

DALIT SELF-HELP GROUPS IN DELHI

PROFILE OF FIVE GROUPS



By

SONALI CHOWDHRY AND JAI VIPRA

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Abbreviations

DICCI: Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry

DSHG: Dalit Self-Help Group

RTI: Right to Information

NCDC: National Council of Dalit Christians

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

SC: Scheduled Caste

ST: Scheduled Tribe

YUVA: Youth Unite for Voluntary Action

Introduction

This report profiles a Dalit Self-Help Groups (DSHG) operating in Delhi. DSHGs are defined as organizations which are primarily founded, operated and financed by Dalits. These organizations operate with the objective of providing support to members of their own community, with those receiving welfare services becoming significant participants in their own development. This manner of functioning allows us to describe such groups as grassroots organizations, which have a bottom-up approach to improving the well-being of vulnerable communities.

Currently, there is a lack of information on DSGHs. Although, databases for NGOs operating in Delhi are available online,¹ they do not distinguish between organizations that support Dalits exclusively and other organizations that run programmes where some of the beneficiaries belong to the Dalit community. Since this simple categorization is yet to be done, further identification and classification of such organizations into the category of DSHGs becomes a daunting and ambitious task.

The absence of a coherent and exhaustive database on DSHGs has resulted in many missed opportunities for the community at large as well as for these organizations themselves. First, a database of DSGHs would help Dalits identify and take advantage of opportunities that allow them to participate in such organizations which may improve their overall welfare outcomes. Second, it is likely that Dalit communities located in other regions that do not have such organizations, will remain ignorant about the working and potential benefits of DSHGs operating elsewhere, thus missing out on the possibility of replicating and adapting similar models of collective action and support within their own communities.

Moreover, a database profiling DSHGs would be of great significance since these organizations require minimal external support, thereby presenting opportunities for driving sustainable change at the grassroots level. Finally, information about the working and achievements of DSHGs would help other similar groups understand how they can improve their own models of providing support and welfare services while also creating opportunities for collaboration and coordination of efforts amongst these groups. This would in turn enable these groups to realize their full potential through the exploitation of combined synergies.

¹See, for example, NGOs India database (<http://ngosindia.com/>).

The leads for a number of groups (all of which are not included here) were obtained by contacting numerous NGOs, members of academia, entrepreneurs, social and political activists and religious leaders, to name a few. Once these organizations were identified, in-depth interviews were conducted with a representative of the organization. The sources of information provided in this report are thus the interviewees, unless specified otherwise.

Given time constraints and the difficulty in locating these groups, we were able to identify and document the working of five DSHGs in Delhi. There is a need to collate a more representative sample of such DSHGs in Delhi and compile a comprehensive database of these organizations in the future

The remainder of this report profiles five organizations, namely, Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI); Insight Foundation; National Council of Dalit Christians (NCDC), Samyak Prakashan and Youth Unite for Voluntary Action (YUVA), in an attempt to understand how Dalits can work collectively and proactively participate in the betterment of their community.

DSHG 1: Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI)

Interviewee: N. K. Chandan (Chapter Head, Delhi)

The Dalit Indian Chamber for Commerce and Industry was established on 14 April, 2005. It is modelled on the lines of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). DICCI aims to serve a two-fold purpose: be a resource centre for Dalit entrepreneurs and promote entrepreneurship among Dalits. Currently DICCI has over a thousand members. This section will attempt to chart the work DICCI has done and also the broader interaction between caste and capitalism.

Funding

Although there are nominal entrance fees and a membership fee, most of the funding comes voluntarily from chapter heads, who are entrepreneurs themselves.

DICCI as an entrepreneurship promoter

DICCI has recently started a venture capital fund for entrepreneurs looking to start out. The aim is to produce a "hundred Dalit billionaires". (Jerath 2013) However, its major focus until now has remained being a resource centre for established entrepreneurs.

DICCI as a resource centre

As a resource centre, DICCI is meant for established Dalit entrepreneurs to come together and benefit from one another. In order to become a DICCI member, a manufacturing company has to have invested at least Rs 25 lakh in plants and machinery, and a services company has to have invested at least Rs 10 lakh in equipment. DICCI provides the following services to members:

1. Mentoring
2. Financial and tax management and assistance
3. Quality management services (QMS) certification guidance
4. Training
5. Awards and Recognitions

Besides these, DICCI is a platform for Dalit entrepreneurs to network through business trade fairs, conferences and seminars. The first trade fair was held in December 2011.

Dalit entrepreneurs and discrimination

The Dalits' absence in business historically and the presence of reservation policies might cause a certain level of discrimination as far as funding and credit are concerned. For example, Swwapnil Bhingardevay narrates how difficult it was for him to get funding for starting a new business despite him having been a successful entrepreneur for 15 years. He attributes the hesitance in lending on the part of the banks to the twin beliefs of Dalits being incompetent and undeserving. (Sangani 2011) Karunakaran (2011) also notes how Ashok Khade, a Dalit

entrepreneur's business card mentioned his name: "It simply says 'K Ashok', concealing his surname, a caste giveaway." There was also agreement that access to capital was a significant problem. Also, some entrepreneurs believe that given how Dalits are socially excluded, it becomes doubly difficult for them to start up.²

DICCI and "capitalist welfarism"

DICCI has expressed views about capitalism and the state that do not fall in line with the usual economic classifications of left and right. It wholeheartedly supports the free market because it has allowed Dalits to leave their traditional occupations and take up new ones outside the barriers of caste. In the words of Chandra Bhan Prasad, mentor and supporter of DICCI, "The market doesn't care about social groups. It only recognizes individuals who have surpluses in their pockets. And that is good for Dalits because the market will not reject a Dalit simply because he is a Dalit." (Jerath 2013) DICCI's Chairman, Milind Kamble, also holds that economic reforms have made the business environment more conducive for Dalits. (Business Line Bureau 2013) But this is only half the story.

DICCI is also unequivocally in support of affirmative action for the Dalits, as illustrated by the following demands it has made:

1. Every branch of all nationalised banks must finance at least one Scheduled Caste entrepreneur.
2. That the government retain its policy of compulsory 4% procurement from MSMEs owned by SC/STs.

DICCI has also repeatedly asserted that Dalit entrepreneurs pay more to the State in taxes than the State spends on Dalit welfare.

Prasad calls this system "capitalist welfarism" as opposed to "socialist welfarism". (Jerath 2013) Perhaps it is futile to attempt to classify DICCI's approach with current terminology; what is important to note is that DICCI believes that the free market is a liberating force in that it makes doing business easier, and also that Dalit entrepreneurs do require proactive help from the government in order to overcome community inexperience in doing business and covert discrimination. A system of capitalist welfarism is also preferred because a capitalist state has the means to create the wealth required for affirmative action. (Jerath 2013) It is simultaneously important to note that DICCI does not see this government help as a handout: they believe Dalit entrepreneurs give back to the society more in terms of jobs and taxes to the government than the society spends on the Dalit community.

DICCI and caste consciousness

The earlier point helps to highlight that the caste identity is still strong within the Dalit business community. They perceive a very direct effect of Dalit upliftment and business becoming easier

²NK Chandan, in a personal interview with the author.

for themselves. But is DICCI simply about business, or does it venture beyond, into caste and community? More specifically, are their demands limited to the business community or do they span all Dalits?

Firstly, DICCI's progress in encouraging new entrepreneurs must be mentioned. It indicates that DICCI is not simply a group of established entrepreneurs coming together to make business easier for themselves using collective bargaining power – they are also trying to encourage Dalits who have not started out yet. Prasad also believes that the venture capital fund would "send a powerful message to Dalits that they can succeed." In this sense at least, DICCI's efforts go beyond the existing business community.

Also, there are perhaps unintentional changes that DICCI in particular and Dalit capitalism in general may propagate. As explained by a reader in response to an article in The Hindu calling Dalit capitalism a chimera (Mannathukkaren 2013),

"There is something called the notion of collective community prestige. When a few individuals from a community strike it rich or occupy influential posts, the stock of that community rises and it climbs up the caste ladder."

Affirmative action and corporate India

Affirmative action in corporate India has received support from the Confederation of Indian Industries and its member companies. CII's guidelines provide for affirmative action in employment, employability, entrepreneurship and education. The "entrepreneurship" part of affirmative action is usually expressed in the practice of "supplier diversity"³. This is somewhat similar to the government making preferential purchases from socially disadvantaged sections, except there is not usually a set quota in corporate affirmative action. For example, Tata Group claims the following:

1. Eight Tata companies have enlisted close to 50 SC/ST vendors in their value chain, giving business worth Rs14.5 crore in FY 2011.
2. Titan outsourced business worth approximately Rs5 crore to 325 SC/ST karigars (craftsmen).
3. Tata Motors has enlisted four DICCI members as second tier vendors.
4. Tata Steel has raised its target of business to be given to SC/ST entrepreneurs from Rs 5 crore in FY 11 to Rs 30 crore in FY 12.⁴

This is where it is easy to pinpoint DICCI's major, tangible achievement: making the attainment of supplier diversity for the rest of corporate India easier by bringing a large number of Dalit entrepreneurs in one place. For example, the Tatas bought 33% equity in Chandan&Chandan Industries, an industrial helmet manufacturing corporation started by NK Chandan. Chandan is the Delhi chapter head for DICCI and this position played a crucial role in how the deal came

³From the website of CII. Available at <http://www.ciiaffirmativeaction.in/>

⁴From the website of the Tata group. Available at <http://www.tata.in/ourcommitment/articles/inside.aspx?artid=HchoeNSAzOM=>

about. Newspapers expressed considerable surprise at the deal, calling it an alteration of the “very discourse of affirmative action in the private sector.” Prasad called the deal “A giant step in moving from patronage to partnership.” (Karunakaran 2013)

DSHG 2: Insight Foundation

Interviewee: Anoop Kumar (Founder and President of Insight Foundation)

The Insight Foundation works with hundreds of Dalit and Adivasi students enrolled in institutions providing tertiary education all across India. The functions they perform include mentoring, student advocacy in issues of caste-based discrimination, skills-formation for students, and student empowerment. The mentoring services sometimes are as simple as bringing local Dalit students together and having them talk about their experiences of discrimination, to providing a mentor for students from their network of volunteers to individually counsel them. They also raise issues of discrimination through their magazine, website, and blog in order to generate awareness and public discourse. Last year, they filmed a documentary on the issue of Dalit students committing suicide and have even represented students who have faced discrimination in the form of unfair grading of their papers. To date, they have fought three cases in the Supreme Court on this issue and have won all of them. Furthermore, they organize workshops in which they discuss and analyze issues pertaining to identity and caste-based discrimination. Through such workshops, participants are encouraged to share their personal experiences while also asking questions such as, "What does it mean to be a Dalit?" and "What are the politics behind the term Dalit?" These help students as they cope with the discrimination.

Reservations and discrimination

Anoop Kumar, the founder, believes that the public discourse on caste has been such that it remains confined to concerns regarding the rationale and nature of reservation policies, especially reservations of seats in institutes of higher education. Politicians, faculty, the media and students from non – SC/ST backgrounds, openly question the merit of Dalits students in society; and this could potentially deepen caste boundaries. This discrimination has had a significant adverse impact on the self-esteem of Dalit students, hampering their academic performance and unfortunately leading to a number of Dalit students committing suicide (Nolen, 2012). According to Anoop Kumar, the entire public discourse has been entrenched in talks of 'merit' while many critical issues such as the absence of well-functioning and formal support systems for addressing the grievances of Dalit students have been largely overlooked.

Dalit students hesitate in voicing their concerns for fear of being accused of not being able to keep up with academic requirements due to their 'lack of merit and skills'. Moreover, whenever instances of discrimination are brought forth by Dalit students, they are accused of engaging in caste politics and unnecessarily bringing up issues where none exist. In addition to the doubts being cast on Dalit students' abilities, Anoop Kumar has seen students facing discrimination in the grading of papers. The urgent need to establish a peer support and counselling network amongst the Dalit student community motivated Anoop Kumar to set up Insight Foundation.

Background

The organization started in 2007 with a magazine called Insight while Anoop was student at JNU. Anoop himself had faced discrimination earlier while he was studying engineering in Delhi. He had faced undisguised discrimination from other students and faculty. Faced with these injustices, Anoop started to protest. These protests escalated into confrontations between him and the faculty, and eventually resulted in an altercation with the dean in 1998, at which point he was thrown out of school. He later went on to do his BA, and then completed his post-graduation in JNU. He has been working on this issue of caste since 2002, while attending JNU.

Structure and funding

Insight Foundation was founded in 2007 by AnoopKumar, and he is currently the president of the organization. They currently have four full time staff, but they have a network of 200 volunteers. They have been receiving funding from the Ford foundation for the last three years; prior to that they were funded by private donations from their family and friends. They are now going back to the latter type of funding as they feel that their work becomes constrained and dictated by the funding organization to a certain extent when funding is received from external sources.

This organization functions on the basis of a network of volunteers organized by the staff at Insight. These volunteers include faculty at universities, students, and working professionals. The students also help each other through peer support networks. Once students have received help from Insight, they come back as alumni and join the network, offering their support to the organization. Members of this network have also donated money in the past.

Future plans

Their headquarters are shifting to Maharashtra, where they will be collaborating with a college. They are also setting up another office in Haryana. They feel that they would be able to service a larger Dalit student population in these areas.

DSHG 3: National Council of Dalit Christians (NCDC)

Interviewees: Franklin Caesar Thomas (National Coordinator of NCDC) and Reverend Father Z. Devasagayaraj (Executive Secretary of the Office of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes at Catholic Bishops' Conference of India)

NCDC was started in 2005 as a collection of movements fighting for the empowerment of Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims in India. This umbrella movement includes the Dalit Christian Welfare Society, Indian Dalit Christian Welfare Society, Dalit Christian Liberation Movement from Tamil Nadu and Puducherry and Council of Dalit Christians in Kerala, amongst others.

NCDC has branches working in many states including: Punjab, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra and they work in close collaboration with the SC wing of National Council of Churches in India (NCCI). The organization was established by Dalit Christians including Roshan Joseph, Dr. Mary John, Franklin Caesar Thomas, Vijay George, and Dr. Prashant Kumar.

Financing

The organization's initiatives are financed entirely through contributions made by Dalit Christians. They choose this method of funding to ensure their autonomy and self-sustenance. This need for self-reliance is also evidenced by a quote from one of the founders, Mr. Thomas, who clearly stated that "No foreign NGO can empower us."

Discrimination within Christianity

Thomas speaks of how Dalits had converted to Christianity in the hope of finding an escape from the rigid and discriminatory caste hierarchy that is part of the Hindu belief system. Unfortunately, Dalits were denied equal status even within the Christian community.

The discriminatory nature of the Church establishment was substantiated by Ambedkar's study of the Madura Mission (Mathew, 2012). The study examined the missionary methods practiced by Robert de Nobili (1577-1656) and revealed that Nobili had divided the mission into Brahmanasanyasis, catering to the dominant castes and the Pandaraswamis, who worked amongst the Shudras and untouchables in order to please the upper caste converts to Christianity (Ambedkar, 1990). Thus the Church establishment in India has imbibed the casteist practices prevalent in local Hindu communities and Dalit converts have continued to face social exclusion even though it goes against the fundamental teachings of Christ and the Gospel values professed.

The discrimination faced by Dalits within the Church is systematic, as it is in the Hindu religion. Thomas spoke of the two cemetery system which is prevalent in rural areas where separate grave yards are maintained for dominant caste and SC converts and is a reflection of how Dalits are not treated as equals even after their death. Even in the power structure of the Christian establishment in India, SC converts (estimated to be nearly 70% of the Christian population in India) hold a mere 3% of all high positions in the church while non-Dalits and upper caste converts (an estimated 10% of the Christian population) hold 85% of such positions.

Thomas also highlighted specific instances to reveal the casteist nature of the Christian community in India. In Tamil Nadu's Villupuram district, a funeral procession for the priest's mother was prevented from moving in the main street because she was a Dalit Christian. Inter-

dining between upper and lower caste converts was stopped and separate churches were built for these communities.

Reverend Devasagayaraj discussed the plight of Dalit women converts to Christianity and who face a "double oppression" in society. The Reverend also spoke of the power structure within the Church and how only eight Bishops in the country out of 166 are from the SC background. Reverend Devasagayaraj spoke of initiatives to provide training and educational support to Dalit Christians preparing for the Civil Services Examination in India since this community lacks political and bureaucratic representation. According to him, Dalit Christians receive basic education as provided by missionaries across the nation, but have limited access to institutions of higher education since they are not eligible for SC reservations, despite facing social exclusion and discrimination similar to Dalit Hindus. This has resulted in high drop-out rates with fewer Dalit Christians becoming entrepreneurs or gaining positions of administrative power.

Dalit Christians, the law and NCDC

NCDC has been campaigning for equal rights with the point of contention being the third paragraph of the Constitution (Scheduled Caste) Order 1950, also known as the Presidential Order. This Order stipulates that only those who practice Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism will be deemed members of SC origin thus leaving out Dalit converts to Christianity and Islam. This has resulted in dividing the entire Dalit community in India on the basis of religion where a Dalit Hindu is eligible for SC status but not a Dalit Christian or Dalit Muslim. By confining the benefits of SC status to those who practice particular beliefs, the Order violates the fundamental principles of equality and freedom enshrined in Article 15 and Article 25 of the Indian Constitution.

In addition to this, Dalit Christians and Muslims are deprived of the civil protection offered to other Dalits who are Hindus or Buddhists under the Protection of Civil Rights Act 1976, the Untouchability (Offences) Act 1955 and the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989. Thus a Dalit Hindu is covered under these laws but not a Dalit Christian or Muslim in gross violation of their rights to equal protection under the law.

NCDC helped to file a case in the Supreme Court (Civil Writ Petition No 180, 2004) against Union of India, Secretary, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment which resulted in the matter being referred to the National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities (NCRLM). The report by NCRLM was later tabled in the Parliament and recommended that Paragraph 3 of the Presidential Order be wholly deleted so that the Scheduled Caste status is de-linked from religion, making it religion neutral, similar to the Scheduled Tribes status. NCDC has done advocacy, organized rallies and demonstrations, and filed RTI inquiries to include Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims in the SC list. They have also collected documents written by various political leaders and Chief Ministers to assess the political consensus on this issue with many parties expressing support in their manifestos.

Given the working model and functions of this organization, NCDC is thus a perfect example of an organization run by Dalits for Dalits and hence qualifies as a DSHG according to the definition provided in this report.

DSHG 4: Samyak Prakashan

Interviewee: Shanti Swaroop Bauddh (Founder and Organizer)

SamyakPrakshan is a publishing house operating in *Shadipur*, a district in South Delhi and is run by Swaroop's family. They focus mainly on the distribution of Buddhist-Ambedkar literature but also print other Dalit literature. Their objective is to spread Ambedkar's message through what they call the "alternative media" or the print media. Their work describes Ambedkar's commitment to help Dalits and how the Buddhist philosophy can empower Dalits⁵. The organization also hopes to promote Dalit writers and give them an opportunity to display their talents.

Background

The founder of the organization is Shanti Swaroop Bauddh who was himself a Dalit Hindu. His parents converted to Buddhism when he was seven and both his grandfather and father were activists and social workers working on caste-based issues. In 1970, he made the decision to become an activist for the Dalit Buddhist movement. Before starting his publishing house he worked as a painter while also engaging in social work. From 1970 to 1997, he was a member of the Buddhist Society of India where he served as the President for 10 years.

History and structure

The organization has been in operation for 15 years and claims to be the largest publisher of Dalit-Ambedkar literature. They have published more than 1000 books in Hindi, Sri Lankan, Burmese, Telugu, Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, and English. This publishing house distributes literature not only in India but also overseas to over a dozen countries including: United States, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Burma. They also restore old books that are rare and out of print and sell their books mainly in seminar, festivals, meetings rallies, etc.

Religion and discrimination

Swaroop believes people can escape caste-based discrimination only when they denounce the very system of religious beliefs on which this discrimination is based. He believes that it is caste discrimination that has resulted in the continued deprivation of entire communities, wherein people lack resources that are essential for progress. In villages, this discrimination may manifest itself by restricting communities' access to education, land, and water (Chavan, 2007; Bob, 2007). While in cities, the discrimination may take the form of limited access to job opportunities (Thorat and Newman, 2012). However, it is not only external discrimination, but also the feeling of disempowerment that comes from facing this discrimination, that is a major issue which this organization seeks to solve. According to Swaroop, after Dalit Hindus convert to Buddhism, they begin to think more actively, denouncing superstitions that oppress them, and gaining solidarity through participation in the movement while also demanding their rights as they escape feelings of inferiority that are projected onto them in the Hindu religion.

Dalit writing in urban Delhi

⁵A significant number of Dalits have converted to Buddhism in order to escape the discrimination entrenched within the Hindu caste system (Gokhale, 1986)

The writing received by Samyak Prakashan comes from a network of over 300 writers from all over India. These writers voluntarily contribute their literary works and often give donations. These writers belong mostly to the Dalit community but also include those from other religions. This publishing house is a for-profit business which sells works at prices marginally higher than the costs incurred and therefore do not require significant external funding.

Their self sustaining model which seeks to spread Ambedkar's philosophy to counter the feelings of 'disempowerment' amongst the Dalit community and the fact that it receives vital support from other Dalits, makes Samyak Prakashan an apt example of a DSHG.

DSHG 5: Youth Unite for Voluntary Action (YUVA)

Interviewee: Trish Pal (Founder and President)

YUVA was established in 2008. The founding members were mostly members of the Dalit community but also included: members of Other Backward Classes; academicians; professionals from media, the social sector and law. Pal, one of the founders and the current President of YUVA, has had more than 15 years of experience in the social service sector where he has worked with multiple organizations, including UNICEF (The United Nations Children's Fund) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation). Through YUVA, Pal wants to make a long term commitment to working in a field in the social sector where he thinks existing organizations (which tend to focus on short term objectives according to him) were not having an adequate and sustainable impact. He also felt that initiatives run by other organizations neglected the issue of child rights and undermined the importance of education. This further motivated him to set up YUVA, which seeks to empower youth as harbingers of change within communities.

YUVA, child labour and education

One of YUVA's main initiatives is based on the peer education model which targets child labour working in Asia's largest vegetable and fruit trading centre, the *Azadpur Subzi Mandi* (Mahajan, 2013). The first stage of this project is to train a group of young individuals on how to conduct outreach programmes, impart life skills and mould attitudes of impoverished children who belong to Dalit and Muslim backgrounds. In the next stage, they connect trained youth and YUVA's volunteers to these children through the use of theatre and interactive games. The programme's long term objective is to enable these children to gain quality employment in the future by imparting remedial education, vocational training, computer literacy and enrolling them in The National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS).

Mr. Pal also introduced us to Roshan and Hasib Alam, who as children were selling fruits and vegetables in the *Mandi*. With the help of YUVA, Roshan is now studying in the 12th grade while Alam is pursuing his Bachelor degree in Social Work. Both Roshan and Alam now shoulder multiple responsibilities within YUVA where Roshan focuses on outreach programs and the accounting aspects of the organization and Hasib oversees the peer education initiative as the project's youth coordinator. YUVA children are also part of the Adobe Youth Voice - American India Foundation programme which empowers youth with training in digital media so that they may learn how to voice their concerns and express themselves through documentaries while also learning skills that could provide them a source of employment in the future.

YUVA and the Right to Education

YUVA also works to secure admissions for children belonging to economically and socially backward classes in private schools under the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009. They ask the parents of these children to accompany their volunteers so that they become familiar with their rights and the processes involved in gaining admissions through RTE. Concerns were voiced that admissions of children from these communities would adversely affect the classroom environment and the standard of education at these schools but regular follow-ups and monitoring of children that YUVA assisted show that all these children scored more than 50% in their examinations and did not engage in any harmful activities. In recent years, YUVA has expanded the programme's coverage to 500 children in two age groups, 6 to 14 and 15 to 20 years of age.

In addition, YUVA has collaborated with publishers of a quarterly magazine named '*Kadam*' which is aimed at generating awareness within the community about caste-based discrimination and other socially relevant issues.

Funding

Financing for these initiatives is obtained through contributions of 'a rupee a day' every year sourced from families living in these localities. If these funds fall short⁶, they are supplemented with Mr. Trish Pal's personal income (earned through consultancy assignments) and through private donations.

Migrants and caste consciousness

In addition to this project, YUVA has also tried to replicate the community-based welfare model in localities such as *Rithala* and *Adarsh Nagar* in New Delhi. The idea came about when Pal visited Kolkata as a consultant for Save the Children's Back to School project and saw 'cabinets' being formed in Muslim localities which designated women living in these neighbourhoods as 'Health Minister', 'Home Minister' and other similar posts. This was an innovative community-based initiative in which these women encouraged families to adopt good practices in health, sanitation, education and management of finances. However, adopting this model for urban Delhi has proven to be a challenging task for YUVA, as Pal pointed out. Dalits in urban Delhi have come from diverse backgrounds since they are migrants from different states or belong to different sub-castes within the Dalit community. Consequently, there is a lack of unity and an absence of mutual trust and collective responsibility amongst them which makes the implementation of similar, community and member-based welfare projects difficult.

⁶It is sometimes challenging to collect funding from families which the organization is not immediately servicing.