.1	4.2	4.1	4.6	5

EXPENDITURE PATTERN—NON-HARIJAN HOUSEHOLDS

SOUTH ARCOT

	0-96	96-132	132-156	156-180	180-216	216-252	252-288	288-336	336-408	408-516	516-660	660 more
Food expen- diture	65	...	103.5	125	...	...	205.2	254.1	245.1	348.7	301.4	578.2
Non-food expen- diture	24	...	40	53.5	...	...	63.4	61.1	133.3	92.8	268.8	229
Total expen- diture	89	...	143.5	178.5	...	...	268.6	315.2	378.4	441.5	570.2	807.2

Food as percentage of total exp- enditure	73	...	72.13	70.03	...	..
No. of house- holds	1	...	2	2	...	..
No. of house- holds as a percen- tage of sample	2.0	...	4.0	4.0	...	..
Average house- hold size	...	...	6.5	3.0	...	..

76.4	80.61	64.8	78.9	52.61	71.63
6	7	10	10	5	4
12.0	14.0	20.0	20.0	10.0	8.0
4.0	6.0	4.5	6.0	3.0	3.0

CHAPTER FIVE

CAUSES FOR POVERTY

This chapter and the next deal with the low standards of living among Harijans. In this chapter the reasons for poverty are analysed. Some of the main causes for poverty are: the nature of employment; underemployment; unequal distribution of land; the unduly large number of members in the Harijan households and their dependency ratio.

To understand the poverty situation the occupational pattern of both Harijans and non-Harijans should be examined. Occupation here means the work or employment which provides the respondent with his major source of income. Rural workers can be classified into four major categories, according to the occupations they hold. They are the owner-cultivators, the tenants, the agricultural coolies, and lastly the non-agricultural workers. The last group includes those engaged in traditional occupations other than agriculture (such as barbers, sweepers, money-lenders, etc.) those employed by the government and private companies and also those who have their own private business. Since the bulk of workers in the village are in the agricultural sector, all the occupations mentioned above have been grouped under one heading.

The table presented here shows the occupational pattern of Harijan and non-Harijan respondents in the four districts. The majority of Harijans are employed as agricultural coolies. Combined figures for the four districts show that 433 respondents or 54 per cent of the Harijan workers are employed as coolies for daily wages. About 22.5 per cent of the Harijans are employed in non-agricultural occupations; they are craftsmen in household industries, sweepers, scavengers, barbers, teachers and peons in government. 104 respondents of the 800 are land-owning cultivators and of these the majority 62 per cent come from Chingleput. The number of land-owning cultivators in Chingleput is 62 or 31 per cent of the Harijan respondents in the district. Though the

number might seem high further analysis shows that out of these 62 land-owning cultivators, 75 per cent own land of less than one acre.

A comparative analysis of the four districts shows that in all the four districts the majority of Harijans work as agricultural coolies. In Thanjavur, Harijans employed as agricultural coolies number nearly 50 per cent, in Madurai 71 per cent, in Chingleput 40 per cent and in South Arcot 55.5 per cent. This occupation is invariably seasonal and hence workers are unemployed during the greater part of the year. The daily wages are very low. Despite the fact that larger numbers of Harijans are employed in a household than non-Harijans their total earnings per year are very low.

The next group consists of those engaged in non-agricultural work. In Thanjavur, the majority of this group consists of those who are engaged in household industries particularly weaving. In Chingleput, the majority of non-agricultural workers are employed in railways, in the Madras Corporation, and also in private companies like the Standard Motor Company. In Madurai they are employed as teachers and some are engaged in household work. The University provides employment for many in South Arcot. As already mentioned in Chingleput we find nearly 31 per cent of Harijans are owner-cultivators, but in all other districts, the percentage of owners is negligible. Owner-cultivators number only 10 per cent in Madurai, 8 per cent in South Arcot and 12 per cent in Thanjavur. In addition to coolies and owner-cultivators there are the tenants, who hire land and cultivate it. But there are not many such tenants. South Arcot has the maximum number of tenants, 14.5 per cent, followed by Thanjavur with 10.5 per cent, Madurai with 7 per cent and Chingleput with 4 per cent. Only 4 persons in all the districts reported being totally unemployed.

Non-Harijans form the bulk of the land-owning class. Agriculture is the main source of occupation for them. 40.6 per cent of these are land-owning cultivators. There are very few coolies and tenants among them but another 40 per cent are engaged in the non-agricultural sector. A districtwise break-down of figures shows that the maximum number of land-owning cultivators are in Thanjavur followed by Madurai. Chingleput and

TABLE 26

EMPLOYMENT PATTERN

Table showing the occupational pattern of the Harijan and non-Harijan respondents in the four districts :

	<i>Thanjavur</i>		<i>Chingleput</i>		<i>Madurai</i>		<i>South Arcot</i>		<i>Combined</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Harijans</i>										
Land owning cultivator	24	12.0	62	31.0	2	1.0	16	8.0	104	13.0
Tenant	21	10.5	8	4.0	14	7.0	29	14.5	72	9.0
Agricultural Coolie	99	49.5	81	40.5	142	71.0	111	55.5	433	54.1
Non-agricultural occupation	49	24.5	46	23.0	42	21.0	43	21.5	180	22.5
Unemployed	3	1.5	—	—	—	—	1	0.5	4	.
Students	4	2.0	3	1.5	—	—	—	—	7	0.9
Total	200	100.0	200	100.0	200	100.0	200	100.0	800	100.0

Non-Harijans

Land owning cultivator	22	44.0	21
Tenant	4	8.0	1
Coolie	8	16.0	4
Non-agricultural occupation	14	28.0	24
Unemployed	2	4.0	—
Total	50	100.0	50

42.0	22	44.0	15	31.8	80	40.6
2.0	4	8.0	7	15.0	16	8.3
8.0	8	16.0	2	4.2	22	11.2
48.0	16	32.0	23	49.0	77	39.8
—	—	—	—	—	2	0.1
100.0	50	100.0	47	100.0	197	100.0

South Arcot have the lowest number. In a district like Madurai, the figures show that among Harijans there are only 1 per cent land-owning cultivators as against 44 per cent among non-Harijans. Even though the difference is not so great in Thanjavur and South Arcot, it is still high.

Combined figures show that 13 per cent of Harijans are land-owning cultivators, as against 40 per cent of non-Harijans, 55 per cent of Harijans are coolies as against 11.2 per cent of non-Harijans. The figures for tenants are almost similar in both classes. In the case of non-agricultural workers, the figure is very high for non-Harijans; it is almost double the number in the Harijan community. In Thanjavur, 24.5 per cent of Harijans are non-agricultural workers against 28 per cent of non-Harijans in this category. In Chingleput, the difference is very wide. Only 23 per cent of Harijans hold non-agricultural occupations against 48 per cent of non-Harijans. In Madurai, the percentages are 21 per cent for Harijans and 32 per cent for non-Harijans in the non-agricultural occupations. In South Arcot, as in Chingleput, nearly twice the number of non-Harijans are engaged in non-agricultural work as compared with the Harijan workers.

The tables presented here show the employment pattern of the respondents according to their age. The respondents have been grouped under three headings according to their age, first those who are below 25 years constituting the present day youth; those between 25 and 35 years and thirdly those above 35 years. Surprisingly the employment pattern has been the same for all the three age groups among Harijans. Table 27 shows the distribution of workers in each occupation according to their age. Table 28 shows the distribution of occupations in each age group.

According to Table 27, 15.4 per cent of the Harijan owner-cultivators are below the age of 25, 29.8 per cent are between 25-35 years and 54.8 per cent belong to the older age group. The majority (61.2) of the Harijan tenants belong to the older age group. Among the Harijan coolies, 12.8 per cent are youth (below 25 years), 40.0 per cent fall into the group 25-35 years, 47 per cent belong to the above 35 years group. A similar age distribution is witnessed in non-agricultural occupations.

TABLE 27

OCCUPATION AND AGE

Table showing the distribution of workers in each occupation according to their age among Harijans and non-Harijans :

Combined

	25 and below		25—35		above 35	
	<i>Harijan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>	<i>Harijan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>	<i>Harijan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>
Land-owning cultivators	15.4	7.5	29.8	13.7	54.8	78.8
Tenants	8.3	19.3	30.5	—	61.2	80.7
Coolies	12.8	13.4	40.0	36.6	47.2	50.0
Non-agricultural occupations	11.7	1.4	43.9	27.2	44.4	71.4

If each age group is treated separately, and if we analyse the occupations in which the Harijans engage themselves (Table 28), it will be seen that there is very little difference in the percentages of the 3 groups in each occupation. The distribution is almost uniform. We find that 14.2 per cent of those below 25 years, 12.0 per cent of those between the ages of 25 and 35 and 13.7 per cent of those above 35 years are land-owning cultivators. A similar trend is noticed among coolies. 54.7 per cent of those below 25 years of age, 58.0 per cent of those between 25–35 years and 53.3 per cent of those above 35 years are coolies. From this it is evident that there has been little or no shift in the employment pattern among the Harijans. The village setting still offers little or no scope for alternative jobs.

There are slight variations among non-Harijans. Table 28 shows that 40 per cent of those below 25 years and 44 per cent of those above 35 years are land-owning cultivators, as against 27.5 per cent of those between 25 and 35 years. Again 20 per cent

of those under 25 years are tenants as against 9.2 per cent in the above 35 years group. There are no tenants among 25 to 35 years age group. There are less number of coolies in the older groups than the two younger groups. 52.5 per cent of those between 25 and 35 years, follow non-agricultural occupations whereas only 39 per cent of the oldest group and 8 per cent of the youngest group are engaged in non-agricultural occupations.

Underemployment is the dominant feature among all agricultural occupations. Since agriculture provides work only during certain seasons depending on the number of crops produced, those working on land remain idle anywhere from 50 to 250 days a year. For purposes of this study any person employed for less than 250 days a year is considered underemployed. Among the 3 major types of agricultural workers, the owner-cultivators, the tenants and the coolies, the coolies are the most underemployed. Of the Harijan households we find that of the 104 owner-cultivators, 95 per cent of them are underemployed, and only 5 per cent have work throughout the year, 15 owner-cultivators are employed for 50 days, and 67 owner-cultivators work only to a maximum of 200 days. The remaining 13 owners are underemployed for 151 to 250 days in a year. A districtwise classification shows that the owners in Thanjavur are all underemployed. 62.6 per cent are underemployed for 101-200 days per year. In Chingleput, of the 62 owners only 6 work throughout the year, and 56 owners are underemployed for 51 to 250 days. In Madurai, the number of owner-cultivators is negligible. In South Arcot, except for two owners who are fully employed the remaining 14 owners are underemployed from 51 days to 150 days per year. The reasons for underemployment can be explained in terms of the uneconomical land holdings, their poor quality and also to the lack of capital to invest twice a year.

In the case of tenants, underemployment is almost 97.1 per cent for all districts. Except for 2 tenants in Chingleput, the remaining 69 are underemployed. 77.3 per cent are underemployed for 51 to 150 days, and 15.5 per cent are employed only for 151 to 250 days. The districtwise analysis shows that the tenants in Thanjavur are underemployed for 50 to 250 days per year. In this district 50 per cent of the tenants work only for 200 days per year, 45 per cent are unemployed for 151 to 250 days. In

TABLE 28

Table showing the distribution of occupation of Harijans and non-Harijans in each age group :

	<i>Land-owning cultivators</i>		<i>Terants</i>		<i>Coolies</i>		<i>Non-agricultural occupations</i>		<i>Others</i>	
	<i>Hari-jan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>	<i>Hari-jan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>	<i>Hari-jan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>	<i>Hari-jan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>	<i>Hari-jan</i>	<i>Non-Harijan</i>
Below 25 Yrs	14.2	40.0	4.8	20.0	54.7	20.0	19.3	8.0	7.0	12.0
25 — 35 Yrs	12.0	27.5	7.0	—	58.0	20.0	23.0	52.5	—	—
Above 35 Yrs	13.7	44.0	11.4	9.2	53.3	7.8	21.0	39.0	0.6	—

TABLE 29

Table showing the number of Harijans underemployed according to their different occupations in the four districts :

District	Owner-cultivators		Tenants		Coolies		Non-agricultural workers		Combined	
	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed	F	U
Thanjavur	—	24	—	21	1	98	12	37	13	180
Chingleput	6	56	2	6	—	81	41	5	49	148
Madurai	1	1	1	13	—	142	33	9	35	165
South Arcot	2	14	—	29	1	110	42	1	45	154
Total	9	95	3	69	2	431	128	52	142	647

TABLE 30

Table showing the extent of underemployment among Harijans according to different occupations in the four districts :

District	0—50 days				51—100 days				101—150 days				151—200 days				201—250 days				Total			
	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA
Thanjavur	5	1	1	3	1	1	8	28	8	10	40	5	7	6	41	1	3	3	8	1	24	21	98	38
Chinglepu	9	-	2	4	24	1	17	1	20	4	52	-	3	1	9	-	-	-	1	-	56	6	81	-
Madurai	1	1	12	3	-	7	56	2	-	3	69	4	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	13	142	9
South Arcot	-	2	11	1	4	13	53	-	10	14	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	29	110	1

OC — Owner-cultivators
 T — Tenants
 C — Agricultural coolies
 NA — Non-Agricultural workers

TABLE 31

Table showing the number of non-Harijans underemployed according to different occupations in the four districts :

District	Owner-cultivators		Tenants		Coolies		Non-agricultural workers		Combined	
	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed	Fully employed	Under-employed
Thanjavur	7	15	—	4	—	8	10	4	17	31
Chingleput	4	17	—	1	—	4	20	4	24	26
Madurai	2	20	—	4	1	7	14	2	17	33
South Arcot	5	10	1	6	—	2	22	1	28	19
Total	18	62	1	15	1	21	66	11	86	109

TABLE 32

Table showing the extent of underemployment among non-Harijans according to their different occupations in the four districts :

District	0—50 days				51—100 days				101—150 days				151—200 days				201—250 days				Total			
	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA	OC	T	C	NA
Thanjavur	4	-	2	-	2	1	2	-	6	1	2	1	3	2	3	2	-	-	1	1	15	4	10	4
Chingleput	9	1	-	-	3	-	3	-	4	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	17	1	4	4
Madurai	4	-	1	1	10	2	4	1	5	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	20	4	7	2
South Arcot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3	1	-	6	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	10	6	2	1

OC — Owner-cultivator;
 T — Tenants
 C — Agricultural Coolies
 NA — Non-Agricultural workers

Chingleput the tenants are unemployed for 51 to 200 days per year. In Madurai, there is 100 per cent underemployment among tenants. This underemployment among tenants ranges upto a maximum of 200 days. Similarly, in South Arcot all the 29 workers are underemployed at least approximately for 150 days per year. Tenants who have land do not have enough capital to invest; moreover they have no permanent interest in the land since they do not possess it; the land-owner on the other hand is satisfied if he gets his payment and does not bother about production. Hence we find tenants being unemployed during a large number of days in a year.

Since 54 per cent of Harijans work as coolies, the number of days they are able to secure work in a year can be calculated. Except for 3 coolies all the 431 are underemployed. The majority of them have no work for 50 to 150 days in a year. Even though, there are owners and tenants without employment for a similar number of days, they have some savings to fall back on, as they cultivate their own land. Whereas coolies work for daily wages and the meagre wages they get do not cover expenses for the day. In Thanjavur, coolies on an average work for 200 days per year. In the other three districts the averages are higher. In Chingleput the average number of working days for a coolie is 233, in Madurai he works for 255 days and in South Arcot he works for 248 days.

Non-agricultural work provides more permanent employment. Our data shows that of 181 non-agricultural Harijan employees, 128 are fully employed. Only Thanjavur has a large number of workers underemployed in this category. Their families are engaged in weaving and since they do not have enough capital to invest, they remain idle anywhere from 51 to 180 days. Only a small percentage are unemployed for 101-150 days. In Chingleput, 41 of the 46 employees are fully employed, the same trend can be noticed in South Arcot, where 42 of the 43 workers are fully employed. In Madurai, 9 workers are underemployed to a maximum of 150 days.

Underemployment is not such a severe problem among non-Harijans because the majority of non-Harijans are owner-cultivators or are engaged in non-agricultural work which more

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frequently provides permanent employment. 80 of the 197 non-Harijan respondents are owner-cultivators. Of these 80, 18 are fully employed and 62 are underemployed. The extent of underemployment varies. 17 owner-cultivators are unemployed for 50 days only, 15 owners have employment for 200 to 250 days, 19 have employment for 150 to 200 days, the remaining 11 owners have employment only for 100 to 150 days.

Of the 17 non-Harijan tenants only 2 are fully employed, 11 of them are underemployed for 101-200 days per year. Like the Harijan coolies, 100 per cent of the non-Harijan coolies are underemployed. The majority of the non-Harijan coolies work for a period ranging from 100-200 days per year. Of the 75 non-agricultural non-Harijan employees 64 were permanently employed, only 11 are underemployed. Table 33 given below shows the extent of underemployment among both communities according to their occupations.

TABLE 33

Table showing the extent of underemployment among both communities according to their occupations :

	<i>Harijans</i>	<i>Non-Harijans</i>
Owner-cultivators	94.0	77.5
Tenants	97.0	89.0
Coolies	99.8	100.0
Non-agricultural workers	24.0	15.0

The table shows the non-Harijans work for more number of days than Harijans.

Household Size

Another reason for poverty among Harijans and non-Harijans is the unduly large size of the families. Table 34 shows the average size of the Harijan households in each per capita income group for the four districts.

TABLE 34

Table showing the average size of the Harijan households by per capita income groups :

	<i>Thanjavur</i>	<i>Chingleput</i>	<i>Madurai</i>	<i>S. Arcot</i>	<i>Combined</i>
00-100	6.0	6.0	6.0	5.7	6.0
101-200	4.8	5.8	5.0	5.9	5.2
201-300	4.7	5.8	4.7	4.9	4.9
301-400	3.6	4.8	4.5	4.8	4.4
401-500	3.6	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.4
501-more	2.8	4.5	4.1	3.9	3.9

The average size of the household steadily decreases with every successive increasing income group. Combined figures show, that the poorest household has an average size of 6 members and the most affluent has a size of 3.9 which is almost two thirds of the former's size. This trend can be noticed in all the four districts. Thanjavur has the lowest average for the top few (2.8 members) households who are between 501 and more income groups. This may be explained by the fact that the members in this group have the highest average per capita income among the four districts.

The average family size of the non-Harijan households is no different from that of the Harijans. Table 35 gives the average size of the households according to their average per capita incomes. It can be noticed that the average household size for non-Harijans, in fact, is even higher than the Harijan households for some income groups.

The poorest (00-100) households have an average household size of 7.0 and the most affluent have an average size of 4.2. Both these averages are higher than their corresponding figures in Harijan households. The averages do not steadily decrease as in the case of Harijans. There are some minor fluctuations between two successive groups in certain cases. But from the total picture it is clear that with every increase in income, the average size decreases.

TABLE 35

Table showing the average size of the non-Harijan households by per capita income groups :

	Thanjavur	Chingleput	Madurai	S. Arcot	Combined
00-100	7.0	8.2	—	7.4	7.0
101-200	6.7	5.6	6.4	4.8	6.2
201-300	5.3	6.9	4.6	5.0	5.5
301-400	4.6	5.8	6.4	4.25	5.6
401-500	5.3	4.4	4.3	6.6	5.0
Above 500	4.9	4.4	4.0	2.6	4.2

The combined figures for Harijans and non-Harijans show that the average size of the Harijan households is 4.8 and the average size of the non-Harijans is 5.4. These two averages are only slightly higher than the average size given in the National Sample Survey 1964—Consumer Expenditure Tables (18th round) for Rural Madras. The average household size according to this is 4.5.

Dependency Ratio

Tables 36, 36A, B, C, D shows the dependency ratio of different income groups in the four districts for both Harijan and non-Harijan households.

The dependency ratio, like household size, increases with the decrease in income. The lowest income groups have a high dependency ratio. Indirectly this means that one reason for low incomes is the high rate of dependency, i.e., a lesser number of

TABLE 36

COMBINED RATIO

Dependency ratio for Harijans and non-Harijans in the four districts according to per capita income :

Per capita Income	Harijans			Non-Harijans		
	Total mem- bers	Ear- ning	Depen- dency Ratio	Total mem- bers	Ear- ning	Depen- dency Ratio
00—100	470	95	4.9	91	24	2.6
101—200	1202	389	3.1	280	74	3.9
201—300	982	436	2.3	188	69	2.7
301—400	583	255	2.3	189	69	2.7
401—500	310	150	2.1	105	35	3.0
Above 500	369	198	1.9	207	73	2.8
Total	3916	2423	1.6	1060	342	3.2

earners in the household. This is not always true, because the data shows that number of earners is more or less the same, but it is the household size which varies. In the previous section it was noticed that the lower income groups had larger family size as compared with the higher income groups.

Table 36A shows that in Thanjavur of the total 924 members, 345 are earning. The dependency ratio is 2.7 for all Harijans. The poorest income group of households has one earning member for every 5.66 persons, and the most affluent income group of households has one for 1.64 persons. Both in South Arcot and

TABLE 36A
THANJAVUR

Per capita Income	Harijans			Non-Harijans		
	Total mem- bers	Ea- ning	Depen- dency Ratio	Total mem- bers	Ea- ning	Depen- dency Ratio
00—100	204	36	5.66	21	4	5.25
101—200	355	108	3.05	81	15	5.60
201—300	238	126	1.9	37	8	4.63
301—400	71	33	2.15	23	5	4.60
401—500	33	24	1.38	16	4	4.00
Above 500	23	14	1.64	98	25	3.92
Total	924	345	2.7	276	61	4.5

Sample villages : 10

Sample Harijan households : 200

Sample non-Harijan households : 50

TABLE 36B
CHINGLEPUT

Per capita Income	Harijans			Non-Harijans		
	Total mem- bers	Ea- ning	Depen- dency Ratio	Total mem- bers	Ea- ning	Depen- dency Ratio
00—100	123	22	5.56	33	15	2.2
101—200	365	87	4.20	91	32	2.8
201—300	286	83	3.45	69	39	1.8
301—400	145	39	3.70	45	33	1.4
401—500	77	25	3.08	19	12	1.6
Above 500	91	35	2.60	38	24	1.6
Total	1087	291	3.7	295	155	1.9

Sample villages : 10

Sample Harijan households : 200

Sample non-Harijan households : 50

TABLE 36C

MADURAI

Per capita Income	Harijans			Non-Harijans		
	Total mem- bers	Ear- ning	Depen- dency Ratio	Total mem- bers	Ear- ning	Depen- dency Ratio
00—100	103	30	3.43	—	—	—
101—200	317	139	2.3	70	18	3.9
201—300	246	132	1.6	32	9	3.55
301—400	169	98	1.7	70	16	4.4
401—500	60	33	1.8	30	10	3.0
Above 500	61	31	1.9	55	17	3.23
Total	956	463	2.1	257	70	3.7

Sample villages : 10

Sample Harijan households : 200

Sample non-Harijan households : 50

TABLE 36D

SOUTH ARCOT

Per capita Income	Harijans			Non-Harijans		
	Total mem- bers	Ear- ning	Depen- dency Ratio	Total mem- bers	Ear- ning	Depen- dency Ratio
00—100	40	7	5.7	37	5	7.4
101—200	165	55	3.0	38	9	4.2
201—300	212	95	2.23	50	11	4.55
301—400	198	85	2.33	51	15	3.40
401—500	140	68	2.06	40	9	4.44
Above 500	194	118	1.6	16	7	2.3
Total	949	428	2.2	232	56	4.1

Sample villages : 10

Sample Harijan households : 200

Sample non-Harijan households : 47

Madurai (Tables 36D and 36C), the ratio is similar, at 2.2 persons and 2.1 persons respectively for total Harijans. Chingleput (Table 36B) has a higher ratio of 3.7 persons, but this may be because in Chingleput more people have secure and permanent jobs. In Madurai, the number of dependents in the poorest group is much less than in the other three districts. The dependency ratio is 5.66 for Thanjavur, 5.7 for South Arcot, 5.5 for Chingleput and only 3.4 for Madurai.

The overall picture shows that not only are the Harijan households smaller in size but their dependency ratio is lower than that of the non-Harijans. As in the case of Harijans, the number of dependents in each group decreases with the increase in incomes. However, for non-Harijans the number of dependents in each income group is higher than its corresponding figures for Harijans. The total picture shows a dependency ratio of one earner for every 3 members for non-Harijans as against one earner for every 1.6 persons for Harijans. The poorest income group is the one exception. In this group the dependency ratio for non-Harijans is 3.4 as against dependency ratio of 4.9 for Harijans. In all other groups the dependency ratio is higher.

The dependency ratio for all non-Harijans in Thanjavur is 4.5, the ratios in South Arcot and Madurai are 4.1 and 3.7 respectively. Chingleput has a comparatively low dependency ratio of 1.9. In South Arcot the poorest (00-100) non-Harijan families have a very high dependency ratio, nearly 7 persons for every earning member. Other income groups in this district have a much lower dependency ratio and the most affluent section has a ratio of 2.3. In Madurai, the dependency ratio is almost the same for all income groups. The number fluctuates between 3.0 and 4.5 persons. Chingleput non-Harijans have the lowest dependency ratio. Chingleput Harijans, however, have the highest dependency ratio.

The reason for the lower standards of living among Harijans as compared with the non-Harijans, in spite of the higher proportion of income earners in this group is their low income-earning capacity. The data shows that 40.6 per cent of the non-Harijans are land-owning cultivators which provides secure and permanent employment. In contrast 54.1 per cent of the Harijans are coolies of whom 99.0 per cent are underemployed.

TABLE 37

Table showing the distribution of land among Harijans and non-Harijans in the four districts :

	Harijans				Total	Non-Harijans				Total
	0-3 acres	4-5 acres	7-9 acres	10 acres and more		0-3 acres	4-6 acres	7-9 acres	10 acres and more	
Thanjavur	37	3	—	—	40	18	5	3	4	30
Chingleput	89	3	—	—	92	22	5	1	1	29
Madurai	12	3	—	—	15	14	9	2	2	27
South Arcot	27	7	1	1	36	7	7	2	1	17
Total	165	16	1	1	183	71	26	8	8	93

TABLE 37A

Average size of holdings among Harijans and non-Harijans in the four districts of Tamil Nadu :

<i>District</i>	<i>Harijans</i>	<i>Non-Harijans</i>
<i>Thanjavur</i>		
Total acres of sample		
households	107.5	145
No. of owners	40	30
Per capita land (owner)	2.7	4.83
Per capita land (household)	0.53	2.9
<i>Chingleput</i>		
Total acres of sample		
households	249.5	100
No. of owners	93	29
Per capita land (owner)	2.7	3.45
Per capita land (household)	1.24	2.00
<i>Madurai</i>		
Total acres of sample		
households	46	121
No. of owners	15	27
Per capita land (owner)	3.0	4.5
Per capita land (household)	0.23	2.41
<i>South Arcot</i>		
Total acres of sample		
households	122	80.5
No. of owners	36	17
Per capita land (owner)	3.4	4.73
Per capita land (household)	0.61	1.76
<i>Combined</i>		
Total acres of sample		
households	528	446.5
No. of owners	184	108
Per capita land (owner)	2.8	4.4
Per capita land (household)	0.66	2.3

Land Distribution

A small percentage of Harijans own land, but their land-holdings are of an uneconomical size and of poor quality. In Thanjavur (Tables 37 and 37A), of 200 Harijan households only 40 or 20 per cent possess land. Of these 92.5 per cent have less than 3 acres. Only 3 households have more than 3 acres but less than 6 acres of land. The total number of acres owned by the 40 households is about 107.5 and per capita land is about 2.7 acres per owner and 0.53 acre per household. Among the non-Harijans, in the same district, nearly 60 per cent of the households own land, of these 60 per cent have land below 3 acres, 16.6 per cent possess land between 4 and 6 acres, 10 per cent have land between 7 and 9 acres and 13.6 per cent have more than 10 acres. This brings out clearly the position of Harijans and non-Harijans in Thanjavur regarding land ownership. The total land owned by 30 non-Harijan owners is 145 acres and per capita land holdings equal 5 acres per owner, as against 2.7 per Harijan owner. Per household non-Harijan owns almost 3 acres as against 0.53 acres for Harijan households.

In Chingleput, nearly 50 per cent of the Harijans own land, but of these 98 per cent have land which is less than 3 acres. Per capita land owned is about 2.7 acres (per owner) and 1.24 acres per household. In the same district the non-Harijans have a per capita land of 3.45 acres per owner, and 2.0 acres per household, both of which are higher than the corresponding figures for Harijans.

In Madurai, only 15 Harijans own land, of these 12 have land which is less than 3 acres, the remaining 3 have land between four and six acres. Among the non-Harijans 27 possess land and the size of the holdings are much bigger than those of the Harijans. Of the 27, 9 have between 4 and 6 acres, 2 respondents have 7 to 9 acres. 2 have even more than 10 acres. The total land owned by the 15 Harijans is 46 acres as against 121 for the 27 non-Harijan land-owners, per capita land is 3 acres per owner among Harijans as against 4.5 for non-Harijans. Per capita land (for households) is very low, about 0.23 of an acre for Harijans as against 2.91 acres for non-Harijans.

In South Arcot, the difference in holdings between Harijan and non-Harijan is not so wide as it is in the first two districts. Land

distribution in South Arcot is similar to the situation prevalent in Madurai. The total land owned by Harijans and non-Harijans is 122 acres and 80.5 acres respectively, with per capita holding of 3.4 acres and 4.73 acres per owner, and 0.61 and 1.76 acres per household.

Combined figures bring out the differences. 800 Harijan households together own 525 acres as against 446.5 acres for 197 non-Harijan households. Per capita acreage per owner is 2.8 for Harijans as against 4.4 acres for non-Harijans. 23 per cent of Harijans have land, whereas nearly 51 per cent of non-Harijans own land. If we consider per capita holding of the household, it is 0.66 acre for Harijan and nearly 2.3 acres for non-Harijan.

A General Conspectus of the Four Districts

A comparative analysis of the four districts based on certain economic factors reveals several interesting points. Table 38 shows that the Thanjavur Harijans are the most backward when compared with Harijans in the other three districts. Their per capita incomes are the lowest among the four districts. The Table shows that the per capita income of a Thanjavur Harijan is only Rs. 214.6 as against Rs. 244 of a Chingleput Harijan, Rs. 260 of a Madurai Harijan, and Rs. 373 of a South Arcot Harijan. The percentage of dissaving in Thanjavur is also very high, being only next to Chingleput, the figures for saving are —44 per cent for Chingleput and —37 per cent for Thanjavur. But in this district the average per capita expenditure, Rs. 394, is the highest among the four districts. In Thanjavur the difference in the average per capita incomes of Harijans and non-Harijans is the widest, the difference being nearly Rs. 370 as compared with Rs. 75 in Chingleput, Rs. 127 in Madurai and Rs. 37 in South Arcot. The Harijan average is less than the non-Harijan average in all cases except in South Arcot. Thanjavur ranks third in the case of the dependency ratio, with only 2.7 members and it also has the smallest household size. The coolies in this district are unemployed upto 150 days a year which is the maximum period of unemployment among the four districts. Thanjavur also has the lowest per capita land ownership among Harijans. The per capita land owned is only 2.7 acres (per owner). Education data shows Thanjavur Harijans have the

lowest literacy ratio among the four districts, only 27 per cent of the Harijans being literate. Nearly 84.5 per cent of Thanjavur Harijans are below the poverty line, that is they have expenditures below the required amount of Rs. 446. This is the largest percentage in the table.

Chingleput and Madurai Harijans occupy the middle positions. Among the four districts, Chingleput Harijans have an average per capita income which is higher than Thanjavur but lower than the other two districts. Chingleput stands second in the average per capita expenditure which is about Rs. 352. This is less than Thanjavur's average per capita expenditure but more than the average in Madurai and South Arcot. Chingleput Harijans have the highest percentage of dissaving (44 per cent) among the four districts. The difference of Rs. 75.3 in per capita incomes of Chingleput Harijans and non-Harijans is not as wide as it is in either Thanjavur or in Madurai. Chingleput Harijans have the largest dependency ratio (3.7 members per earner) which means they have the lowest number of earners per household among the four districts. They also have the biggest household size of 5.4 members. The extent of underemployment among coolies at 117 days per year is next only to that of Thanjavur. But Chingleput Harijans have the highest literacy ratio (31.0). The per capita land ownership is 2.7 acres for Chingleput Harijans, the same as for Thanjavur Harijans. 68 per cent of Harijans in this district live below the poverty line.

Madurai Harijans have a per capita income which is higher than that of Thanjavur Harijans or Chingleput Harijans. The per capita income is about Rs. 260. Their percentage of saving is —20 which is less than the percentage of savings of Thanjavur and Chingleput Harijans. The differences in per capita incomes of Harijans and non-Harijans is very wide (about Rs. 127), next only to Thanjavur. The dependency ratio is 2.1 which is the lowest among the four districts and the average household size is about 4.7 members. The Harijan (agricultural) Coolies in this district have employment for more number of days than the Harijan coolies in all the other three districts. They are unemployed only for 95 days in a year, as against 150 days in Thanjavur, 117 days in Chingleput and 102 days in South Arcot. Per capita land ownership in this district is 3.0 acres, which is higher than

TABLE 38

Table showing the comparative averages of certain important economic and educational factors of the Harijan households in the four districts:

District	Average per capita income	Average per capita expenditure	Percentage of saving as total of income	The difference in average per capita income of Harijans and non-Harijans	Dependency Ratio	Average household size	Extent of underemployment among agricultural coolies	Per capita land (per owner) acres	Percentage under poverty	Literacy rates (percentage)
Thanjavur	214.6	394.0	-37	370.0	2.7	4.6	150	2.7	84.5	27.0
Chingleput	244.0	353.0	-44	75.3	3.7	5.4	117	2.7	68.0	31.0
Madurai	260.0	310.0	-20	127.0	2.1	4.7	95	3.0	78.0	29.0
South Arcot	373.0	324.0	10	31.0	2.2	4.7	102	3.4	74.0	29.0

Chingleput and Thanjavur but less than South Arcot. The literacy level of Madurai Harijans is higher than Thanjavur (27 per cent) but it is less than Chingleput. 78 per cent of Harijans in this district fall below the poverty line.

Further analysis shows that South Arcot Harijans are not as backward as the Harijans in the other three districts. They have the higher per capita income of Rs. 373. Their percentage of saving is about 10 per cent. South Arcot is the only district where a few Harijans save. The difference in per capita income of Harijans and non-Harijans shows that South Arcot Harijans have a higher per capita income than non-Harijans. Their dependency ratio is 2.2 and average household size is about 4.7 members. The extent of average underemployment among coolies is about 102 days a year, underemployment here being higher than in Madurai but less than underemployment in the other two districts. Per capita land ownership is the highest among South Arcot Harijans when compared with the other three districts. Per capita land possessed is about 3.4 acres (per owner). 29.0 per cent of Harijans in the district are literates. The table on poverty shows that 74 per cent of Harijans live below the subsistence level in this district. It should be added that the last two chapters indicated that the differences between Harijan and non-Harijan are minimal in South Arcot in all the elements discussed so far.

The wide differences in the economic and social conditions of Harijans in Thanjavur and South Arcot can be explained to some extent by the social composition of the two districts. Though the latest figures regarding the caste composition of each district are not available, old reports like the Census Reports published before 1950 and old District Gazetteer (1906) of these two districts show that the Brahmins are proportionately more numerous in Thanjavur than in any other district. Consequently the influence of Brahmins is predominant in social and religious matters. Religion is a living reality here and social customs are rigidly followed. Another reason which accounts for Harijan backwardness, is that Thanjavur is eminently a district of large landlords and very few Harijans possess land. Contrastingly, in South Arcot the proportion of Brahmins to the total population is the lowest among all the districts and only 5 per cent of land was under zamindari system. The other castes also had

opportunity to own land and possess wealth. This lead to a general levelling up of ranks. Hence we find the difference between a Harijan and non-Harijan is minimal in this district in all fields.

TABLE 39

Table showing the averages of certain important economic and educational factors, for non-Harijan and Harijan households for the four districts combined :

	<i>Harijans</i>	<i>Non-Harijans</i>
Average per capita income	227.0	406.0
Average per capita expenditure	349.0	434.0
Dependency Ratio	1.6	3.0
Average household size	4.8	5.4
Percentage fully employed	17.0	43.0
Percentage of owners	13.0	40.6
No. engaged in non-agricultural work	22.5	39.8
Total acres of land owned	525 acres	446 acres
	(800 H.H)	(197 H.H)
Size of holding	2.8	4.4
Per capita land per household	0.66	2.3
Literacy	24.6	43.0

A similar analysis of Harijans and non-Harijans clearly brings out the differences in the standards of living of Harijans and non-Harijans. Table 39 shows that non-Harijans have better averages than Harijans in almost all the elements

enumerated. The average per capita income of Harijans is only Rs. 227 as against Rs. 406 for non-Harijans. If expenditure figures are examined, the average per capita expenditure is Rs. 349 for Harijans and Rs. 434 for non-Harijans. The dependency ratio and household size is larger for the non-Harijans than the Harijans. The Harijans have a dependency ratio of only 1.6 as against 3.0 for non-Harijans, which means there is a greater number of earners among Harijans than non-Harijans. The average household size of Harijans is 4.8 as against 5.4 of non-Harijans. Only 17 per cent of the Harijans are fully employed as against 43.0% of the non-Harijans. 40.6 per cent of non-Harijans own land whereas only 13.0 per cent of Harijans possess land. The number of members with non-agricultural work is also greater for non-Harijans. 40 per cent of non-Harijans have non-agricultural employment as against 22.5 per cent for Harijans. Per capita ownership of land is 2.8 per Harijan owner and 4.4 for non-Harijan owner. The percentages are revealing when we compare the per capita land per household. The figures are 0.66 and 2.3 for Harijans and non-Harijans respectively. Therefore, poverty among Harijans can be further explained in terms of unequal distribution of land (Table 37).

Ultimately, the table on poverty shows 76 per cent of Harijans live below the subsistence level as against 58 per cent of the non-Harijans.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF HARIJANS

This chapter deals with the social position the Harijan occupies in each of the four districts, the amount of discrimination he feels, and the attitudes of non-Harijan towards the Harijan in the villages.

The traditional low social status of the Harijan is based on the existence of a stratified hierarchy of caste founded on the dichotomy of the pure and the impure. The Brahmin whose ritual deeds and occupational pursuits represented purity was the pinnacle of the hierarchy. The other echelons of castes and caste groups were ritually ordered along a continuum from the pure to the impure, primarily according to traditional caste occupations and the performance or absence of particular ritual pure and impure acts. At the bottom of the hierarchy and ritual opposite of the Brahmin was the Harijan. The Harijans held traditional caste occupations which were considered polluting to all caste Hindus; they were barbers, launderers of polluted clothing, guardians of cremation grounds, removers of dead cattle, leather workers, agricultural serfs, etc.

Harijans have traditionally always lived in their own settlements of 'cheris' on the outskirts of the village. They were excluded from entering the temples, from using the village well, and basically from any contact with caste sector except where their traditional occupation made them indispensable. Traditionally Harijans were bound in service-relationships; they held no land and had no opportunities to become literate. Economically, educationally and socially they fell at the bottom of Indian society and faced acute discrimination in relation to all above them.

To what extent has this changed today? There is a definite trend away from the traditional hierarchy based on caste identification. New groups and coalitions are forming along new class and status lines which reflect the change in the con-

centration and the basic foundations of economic and political power. Harijans' rights have been safeguarded by a legal framework such as the State Temple Entry Act of 1947 and the Government of India Untouchability Offences Act of 1955. The Harijan is becoming more vocal and more aware of his rights, but still social and religious attitudes persist and tend to change only slowly. The data collected and analysed on social attitudes in this project provides a measure of the extent of this change at the village level in the four districts of Tamil Nadu.

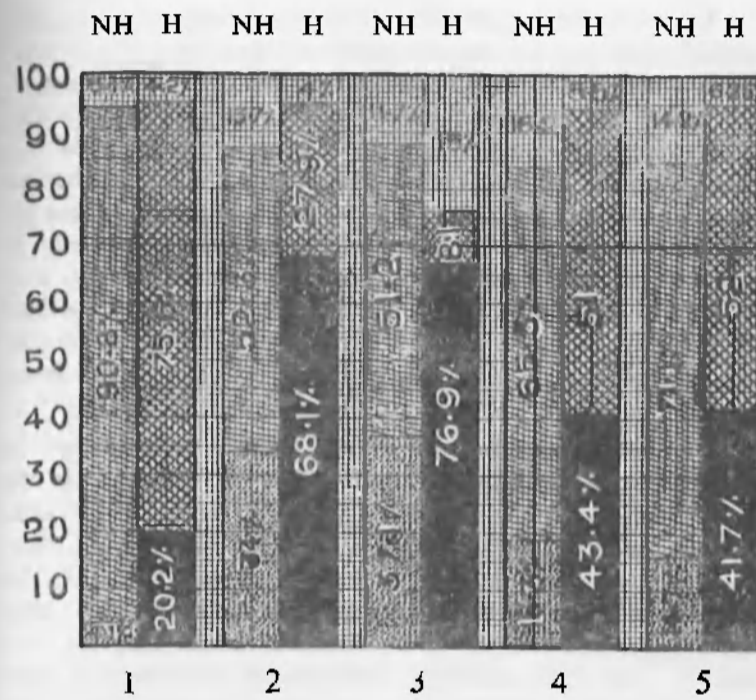
Methodology

Seven questions were asked of both Harijans and non-Harijans. (The term non-Harijan is used co-terminously with the term caste sector.) Five dealt with tangible situations regarding traditional taboos of interaction between Harijans and non-Harijans and two were attitudinal questions. The first five questions dealt with the ease with which a Harijan could (i) walk in a caste street, (ii) enter a caste home, (iii) eat with a caste person, (iv) draw water from a common well or tank and (v) enter the village temple.

These questions were phrased somewhat differently for both non-Harijans and Harijans in order to determine (a) the extent to which the Harijan feels discrimination *vis-a-vis* the Caste sector and (b) the amount of discrimination the caste sector professes to harbour towards the Harijan. The attitudinal questions (i) should one encourage intercaste marriages and (ii) should there be a common burial ground for both non-Harijans and Harijans were the same for both sample groups. The χ^2 or the 't' test were performed on all data to determine the statistical significance of the results.

Findings

An analysis of the Harijan responses with the corresponding non-Harijan responses to the same question shows that there is a significant difference in felt and professed discrimination according to whether the respondent is Harijan or non-Harijan. Consistently answers reveal that he feels much more discrimination than the caste person professes exists on his part. On all five questions at all district level and by individual districts the difference is significant to the 0.1 per cent level.



SAMPLE HARIJANS
N = 800

SAMPLE NON-HARIJANS
N = 197

- FELT DISCRIMINATION
- ▨ NO DISCRIMINATION
- ▩ NOT GIVEN

- PROFESSED DISCRIMINATION
- ▨ NO DISCRIMINATION
- ▩ NOT GIVEN

QUESTIONS

1. Walking in caste-Hindu Streets,
2. Entering caste-Hindu Homes,
3. Eating with caste-Hindus,
4. Drawing water from a common well and
5. Entering the Village Temple.

To each question the proportion of Harijans who feel discrimination is over twice as great as the proportion of non-Harijans who profess discrimination. Theoretically non-Harijans seem to feel that they discriminate less than the Harijan feels that non-Harijans do in actual practice. In collecting the data the investigators did not ask the non-Harijan how often a Harijan had eaten with him or entered his home, or entered the temple while he was there, etc.; the caste respondent was asked only if he had any objections to a Harijan carrying out the five activities enumerated in the questions. Whether the Harijans, in actual practice, have an opportunity to exercise all their rights in the traditional village setting is doubtful. The data results point clearly to the discrepancy between theory and actual practice.

Of the five questions asked, the pattern of responses is similar between Harijans and non-Harijans by question on the combined district level. Where the Harijans feel less discrimination, the non-Harijan also professes to feel less discrimination, and conversely where the Harijan feels more discrimination the caste-Hindu also expresses more. The Harijans feel least discrimination in walking in caste-Hindu streets, and the vast majority feel they can walk freely in the proximity of caste houses. Correspondingly, few non-Harijans profess having discrimination on this subject. The majority of Harijans feel little discrimination in entering the village temple or drawing water from the common well or tank, where there is one. But when the confrontation is within the personal domain of the non-Harijan in contrast to the use of more public facilities such as the street, the temple or the well, discrimination, both felt and professed, is at its greatest. The majority of Harijan respondents feel that they would not be given an opportunity to enter a caste home or eat with a caste person, and a sizable proportion of non-Harijans admit openly to having objections to have a Harijan enter their homes or eat with them.

The data has been further tested to determine whether attitudes towards individual questions differ significantly for both Harijan and non-Harijan respondents between districts. The non-Harijans' pattern of responses to each question by district is relatively uniform. There is no significant difference by questions, between districts, except for question four (drawing

water from a common well), and this variation may in part be explained by differing water supply facilities in the various villages under examination. The uniformity of answers by non-Harijans between the four districts suggests that the traditional social and ritual attitudes of non-Harijan towards Harijan, which have traditionally been relatively uniform throughout most of the country, still persist though to a lesser degree. For example, in the traditional belief, if a Harijan entered a caste house, pollution of the house resulted and elaborate rituals were necessary for purification. It follows that a non-Harijan eating with a Harijan in his home would be even more polluting, given the sanctity of food and the traditional maintenance of caste on the basis of who eats with whom on ritual occasions. In the questionnaire, most discrimination was shown in these two questions. The pattern of non-Harijan discrimination broadly follows the traditional beliefs of which courses of interaction with Harijans would have the most serious ritual results. Of the five questions asked the two above-mentioned questions constitute very serious discrimination in contrast to the other three questions.

This distinction was again tested for non-Harijans within each district by contrasting pairs of questions. Although there is a variation among the non-Harijan responses between districts to the different pairs of questions, there is again no statistically significant difference in the non-Harijan attitude between questions two and three. Whereas one district might have less statistical variation, for example, between question one (walking in caste-Hindu streets) and question four (drawing water from a common well), and another district between questions four and five, the questions pertaining to eating with a Harijan and having a Harijan enter one's home evoke similar responses in all the four districts. This seems to further support the evidence that discrimination still follows traditional ritual patterns.

For Harijans the pattern of responses to individual questions according to district does not show the overall uniform trend apparent in the non-Harijan answers. In four out of the five questions there are significant variations between districts. Only for question three pertaining to eating with a caste-Hindu is there close similarity between districts and as stated earlier, the majority agree that discrimination is strong. Similarly, within

districts in contrasting pairs of questions the only pair of questions to which attitudes are not significantly different to each other are as with non-Harijans, questions two and three.

The difference in Harijan attitudes to particular questions between districts is difficult to explain without a deeper knowledge

TABLE 40

Table showing the weighted index and percentage of discrimination felt by Harijans by educational level :

(Under columns 2 and 3 the number of respondents, weights for each and resulting totals are given.)

<i>Questions</i>	<i>Respondents having formal education above 9th Standard</i>		<i>Others</i>	
1. Walking in non-Harijan streets	(13 × 1)	13	(147 × 1)	147
2. Entering non-Harijan homes	(26 × 4)	104	(527 × 4)	2108
3. Eating with non-Harijans	(29 × 5)	145	(586 × 5)	2930
4. Drawing water from common wells	(17 × 3)	51	(220 × 3)	660
5. Entering village temples	(14 × 2)	28	(320 × 2)	640
Total		341		6485
Percentage discrimination		52.8		55.5

of the historical social patterns in the districts and of the individual situations in each of the villages included in the survey. Background sources on all districts except Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu are inadequate in this respect and, since this project is primarily concerned with the economic condition of the Harijans in the four districts less time and questions have been devoted to the topic of social stratification.

Further, the differences cannot be wholly explained through an analysis of other pertinent factors recorded in the report, namely (i) literacy, (ii) land holdings and (iii) incomes.

As already shown, the majority of the Harijan respondents in the survey are illiterate or have only primary education. In actual educational levels attained, the gap between the majority of literate Harijans and those who are illiterate is so small that the effect of education on social status in the village is difficult to estimate. The number of Harijans in each of the districts, except South Arcot, who have studied upto Standard 9 or gone on for further study is too small a sample to yield valid statistical results in an analysis of social attitudes. Table 40 shows that the discrimination feeling is 52.8 per cent among the educated as defined above and 55.5 per cent among the uneducated.

But even with this small, admittedly inadequate sample of limited rural education, attitudes do not appear to be uniform, and thus cannot be interpreted to support or invalidate the universal assumption that education will dispel discrimination. In the village setting, educational strides will have to be much greater before they can be used as a gauge of the social progress of Harijans.

As with literacy levels, land holding and income figures for Harijans are also generally very low. The few who possess sizable land holdings or earn incomes well beyond subsistence level again constitute a limited sample.

Table 41 indicates the feeling of fact of discrimination felt by Harijans holding more than 4 acres of land as compared to the discrimination felt by those with less than that holding.

Even this limited sample, however, shows a positive correlation between land holding and decreased discrimination whereas

TABLE 41

Table showing the weighted index and percentage of discrimination of Harijan landowners :

(Under columns 2 and 3 the number of respondents, weights for each and the resulting totals are given.)

Questions	Owners having more than 4 acres of land		Others	
1. Walking in non-Harijan streets	(3 × 1)	3	(143 × 1)	143
2. Entering non-Harijan homes	(11 × 4)	44	(538 × 4)	2152
3. Eating with non-Harijans	(11 × 5)	55	(510 × 5)	2550
4. Drawing water from common wells	(4 × 3)	12	(344 × 3)	1032
5. Entering village temples	(4 × 2)	8	(331 × 2)	662
Total		122		6539
Percentage discrimination		45.2		58.2

Harijans with four acres and more of land holdings felt 45.2 per cent discrimination and Harijans with less than 4 acres report 58.2 per cent of various forms of discrimination.

The decline in the feeling of discrimination is sharpened with the rise in income. Table 42 shows the felt discrimination reported by Harijans with a per capita annual income of

TABLE 42

Table showing the weighted index and percentage discrimination of Harijans by income status :

(Under columns 2 and 3 the number of respondents, weights for each and resulting totals are given.)

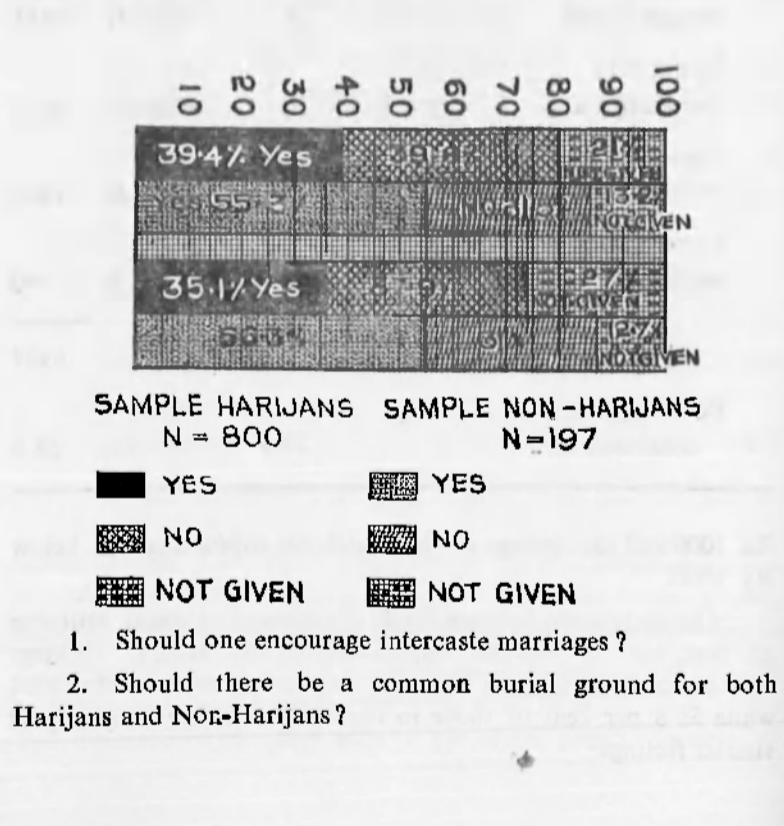
Questions	Respondents having more than Rs. 1000 per capita income		Others	
1. Walking in non-Harijan streets	(1 × 1)	1	(141 × 1)	141
2. Entering non-Harijan homes	(6 × 4)	24	(533 × 4)	2132
3. Eating with non-Harijans	(6 × 5)	30	(605 × 5)	3025
4. Drawing water from common wells	(3 × 3)	9	(343 × 3)	1029
5. Entering village temples	(3 × 2)	6	(330 × 2)	660
Total		70		6987
Percentage discrimination		38.9		58.8

Rs. 1000 and the feelings of those with per capita incomes below Rs. 1000.

The correlation between levels of income and social attitudes as reported by Harijan respondents in the table is striking. 38.9 per cent of Harijans with per capita incomes of Rs. 1000 while 58.8 per cent of those in the lower income range report similar feelings.

A general caveat needs to be entered here with regard to the data presented above and the correlation between education, land holdings and income levels on the one hand and felt discrimination on the other. It is not that the sample is limited to the four districts and 1000 households. Some Harijans have made some educational and economic strides. But the number of Harijans who have attained appropriate educational status, land ownership and adequate income levels in the State is so small that no survey project, whatever its spatial coverage, will provide statistically testable reliability when applied to questions of social status of Harijans. All that the survey provides is a trend.

The answers to the two attitudinal questions: (i) should one encourage intercaste marriages and (ii) should there be a common burial ground for both non-Harijans and Harijans have been calculated on the all district level.



The answers given by both Harijan and non-Harijan respondents point to the fact that caste identification is still a major force in rural Tamil Nadu. A slight majority of non-Harijan respondents indicate that they would accept or even encourage intercaste marriages, but among the Harijan respondents those who oppose intercaste marriages marginally outnumber those who are positively oriented to them. In both groups, but particularly among the Harijans, a large percentage abstained from giving any opinion, perhaps because many individuals simply have never thought about the questions. Today, intercaste marriages or liaisons, are not punishable ritual crimes of the same magnitude that they once were, and the growing level of tolerance in the villages towards them is indicated by the percentage of positive responses given in the data. Note must be taken, however, of the fact that this question does not measure tolerance of Harijan and caste-Hindu marriages, but only of any intercaste marriage. Separation among various endogamous Harijan groups is at least as strong as it is among caste-Hindu groups. The question of intercaste marriages would apply to all but one's own endogamous group.

The second attitudinal question, "should there be a common burial ground for Harijans and non-Harijans" evokes a pattern of responses among Harijans and non-Harijans similar to the first question. There appears to be an acceptance of the idea among a large segment of the respondents, but in general, and for both groups, there is a strong tendency to cling to the traditional notion that the groups must maintain ritual separation.

Conclusions

The results of the data show that there still exists a great deal of latent and overt discrimination against Harijans, but when contrasted with the discrimination embodied in the social and religious beliefs of the near past the trend towards social equality for the Harijans is a definite, albeit very slow moving one. One major hindrance to equality appears to be the village setting, where the traditional spatial isolation of Harijans still prevails and where social convention still prevents the Harijans from freely expressing his rights.

Further study on the social position of Harijans in Tamil Nadu from a sociological and anthropological view point needs to be undertaken. Available anthropological or sociological data on Harijans consists of an occasional village or caste monograph or sociological studies on small groups of Harijans particularly college students. In Tamil Nadu, most anthropological work has been conducted in the Thanjavur area; there are few available studies of other districts, and no comparable data between districts.

The study of the Harijan community in Tamil Nadu is a complex task. It involves a detailed examination of the social structure, the economic conditions, and the cultural practices of this community. The available data is limited and often outdated, which makes it difficult to draw accurate conclusions. Further research is needed to understand the current status of Harijans in Tamil Nadu and to identify the factors that contribute to their social position.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

A RECOMMENDED PROGRAMME

An Income Target

In the preceding six chapters the extent and nature of backwardness among Harijans as compared with non-Harijans have been examined. The analysis has shown that the Harijans are still socially and educationally backward and that their economic situation still remains unsatisfactory. The fruits of the little development which have taken place during the last two decades have been shared mainly among the non-Harijans, and to a small extent among a section of the Harijans. This group is composed of Harijans who are already well off. If this trend is unchecked, the condition of the Harijans will continue to deteriorate and the gap between the Harijans and the non-Harijans will widen. Hence every effort must be to accelerate the overall development of the Harijan Community. To achieve this goal, steps should be taken to ensure increased income-earnings for Harijans and a more equitable distribution of incomes among them.

The programmes proposed in this chapter aim at alleviating the problem of underemployment, raising the income-earning capacity and increasing the literacy and educational levels of the Harijans.

The major aim of all the proposed programmes is to increase the per capita income of Harijans. This study shows that the per capita incomes of Harijans today is about Rs. 227 as against Rs. 606 for the general population. If matters take a normal course and there is a five per cent growth rate (per capita income) during the rest of the Fourth Plan period, a 6 per cent growth rate during the Fifth Plan, and 7 per cent growth rate during the Sixth Plan, Harijans will not reach their subsistence level which is computed at Rs. 446 till the end of the Sixth Plan. Hence it is suggested that there should be a growth rate of 6 per cent for

TABLE 43

Table showing the per capita income of the general population and Harijans at the expected growth rate of 5 per cent during the Fourth Plan, 6 per cent during the Fifth Plan and 7 per cent during the Sixth Plan and the per capita incomes of Harijans at 6 per cent during the Fourth Plan, 7 per cent during the Fifth Plan, 8 per cent during the Sixth Plan (the recommended growth rate) :

	Per capita income 1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1973-74	Fifth Plan 1974-79	Sixth Plan 1979-84
General population (expected growth rate)	606	636	668	702	941	1320
Harijans (expected growth rate)	227	238	250	262	350	491
Harijans (recommended growth rate)	227	240	255	270	378	555

Source: Computations and projections based on the sample.

Harijans for the rest of the Fourth Plan, 7 per cent during the Fifth Plan and 8 per cent during the Sixth Plan. At this recommended growth rate, Harijans would reach their subsistence level of Rs. 446 by the beginning of Sixth Plan. Table 43 shows the per capita incomes of the general population and Harijans at the expected growth rate, and per capita incomes of Harijans at the recommended growth rate for the three Plan periods.

Plan Outlay for Scheduled Castes

Scheduled castes along with scheduled tribes and backward classes occupy a special position in the Plan programmes. A sum of Rs. 4.4 crores was allotted to them in the First Plan period for Madras. It was increased by 100 per cent during the Second Plan to Rs. 8.43 crores. In the Third Plan, expenditures increased to Rs. 12 crores. The Fourth Plan, as now formulated, provides a total outlay of Rs. 14.36 crores. This amount is distributed under three broad headings: Educational Programmes, Economic Uplift and Health, Housing and Other Schemes. Table 44 shows the allocation of funds under different headings in the Fourth Plan for Tamil Nadu.

TABLE 44

Table showing the Plan allocation for Scheduled Castes in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (Rs. in lakhs) :

	<i>Education</i>	<i>Economic Upliftment</i>	<i>Health, Housing and Other Schemes</i>
Centrally sponsored	276.66	122.30	220.00
Centrally assisted	370.46	177.69	269.24
Total	647.12	299.99	489.24

Source : Fourth Five-Year Plan—Madras State 1969-74.

The Educational Programmes for scheduled castes include : the award of scholarships, building of hostels and schools, appointment and training of teachers, provision of books, and slates and midday meals. Among the Economic Development Programmes are: provision of farm equipment, irrigation facilities, aid to cottage industries, land colonization and loans to small traders. Under the third heading, Housing, Health and Other Schemes, grants are provided for building houses and acquiring house sites ; provision is also made for grants for water supply and health schemes.

In the Fourth Five-Year Plan 45 per cent of the plan outlay for scheduled castes was on educational programmes, 20 per cent on economic development programmes and 35 per cent on health, housing and other schemes. The time is now ripe to shift resources to the second area in order to promote rapid economic development during the Fifth and Sixth Plans. It is suggested, that 32 per cent of expenditure in the Fifth Plan, and 36 per cent in the Sixth Plan (as against 20 per cent in the Fourth Plan) should be devoted to economic development. Table 45 shows the allocation of funds under the three headings for the Fourth, the Fifth and the Sixth Plan. It is also estimated that the outlay for scheduled castes in the Fifth and the Sixth Plans will be Rs. 20 crores and Rs. 25 crores respectively.

TABLE 45

Table showing the plan allocation during the three Plans (as recommended) : (Rs. in crores.)

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Economic Development</i>	<i>Health, Housing and Other Schemes</i>
Fourth Plan	14.36	6.47	2.99	4.89
Fifth Plan	20	7.26	6.28	6.43
Sixth Plan	25	8.5	9.00	7.5

In the Fifth Plan, the amount on educational programmes will be around Rs. 7.26 crores; Rs. 6.28 crores will be spent on economic programmes and Rs. 6.43 crores will be spent on health, housing and other schemes. In the Sixth Plan, Rs. 8.5 crores is provided for education, Rs. 9 crores for economic programmes and Rs. 7.5 crores for health, housing and other schemes.

The programmes proposed for the Harijan community over a long term may be summarised thus:

1. Credit for improved agricultural production ... Rs. 4.5 crores per annum
2. Compensation bonds for land distribution during 1972-84 ... Rs. 7.74 crores
3. Credit for new landholders ... Rs. 7.5 crores per annum
4. Credit for small industries ... Rs. 8 crores per annum
5. Rural works ... Rs. 45 crores per annum
6. Wages ... to be paid by the employer
7. Housing, health and other schemes ... Rs. 1.4 crores per annum (provided in Plan outlay)
8. Education ... Rs. 1.6 crores per annum (provided in Plan outlay)
9. Social Status Projects ... included in the above and general schemes.

This programme during the Fifth and Sixth Plans calls for (a) Plan outlay of Rs. 45 crores, (b) institutional credit of Rs. 21 crores per annum including bonds issue for land compensation, (c) annual outlay of Rs. 45 crores on rural works. The larger part of this finance, under present Centre-State financial relations, will have to be provided by the Central Government, taking into account the Country's financial constraint, the proposals under (b) and (c) may be spread over a longer time period.

For purposes of recommending suitable programmes for Harijans, the rural households have been classified into four groups according to their major occupations. Table 46 gives the estimated Harijan population of 1971, its Urban-Rural break-

TABLE 46

Table showing the (projected, 1971) Rural and Urban Scheduled Castes population and the number of rural households according to their main occupations :

	<i>Scheduled Caste population (projected 1971)</i>	<i>Urban Scheduled Caste's Population</i>	<i>Rural Scheduled Caste Population</i>	<i>Rural house- holds</i>	<i>Agricultural coolie households</i>	<i>Land- owning cultivator households</i>	<i>Tenant households</i>	<i>Other occupations</i>
State	73,98,563	1250305	6148228	1280880	691675	166514	115279	307512
Thanjavur	8,85,362	60205	825157	179382	88794	21526	18835	60227
Chingleput	7,11,549	71897	639952	118509	47994	36738	4740	29137
Madurai	6,01,458	110067	491391	104553	74233	1046	7319	21955
South Arcot	9,48,729	53029	895700	190575	105769	15246	27633	41927

Source : Computations and estimates based on the sample.

TABLE 47

Table showing the percentage and the number of rural households under poverty (Rs. 223-446 per capita incomes) and extreme poverty (below Rs. 223 per capita incomes) according to their occupations :

State/District	Coolies		Land-Ownng Cultivators		Tenants		Non-Agricultural Occupations	
	Households with P.C.I. below Rs. 223	Households with P.C.I. between Rs. 223-446	1	2	1	2	1	2
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
State	180525 26.09	346528 50.91	49953 29.8	82828 47.1	22366 19.45	49569 43.0	84886 27.6	154045 50.9
Thanjavur	46173 52.0	26904 30.3	10763 50.0	8072 37.5	8080 42.9	8966 47.6	25616 51.02	23607 47.0
Chingleput	14502 29.8	34510 46.0	8891 24.2	15981 43.5	592 12.5	1985 25.5	10743 37.0	7549 26.9
Madurai	8982 12.1	50107 67.5	— —	— —	1047 14.3	5226 71.4	4906 19.5	29319 50.00
South Arcot	19038 18.0	20519 19.4	3811 25.0	11435 75.0	1907 6.9	8566 31.00	4171 11.7	10978 70.00

Source : Computations and estimates based on the sample.

down, and the number of rural households engaged as coolies, owner-cultivators, tenants and other occupations. Further, Table 47 identifies the number of rural households under extreme poverty, defined as those with per capita incomes of less than Rs. 223 and the number of households under poverty, defined as those with per capita incomes of Rs. 223-446 according to their occupation.

Programmes for Land-owning Cultivators

The number of Harijan land-owning cultivators (households) in the State is estimated to be 1,66,514. Of these 29.8 per cent or 49,953 households have per capita incomes of less than Rs. 223 and 47 per cent or 82,828 households have per capita incomes between Rs. 223-446. These are set forth in Table 48.

In Thanjavur, 50 per cent of the rural land-owning class lives in extreme poverty and 37.5 per cent have per capita incomes between Rs. 223-446. In Chingleput, 24.2 per cent have per capita income of Rs. 223 and below and 43.5 per cent of land-owning cultivators live 50 per cent below the subsistence level. In South Arcot, poverty among land-owning cultivators is 100 per cent. (It is not possible to draw any conclusion for Madurai land-owners since the sample is very small.) The average size of the holding in Thanjavur is 1.4 acres. It is 2.5 acres in Chingleput, 2.1 acres in South Arcot and 1.7 acres for the State. These figures refer to those land-owners with per capita incomes of less than Rs. 446. The average income per acre varies from district to district. It is Rs. 770 in Thanjavur, Rs. 550 in Chingleput and Rs. 963 in South Arcot. The State average is Rs. 830. The problem here is one of increasing production. This can be achieved significantly by the introduction of High Yielding Varieties and by extending necessary credit facilities. Such a production programme will call for assistance to the Harijan land holders in facilities for pesticides, insecticides as well as general programme of land use improvement and moisture conservation. The introduction of HYV will involve an additional cost of Rs. 200 per acre. Table 48 indicates the number of acres which will have to be provided with credit facilities, the amount of credit needed for each district and for the State as a whole. An addition of Rs. 200 per acre would

Table showing the cost involved in providing credit facilities for poor (per capita incomes below Rs. 446) land-owning households (Harijans) in the State and the four sample districts :

	Total Land-owning cultivating households	Land-owning cultivating households below Rs. 446 P. C. I.	Average holding of Col. (1) in acres	Average holding of Col. (2) in acres	Income per acre of Col. (3)	Expected income through HYV per acre	Additional cost per acre with HYV	Total acres to be provided with credit	Credit to be extended (in Rs.)
State	166514	132781	2.8	1.7	830	1500	200	2250730	4,54,86,000
Thanjavur	21526	18835	2.7	1.4	770	1500	200	26370	52,74,000
Chingleput	36738	24872	2.7	2.5	550	1500	200	62780	1,24,30,000
Madurai	1046	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Arcot	15246	14246	3.4	2.1	963	1500	200	30916	61,83,000

Source : Computations based on the sample.

nearly double the income of Harijan landlords. The average income of the State which is Rs. 830 per acre (for Harijans) now, will increase to Rs. 1,500 with the introduction of HYV. The financial implication of this programme amounts to Rs. 4.5 crores per annum. This amount can be released through the Small Farmers Development Agency, Co-operative Societies and the Agriculture Refinancing Corporation.

As regards tenant households, a separate programme for Harijan tenants is not prepared. An improved Tenancy Reform Act, ensuring security to tenants and a larger share in the farm output will raise the income of all tenants in the State, including Harijan tenants.

Programmes for Agricultural Coolies

Land Distribution: Land distribution is an important measure for the alleviation of poverty. Since the surplus land available in the State for distribution is limited, only a certain section of landless labourers can be provided with land. It is recommended that land be distributed to the very poor Harijan agricultural coolie households. Table 49 gives the number of agricultural coolie households in the State and the four districts. If attention is focussed on agricultural coolie Harijan households with per capita incomes of less than Rs. 223, there are about one lakh eighty thousand households in the State, 46,173 households in Thanjavur, 14,502 households in Chingleput, 19,036 households in South Arcot and 8,982 in Madurai.

Further, the surplus land available in the State and the four sample districts is given in Table 49. Since it is not possible to distribute the entire surplus area to Harijans a certain percentage for Harijan distribution is proposed. According to the 1961-Census, Scheduled Castes constitute 50 per cent of the total agricultural labour force in Tamil Nadu and in districts like Thanjavur and Chingleput they form nearly 60 per cent of the total agricultural labour force. In South Arcot and Madurai the percentage of Scheduled Caste agricultural coolies to the total agricultural coolies is 54.3 per cent and 33.5 per cent respectively. Hence, the percentage of surplus acres to be distributed among Harijans should at least equal the percentage of their participation in the agricultural labour force.

TABLE 49

Table showing the surplus land available for distribution among Harijan households in the State and the four districts and the number of households who will benefit through this programme :

State/District	Total Wet area	Total Dry area	Total Wet area above ceiling	Total Dry area above ceiling	Estimated* surplus area	Surplus area available for Harijans	No of agricultural coolie households benefiting
State	61,85,000	86,85,000	151104	88964	5,84,301	2,90,000	1,45,000
Thanjavur	12,50,000	2,03,000	110683	-	3,32,049	2,00,000	1,00,000
Chingleput	6,04,093	1,85,407	5556	5351	22,019	13,000	6,500
Madurai	4,67,000	9,13,000	5769	4791	22,098	7,300	3,600
South Arcot	7,04,000	6,78,000	10189	3936	13,498	7,500	3,700

*Total Surplus converted into dry acres. 1 wet acre = 3 dry acres.

Source : Computed from the sample and 'Land Reform in Tamil Nadu' by Prof. K. S. Sonachalam.

Thus, the number of acres which are available for distribution for Harijan households is 2,90,000 acres for the State, of which 13,000 acres is proposed for distribution in Chingleput, 7,500 acres in South Arcot, 7,300 acres in Madurai and 2,00,000 acres in Thanjavur. If each household gets two acres of land, about 1,45,000 households will benefit by this programme in the State.

If the total available surplus land for Harijan households is distributed in three phases, 2,500 acres can be assigned in the remaining two years of the Fourth Plan, 1 lakh acres in the Fifth Plan and 1.65 lakhs in the Sixth Plan. *The compensation to be provided will be Rs. 25,60,000, during the year 1972-73, Rs. 38,00,000 during the year 1973-74, Rs. 260 lakhs in the Fifth Plan period and Rs. 417 lakhs in the Sixth Plan. The total cost of this programme is Rs. 7.74 crores.

Such a programme of land distribution would give rise to a number of agricultural problems. The most important is the increase in the number of uneconomic holdings, which is already a serious issue in the State. One solution to this problem is co-operative farming, even though past and present State experience with cooperatives has not been as successful as the planners had hoped. Most of the obstacles faced can be overcome by better organisational and administrative education and training. Alongside such a planned and determined improvement in cooperative farms, Harijan households would benefit if a fairly large piece of land is distributed jointly to ten Harijan households. Each unit would then cover about 20 acres which is adequate for the use of recent technological advances in wet or dry farming.

The land distribution programme to be effective should also be linked with necessary credit facilities. It is estimated that Rs. 200 per acre per year is essential for the new Harijan landowners. The total financial implication of such a programme amounts to Rs. 7.5 crores per annum. This again should be provided through institutional finance to small farmers.

*Arrived at on the basis of compensation paid so far by the State Government. This does not include administrative cost. Figures taken from 'Land Reform in Tamil Nadu', by Prof. K. S. Sonachalam.

Small and Household Industries

A further programme for meeting the problem of under-employment is the encouragement of cottage industries. This programme is recommended for 10 per cent of the Harijan coolie households whose per capita incomes range between Rs. 223-446. The number of households requiring assistance under this programme is estimated at 34,652 for the State. At present, the Industries Department extends loans of Rs. 2000 for cottage and small industries at reasonable rates of interest and on personal security. At the rate of Rs. 2000 per household, the cost of this programme is about Rs. 3.5 crores. In addition to this, credit facilities should also be provided to those families already engaged in household industries. The number of families engaged in household industries (based on 1961-Census) is about 81,800. A credit of Rs. 1000 for each household would go a long way in making these viable units. The total amount of credit required will be Rs. 8.18 crores, which could be financed over a period of 12 years. Rs. 18 lakhs which has already been provided in the Fourth Plan, could continue for the coming two years. During the Fifth Plan and Sixth Plan, a credit of Rs. 3 crores and Rs. 5 crores respectively is required.

Rural Works

The immediate solution for the backwardness of Harijan coolies lies in the improvement of their employment situation. No development is possible if agricultural coolies stay idle on an average of 100 days a year during the off season. It is essential that their idle time is utilized and supplemental employment provided. The opportunity cost of rural labour during off season is almost zero. It is possible to harness such idle labour and use it for remunerative tasks. This is the basis on which the rural works programmes is prepared and justified.

The scope of this programme is to mobilize the local unemployed or underemployed manpower through agricultural development projects and rural industrial projects. The programmes should be based on the existing skills and on improvement of the skills of youth. While the long term objective of the programme is full utilization of local resources for rural development in all areas, the immediate objective is to provide

employment or supplementary employment mainly to landless labourers living below the subsistence level. 3,11,876 rural Harijan households need assistance through this programme.

For such rural programmes to be successful, it is necessary that a resource survey of the selected areas be made. Preparation of sound plans for local development is essential. Every scheme recommended should be suitable for the particular village or area and provide incentives for the workers to work continuously. It is important that the schemes should not cut off the workers from their traditional employment but should provide essentially additional employment.

The rural works programme is popular among Harijans. Table 50 below shows the number of respondents in favour of rural works programmes.

TABLE 50

Table showing the percentage of respondents in favour and not in favour of rural works programmes :

	<i>Harijans</i>		<i>Non-Harijans</i>	
	<i>In favour</i>	<i>Not in favour</i>	<i>In favour</i>	<i>Not in favour</i>
Thanjavur	90.0	10.0	48.0	52.0
Chingleput	88.5	11.5	42.0	58.0
South Arcot	56.5	43.5	32.0	68.0
Madurai	74.5	25.5	40.0	60.0
State	77.4	22.6	40.6	59.4

Table 50 shows that more Harijans are in favour of rural works programmes than non-Harijans. This can be explained by the fact that more Harijans than non-Harijans are agricultural coolies, and the majority of them are under the

subsistence level. 90.0 per cent of Harijans in Thanjavur, 88.5 per cent of Harijans in Chingleput, 74.5 per cent of Harijans in Madurai, and 56.5 per cent of Harijans in South Arcot welcome the idea of an additional source of employment. The corresponding non-Harijan figures are much lower. 48.0 per cent of non-Harijans in Thanjavur and 32.0 per cent in South Arcot only show response to such a programme. This is because many of them are already reasonably well placed and hold permanent jobs.

Three programmes which can be put into effect immediately are (i) the rural roads provision, (ii) the supply of drinking water and (iii) construction of school buildings. These programmes are common to all villages and they can be executed immediately. The Fourth Five-Year Plan for Tamil Nadu envisages an expenditure of Rs. 19 crores on this programme. Of this Rs. 19 crores, only 50 per cent or about Rs. 10 crores can be assigned to Scheduled Castes. After deducting the organisational and project cost which is estimated to be Rs. 5 crores, the remaining Rs. 5 crores, should be spent on wages. This would mean Rs. one crore per year. If employment is provided through this programme for 50 days at Rs. 4 per day, 50,000 Harijans would benefit from this scheme by the end of the Fourth Plan. The remaining 2,61,976 households can be provided employment with additional rural works programmes taken up during the Fifth and Sixth Plans. To provide employment for all these households, projects worth Rs. 20 and 25 crores will have to be planned during the two Plan periods for Harijans.

Wages

As agricultural workers are weak in their organising capacity, an agricultural minimum wages act is proposed. Taking into consideration the rise in prices, suitable wages should be fixed for all agricultural workers. According to this study it is estimated that a per capita income of Rs. 446 is essential in 1971 to live a little above the subsistence level. Calculations show that if the dependency ratio for Harijans is 1.6 and the average household size is 4.8 members, the average daily wages paid to the coolie should be fixed at Rs. 3 if he is employed for an average number of 234 days a year as revealed in the sample. This is a minimum

wage which he must be paid. It does not, however, ensure a decent standard of living. A reasonable wage level can be fixed by taking into account the average per capita income of Tamil Nadu.

Table 51 gives the average rate of wages paid for the agricultural coolies in 1969. The table also gives the recommended minimum wages and recommended reasonable wages.

TABLE 51

Table showing the average rate of wages received by agricultural coolies according to their status, and the recommended rate of wages :

	<i>The average rate of wages (per day) Rs.</i>	<i>Recommended minimum wages (per day) Rs.</i>	<i>Recommended reasonable* wages (per day) Rs.</i>
Males	2.61	3.90	5.40
Females	1.67	2.50	3.40
Non-adults	1.61	2.40	3.20

* Based on the per capita income of Tamil Nadu for 1970-71 —Rs. 606.

Source : First Column : Basic Agricultural Statistics 1970- Department of Statistics, Tamil Nadu.

Housing

Rural housing is an important programme which the Government should continue. Under this programme schemes for the acquisition and assignment of house sites for Harijans in rural areas are being executed. Over one lakh house sites have already been assigned in the Third Plan. By the end of the Fourth Plan, one lakh five thousand house sites would have been provided. In addition financial assistance amounting to Rs. 1 crore for the

construction of houses is also given. This aid can be gradually increased in the Fifth and Sixth Plans.

Educational Programmes

The state of Tamil Nadu like all other States provides free and compulsory education, for all children below the age of 14. Though education is free and every child below 14 is expected to be in school, the participation rate for Harijan children is poor. Free education in itself is not a sufficient inducement. In a traditional society with mass ignorance, something more than mere provision of educational facilities is required.

To counter the poor participation of Harijans in elementary schooling, a change in the environment of the school is needed. Rural schools in the State are modelled on the assumption of literate communities. They are, therefore, not conducive to children coming from the under-privileged illiterate Harijan community. One suggestion that to make these schools more congenial to such a social environment would be the teacher. The teachers should be recruited from the Harijan community or from among persons who have no caste prejudices. As the school is the only place which provides a *milieu* where both Harijans and non-Harijans meet, a proper non-discriminatory atmosphere in the school will go a long way in removing caste distinctions and breaking traditional prejudices.

In 1961, while the literacy percentage of the State was 31.4 per cent, that of the Harijans was 14 per cent. In 1971, the State literacy percentage has increased to 39.4 per cent. Though the census figures for literate Harijans are not available the sample indicates that it is about 27 per cent. There is need, therefore, during the Fifth Plan period for a large and planned programme to raise the literacy levels of Harijans at least, to that of the rest of the community. In this connection, Volunteers of the Youth Corps Programme launched by the State Government to spread social education and teach values of education to adults in rural areas can be mobilized in support of this urgent educational effort.

In this connection, the lack of an adequate number of schools should be quickly remedied. Survey data shows that almost all villages have an elementary school, but if every child

is to receive education till the eighth standard, it is essential that in the villages where the age group of 11-13 demands it, provision be made for middle school facilities.

The Fourth Plan allocation for educational programmes is Rs. 6.47 crores. 50 per cent of this amount is allotted for scholarships. In the year 1970-71, 3,87,847 pre-matric students and 21,432 post-matric students benefitted through this programme. Rs. 190.29 lakhs is the budget estimated of 1971-1972. The increase in scholarships will raise the literacy level from 27 per cent to 33 per cent of the Fourth Plan. During the Fifth and Sixth Plans, an allocation of Rs. 7.26 and Rs. 8.5 crores is recommended. 60 per cent of these sums will be for scholarships. The departments (State Harijan Welfare) records show that 20 per cent of the children between the ages of 6 and 17 receive grants. This should be increased at least to 40 per cent by the end of the Sixth Plan. Other programmes which should be continued are the loans for students pursuing professional courses, construction of schools, supply of midday meals, clothing, supply of books, recruitment and training of Harijan teachers.

This many-sided programme for increasing the income-earning capacity of the Harijan community, of land distribution, rural works, wage regulation, cottage industries and educational development needs to be planned and executed in a coordinated manner so that each programme supports and reinforces the other.

Social Status Projects

The result will also be some amelioration of the social status of the Harijans. There is a correlation between poverty and social discrimination as noted in chapter six. In so far as the proposed programme marks an inroad into the poverty of the Harijan community, it will also improve their social status. Three programmes which will help in breaking down the discrimination faced by the Harijan Community are the rural housing programme, the functional literacy programme for non-Harijans and training of committed workers. The rural housing programme of State should be planned and executed in such a manner as to break-down the traditional separation between the caste village (Agraharam) and the outcaste periphery (Cheri). The new housing estates

should be established in a single common locality where residence is open to all members of the village regardless of caste. In fact the new houses constructed should be leased or sold to occupants in such a manner as to ensure a mixing of the communities and families. A second programme should be the functional literacy programme for non-Harijans. The majority of the non-Harijan community in the State is still illiterate. The literacy programme mounted for the illiterate non-Harijans should have a built-in functional element as to the worth, value and use of the Harijan community in the interests of the non-Harijan community. The third programme is the training of a cadre of devoted, enthusiastic and committed workers, especially among the educated urban youth, who can carry out a programme of instruction and action based on non-discrimination among all members of the State of Tamil Nadu.

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