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**SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:  
THE CASE OF SUBALTERN**

**I**

Though the dalits and the tribals are different social categories they have many features in common with respect to their economic conditions. They are the historically deprived and exploited sections of Indian population who languish at the lower rungs of the society. To protect their rights they have launched against the privileged dominant communities across the states time and again, particularly from the later half of the nineteenth century. Though the ideology, organisation and objectives of these movements vary with space and time, many of these movements were directly or indirectly aimed at the promotion and protection of economic interests of the dalits and tribals. Moreover, keeping in view the economic backwardness of the scheduled groups, that make them vulnerable to exploitation and social injustice, after independence systematic and uninterrupted efforts have been made both by the central and respective state governments for their economic upliftment. It is widely argued that social movements generate awareness among the dalit and tribals and put pressure on the government for the better formulation and implementation of developmental programmes and ultimately improves their response to development measures (Rao1979; Dhanagare1983; Radhakrishna 1989; Pai 2000; Mohanty 2001a, 2001b; Saha 2004). Stated precisely, the social movements led by the dalits and tribals facilitate the pace of their economic development.

However, these studies have mostly confined themselves to limited aspects like impact of the movements on landholding, wage structure, etc. A comprehensive and comparative analysis of the impact of the dalit and tribal movements on their overall economic development has rarely been studied. The available literature on dalit and tribal movements broadly indicates that though these movements took place in many states in some form or other while they were stronger and widespread in Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu with regard to dalits, Andhra Pradesh (undivided), Bihar (undivided) and Gujarat were known for relatively stronger tribal agitations. Both the types of movements were weak or almost non-existent in Madhya Pradesh,

Rajashtan and Odisha (Harriss 1999; Manor 2000; Mohanty 2001a; Saha 2004). Hence, the present study attempts to examine and compare the effects of social movements on the economic conditions of the dalit and tribal population in these states.

## II

The impact of dalit and tribal movements on their economic conditions may not be assessed accurately as it is influenced by a variety of complex factors like initial local conditions, character of movements, nature of reaction of dominant communities, sensitiveness of the ruling class, etc. Moreover, non -availability of systematic data on many aspects of economic development of the dalits and tribals also handicaps the analysis further. However, the analysis of limited available data may reveal some broad trend.

In rural economy land continues to be the pivotal property both in terms of income and employment and it is more so in the case of the tribals and dalits who mostly reside in the countryside and derive their livelihood by working on land. Hence, the change in land holding status of the tribals and dalits is one of the important indicators to assess the nature of their economic position across the states in a comparative perspective. One alternative in this respect is to analyse the trend in the number and area of operational holdings among the scheduled groups. However, as data on operational holdings of scheduled communities are available only from 1980-81 till 2000-11, it is difficult to assess accurately the impact of social movements on land distribution. Nevertheless, such an analysis would provide some insights.

Looking at the decadal change in the area operated during 1980-81 and 1990-91 and 2010-11, it is found that in the dalit agitated states of Kerala, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu have shown noticeable improvement in landholding position of the scheduled castes both in number and area terms between 1980-81 and 1990-91 as compared to other states and India as a whole (Table 1 and 2). In Tamil Nadu the operated area of these communities has increased by about 2 per cent. In 2010-11, the improvement in these states is marginal in terms of area. However, the number of holdings many in these states declined. These states have also indicated a marginal improvement for the tribals as well in terms of both number as well as area of holdings.

On the other hand, in tribal agitated states the landholding of tribals has not improved considerably. Rather in Bihar the operated area has declined marginally. Andhra Pradesh and Gujurat have improved their land holding position with regard to the tribals. Among the non-agitated states the situation in Odisha is comparatively much better. The recent Maoist movement in tribal belts of the state could be one of the reasons. But the scheduled castes in these states have experienced marginal progress and expecting Andhra Pradesh progress of scheduled castes is better than that of scheduled tribes.

The analysis of the changes in the proportion of agricultural labourers (Table 3) provides additional information for the assessment of the economic development of the scheduled castes and tribes. Between 1971, 1991 and 2011 the proportion of agricultural labourers in Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Maharashtra has declined remarkably. The decline of agricultural labourers among tribals in these states is less than that of scheduled castes. However, Tamil Nadu witnessed a marginal increase in 1991 in the proportion of scheduled caste agricultural labourers, compared to the non-SC/ST and ST communities it was negligible.

On the other hand, the tribal agitated states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat indicate a considerable rise in tribal agricultural labourers particularly in 2011 although there was a decline in 1991 which was not only greater than the national average but also considerably higher than that of non-SC/ST population. However, in the case of Bihar and Gujarat the rate of decline among the tribals was less than the scheduled castes. Barring Odisha, in non-agitated state the number of scheduled tribe agricultural labourers has grown at a faster rate than those of the national average and non-SC/ST groups. In these states though the position of scheduled castes is slightly better than non-SC/ST groups it is lagging behind the national average. Madhya Pradesh report a faster rate of decline of agricultural labourers for both scheduled castes and tribes than the non-SC/ST category and national average it experienced a substantial rise in 2011. The decline of agricultural labourers in Odisha could be due to massive outmigration.

The decline of the proportion of women agricultural labourers from 1971 to 2011 also follows almost the same pattern (Table 4). It is seen that Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra report higher rate of decline of scheduled caste women agricultural labourers than that of the other states. But in these states non-SC/ST and ST communities experience a faster rate of decline than those of the SCs. However, in Tamil Nadu though the number of these labourers decreased at a slow rate compared to national average, the non-SC/ST report a sharp rise during this period. As regards the tribal women agricultural labourers, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Gujarat which showed a higher declining rate than that of their respective non-SC/ST groups in 1991 witnessed a reverse trend in 2011.

Among the non-agitated states, Madhya Pradesh which showed a faster rate of decline of women agricultural labourers both for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes compared to the national trend between 1971 and 1991 revealed an opposite trend in 2011. But the decline among scheduled castes is considerably less than its non-SC/STs. In Orissa though the number of these labourers among tribals has declined marginally, its proportion among scheduled caste decreased remarkably between 1991 and 2011. The non-SC/STs in the state also indicate a substantial increase in the proportion of their women agricultural labourers.

The economic development of the scheduled castes in rural areas is also to a certain extent linked with their urban sources of income and employment. In view of the limited employment opportunities and the growing proportion of agricultural workers in rural areas the scheduled caste and tribe workers migrate to urban areas in search of employment opportunities. This trend is witnessed in almost all the states. Though they are heavily concentrated in the low paid jobs in the informal part of the urban sector (D'Souza 1990), they are relatively in a better condition than their rural counterparts. The scheduled caste urban population increased considerably in all three dalit-agitated states (Table 5). While in Maharashtra the growth is higher than the its non-SC/ST population in Tamil Nadu it is comparable to non-SC/STs. In Kerala the growth rate is lower than that of its non-SC/ST population.

On the other hand, in the tribal-agitated states the scheduled tribe urban population grew at a slow rate compared to those of their non-SC/STs and SC counterparts. The slightly higher growth in Andhra Pradesh and Gujurat may be accountable to various industrial establishments in these states.

In case of the non-agitated states, Madhya Pradesh indicates a better growth of urban population particularly among the scheduled castes. Though the other two states experienced positive growth for all categories of population, the pace of growth for scheduled castes and tribes is less than national trend as well as than non-SC/STs.

Though there is a nine fold classification of occupation of main worker as per the Census classification, they could be grouped into two broad categories, viz., agricultural and non-agricultural occupations. While the cultivators, agricultural labourers and workers engaged in livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantation, orchards and allied activities can be treated as agricultural, the remaining main workers may be considered as non-agricultural workers. Usually a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural work is considered as a sign of upward occupational mobility. This is more so in the case of the scheduled castes and tribes because they mostly work as agricultural laborers or tenant cultivators with miniscule holdings. Therefore, an analysis of the change of workforce structure of the scheduled castes from agriculture to non-agriculture as against the non-scheduled castes and tribes across the states would reveal the nature and trend of their economic development.

Looking at the non-agricultural workers between 1971, 1991 and 2011 (Table 6) reveals that invariably all states exhibit growth of these workers among all categories of population. In the dalit-agitated states, the growth is prominent in Kerala which is higher than that of its non-SC/ST population. In Tamil Nadu also growth is higher among the scheduled castes though it lags

behind the national average. Maharashtra reports a relatively lower growth rate compared to its non-SC/ST population and the national average.

On the contrary, among the tribal agitated states, the growth of tribal non-agricultural workers is comparatively less in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. Even their position is lower than that of the non-agitated states like Rajasthan. In Gujarat though it is higher than national average, the non-SC/STs and SCs are ahead of the tribals. In this state the growth of non-agricultural workers among the scheduled castes is even higher than that of Kerala. The lower growth of non-agricultural workers among the tribals may be attributed to relatively improved land holding position of the tribals.

One way of looking at the economic progress of scheduled population is to look at the changes in their poverty ratio. The planning commission has estimated incidence of poverty among the scheduled castes and tribes from time to time starting from 1983-84. The latest estimate is available for 2004-05. Though the comparison of these estimates may not show the exact trend due to significant changes in the methodology in measurement, it may provide some useful information. A comparison between 1983-84, 1999-2000 and 2004-05 estimates (Table 7) reveals that except Odisha where the incidence of poverty increased among the tribals and non-SC/STs, all other states invariably report poverty reduction for all categories of population. Barring Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat where reduction of poverty among tribals is better than the SCs and non-SC/STs, in all other states the scheduled castes report a faster rate of poverty reduction. In all the dalit-agitated states, poverty reduction among scheduled castes is faster and is much higher than the national trend and that of the STs and non-SC/STs.

On the contrary, in the tribal-agitated states, the poverty reduction process among tribals does not exactly follow the same trend like that of the scheduled castes in dalit-agitated states. Among the tribal-agitated states only Bihar shows a slow process of gradual reduction. Though Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat the reduction in the poverty ratio is faster among the tribals it is less compared to the position of SCs and non-SC/STs. Moreover the recent estimate shows further rise in poverty ratio in these states. In case of Bihar, it is not only less than the national average but also less than the SCs and non-SC/STs. However, in Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan poverty ratio among all communities is relatively lower. Among the non-agitated states, both the scheduled castes as well as tribes have higher poverty ratio in Odisha compared to all other states. Barring Madhya Pradesh the remaining non-agitated states did show a gradual declining trend in poverty. However, comparatively Rajasthan has lower rate of poverty than other states.

It is inferred from the above discussion while the economic position of scheduled castes has improved substantially in dalit-agitated states, the tribal situation does not reveal a clear picture. While some states show a better

result in one respect it lags behind in other. In cases of scheduled caste this is also found to some extent. Therefore, it would be more meaningful to have comparison of the overall economic development of these two categories of population across the selected states. Table 8 illustrates the overall level of economic position.

It is found that Karala and Maharashtra are much ahead of other states in overall economic development of scheduled castes. It may be largely attributed to the successful movements of dalits in these states. In south India Kerala was a pioneer state in social movements. Initially the movements of the lower castes were concentrated in the Travancore region. The subsequent movements led by Sri Narayana Guru established a new social identity for the lower castes and generated an awareness among them. In 1893 the Izavas formed the Aruvipuram Shree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam to work for their social and economic uplift. This was converted into a wider organization through the formation of the Shree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Following this, the Pulays who were lower than the Izhavas formed the Sadhu Jana Paripalana Sangham and other organisations such as Pulaya Mahasabha to promote their interests. The emergence of the Communist Party in the thirties built on the foundations laid by the caste associations attacked the exploitative relations in a frontal way (Alexander, 1989).

Similarly, in Maharashtra's the dalit movements were led by Jyotirao Phule and subsequently by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Phule's endeavour had a pioneering dimension. In 1873 he founded the Satyashodhak Samaj to strengthen the unity among the low castes. Though started with social issues, subsequently it extended its coverage to economic issues like inequality in the distribution of land. Consequently, Ambedkar and his Dalit Panthars gave a larger dimension to the dalit movement. The recent efforts of the Republican Party of India also asserted the rights of the dalits on economic fronts.

However, though Tamil Nadu has a long background of dalit mobilisation it could not show an exemplary improvement. The reason for this slow progress may be due to the fact that the dalit movement in this state did not give much emphasis to economic issues. Periyar's self-respect movement and subsequent DMK movement was largely confined to Tamil cultural nationalism. Moreover the DMK movement has also diluted its earlier ideology and in due course has become weak. Possibly in order to retain the state power DMK party tried to accommodate the interests of other communities to meet the emerging demands of democratic politics, as a result of which it shifted its focus from the 'welfare of the dalits and backward classes' to 'welfare of masses'.

However, despite the persistent dominance of the forward castes (Brahmins, Baniyas and Patidars) in Gujarat which could not be challenged due to the absence of a strong and independent scheduled caste movement

(Wood 1984; Rutten 1995; Shah 1998; Harriss 1999) the dalits' economic position in the state is much better. It is possibly due to several other factors such as the old cultural tradition of 'charity' organizations, the influence of Gandhiji and Gandhians who initiated constructive work and welfare activities, the success of cooperative movement particularly in dairy, fishery, poultry, handicrafts, etc. The dalit Panthar movement where the Vankars are in forefront also facilitated the pace of development.

The little improvement of dalits' condition in Andhra Pradesh was also due to their movements. There was some protest like Adi-Andhra Movement in the coastal area, which faded away after late 1940s. A few Backward Class Movements such as Munnuru Kapu Movement and Padmasali Movement under the leadership of Bojjam Nrasimlu and Konda Lakshman Bapuji were launched in Hyderabad State but after the formation of Andhra Pradesh they were merged into one, i.e., the Andhra Pradesh Backward Classes Association, which largely confined its agitation to the reservation issues.

But, unlike the dalits, the economic condition of the tribals has not improved substantially in the states where their movements were relatively stronger. States like Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat do not show a spectacular improvement. Still then, the comparatively better improvement in these states is mostly due to tribal agitation. Andhra Pradesh has experienced the Srirama Raju's Uprising (1922-24) in West Godavari, Gond Revolt (1940) in Adilabad and the Telengana Revolt (1946-51) in Nalgonda, Karimnagar and Warangal districts. The contemporary naxalite movements in the tribal pockets also contributed to this progress. Same could be said about Gujarat also. The Halipratha Movement (1920-48) in Bulsar, Surat and Bharoch districts, the Pardi agitation in south Gujarat in 1950s, decade long struggle of the tribals of Dangs in the late 1980s and the activities of non-party organisations like Deesha had a greater impact on the economic development of tribals in Gujarat.

The noticeable tribal development in Maharashtra is largely due to the organised agitation of Bhil tribals in Dhule and Gadchiroli districts under the banner of Shramik Sanghatana Movement during 1970-74 and the Varli Movement of Koli tribals in Thane district. The stronger dalit movements in the state also prompted the state to take improve the condition of tribals along with dalits.

Situation is worse in case of Bihar. However, although the general level of economic development is poor in the state compared to other states, condition of tribals has marginally improved due to a continuous tribal uprisings. The major movements like the Chotanagpur Tribal Revolt (1807-08), Kol Rebellion (1831-32), Santal Rebellion (1885-86) took place during 19<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, some of these movements had religious and social issues. The tribal movements that began in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century like Santal Agitation (1937-40) in Purnea and the Jharkhand Movement had

covered some economic issues. However, the Jharkhand movement which was longest tribal movement in the country was confined largely to issue of state formation. Similarly the relatively better condition of dalits is mainly due to recent awakening in some parts of rural Bihar in the face of social mobilization spearheaded by diverse groups of politicians (Appu 1993; Frankel 1989).

The major states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and particularly Orissa where the scheduled groups' population is near about 30 to 40 per cent, the dalits and tribals could not improve their condition because they failed to mobilize effectively themselves against the privileged groups and emerge as a powerful political force. None of the states has offered much opportunity for left wing political parties, or their ideologies. In post-independence period, neither the scheduled castes nor the scheduled tribes have organized themselves against the dominant communities. The state assemblies in these states are dominated by the forward castes. Most of the positions in the administrative and bureaucratic structure is occupied by them and the major political parties in the state are under their control (Hariss, 1999; Manor, 2000; Mohanty 2001a). However, the situation in Madhya Pradesh is relatively better specifically in case of dalits. It could be partly due to the influence of Ghasidas who raised voice against the discriminatory caste-based social order. The better condition of tribals in the state is due to the occurrences of tribal movements in some parts of the state. The Gond agitation in Chhatisgarh for the formation of tribal state in 1950s, the land grab movement in 1969-70 in some areas, and the recent efforts of non-party organisations like Chhatisgarh Mukti Mrcha played a proactive role in the mobilisation of tribals. However, the position of dalits as well as tribals in Rajasthan is better than Odisha probably because most of them derive income largely from animal husbandry which is a characteristic feature of the rural economy of the state. Many of them are also cultivators. However, Odisha which was lagging far behind other states report a gradual improvement recently with regard to both scheduled castes and tribes in certain respects which may be due to the growth of Maoist organizations and insurgency in the tribal areas and rising awareness among the dalit communities following vote bank politics.

The main reason for the relatively slow process of economic development of tribals in the states where they have agitated is that many of these movements were either confined to few pockets or to few tribes. Moreover, these movements were mostly being violent in nature disappeared within a relatively shorter period without having a transformative impact on tribal society at large. The recent tribal solidarity movements are primarily the product of the initiative and the interest of a limited coterie of educated tribal elite, and there is a considerable communication gap between the interest and ideas of the elite tribal leaders and the tribal masses (Weiner 1978; Saha 1984). The leadership of some tribal movements like those of the Telengana,



the Warli, the Sahada, the Bhoomi Sena, the Naxalbari and Pardi, was provided by the non-tribals coming from different political groups (Mies 1976; Parulekar 1979; Desai 2002). It is also argued that small and isolated tribes have less potential for launching political movement (Saha 2004). Besides, recently the tribals in some parts were mobilised particularly in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajashtan by Hindutva forces, against the Muslims and Christians (Joshi 1999; Hardiman 2002; Saha 2004) which divided the tribals along religious grounds.

Unlike the dalits, the tribals do not have stronger political organisation like Bahujan Samaj Party or Republican Party of India or nationally recognized leaders like Ram Vilas Paswan or Mayawati to influence the national or state level decision-making progress. The nationally recognized tribal leaders like P. A. Sangma and Sibu Soren could not push up tribal interests. Stated precisely, the tribal movements have failed to have built up a good deal of pressure on the ruling classes like those of the dalits.eduled caste groups in the 1991 Census.

### III

The dalit movements have greatly influenced the pace of their economic development. The tribal movements, on the other hand, have brought about marginal improvement which is accountable to their limited coverage, leadership and organisational weaknesses, insensitiveness of the ruling class to tribal protests, etc. in this context the remark made by Beteille (2000: 367) is worth quoting,, “Where the disparities have been reduced, the reduction has not been a smooth or painless process. The hierarchical society we inherited from the past may be likened to a gigantic iceberg of which only a small upper portion was visible above the waters, with its massive body resting below, frozen, immobile and submerged. In the warm, not to say heated, environment created by democratic politics, the ice has began to melt, realising swirls and eddies of incalculable momentum. Is it surprising that the change from a society which respected hierarchy to one which demands equality should be marked by disorder, turbulence and even violence?”

To sum up, the study establishes the fact that in an insensitive democracy like India, state action is identified with people’s action and people’s empowerment rests on their collective resistance and agitation. The measures to promote and protect the interests of the deprived are not usually expected without persistent demands and protracted struggles. The exemplary economic progress of the scheduled castes in dalit-agitated states and the marginal progress of tribals due to their limited protests gives the tribals enough lessons to organise themselves more effectively for making the privileged class sensitive and responsive to tribal problems.

**Table 1**  
**Distribution of Number of Operational Holdings**

States	SC			ST		
	1980-81	1990-91	2010-11	1980-81	1990-91	2010-11
Dalit- agitated states						
Kerala	8.54	9.60	7.79	0.98	1.20	2.25
Maharashtra	6.81	8.00	7.51	6.02	6.70	7.88
Tamil Nadu	7.84	11.30	10.75	0.67	0.80	1.16
Tribal-agitated state						
A. P.	12.62	12.70	11.06	6.42	6.90	8.73
Bihar	8.16	11.60	10.44	7.54	7.80	16.09
Gujarat	4.06	4.10	3.34	10.92	11.00	9.79
Non-agitated states						
M. P.	12.85	12.60	12.28	25.11	24.70	25.48
Odisha	12.17	13.70	15.04	27.58	26.60	33.29
Rajasthan	14.26	14.70	13.86	15.36	15.40	8.45
All India	11.31	12.50	12.36	7.71	8.10	11.42

*Note:* Figures are in per cent to the Total Number and Area operated of each State.

*Source:* Agricultural Census, Relevant Issues

**Table 2**  
**Distribution of Number of Area Operational Holdings**

States	SC			ST		
	1980-81	1990-91	2010-11	1980-81	1990-91	2010-11
Dalit- agitated states						
Kerala	2.44	2.80	2.32	1.50	1.90	2.25
Maharashtra	4.48	6.00	6.59	6.08	7.30	7.88
Tamil Nadu	4.92	7.10	7.58	1.01	1.20	1.16
Tribal-agitated state						
A. P.	6.87	7.50	7.70	6.29	7.20	8.73
Bihar	4.51	5.20	9.59	16.25	16.10	16.09
Gujarat	3.08	3.20	2.97	8.05	9.10	9.79
Non-agitated states						
M. P.	7.93	8.10	8.30	24.84	25.20	25.48
Odisha	7.86	8.60	11.64	29.90	28.70	33.29
Rajasthan	11.31	11.70	11.67	8.35	8.40	8.45
All India	7.03	7.90	8.60	10.20	10.80	11.42

*Note:* Figures are in per cent to the total area operated of each State.

*Source:* Agricultural Census, Relevant Issues

**Table 3**  
**Percentage Distribution of Agricultural Labourers to Main Workers**

States	SC			ST			Non-SC/ST		
	1971	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011
Dalit -agitated states									
Kerala	65.94	53.79	21.22	62.56	55.47	40.59	25.02	20.78	6.87
Maharashtra	54.67	48.08	44.60	51.90	47.11	54.92	25.51	20.81	14.60
Tamil Nadu	63.80	64.29	46.99	37.29	43.76	41.11	21.59	26.21	15.86
Tribal-agitated states									
A.P	71.44	72.05	64.36	49.06	46.57	52.76	30.31	32.66	24.64
Bihar	77.17	72.25	62.54	28.10	25.50	28.27	31.08	30.41	27.14
Gujarat	46.59	41.46	34.67	42.33	39.35	44.74	15.42	17.25	13.06
Non-agitated states									
M.P	43.68	38.34	42.07	33.25	29.48	40.69	20.42	16.82	13.89
Odisha	49.21	46.41	33.25	36.72	38.27	32.55	18.68	18.50	10.02
Rajasthan	21.26	21.47	20.49	11.45	13.54	14.32	6.08	6.35	5.07
All India	51.75	49.06	40.22	33.04	32.69	36.63	20.20	19.66	13.97

Source: Census of India, Relevant Years

**Table 4**  
**Proportion of women Agricultural Labourers**

States	SC			ST			Non-SC/ST		
	1971	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011
Dalit agitated states									
Kerala	69.52	59.97	25.40	77.18	62.55	46.55	42.13	28.83	8.66
Maharashtra	72.17	66.25	57.83	64.13	57.38	62.88	47.95	36.90	21.99
Tamil Nadu	79.72	76.88	58.96	49.15	54.93	46.96	43.67	44.77	23.38
Tribal-agitated states									
AP	86.17	84.24	75.38	65.90	59.09	62.06	55.81	52.62	33.82
Bihar	90.55	84.46	67.46	50.91	35.48	32.86	68.25	54.22	29.15
Gujarat	64.94	61.35	46.07	59.44	56.23	61.05	37.99	37.86	20.83
Non-agitated states									
M.P	61.30	51.96	52.29	52.41	39.63	47.97	42.85	31.08	18.75
Odisha	59.92	65.07	40.19	59.30	58.37	46.09	40.97	45.56	12.74
Rajasthan	32.83	29.83	26.72	30.16	25.88	20.81	14.74	12.56	7.69
All India	71.60	66.53	51.07	48.95	44.28	45.41	43.88	37.00	19.42

Source: Same as in Table 1

**Table 5**  
**Urban Population (%)**

States	SC			ST			Non-SC/ST		
	1971	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011
Dalit-agitated states									
Kerala	9.68	18.52	40.18	4.04	3.49	3.89	17.07	27.56	27.10
Maharashtra	24.68	36.61	43.55	4.34	12.47	12.72	33.39	42.03	46.19
Tamil Nadu	17.30	21.32	34.37	5.50	12.01	15.38	33.31	37.52	47.77
Tribal-agitated states									
A.P	11.82	17.31	21.85	5.13	7.60	7.51	21.17	30.42	31.12
Bihar	6.47	9.02	10.00	4.20	7.00	8.00	11.30	14.52	14.65
Gujarat	27.25	37.94	44.00	6.09	8.09	8.21	32.04	39.23	42.69
Non-agitated states									
M.P	12.55	21.86	26.25	1.71	4.85	6.04	21.42	30.34	32.02
Odisha	6.27	10.74	13.49	2.91	5.14	5.48	10.99	17.04	19.34
Rajasthan	14.28	19.79	21.97	2.17	4.65	5.35	20.97	26.86	27.40
All India	11.94	18.72	20.18	3.41	7.39	8.29	22.85	29.23	31.57

Source: Same as in Table 1

**Table 6**  
**Non-Agricultural Labour Force (% to main workers)**

States	SC			ST			Non-SC/ST		
	1971	1991	2011	1970	1991	2011	1971	1991	2011
Dalit-agitated states									
Kerala	22.50	32.24	78.78	11.77	12.40	59.41	48.32	56.81	93.13
Maharashtra	31.03	36.45	55.40	5.11	12.90	45.08	36.14	42.97	85.40
Tamil Nadu	14.79	18.60	53.01	7.14	13.10	58.89	41.36	44.45	84.14
Tribal-agitated states									
A.P	11.71	14.39	35.64	10.87	10.06	47.24	30.58	35.33	75.36
Bihar	10.62	11.89	37.46	8.86	11.16	71.73	19.34	21.58	72.86
Gujarat	34.63	44.93	65.33	8.36	13.69	55.26	37.97	46.68	86.94
Non-agitated states									
M.P	17.71	24.33	57.93	4.62	6.48	59.31	24.38	31.12	86.11
Odisha	20.84	21.97	66.75	9.03	10.04	67.45	25.35	33.53	89.98
Rajasthan	23.38	27.79	79.51	4.51	9.13	85.68	26.55	33.86	94.93
All India	18.21	23.78	59.78	7.05	10.79	63.37	32.26	38.38	86.03

Source: Same as in Table 1

**Table 7**  
**Percentage of Rural Persons below Poverty Line**

States	SC			ST			All		
	1983-84	1999-2000	2004-05	1983-84	1999-2000	2004-05	1983-84	1999-2000	2004-05
Dalit- agitated states									
Kerala	43.90	14.64	21.6	36.10	24.20	44.3	26.05	9.38	19.7
Maharashtra	55.90	33.27	44.8	58.70	43.56	56.6	41.50	23.82	38.1
Tamil Nadu	59.40	32.59	31.2	50.90	43.20	32.1	44.08	20.55	28.9
Tribal-agitated states									
A.P	51.00	16.49	15.4	48.40	23.82	30.5	38.67	11.14	29.9
Bihar	71.10	59.81	61.0	64.90	59.68	53.8	51.35	44.22	49.8
Gujarat	39.90	17.77	21.8	52.10	29.11	34.7	27.62	13.17	31.8
Non-agitated states									
M.P	59.30	41.29	37.8	67.10	56.26	56.7	50.30	37.09	49.0
Odisha	54.90	51.83	50.2	68.90	73.93	75.6	44.76	48.13	57.2
Rajasthan	44.90	19.62	28.7	63.70	25.27	32.6	36.63	13.65	34.4
All India	53.10	36.25	36.8	58.60	45.86	47.3	40.40	27.11	37.2

Source: Planning Commission, New Delhi.

**Table 8**  
**Overall Level of Development**

Levels of Development	SC	ST
Outstanding*	Keara, Maharashtra, Gujarat	Maharashtra,
Relatively Better#	Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh,	Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh
Average@	Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan	Bihar, Rajashtan, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh
Negligible \$	Odisha	Odisha,

\* Higher than /closer to National Average and non-SC/STs in most of the development indicators

# Lagging behind National Average but better than/ closer to Non-SC/STs in most of the development indicators

@ Lagging behind Non-SC/STs but better than /closer to National Averages in most of the development indicators

\$ Below National Average and Non-SC/STs in most of the development indicators

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