

**PUBLIC POLICY AND WELFARE IN INDIAN CONTEXT:
AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF SPECIAL
COMPONENT PLAN FOR SCHEDULED CASTES
IMPLEMENTED IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD IN
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DECLARATION

I, **Raja Kumar Kattula**, hereby declare that this thesis entitled '**Public Policy and Welfare in Indian Context: An Anthropological Study of Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes Implemented in Andhra Pradesh**', under submission is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism is supervised by **Prof. N. Sudhakar Rao**. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University of any other University or Institution for the award of degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/ INFLIBNET.

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1. **The Hollowness of the Hollowed Policy: Emptiness of the Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes'. The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies, Vol. 4, Issue. 9, September 2016, pp. 197 – 203.**
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INTRODUCTION

The concept of welfare, in general, is seen as the responsibility of a state or a government to its citizenry. Empirical evidences of welfare of the government's responsibility may be found at grass roots or at beneficiary level in the form of certain assistance. However, people, generally, always expected such responsibility from rulers in the past and in the present it is from the administrators or governments regardless of their forms. The difference between the two is that earlier people did not have choice of the ruler but today people choose the government in democracies. But, the sense of welfare may vary from one form of government to the other. For instance, in monarchical and presidential types of governments, welfare is not the same as in socialist and democratic types of governments. Nevertheless, in practice, no government can afford to apparently ignore welfare of its citizens completely. This is because, any type of government that fails to at least give an impression or that the government addresses the issues of welfare or wellbeing of the citizens or can solve the problems and give protection for its citizens would ultimately face resistance and rejection by its own citizens. The French revolution is the finest example to explain the phenomena in detail¹.

When mentioned welfare, it can be understood either as physical welfare or psychological or mental welfare. In this thesis the welfare is taken as physical welfare which can be measured with the help of material goods. Several attempts were made so far to define this kind of welfare. One among those, which is found to be simplest², defines the welfare as 'The provision of a minimal level of well-being and social support for all citizens, sometimes it has been referred as public aid'³. In developed countries government often be the welfare provider besides charities, informal social groups, religious groups, and inter-governmental organizations. However, in developing and democratic countries like India, welfare is the duty of the State to provide and encourage its citizens by directly or indirectly participate in the welfare activities or support non-government organizations to do the same on behalf of the government. On the other hand welfare is neither an

¹ For more information about French Revolution read the book 'Napoleon' by Emil Ludwig published by Jaico.

² Here the simplest definition is considered because the present study does not focus on the definition of welfare, rather it a general meaning of it.

³ <http://englishdictionary.education/en/welfare>

obligation nor a duty of an NGO. Welfare can take a variety of forms, such as direct monetary payments, capacity building, giving away subsidies and supply of goods or material assistance. Beneficiary may be an individual, family or a group. Beneficiaries usually are unemployed, people with terminal illness or with disability, elderly, dependent children, women and veterans etc.

Welfare means differently to different countries. For example, it refers to financial assistance to poor people in USA, and in Western Europe and Scandinavia it means social protection. Welfare is not entirely a secular concept. It is included in religious charity (Spicker 2017). Therefore, it is necessary to understand welfare in socio-cultural context.

In India, welfare perhaps is more appropriate word to be used when compared to the developed nations. This is because in developing nations poverty and inequalities continue to be a burden in greater scale. So, in order to reduce the intensity of poverty and bring more socio-economic equality among marginalized and vulnerable sections of society such as Dalits, Backward Classes, poor, women, children, aged and differently abled persons, some effective measures are needed. These measures are envisaged in the welfare policies conceived, formulated and developed and finally implemented. Among the backward and vulnerable sections of India, Dalits are the neediest and deserving ones. Hence, the Constitution of India consciously guarantees certain welfare measures for their wellbeing and development under the policy of protective discrimination. So, it can be said that the Constitution of India is the spirit and primary source for promoting welfare in India. It guarantees the wellbeing of Indian citizens, especially for those who are backward and vulnerable. The following Articles of the Constitution unequivocally expresses the same.

The Article 38 –states that ‘the state shall secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people.

1. The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.
2. The State shall, in particular, strive to minimize the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only

amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations.

The Article 46 – is part of Directive Principles of State Policy contained in the Constitution of India and specifically states that ‘the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitations’, (Constitution of India). Thus, these groups can be brought to the level of the rest of the population in the country and thus can enjoy the fruits of a developing economy and socio-political democracy.

Armed with Constitutional support and inspiration drawn from it, the government of India formulated and implemented various welfare policies and programs since the independence. These are meant to empower economically and socially backward sections of the Indian society such as SCs⁴ and STs. Under such welfare policies Special Component Plan (SCP) is the one formulated and implemented for the welfare of SCs. The plan was adopted during the 6th Five Years Plan and in the Financial Year of 1979-80. The main objective of the Plan is to ensure the speedy development of SCs, and eliminate poverty in the community by providing direct monetary and material benefits to individual, family and village units through different programmes and schemes.

Before further discussion is taken up on the SCP, it is necessary to clarify the concept of the Public Policy or simply Policy.

Meaning of Public Policy

The meaning of public policy according to Oxford dictionary is “the principles, often unwritten, on which social laws are based”⁵. In general, so, public policy is taken as a guide for developing principles to take action by executive branches of state in relation to a specific matter. Public policy accomplishes the task when it deciphers and solves the problem. It serves justice to the target group and encourages active citizenship.

However, the meaning of policy is often mistaken for plan or programme or scheme or Act, while they are fundamentally differ from each other. Policy essentially stands for a

⁴ Also known as Dalits (Oppressed)

⁵ https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/public_policy

set of guidelines up on which the government or executive authority should be based in the process of implementation. Plan stands for the entire long term road map to achieve the set goals within the policy. Programme stands for a systematic action or implementation of the plan. It is often designed for a specific period of time to achieve a specific goal. Although, the words 'policy' and 'programme' are used alternatively, they are technically and practically not the same. Policy means an official way to get the things done whereas program refers to actions through which policy to be achieved. Programs are written directions, or the rules which people have to follow to receive benefits. To say it briefly programs are just one simple part of a policy. Scheme stands, similar to the programme, for achieving a specific goal. Act stands for giving a legal protection for any of the above mentioned.

A policy is a frame-work broadly defining goals and in population who should be benefited of the benefits through implementation of certain programs and schemes under a policy. The word policy usually is considered, though many definitions exist, as a plan or course of action adopted by anyone whether a person, a group, a government, a political party, or a business, to influence and determine decisions, actions, and other matters. In a sense, policy is declared State's objectives relating to the wellbeing of the citizenry. It is always meant to deal with issues, and different kinds of policies are formulated to deal with diverse issues. And these policies are considered as remedies toward those issues. The policies are various kinds: development policies, welfare policies, environmental policies, industrial policies, trade policy etc. Each policy is formulated at the decision making level with the help of experts in that particular field to which a particular policy has to be formulated.

However, the discussion on types of public policy, broadly, can be divided in to two parts i.e. 1. Analysis of ongoing policy, which is investigative and descriptive and it is intended to explain development of policies. This can be called policy evaluation, assessment and impact assessment. 2. Analysis for future policy, which is meant for giving directives for formulating policies in the future. This can be called as policy advocacy.

Anthropology and Policy

Policy is a powerful weapon to frame and determine the lives of people. Hence, studies on policy are given special importance in various disciplines like political science, public administration, economics, and management studies and anthropology. In fact

anthropological study of public policy is a recent phenomenon though colonial administration used anthropology for its own benefits. Hence, an attempt is made here to explain how anthropological approach helps understand the state's policies for the welfare of the people. The anthropological approaches to study policy can be discussed in two parts. The first part explains 'why' anthropologists study policy. Second, part covers 'how' anthropologists study policy.

Why Anthropologists Study Policy?

A general consideration towards studying policy is to know how certain policy is translated into programmes and schemes and implemented and whether or not it has achieved expected goals. But, anthropologists study policy as one of the forms of power and it aims to understand how power operates in societies at different levels, using policy as a vehicle. Besides, anthropology should study policy at least for four important reasons. First, policy defines categories that represent target or beneficiary groups (Dutta 2009). People who possess prescribed attributes mentioned in policy document will fall into that particular category. So, while defining the categories it is very important to see whether the definition covers all qualified persons or not. Secondly, most policies are dominant or one-sided or distorted as they are always political. Policy making authorities most of the times are political elites and they always consider and keep in mind their political agendas while making policies (Bellow 1994). Again these political leaders largely hail from privileged sections of the society, so there is always a chance to undermine the opinions of non-privileged sections. Thirdly, policy brings impositions on culture (Stern 2005, Schwegler & Powell 2008), by imposing certain rules and regulations authoritatively to control and guide individuals/groups to behave in certain way, consequently those individuals/groups sometimes have to lose their traditional practices. Fourthly, the study of policy deals with issues at the heart of anthropology such as institutions and power (Shore and Wright 1997).

Further, not only do policies codify social norms and values, and articulate fundamental organizing principles of society; they also contain implicit (and sometimes explicit) models of society (Whittaker, Andrea, Banwell and Cathey 2002). The study of policies, therefore, definitely is an anthropological concern.

However, though it has been suggested that it is more important to see how closely anthropology can be related to the policy questions, the need for its uniqueness from other

social sciences in studying policy is gradually growing. Anthropology gives more in-depth understanding of a social fact, as its strength always lies in its holistic approach, fieldwork method and qualitative analysis and ethnographic writing which enable to present the social phenomenon more close to the reality than any other social science. Hence, the study of public policy is not only close to the subject matter of anthropology but also unique.

How Anthropologists Study Policy?

While the traditional anthropological studies usually focus on micro level issues the anthropological studies of policy is concerned with macro level issues. It is not confined to a particular geographical boundary, so policy has to be studied in a broad area which means to the extent certain policy is applicable or interlinked. Studying policy as an objective of analysis means that it does not consider the policy as granted or as a faultless one rather it investigates the policy process in order to check/evaluate its legitimacy (Sutton 1999). Policies sometimes channel debates in certain directions that are useful only to some sections of a society. Anthropology can explain how such directions have led to particular policy formulation (Shore and Susan Wright 1997). It informs the dominant ways in which problems were identified and with which the policy is concerned. How particular classification has identified the target groups and how such classification has legitimized certain policy solutions while marginalizing others? (Wedel and Feldman 2005). Anthropology is very much suitable to study policy as its investigation methods can give a huge space to understand the phenomena from the native's or peoples' point of view.

The following questions related to policy are still relevant though they are raised in 1980s such as: where do public policy issues come from? How do some get on the government agenda? Why some gain attention from those in or close to government? And how do a few of these reach the 'decision agenda' where they are actively considered for adoption? (Cobb and Elder 1983, Kingdon 1995). The reasons, as Paul Burstien (1991) rightly said, are matters of social and cultural processes.

Though, anthropology of public policy came up as a new sub-field within the social anthropology, it is not new for the discipline to study policy and policy related issues. Anthropologists directly or indirectly always study policy matters. For instance, in the early decades of 20th century an argument about race and gender draw attention of public

policy. Initially, evolutionists like Henry Morgan and Edward Tylor assumed and promoted the idea that race and gender are biological aspects than cultural. But Franz Boas challenged this idea based on his study⁶ that race is a changing social construct and that physical differences between races are variable and depend on context (Stocking 1968). Mulhauser is perhaps the first anthropologist who examined the usefulness of ethnography for identifying problems and providing the basis for making educational policy decisions (Mulhauser 1975). Later in 1976's publication of 'Sorcerer's Apprentice: An Anthropology of Public Policy' Belshaw argues that in reality anthropology has always studied, albeit may be not self-consciously, policy. He sums it up by stating 'In an ultimate sense, society is itself policy making' (Belshaw 1976). Chambers in his work on a new housing program, has designed to assist low and moderate income families in obtaining standard housing at an affordable cost in USA. He tried to differentiate the ethnographer (anthropologist) from a hired person in collecting the data. And he suggests for more dependency on ethnographer than the hired person for the reliable and accurate information because ethnographer only can look for qualitative data (Chambers 1977). Anthropologists (British) like Evans Pritchard, Max Gluckman, Raymond Firth and Frederik Barth, have studied how social institutions and social policies are organized, function, and change and the way these influence social actors, social boundaries, and the construction of social identities (Wedel, Shore, Feldman, and Lathrop 2005). Willigen and Walt (1985) who published a 'Training Manual in Policy Ethnography', have suggested the dos and don'ts that an anthropologist must follow while in the field. Anthropological Knowledge has been used in National Environment Policy Act (Boggs 1990). Almost a decade later the publication of the book titled 'Anthropology of Public Policy; critical perspectives on governance and power' in 1997, by the British authors Chris Shore and Susan Wright, marked the beginning of new era of anthropology of public policy.

Anthropology's concern for policy is to provide information to decision makers in support of the rational formulation, implementation, and to evaluate a policy. The kind of policies may be different but they all relate to the same set of basic issues, that is, policy is concerned with values. Anthropology encourages the policy research in different

⁶ He conducted studies of immigrants at the behest of the United States Immigration Commission (Baos1988)

models such as evaluation research which aims to determining the value or worth of a project, program, or set of training materials. Social impact assessment research which stands to predict social effects of various kinds of projects. Needs assessment is a kind of approach that is used to determine deficiencies; these deficiencies can be treated through policies, projects, and programs. Social soundness analysis approach is to determine the cultural feasibility of development projects. Technology development research method is another kind of model which put effort to help assure the appropriateness of technology developed for use in less developed countries. Cultural Resource Management is to identify and document the cultural and archaeological sites, the main emphasis in this research is toward the documentation of the folk knowledge of communities that are displaced by development projects (van Willigen, 1993). In this case the research has taken place under the cultural preservation policy.

Various dimensions of problem related to public policy have been examined by different scholars. Many observations show that policy making authorities have paid less attention towards analysing, understanding and factoring the complex historical, social, cultural, economic, political, organizational and institutional context.

It has been observed that policies, if not always, most of the times are political. They may control or subvert common or weaker people's interest for the benefit of powerful. It has been proved in the case of Mexico's bilateral relations with the US that, in the name of strategic ties Mexican government allowed US capitalists to invest in fresh fruit export industry primarily in Cantaloupe, which has been the most profitable business for the domestic small-scale formers of Mexico for long time. As a result, the US agents started on large scale farming in Mexico, the small farmers of Mexico could not compete with them. Moreover, the US agents did not liked to associate with the small farmers of Mexico as they wanted large scale production for making huge profits. In this competition the small Mexican farmers had to leave farming and took up non-farming jobs elsewhere (Stanford 1994).

Often International agencies with their so called wider perspective tend to neglect the local cultural aspects at the time of policy formulation. It has been observed that planning authorities neglected understanding traditional and cultural expectations about Nepali women in the process of making of Assistant Nurse-Midwife Program (ANM). This kind of model has been developed by United States Agency for International Development

(USAID). Keeping the success of this model in mind in many countries, the government of Nepal implemented the programmes as a means to serve as part of national maternal and child health care program in Nepal. It has been believed that women could be more effective than men in providing maternal and child health care and assistance in family planning, which is very different from the reality in Nepal. Finally the program was a failure until authorities realized, to make some modifications to the planning, that in Nepal women are not allowed and their social status will be degraded in case they stay alone far from their families for a long time (Justice 1999). Local and cultural aspects play a vital role to decide whether a policy is to be accepted or rejected, or whether a policy is going to be effective or failure. This is why thorough examination and understanding of local cultural aspects is necessary before formulating any international or national policies.

Consideration of taken for granted assumptions may sometimes constrain the range (to which extant a policy should cover the beneficiaries) of policies that policy makers are likely to consider at the time of formulation. Such considerations made policy failure in southern Europe's catholic countries, where policy makers took for granted that the family would perform certain tasks for itself such as providing child care. Hence, policy makers did not provide day care or maternity leave programs assuming that they would not need them, whereas in Scandinavian countries with different family system policy makers made no such assumptions and supplied extensive child care programs (Andersen 1999).

Anthropology of policy is not simply concerned with representing local, indigenous, or marginalized "cultures" to policy makers, government agencies, or concerned NGOs. Its focus instead is simultaneously wider and narrower: wider insofar as its aim is to explore how the state (or to be more exact, those policy makers and professionals who are authorized to act in the state's name) relates to local populations; and narrower to the extent that its ethnographic focus tends to privilege the goal of understanding how state policies and government processes are experienced and interpreted by people at the local level, keeping in mind that anthropologists are recasting the "local" or the "community" to capture changing realities (Wedel, Shore, Feldman, and Lathrop 2005).

The Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes

In the light of above anthropological perspectives the SCP which is an umbrella plan under the welfare policy of the state as stated in the Constitution shall be examined. The programmes and schemes under the SCP are supposed to be implemented in all the States and Union Territories of India. The allocation of funds, from the total budget available, have to be at least at the equal proportion of the SC population in the country as well as in the respective States and Union Territories for implementation of the programmes and schemes. The Social Welfare Department in each State and Union Territory is given the responsibility to function as the nodal department for coordinating the Plan. Under this SCP which is an umbrella the governments are expected to formulate a number of programmes and schemes. Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY), Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), Credit-Cum-Subsidy Scheme, Accelerated Rural Water Supply Program (ARWSP), Central Rural Sanitation Program (CRSP), National Social Assistance Program (NSAP) are some of the national level programmes implemented through SCP under the welfare policy of scheduled castes across the country.

The government of India has popularised the policy through media, and political parties have been keeping the welfare of SCs as one of the priorities in their agendas especially during the election times. Governments have constantly and repeatedly stated that the implementation of SCP has been successful and the policy was able to bring the SCs above the poverty line. But contrary to the government's claims, studies reveal as empirical evidences unfold that the SCs continue to live in pathetic conditions, particularly in rural areas (Martin 2015, Spears 2016), and are marginalized in urban labour markets (Madeshwaran and Paul 2007). They are neglected in most advanced spaces of our society (Murmu 1992) and they are inescapably facing the same old problem of poverty, discrimination and exclusion (Dreze and Sen 2013).

At this point, it is appropriate to refer to the findings of a few important researches that have focused on different aspects of SCP especially about the implementation of SCP and the socio-economic status of SCs. Some of the findings of various researches are as follows. The National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) has revealed the fact that the list of SC population under BPL category is faulty and

inappropriate. The methods through which persons identified under BPL category are totally based on the personal connections between the selecting authorities and the beneficiaries in the villages (NABARD 2004). Though the government continues to claim to have brought down the BPL figures, ironically, there is no clarity on what is BPL. The definition of BPL category is still debated in the nationwide discourse and remained unsolved. When the definition of BPL is not clear, the claim of bringing the BPL figures down has no meaning. A comprehensive study on the status of SCP which was sponsored by the Planning Commission of India has highlighted the fact that the allocation of funds towards SCP is not according to the proportion of the SC population in majority of the states, and even the states which are allocating the funds under SCSP are allocating major portion i.e., 60% - 65% of funds to the sectors like irrigation, agriculture, industry, power, roads and bridges where proportion of the SC beneficiaries in these sectors is just 10% to 15% (SEEDS 2007). It means that fund of the SCP has benefited non-SCs rather than SCs for whom this fund was meant for.

A review of studies conducted on the economic and social status of SCs has revealed that the SCs do still remain far away from the mainstream development of the country. Besides economic poverty, they have been found occupying lower positions in all the human development indicators i.e., nutrition, mortality, access to agricultural land, capital assets, employment rate, non-agricultural wages and are spotted at higher rate of discrimination and atrocity (Expert Group 2008).

A report prepared by the Task Force that the government constituted, though it contains some controversial recommendations, has pointed out that all the Ministries and Departments in the centre and state have fallen short in the implementation of SCP. It has recommended that the earmarking of funds should be made mandatory (Task Force 2010, 14) for in several states, the SCP fund has not been earmarked, which means, the SCP fund has been spent for SCs and non-SCs as well.

An appointed State Cabinet Sub-Committee to look in to the status of SCP and SCs in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh in its report states that the state governments are not maintaining proper records of fund flow of SCP to different development projects (Cabinet Sub-Committee 2012)⁷. In a study on the economic status of SCs it is found that desired goals could not be achieved due to insufficient budgetary allocation and lack of

⁷ The report of the Sub-Committee is discussed extensively under the Chapter-2 in this thesis.

effective monitoring system (Rajamma and Siddaraju 2013). The National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights has revealed the fact that most of the States/U.Ts are not holding on to the given basic methodology for the operation of SCP. Some State governments have evolved their own methodologies for the implementation of these strategies which gave a way to deviation or diversion of the funds allocated under the SCP (NCDHR 2014).

Though the contradictions are clear and loud between what is said and what is in the practice at the grassroots, the government claims success of the SCP. Keeping in view the contrasting findings of the above studies and the government positive claims in mind, it can be said that there are some issues that are coming on the way as obstacles for the successful implementation of SCP. Hence, there is a need for systematic and careful study of SCP in order to find the actual ground realities. The main question is whether there are any fundamental ills of SCP in its generic conception and perpetuation of the same year after year.

The strategy of Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP) since evolved in 1979 is aimed at:

- Economic development through beneficiary oriented programmes for raising their income and creating assets.
- Basti-oriented schemes for infrastructure development through provision of drinking water supply, link roads, house-sites, housing etc.
- Educational and Social development activities like establishment of primary schools, health centres, vocational centres, community halls, women work place etc.

Statement of Research Problem

In the above context, one raises questions about the formulation and implementation of the SCP. Is the failure or success of the SCP anything to do with its formulation? If the SCP is a failure, were there any wrongly understood realities of the SCs? What kind of thinking went before, and what has changed later on the SCP formulation? Or is the failure due to improper implementation of the programmes alone? If it is a success story, how the success is achieved? Should the credit be given to the formulation of the SCP or proper implementation of the programmes? Whether the policy has been made a channel to execute the power of the state over population against aspirations of people? Is it tactically played decisions of political interests of the powerful at the cost of the powerless? Whether this phenomenon is solely confined to the upper levels where

political elites take decisions or it is also associated with the bottom level where policy implementation carried out? Hence, it is very important to see how this social process has really been taken place at the both upper and bottom levels. Finally what do we understand from the SCP or what gaps exist in the welfare policy of scheduled castes in India?

However, to develop the constructive and comprehensive understanding on the above situation in general it is intended to examine the available literature on welfare policies from different parts of the world and also from India.

Review of Literature

The review of literature covers a general understanding of public policy⁸ by the way the policies are studied which reveal different discussions of various policies that are relevant for the present study.

1. Policy Evaluation, Assessment and Impact Assessment

Several studies are carried out on policy evaluation, assessment and impact assessment with reference to the study of public policy as regards to different aspects of public policy. Evaluative studies mainly focused on measuring the effectiveness of policy on a target group. The findings of these studies can be summarized as in the following.

Irrelevant Programmes: Some programmes of a policy are found to be non-relevant among certain populations of certain locations. Yet they are implemented just for the sake of implementation. For example, Rajan and Mishra (1997) have discovered that implementation of family planning programme in Kerala has no relevance as the state has met the goals of family planning programme by reaching the fertility level 1.37 per woman which is lowest in the country. Ignoring this fact the state government has implemented the programme spending huge amounts unnecessarily. The researchers have opined that the money that has been spent on the useless family planning programme in Kerala should have been diverted to take care of some serious emerging issues like aging and international migration etc.

⁸ Public policy includes welfare policy also. Hence, a description towards broader understanding about public policy serves the purpose of welfare policy too.

Negligent Policies: Sometimes policies are found to be negligent considering in and including the facts right out there in the society. For example, during the phase between 1950 and 1975 Indian planning and policy did not consider the persisting inequalities associated with gender. To understand these inequalities one must comprehend the nature of the domestic economy, domestic work, relations within the household, asymmetrical division of labour and power, overcrowding of women in low skill jobs, roots of the difference in educational background and working experience between the sexes and the continued different socialization of boys and girls etc. It has been pointed out that solving problems or to deal with them only by provision of welfare services can never achieve the goals empowerment of women unless there is an effort to find out the root cause and to deal with it or to enable the victims to become strong enough to deal with it (Buch 1998). The policies of land in Rajasthan focused only on tenure aspect of the land ownership. But, no preference has been given in the land policy for the land utilization, conservation, and development needs of the land when they are necessary for the comprehensive land development. Without focusing on these aspects the policy pertaining to land is extremely difficult to achieve its goals (Jodha 1970).

Irrational Programmes: Not only negligent but policies are also found to be with irrational programmes. For example, with reference to implementation of Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP) in Andhra Pradesh, it has been found that the majority of the Scheduled Castes (SC) in rural areas are still engaged in traditional occupations of low status and very few of them own land. However, the government introduced a programme for the economic empowerment of SCs. But, the amount that allocated under the programme of farm loan for each beneficiary is very low and inadequate to meet the set goals of the programme. Inadequacy of follow-ups of programmes and recovery of loan sanctioned is what is identified as the problem (Chetty 1991). Such situations are found all over the country. In Assam, for instance, most of the SCs do not have residential plots or have very small land holding which is inadequate to maintain their family (Athaparia and Pandey 2001).

There are several incidents of malpractices in the implementation of programmes under the welfare policy consequently the benefits of the welfare policies are hijacked and diverted to the bogus individuals or groups. For example, it has observed that the Public Distribution System (PDS) and Development of Women and Children in Rural Area (DWCRA), do not benefit the deserving people due to malpractices in program

implementation (Mooji 2002). It has found that the welfare policy benefits are found to be more in favour of the advantaged sections rather than the actual deserved ones (Gupta 1998). Effective programme implementation often suffers from multiple malpractices. The social safety nets are found to be ineffective to cover vulnerable and extreme poor people. Multiple challenges posed difficulties for the effective implementation of policies due to administrative complexity, high cost, high leakages, miss-targeting, weak governance, less transparency and accountability, political capture, and corruption in program implementation (Masud-All-Kamal and Saha 2014). Policy implementation often suffers from red-tapism, corruption, appointment of unqualified staff, and failure in bringing awareness among the people about policy matters, non-participation of people etc. as major obstacles for the effective implementation of policies (Burgoon 2006).

Failed Policy: In few other cases policies are found to be failures due to wrong assessment. For example, the privatisation policy of public enterprises in Nigeria was expected to bring more job opportunities for its citizens. But, it was found that the policy is a failure as it yielded poor net returns on investments, loss of several jobs, corruption and upsurge of new economic dangers. It was concluded with an advice that there is an urgent need to rethink the reforming process of public enterprises in Nigeria (Adogamhe 2012).

Negative Effects of Policies: The USA has several social policies with reference to food security programmes, social security, social security disability, unemployment insurance, child support, and tax provisions such as earned income, tax credit that provides substantial financial support for low-income households and other potentially vulnerable populations such as elderly and unemployed. It has been observed that these programmes are potential work disincentives with which the government of USA is concerned (Guzman, Pirog and Seefeldt 2013).

To sum up, the above studies on policies when examined from the perspective of evaluation, assessment and impact assessment it has been found that policies could suffer from several handicaps within a given situation. They are non-relevant, negligent, irrational, and prone to malpractices.

2. Policy Advocacy

The primary goal of the studies of policy advocacy is to contribute for proper understanding of policy in order to make a better policy, by thoroughly studying the

problem from all possible angles. Some such studies are reviewed here in order to know the varieties of problems that came to light in policy advocacy studies.

The policy advocacy studies can accomplish the following tasks i.e., (1) Studying a social problem and pushing it to policy consideration. (2) Studying a policy critically in order to suggest changes in it, major or minor, to properly deal with problem. (3) Studying a policy to guide or to provide directions.

The policy advocacy is to thoroughly examine an existing problem for the purpose of formulating a new policy. For example, the problem of seasonal migration is studied by Haberfeld (1999) in order to formulate a policy for controlling the seasonal migration which has become common among the rural labour for their livelihood.

Studies on poverty are conducted in USA for advising to revamp the existing measures on poverty because the measures are based on the age old data, way back to 1950s and the methodology developed in 1960s. The revamp is advised due to the fact that the existing measures are not capable enough to deal with the developments in tax policy, in-kind benefits, work expenses, or medical payments; and all of these have changed considerably through the years and affected the well-being of low-income families (Blank and Greenberg 2008). Policies are advised to be specific target based. For example, the work-family policy strategies reflect gendered assumptions about the roles of men and women within families and therefore have led to significantly different outcomes, particularly for families headed by single mothers. The findings suggest that it is critical to examine the gendered assumptions underlying work-family policies rather than viewing all work-family policies as the same (Misra, Moller and Buding 2007). Sometimes policies may come to a contradiction i.e., a policy which is meant for the advancement in one aspect may become hurdle for the other aspect. For example, Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) which was to achieve conservation and rural development in Botswana caused a decline in traditional livelihood activities like subsistence hunting, gathering, crop and livestock farming (Mbaiwa 2010).

The public policy towards the poor has shifted in US context from an initial optimism during the war on poverty to an ever-increasing pessimism. Media discussion of poverty has also shifted from arguments that focus on the structural causes of poverty or the social costs of having large numbers of poor to portrayals of the poor as cheaters and chisellers

and of welfare programs doing more harm than good. As the frames have got shifted, so the policies have followed. These are current trends with new indicators of the depth of poverty, the generosity of the government response, and media framing of the poor for the period of 1960–2008. A simple statistical model explains spending on poverty by the severity of the problem, gross domestic product, and media coverage. This new measure of the relative generosity of U.S. government policy toward the poor shows that it is highly related to the content of newspaper stories. The portrayal of the poor as either deserving or lazy was driven the public policy (Rose and Baumgartner 2013).

The review on the studies on the policy advocacy can be summarised as the following: The policies, as Aspalter (2005) said, need to be seen critically in association with the existing disparities among the populations in a society, especially in India. It is also important, as Blank and Greenberg (2008) argued, to compare the policy with the existing need of the target group and with the present market.

3. Studies on Policy Processes

Policy process includes the whole process of policy making and policy administration i.e., from taking up a problem for the policy consideration to the different stage of policy formulation, setting up of policy goals and to its ground level implementation and to the taking feedback about its effects. A few studies are reviewed here in this respect.

Policies define and create categories or sometimes they just omit the existing categories. A policy is a source for the scripted practices of subordination by omitting gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality as categories (Hawkesworth 2010). It has been argued that within neoliberal frames feminist scholarship has been neglected. The power relations among men and women of particular races, ethnicities and nationalities also matter a great in policy making. For example, in the case of National Textiles Policy and Co-Operatives in Andhra Pradesh dominant interpretations have been taken in to consideration due to political interests and categorization of weavers. The government strategically undermined the handloom waving by not sanctioning funds following the suggestions given by Satyam Committee Report⁹. The committee categorized weavers into three tiers, the assumption is that the most weavers are third tier weavers, who are unskilled and able to produce only coarse fabric, for which, it is supposed that there is no market. This

⁹ A committee set up by the government of India to give a status report on the textiles industry, 1999.

interpretation of the problem, focusing on low skills, low-value products and lack of markets, is the dominant one for failure of the textile policy to protect handloom industry. The recommendations that followed are either to introduce more effective protective measure, training, design schemes and export promotion and/or to gradually do away with the second and the third tier. The Satyam report, for instance, had recommended that second and third tier handloom weavers should be converted into first tier weavers or into power-loom weavers (Mooji 2002).

Sometimes policies are guided by the perceptions of decision makers. It is very important to know how policies have been framed, because without understanding what decision makers perceive it is very difficult to analyze the reasons behind the adoption and pursuit of major changes in public policy and we can only explain the dynamics and mechanics of the time when the decisions are made (Lai 2009).

The policies sometimes function as a source for conflict. For instance, in Indonesia (where large part of Islamic population live) when the question came for the legalization of abortion, then ideological war erupted between polarized Islamic-authoritarian and western liberal agenda (Surjadjaja and Mahew 2010).

The policies most of the times are political in nature. Aspalter (2005) has tried to find out the reasons for perpetuating poverty and backwardness or poor progressiveness in the development of India. He says that the serious social, political and economic disparities among the people of India are the main reasons which are hindering the strong welfare policies to come in to the existence. The later part of independence India as a country had to see the struggle for the domination and power distribution among groups divided on the basis of religion, language, region, economy etc. These aspects in return have shaped the political nature of the country. Hence, policies especially social policies though always seemed to have been framed and implemented to settle these disparities or disputes but in fact foster such disparities.

In the United States and Europe it has been observed that the policy feedback is positive and brighter when the policy benefits are visible and traceable. This feedback in return acts as a source to change the behaviour of political leaders as well as public masses and works as a tool for the mass mobilisation. It also works as a bridging tool either to reduce or to enlarge the gap between the political leaders and public masses. So, this will effect further on the nature of the future policies too (Campbell 2012).

Again elite perception towards poverty and poor are linked to particular policy preferences. It is found among the Mexican elites that there is de-politicization about poverty. For example, they omit the issue of some people having structural, political, economic, and social power over other from the view when they have to explain for the policy considerations. They interpret that all the poor in Mexico are a homogenous group. This interpretation has important implications in terms of elites' policy preference (Medrano 2013). Since "the differentiation of classes implies a differentiation of problems and thus of remedies" (Moore and Hossain 2005: 197). Therefore, thinking and speaking of the poor as a rather homogeneous group may lead to a narrower scope of anti-poverty initiatives.

Some policies can be distortive. It has been argued that the narratives which are used to frame policy ideas can be wrong as they tend to be more on the side of more powerful group over the less powerful group (Jones and McBeth 2010). The local elites control the process of setting up of local agendas in order to select alternative policy, and this will in return be considered for the policy matters. Not only by the individuals or groups that directly participate in policy decision making are diluting or distorting the policy but also the outside forces i.e., market and corporate. These forces though are not directly linked with the policy decision making they maintain the relation with policy decision makers or with government and could manage to distort the policies in their favour (Liu, Lindquist, Vedlitz and Vincent 2010). For instance, the Indian Tobacco Board successfully played to dilute the policy which aimed at to reducing tobacco consumption among the population in India. The government of Indian has made a policy to curtail the tobacco consumption by spreading awareness about the inverse consequences of tobacco consumption among the Indian masses. On the other hand it extends all possible support to Tobacco industry also (Bojani, Venkataraman and Manganawar 2011).

A study of anti-poverty policies in Chile shows that the policy has been failed due to few reasons i.e., the single faceted approach to tackle the multifaceted poverty, very low allocation of funds to implement the programmes and the inability of programmes to promote transition among the beneficiaries from untrained workers to job holders (Borzutzky 2012).

The policy process can be studied in three ways of comparison, according to Gupta. The first one is to deal with comparing institutional settings. The second one is to deal with

comparison of issues across contexts using policy theories. The third one is to deal with comparing theories to each other in order to arrive at a conclusion that which theoretical understanding can better serve the purpose (Gupta 2012).

The recently emerged disagreement with the government's decision with respect to definition of Below Poverty Line (BPL) has negative effect on poor people. According to the definition, a person who spends not more than Rs. 35 per day only is qualified to fall under BPL category. This definition include only a very few number of poor people under the BPL category leaving out large number of poor people. Because, many poor people spend little more than Rs. 35 per day but then that doesn't make them rich or economically independent. Those poor people who are not included in the category according to the definition will be disqualified to be beneficiary under certain welfare programmes meant for BPL category people. For example, welfare programmes like MGNREGA which aimed to ensure 100 day work in a year for those families and individuals who are counted under BPL have excluded a very large number of poor people to avail the benefits that the programme provides. This shows the ineffectiveness of and lack of commitment of governments toward the welfare of people especially depressed people in India. So, the definition of the BPL should be relooked.

According to the study of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) programme on 'Social Policy and Development' in India, different patterns of industrialization have created few new jobs. The profit from such economic activities are quite high. The shift in income distribution did not only shift demand in favour of certain types of non-mass consumption goods, but also increased the political and lobbying power of capital in various ways. This in turn influenced the state's policy to encourage fiscal patterns whether in the form of taxation, direct spending, or subsidies. It further accentuated the income and employment inequalities and so on. It could involve the expansion of certain types of employment effectively creating or enlarging certain classes such as the urban middle classes which then could become important in terms of political voice and the ability to influence economic policy decisions as well as the demand of certain social policy measures which largely benefited these groups only. So, it is pointed out that, the Indian economic growth process is characterized by low employment generation and greater income inequality and the persistence of poverty (Gosh 2002).

Sometimes authorities may use policy as a way to reach people or to cover their failure to meet the requirements of public. For example, the food policy which has been intended to meet the food requirements of the poor by providing provisions at the minimum price has been used as a motivating mechanism to vote for a particular political party in Karnataka. But in Bihar such policy of supplying food grains is misused completely by diverting food grains to open market. (Mooij 1999). The Conservation of Forest and Ecosystem Act which restricts the local communities' is bypassed by giving rights to forest dwellers especially the tribes who are largely depend on forest products for their subsistence, through New Tribal Rights Act (Bhaviskar 1994).

Studies of Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes: Apart from the above studies there have been a few studies that focused on Special Component Plan. The SCs continued to be disadvantaged section with respect to possession of land and there has been no substantial improvement in their landholding position over the years. Rather, in some states, it has declined further. Even after more than 50 years of planned initiatives and policy measures, fair distribution of land among these backward communities appears to have confined to merely expectations. The much-awaited legislative measures to protect and promote the landholdings of the SCs were formulated only in response to their strong and widespread resistance and movements (Mohanty 2001).

A report on Special Central Assistance¹⁰ (SCA) to SCs and STs prepared and submitted to Planning Commission states that among the SC beneficiaries of SCA 74.4 percent in Andhra Pradesh, and 62.8 percent in Tamil Nadu are landless. Besides, that among the landholders only 21.6 percent in Andhra Pradesh and 36.4 percent in Tamil Nadu possess an extent of less than 5 acres of land (Reddy, n.d).

An impact assessment study on SCP conducted by National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NBARD 2004) observed that the programme implementation was effected by several limitations like diversion and misutilization of funds, identification of ineligible beneficiaries, delays in disbursement of bank loan and poor monitoring of projects.

¹⁰ Special Central Assistance to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and Tamil Nadu: An evaluation Study prepared and submitted to Planning Commission by Dr. Sudhakar Reddy. http://www.planningcommission.nic.in/reports/sereport/ser/ser_sca0707.pdf accessed on 8th May, 2017.

A study conducted by an NGO with reference to SCP has revealed that allocation of funds constantly have been undermined in general and certain important areas like irrigation, education, health, housing, women and child and social welfare. The possible reason for this is not taking into consideration of increased state budget and increased cost of living (SAKSHI, n.d).

In Rajasthan budget allocations toward Dalits empowerment under the SCP are considerably inadequate as the very categories used by the authorities to identify the workers are not reflected the ground reality. The use of 'Main Worker' as a category, it is intended by the authorities, will cover all the workers who can find sufficient work to maintain their life. But this category defined in such a way that whoever works for at least six months in a year can be considered as main worker, but in reality they lead life without a job for the rest of six months. Such a misunderstandings or ignorance while defining categories will yield serious consequences while allocating funds (Dutta 2009).

To summarize the review of literature on welfare policies, one can note that policies have many facets depending on the given situation. The gist of points is the following.

- Policy can be seen as one of the forms of 'power' which is institutionalized and determines the way in which individuals, groups, and organizations must act.
- Policy inevitably associated with 'politics', for policy is largely bounded with higher authorities who are most of the times directly or indirectly political in nature.
- Policies are made keeping in mind politics and power rather than needy people.
- Hence, policy needs to be seen as a 'channel' through which dominants holding power and politics to control the ordinary.

Objectives

Keeping the above discussion and statement of the research problem in mind the following objectives have been set to focus on the study of SCP in Andhra Pradesh.

1. To understand the process involved in policy making of SCP.
2. To understand the strategies and methods of implementation of SCP.
3. To understand the ground level realities, decision making, and implementation processes prevailing over other conventions.
4. To understand the success and failure of SCP with reference to the policy.
5. To understand the role of politics and power in SCP.

Methodology

Theoretical Framework: The research considers the wider definition of political field for its theoretical frame work as policy falls within the ambit of political. It basically focuses on the struggles, conflicts, mechanisms through which people try to meet the objectives or values to change their material life better. It does not focus on the political structures i.e., party or electoral systems or political institutions *per se*. It tries to understand the motives, coalitions, co-operations, and conflicts of the people.

As Foucault (1976) says power is invisible that works through interpretations, concepts, meanings, and to say it briefly power operates through discourse. It controls thought processes and eliminates the possibility of thinking of alternatives but, this elimination is never complete. Further he states that power is everywhere like air in the atmosphere not because everything that exists possess the power but because they can be manipulated to get the power. Looking at the resistance we understand the power, and the power play be best found at the capillaries. It is not always robust and does not manifest in forceful outbursts and oppressive ways. Following Foucault, Bhaviskar (1994) says, policies represent definitions of particular problems and particular ways of thinking, and these ways are then generalised and internalized, not only by those who design the policies, but also by sections of the target groups or civil society generally. Policy, in this sense, doesn't only work on people but also through people. This kind of policy is called, by Anil Kumar (2006), as 'elitist policy' where dominant groups or persons lead in taking decisions in policy making.

Since the powerful persons able to manipulate or win over decisions of the powerless, power becomes a central point for the formulation of the progressive or effective policies. As Gupta (1998) explains, the dominant groups are economically strong. It is not always economic factor which makes persons powerful but also region, religion, language etc. These latter may be used as sources of power to manipulate at the decision making level. Hence, as long as an opportunity to take part in the policy process has not been given to the people it is not possible to achieve welfare of the powerless, the SCs who are lagging behind economically, educationally, politically and socially for centuries together. Decisions of the dominant persons or groups considered for the policy formulation because, involved in the formulation of Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes.

It will necessarily require examination of power at the policy when it was enacted and the programmes implemented at the grass roots.

Research Design and Tools of Data Collection

Keeping the above objectives in mind an explorative research design has been considered. First, relevant data on the formulation of SCP for SCs are collected from the records of the Parliament Library at New Delhi. Based on this secondary data, an appropriate instrument for primary data collection at the village level is developed. Andhra Pradesh has been chosen for study based on the state's claims of successful implementation of SCP. In an addition, it is the first state in India to bring SCP under a government Act. The secondary data are collected from the state's planning and social welfare departments, and information at the district level and Mandal¹¹ level. As the study involved in examining the implementation and impact of SCP on the SCs, it focussed on rural Andhra Pradesh where large majority of them live. Two villages are selected for this purpose taking two criteria into consideration. One, some programmes of SCP must have been implemented in the village. Two, the villages should have socio-economic data of its populations before implementation so that present situation can be compared with the data of before. In view of the above criteria, Pasarlapudilanka in East Godavari District and Unagatla of West Godavari District are selected. The data for these two villages before 1980 are available in the village monographs published by the Census of India in 1961. The primary data collected in 2015 are compared with the data of 1961 for obtaining the data on the impact of SCP in these villages. Further, for making suitable generalizations about the SCs and the impact of SCP these two villages are compared with the ethnographic information about the SCs of six other villages in AP at different points of time i.e., 1951 to 2014 published and unpublished by anthropologists. The primary data in the above villages has been collected through convention anthropological tradition of fieldwork and participant observation, household and beneficiary surveys (See Annexure-I and II) during October 2014 to April 2015.

Organisation of the Data

The analysis of the data collected is organized in four Chapters with an introduction and conclusions. In the introduction a discussion on various aspects of the policy in general

¹¹ Mandal is a subdivision of district. The tehsils are replaced by mandals.

are covered. This includes, meaning of public policy, anthropological concerns of public policy particularly different types of policy studies, and studies on SCP are covered under literature review. The research problem and objectives of the study besides research methodology, the theoretical framework adopted, tools and techniques used for data collection and limitations of the study are also covered.

The first Chapter ‘Special Component Plan: Origin and Evolution’ emphasises the importance of looking into the origin and evolution of the SCP. Examining the origin and evolution of the SCP is necessary because it reveals the process of SCP formulation and the socio-economic and cultural history of the target-group. It has also helped to cross-check whether or not the problems of the target-group are addressed. Finally, this process reveals the hidden agendas of the government besides the welfare concerns. It argues for the need of studying SCP and discussed appropriate design for the study, tools employed for data collection and method of analysis.

The second Chapter titled as ‘SCP: A Fresh Look in Andhra Pradesh’ is an analysis based on the report submitted by the Cabinet Sub-Committee of the Government of Andhra Pradesh. It discusses the ground realities of the living conditions of SCs with special reference to the implementation of SCP. It critically evaluates the facts and figures mentioned in the report of the sub-committee.

The third Chapter titled ‘Socio-Economic Settings of the SCs at the Capillaries in Andhra Pradesh’. It mainly discusses the socio-economic conditions of the SCs at village level in Andhra Pradesh. About six decades living of SCs in the state is covered in the Chapter by reviewing anthropological studies of six villages. Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla are also covered for an intensive examination, of SCP.

The fourth Chapter titled as ‘The Implementation of Special Component Plan and the Field Realities’. It focussed on primary education and agriculture with the special attention to Sarva Siksha Abhiyan and SC welfare hostels and land distribution programmes in the state of Andhra Pradesh with respect to SCs development.

Following the fourth Chapter, there is ‘Summary and Conclusions’ of the present research. The basic argument with which the study concludes is that the SCP is not only the by-product of politics but also it is under the heavy weight of social and political power in the villages and the state.

Limitations of the Study

Studying public policy is, perhaps, different from studying kinship or economy or religion in anthropology. Primarily, policy, unlike culture, is formulated or designed by one set up people i.e., elites, who are mostly not known to the target group, and processed by others i.e., bureaucrats who are responsible for the implementation, and obliged and followed by some other, who are always at the receiving end. It looks like it doesn't have boundary to confine what, we call 'field'. However, certainly it does, but not geographical or physical, its boundary is as big as its effect itself. I mean, from discourse to advocacy to formulation to implementation to target group and again to the discourse. Comprehending and covering all of these aspects is what studying policy.

Any public policy has its own scenario as mentioned above. Making a road map of the scenario is an inevitably time, money and energy consuming process, because it is necessary to find the field to investigate. Further, once the map is drawn and it is ready to guide investigation or collection of data from various sources which are again very diverse kind. One needs to meet the makers of policy and discuss decisions made and officials of the government departments, local elites and high level personalities who influence even the elites etc. All of these come in the way, one after another, not according to our schedule for the sequence of the things planned. Whatever method one takes but quickly one is forced to adopt the snowballing method. Besides, to get certain information one has to even go for RTI which may kill mercilessly a huge amount of one's time. Nevertheless, it is a very good opportunity to realize how government works.

Investigating among the target group or beneficiaries is another strategy of the research. They are not fully informed about anything i.e., the policy processes, the programmes, the schemes or whatever. For them it is altogether a different story. You ask anything about the policy, the answer will be 'we don't know' or they say something that they know, it may not be directly linked to the question we asked. However, in anthropology, we have learned, whatever the respondent says should be a clue to wade through and carry out the research. Further, if the answer is 'we don't know' then one has to find out why they are not informed?

To complete the present study the researcher had to undertake all the above mentioned jobs, tweetups and processes. Only some aspects which are necessary are mentioned in this thesis to suffice the argument. In some cases it was done deliberately and it may seem

insufficient as information was not available due to non-cooperation of officials. But, within given time and resources available the work could be completed to the best capacity of the researcher.

SPECIAL COMPONENT PLAN: ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION

Introduction

Query about origin and evolution of a welfare policy is as important as the policy itself for three main reasons. Firstly, because, the policy does not only function as an instrument for promoting the wellbeing of the target-group¹; but also functions as a source to provide the entire socio-economic and cultural history of the target-group. It is this history within which the roots of that particular policy are situated. However, by saying this, it does not mean that the policy would implicitly contain the entire history of the target-group in itself rather it would be taken as a source to explore the historical context of the socio-economic conditions of the target-group. An understanding of these aspects of a target-group is vital because these are the aspects in which the social problems are rooted and the welfare policies are originated and functioned. The proper analysis of the problems of a given socio-economic and cultural background help reconstructing how a particular policy gets generated. To say it in short, policies tend to be characterised in the nature of binding to the societies in which they develop and reflect the priorities of these systems. To quote from Shore and Wright; “policies arise out of particular contexts and in many ways ‘encapsulate the entire history and culture of the society that generated them’” (1997, 7). The second chapter provides this social context in which the SCP functions.

Secondly, the query is important because it is one of the best ways to know whether or not the problems of the target-group are addressed in the policy suggestion solution in possible ways. An analysis of the socio-economic conditions at the time of policy adaption on the one hand would provide the priorities and necessities of the target-group. On the other hand, the aims and goals which are already mentioned in the policy affirm the perceived and proclaimed priorities and necessities of the target-group. A comparison

¹ Here the ‘target-group’ refers to the group towards which a particular policy has been made to secure with benefits that are set in the policy. For example: in case of SCP the target group is a caste group i.e. SCs.

of these priorities and necessities of the target-group, and aims and goals stated in the policy would give a clear understanding whether or not the policy is representing the needs of the target group. The aims and goals that are mentioned in the policy would give the official recognition to declare that the target-group has been ignored or fallen short of development in those areas. With the comparison it is possible to see whether all the areas, in which the target-group suffering backwardness, are covered.

Thirdly, studying origin and evolution of policy often serves as to unearth the never shown side of the policy i.e., the influence of political forces on the policy. Policy and politics are generally understood as interconnected and inseparable. These political force acts as a guide for manipulation, modification and distortion of policy.

Hence, the enquiry about origin, evolution and function of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan, on the lines mentioned above, is as important as the policy itself. The present analysis aims at exploring and reconstructing the socio-economic and political conditions and circumstances in which the creation of SCP took place. So, delving into the entire process help comprehensive understanding of the situations in which the government had to push forward ultimately the formulation of SCP under the policy of the state. The discussion in the following pages is about problems of Dalits² in India that have become important issues of political and public discourse. In public discourse empowerment has been an issue that the Dalits expressed themselves to draw the government's attention. In political discourse, the Dalit issue is important for creating a vote bank, and to display the concern for the poor and downtrodden and create a sense of concern for social equality.

1. Origin of SCP

The welfare of the Scheduled Castes has been rooted in the Constitution of India as said before. The six fundamental rights constitute enabling wellbeing of the citizens of India, especially SCs and the disadvantaged sections. The drafting committee of the Indian constitution identified and recognised the relative backwardness and the long struggles of the depressed sections including the SCs and believed that these rights if exercised transform the Indian Society into a modern society in a socialist pattern. The

² The word 'Dalit' has many usages. But, in this thesis the word is used to refer Scheduled Castes (SCs). However, the two words i.e., 'Dalit(s)' and SCs are used interchangeably to convey the same meaning.

Constitution, thus, provides the remedial action for these social illnesses by which the Dalits and other disadvantaged sections have been suffering for ages. So, here it is appropriate to have a glance at these constitutional guarantees.

The Article 14 of the Constitution emphasises equality before the law, which makes every citizen to obey the rule of the law and the authorities should treat every citizen of India the same way before law³. The Article 15(4) of the Constitution empowers the State to make special provisions for advancement of socially and educationally backward classes. The Article 16(4) of the Constitution authorizes the state to make provisions for reservation in appointment or posts in favour of SCs/STs. The Constitution of India also states categorically in the Article 17 that the untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden on the enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability which shall be an offence punishable accordance with law. Further, as mentioned in the Article 46, the State is required to promote the educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections. The state shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Apart from the above provisions the Constitution of India also guarantees the reservation of seats in democratic institutions (Article 330) and in services (Article 335). It also empowers the State to appoint a Commission to investigate into the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes (Article 340) and to specify the castes to be deemed as SCs (Article 341).

Despite all the above promises the plight of the Dalit remained deplorable. It is due to lack of political will and lack of sincerity and honesty in implementation of the welfare provisions for the weaker sections of the society. So, the conditions of the Dalits did not change much through the past till 1970s during which the policy initiative was undertaken. Hence, here it is appropriate to examine the socio-economic and political situations as they are between 1947 and 1970, and during 1970s as they framed the context or background for the need to formulate SCP.

³ It is in contravention to the traditional and conventional law that had its roots in Manu Dharma Shastra where differential treatment was to be given according to social status of the groups and individuals.

A. The Socio-Economic Situation of SCs between 1947 and 1970

The independent India has undergone several administrative adjustments. Among these, the ownership over land is an important one. Possession of land has its implications on the social structure at the rural level. Disproportional land holdings lead to power imbalance between different social groups which ultimately lead to an emergence of caste based elite class that started domination over the landless castes especially Scheduled Castes. In spite of the Zamindari Abolition Act (1951), land reforms in the form of Tenant System and Ceiling on Agricultural Land Holding Act (1955), the problem of disproportionate land holding hasn't been changed and the existence of a large number of landless labourers prevailed (see the sub-head 'ceiling on agricultural land holding act' more details). This resulted power imbalance between social groups in rural India. Those who possessed large extent of agricultural land have become the rural elites in villages and shown their dominance on the landless agricultural labourers. They gradually started manipulating the local politics. This phenomena was identified throughout India by the scholars (Sirsikar 1970, Strokes 1970, Carter 1974, Narain et al 1976, Sharma 1979, and Jha 1979). The findings of these studies highlighted that the trend of social inequality is mainly due to overlap between the system of land distribution and the distribution of power among the people. The studies also emphasized that the rural elites possess and control disproportionately larger extent of agricultural land. The noteworthy point here is the formation of larger proportion of landless wage/agricultural labourers who were Scheduled Castes.

The contemporary depravity of Dalit society in India as an underprivileged group is partly due to the result of the ancient practices of the socio-cultural and religious exclusions by the non-Dalits⁴. The same has been carried out by them towards Dalit community even after the independence. Not only are the traditional Hindu practices responsible for the situation of the Dalits but the negligence of the public administration and political reasons too. While the social and cultural structures of inequality of the traditional society is responsible for the Dalits to lag behind the other sections of the society, the political and administrative considerations have undermined them further. As a result the Dalits have long been remained as poor, deprived and unprivileged even in independent India.

⁴ Here the word 'non-Dalits' indicates those communities which carry the caste and religious based prejudice towards the Dalit community.

While everyone celebrates the pride of Independence, the Scheduled Castes are still fighting for their freedom from poverty and social discrimination. The independent India has started progress by increasing literacy rate and job opportunities, but SCs are not included in whatever progress has been achieved. The welfare policies have not inclusive as the SCs are left out to get benefits from the welfare programmes and schemes. Hence, few attempt are made to bring out socio-economic advancement among Scheduled Castes population, at this moment, the government has appointed a special Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with three years of tenure on 18th November 1950 in order to investigate issues related to the constitutional safeguards guaranteed for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and report the same to the President of India, so that the President may direct these reports to be laid before the houses of the Parliament for the discussion. However, the tenure of the Commissioner was extended and with some changes in the duties assigned to the position. In 1954 the Commissioner was given the responsibility to examine the grants-in-aid received from State Governments and non-governmental agencies for the development of SC/ST. The Commissioner was also made a member in several governmental committees and given priority in formulation and implementation of many programmes and schemes. This resulted in Commissioner's impartial evaluation of implementation about government programmes and schemes as he was involved in formulation and implementation of the same. That way the Commissioner played more role of policy maker than critical evaluator in the light of the constitutional safeguards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Further, the field organisation of the Commissioner's power was removed and shifted to Director General for Backward Classes Welfare. This move has diluted the importance of the office of the Commissioner. In this case the Commissioner waged a protest but in vain as the protest was successfully suppressed by political tactics. As a result, the State Governments extended little cooperation in giving the requested information by the Commissioner. Even many recommendations made by the Commissioner were not implemented or delayed for implementation. Therefore, the office of the Special Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was not effective in bringing the considerable advancement among the same (Narayana 1980).

Due to the failure of Special Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the situation of the SCs has been the same as it was before. So, the MPs who are from Scheduled Castes community have raised, several times, the issues of development for

SCs in the parliament house. Finally, the government has agreed to constitute a six member parliamentary committee on the welfare of the Scheduled castes in 1965. The committee was supposed to submit its report in six months period of time but it took four years to submit its first report in 1969 due to non-cooperation show the Department of Welfare and difference of opinion among the members of the committee. The committee mainly focussed on the issues of reservation, untouchability and education among the Scheduled Caste community (Narayana 1980).

The major responsibilities that are given to the committee is to consider and examine the report submitted by the Commissioner for SCs\ STs and report the same in both the parliamentary houses, and report both the houses about the action taken by the government towards fulfilling the recommendations made by the Commissioner. To say it precisely, the committee has played a mediator role between the Commissioner and parliamentary houses. This means that the presence of the committee has not brought any positive changes for the Scheduled Castes. This is because, on the one hand, the powers of the Commissioner for SCs/STs were already minimised or diluted as explained above. So the recommendations of the Commissioner became just nominal. On the other side government was very lethargic to make any positive move towards the development of SCs unless there is a political benefit for the government. For example the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill was introduced in Lok Sabha in 1967 but it was not passed until there was a need to grab the attention of SCs during the emergency time in 1971. While every attempt that was made to bring a solution for the development of SCs were going failure at the cost of politics, the socio-economic situation of SCs was deteriorating further.

B. Socio-Economic Conditions of Dalits During 70's

Even during 1970s after decades of Independence the conditions of the Dalits were not better. The struggles of the Dalit community continued to achieve equal opportunities and to extirpate the discrimination, while the other communities were able to go much ahead with the riches and privileges taking the advantages of the new opportunities made available by the Independent country. In 1970s overcoming the inequality and discrimination became an agenda for the Dalits in order to secure a better living for their future generations.

The socio-economic conditions of the Dalits during the 70s were pathetic and even became miserable. The practice of untouchability was rampant without any reprieve even though it was outlawed as a misdeed. They continued to live as second rate citizens as agricultural labour, daily wage labour and unskilled labour. They could not free themselves from the unclean works i.e., manual scavenging skinning and leather works. The work of low status means the low paid works with which the Dalits held them firmly in poverty. These could not give education to their children which help securing better jobs and social status. The vicious circle became a never-ending and it was almost an impossible task for them to break by themselves within the given conditions. This particular situation became a public discourse for a demand to break the vicious circle of poverty. In any discussion on poverty and development and any external as well as internal forms the question of Dalit came to fore front and need for immediate emancipation and remedial action. When one talks about extreme poverty it was about the most disadvantaged sections of the country especially the Dalits. In country's progress claim the situation of Dalits remained as a stumbling block.

The plethora of academic studies on Dalits community about the living conditions and social-movements for their efforts to change the situation as well as in the non-academic concerns have repeatedly highlighted a few important issues. These are the problems of untouchability, caste based discrimination, poverty and incapacitated political representation. While there are many other problems such as illiteracy, malnutrition, lack of proper infrastructure, unhygienic living conditions, lack of potable drinking water facility and more, the farmer, if changed for better, it is believed would have positive impact on the latter.

Besides this, there have been different arguments on what should be done for the constructive development of the Dalits. One school of thought is that the Dalits should be given economic liberty at the first place then everything will be in place. On the contrary to this, another school of thought is that the Dalits should be given political liberty at the first place which will bring positive changes for them (Mukherjee 1982). However, it is not appropriate to get deep into this debate here; instead, it is intended to give outlines on Dalits problems. It is necessary to analyse the conditions of the Dalits that have resulted in conceptualisation and initiation of the SCP to address for the question of Dalits' retrieval from the nodes of poverty and low status.

Yet another thinking is that the isolation of the Dalit can be broken by encouraging inter-caste marriages and religious conversions which would have direct connections on the issue of the Dalits' development. Though there are two different approaches within the social movement against the discrimination, the former is supported to work as a means to blur the caste based identity which is expected to gradually work towards disappearance of the discrimination based on the caste. The later is to disowning or leaving the given identity and creating new identity themselves by converting to other religion in which the caste does not become an obstacle for progress (Mukherjee 1982).

B.1. The Political Scenario of India in 1970s

The 1970s also witnessed violent attacks on Dalits while the Dalits started agitations and launched movements, under the above explained socio-economic conditions, for their betterment and against suppression. The political situation in the country during this time was unstable and was the most fluctuating and uncertain political moment in the history of Indian politics.

On 3rd December of 1971 India joined the struggle of Bangladesh for its independence from Pakistan by providing the military support to Bangladesh. Though, the war was won by the Indo-Bangladesh joint military troops, it resulted in the huge economic distress on India which in turn resulted in increased prices of commodities and daily supplies. A common man could not bear the impact of the economic crisis. In the case of Dalits the impact was too harsh. 'Garibi Hatao' the famous slogan which brought Indira Gandhi in to power in 1971, did not really help the poor people.

Besides the negative consequences of the war, the imposition of the emergency on June 26, 1975 by the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi deteriorated the political situation further more. In the same year the High Court of Allahabad declared that the election of Indira Gandhi as fraudulent and nullified the election. The reaction from the Prime Minister against the court order was unexpected. She declared emergency at the centre. The tension filled situation prevailed almost 21 months throughout the country. During this period the family planning programme was implemented forcefully. No matter the success or the failure of the programme, it earned the anger of the people as the operations were conducted against the will of the people. Apart from this, the other poverty reduction programmes were not implemented properly, the beneficiaries were

not benefitted because of the corruption on all level. With all these illnesses the emergency was continued until Indira Gandhi restored the democracy and let the elections happen in 1977. The result was that the Indira Congress lost the elections for the Janatha Party.

The political instability, poor governance and economic crisis of 1970s in India badly affected the Dalit lives. During this time most of the Dalits in the county were the agricultural labourers and majority of them fall under Below Poverty Line category. They are economically vulnerable and dependent. What they get as a wage in a day for their work was not enough to feed the family a day. Each day they had to seek for work and earn living. In such a situation the prices of the commodities and daily supplies scaled very high because of the Indo-Bangla war. The Dalits suffered the most the consequences of the economic crisis. They could not earn enough, no matter how hard they had worked. On the other hand the land owners, on whose lands the Dalits were working as agricultural labourers, were refused to increase the wages labour. Though, the green revolution benefitted the farmers with the increased productivity and bringing more lands under the cultivation, the Dalits did not get any fruits out of it. At that time owning a piece of an agricultural land by a Dalit was very rare. So, most of the Dalits remained as agricultural labourers or at the most marginal farmer. The emergency gave bad reputations to administration for it served the political leaders rather than welfare of the people. The increased corruption of the government officials resulted in public protests. The 'Nav Nirman Movement' in 1974 in Gujarat is one of them. The movement protested against the economic crisis and corruption in public life.

In the view of increased prices of the commodities, increase in the agricultural productivity and poor implementation of the government welfare programmes and schemes, the labourers demanded for the increase of the wages for their daily labour. But, in many cases the land owners rejected to increase the wages which provoked and forced the labourers to revolt against the land owners across the country in many incidents (Morkhandikar 1978). As a consequence, hundreds of Dalits have been massacred and thousands of Dalit were made homeless and have been forced to leave their habitations by the land owners and their supporters (Gough 1974). All these together impacted the Dalit in the manner. They did not favour the Congress government

in 1977 general elections for the first time in India history. Indira Gandhi was defeated in the elections.

B.2. Implications of the Green Revolution

The Green Revolution has also shown its impact on the Dalits' lives directly and indirectly to shape their movement or struggle for the better living. Even 1970s the Dalits who mostly lived in rural areas, remained in poor economic condition, low literacy rate, unhygienic conditions and low social position. These together made them to be dependent on agriculture as daily wage labourers for their living.

The green revolution which was introduced in India in 1960's has started giving its fruits by 1970s. However, it only benefited those who have a piece of agricultural land. Since majority of the SCs at that time were landless and only agricultural labourers. Hence, they could not get benefit of the good yielding of green revolution. Instead it contributed for further deterioration of the economic situation of the SCs i.e., as the earning of the farmers have increased due to the green revolution, their purchasing capacity too increased which resulted in increase in the price of essential commodities. Due to the rising prices of the daily provisions, the poor SCs who are largely agricultural labourers and wage labourers could not earn enough money to afford their daily needs and they have been ultimately caught in an unbreakable vicious circle of poverty which provoked them to join the communist movement and to protest for the increase of the wages of the labour in many places across the county. This created tensions between the landowners, the government and the poor labourers.

The situation of tension between landowners and agricultural labourers emerged within no time and ultimately changed its form to be a caste conflict i.e., a conflict between dominant castes and inferior castes. This is because majority of the land owners are from the upper castes and majority of the agricultural labourers are from lower caste i.e., prominently from SC community. Due to this reason, there were several incidents of mass attacks against SCs during 1970s and 80s. The Kilvenmani massacre in Tamil Nadu (Gough 1974 and Gorrige 2006), the Karamchedu and Kanchikacherla incidents in Andhra Pradesh (Kafir 2010) and Marathwada riots in Maharashtra (Morkhandikar 1978) are some of the major recorded incidents that occurred on these lines. In some places they have formed organised groups to fight for their rights; for instance, Dalit

Panthers in Maharashtra. These incidents had their waves all around in the county and ultimately pushed the SCs to protest against the government for the protection of their rights and for their welfare.

B.3. Negative Impact of Development on Dalits

The social and protective legislations, positive discrimination or reservation, urbanization and other measures taken by the Government of India, have shown some signs of improvement in living conditions, the majority of Scheduled Castes constantly showed socio-economic backwardness. There is gradual improvement in occupational mobility and living standards of few Dalits over the years. However, whatever little improvement has been seen among Dalits, there it appeared uncomfortable expression among the non-Dalits across the country. The response of the non-Dalits to the little progress made among the Dalits is largely nothing but a bitter experience. Attacks on Dalits escalated to such an extent that the Dalits have been demoted to the level of sub-citizens and sometimes sub-humans. The response is in the form of killings, setting the Dalits' houses on fire, physical abuse of women, expulsion from the villages, restricting their presence from the public places and from the use of common resources and many more.

The independent India witnessed the frequent instances of atrocities mounted up on the Dalits at the community level and at the individual level across the country: for example, the assassination of the young, educated Dalit leader Emmanuel Sekaran in Tamil Nadu for challenging the untouchability-based interdicts on SCs and it ultimately ended up with killing of nearly 60 Dalits in Ramanathapuram riots in 1957. The whole story behind the assassination of Dalits was motivated more on the caste lines though it was said to have been backed by political interests. Thevars who were considered as superior caste group did not want to see a Dalit person dare to question them on any matter. It is only because Emmanuel Sekaran so did, he was assassinated. The incident caught the attention of central level leaders.

In another incident 42 Dalits including old men, women and children were burnt to death in a hut by a group of people at Kilavenmani in Tamil Nadu on 25th December, 1968. The incident occurred when the landless peasants and Dalits organised a campaign backed by the Marxists (CPI) to demand for increase of their wage corresponding to

increase in the agricultural production as green revolution at that time was steadily showing its impact on agricultural productivity. Most of the lands were controlled by the powerful families or the upper caste, and Dalits were the agricultural labourers. These agricultural labourers formed a union and demanded for better working conditions and higher wages. This situation created a tension between the two groups and eventually led to call for a boycott by all the labourers. The situation became worse when a shopkeeper, supporter of labourers, was kidnapped by a group of people arranged by the land owners. The labourers in return attacked the kidnappers in which one of the kidnappers was dead. Following this, a large gang descended on the village suddenly and cut off the exits from the village and started shooting at villagers. Villagers took the refuge in a hut, but the attackers surrounded it and set fire to it, and burnt them to death.

In another attack up on the Dalits in 1969 in Kanchikacherla village of Andhra Pradesh a Dalit agricultural labourer called Kotesu was burnt alive (Suisie and Satyanarayana 2013). The murder of Kotesu revealed sharp economic and political changes in the district. The introduction of tobacco cultivation transformed the economic and social relation between the farmers and agricultural labourers in the village. As a result the labourers, majority of them were Mala, developed self-confidence, while Kamma and Kapu farmers became richer and grew more powerful.

In Belchi of Bihar in 1977, 14 Dalits were massacred. Those who killed the Dalits belonged to the backward Kurmi caste (People Power 2002). The Kurmi caste emerged as the new owners of land in the seventies, pitted against landless Dalits who worked as farm labour. The fight was not just over wages but also a piece of land, the land Kurmis wanted to capture or encroach on that is belonged to the Dalits. The Belchi massacre was the beginning of two decades of violence, as Bihar was rocked by killings after killings. It was almost always, landowners (whether they were the upper casts or Kurmis) versus the landless Dalits, who began to group together under the naxals.

In 1978 the explosion of massive riots in Maharashtra affected approximately 1,200 villages and 25,000 Dalits in Marathwada district. Many of them fled to seek safety in forests and they never came back to their villages in spite of starvation. The Marathas' violence on Dalits took many forms like, killings, molestation and rape of Dalit women, burning houses and huts, devastating Dalit colonies, expelling them out of villages, polluting drinking water wells, destruction of cattle and refusal pf employment etc.

The reasons for the riots were to be the proposal of changing the name from Marathwada University to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar University. But, the reasons behind it were deeper. According to Morkhandikar the Marathwada region land owners depended on hired agricultural labour for cultivation, and the SCs formed the agricultural labour force. Against this back-drop, the agrarian relations were further strained on a number of accounts: (1) There was a significant shift to cash crop production (sugarcane and HYV cotton) in a belt of three districts in Marathwada (eastern parts of Aurangabad district, Parbhani and Nanded), and in parts of Bhir district in the Dudhana, Godavari, Purna river valley. The significant aspect was that the intensity of the agitation in the rural areas was the greatest in this area. Eleven new sugar factories were licensed in this belt, and six of these were already in operation. (2) Increased irrigation facilities had resulted in more agricultural work. These two factors, as well as government-initiated work, created more job opportunities for agricultural labour on or off the farm. (3) In the past few years, agricultural wages increased, especially in the irrigated belt. (4) As against this, the prices of food grains, particularly coarse grains, had fallen. All this had given greater bargaining power to the agricultural labour vis-a-vis the landed classes with holdings of 10 acres and more who needed agricultural labour most. It must be conceded that this change was uneven both as to space, time, and intensity and was not uniform throughout Marathwada all the year round. But, the fact was that, where-as a few years ago the scheduled caste agricultural labour was at the beck and call of the middle and rich landowners, and today it had to be sought after. This had come as a psychological shock to the landowners. They thus saw in the renaming of the university after a scheduled caste leader a reflection of their own situation. If it was remembered, now, that most of the student population coming from the rural areas for higher education belonged to farmers of rich and middle class families; their fierce involvement in the issue was explainable.

Dalits were not allowed to demand the minimum wages. In an incident Dalits were massacred at Pipra in Bihar 1980 just because they asked for minimum wages (Subbiah and Malathi 2013). A mob of 400 persons set 28 Dalit houses ablaze and shot or burned to death the Dalits as a revenge against the demand of the Dalit labourers for the wages at par with that of the state minimum wage for the agricultural work. Dalits were not even allowed to celebrate or not allowed to practice the customs of non-Dalit for example; a Dalit bridegroom rode on a horse in his marriage function as riding on a horse at the time of marriage was a symbol of royalty and a common practice among the

non-Dalits in North India. Just because the bridegroom rode the horse he was killed by non-Dalits in Kafalta in 1980 in UP.

B.4. Influence of Maoism and Naxalism

At this moment, Dalits were left with no option but to consult the Naxalites as by 1969 Naxalite movement was started penetrating in many parts of India. Especially, in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, and Andhra Pradesh. The movement was borne out of ideological premise provided by Marx, Lenin and Mao⁵. Their agenda was to build pressure on the state through the adoption of guerrilla warfare as the back bone of their movement, so that the voice of the unheard can be heard. Seeing this agenda of the Naxalite movement, the Scheduled Castes who were already threatened by the landlords on the caste lines have joined the movement to keep their voice to be heard. For example, in central Bihar during early 1970s agricultural labourers, marginal land owners from lower castes have joined the movement partly in order to build pressure on the government on the issues of land redistribution, freedom from harassments of landlords and better wages for their labour. By 1980, Jehanabad District has become an epicentre for Maoist armed struggle against landowning classes in Bihar (George 2009). Among those, who joined the movement on the non-ideological basis, members of Scheduled Castes were many in number. However, it was noted that some of them who have joined the movement were due to the pressure from the Naxalites. At that time Naxalites were also in need of more number of people to join the movement to grow its popularity and support among civilians (Bhatia 2005). Besides Bihar, the incidents of Dalit movement went hand in hand with Naxalite movement could also be seen in the other parts of the country too.

In Orissa, the Naxalite movement emerged in 1968 as a peasant movement and spread all over the state including Gajapati, Ganjam, Rayadada, Nabarangapur, Malkangiri, Koraput, Sundargarh, Mayurbhani, Keonjhar, Angul, Jharsuguda, Jaipur, Deogarh, Kandhamal, and Sambalpur areas. Presence of the tribal population in the movement was widespread. The main reason for the emergence of the movement was under development of the region (Rajat 2005). Besides tribal population, Dalits have also joined the movement as they were experiencing poverty and negligence of the government. Especially during the emergency period due to stand still of the welfare programmes and upsurge of daily

⁵ In this thesis the differences between these three ideologies have not been considered as it is not important at this moment. Instead, the emphasis is given on the participation of Dalits in the Naxalite Movement at large.

necessary commodities, the Dalits were effected badly. Hence, to build the pressure on the government in order to gain the attention on the difficulties that they were facing, the Dalits consulted the Naxalites in the state.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Naxalite movement was started in 1969 in Srikakulam District and within very short span of time the movement had spread in the forest areas of Vijaya Nagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari Districts and subsequently to the other areas of the state. In the initial days Dalits were not part of the movement. However, Dalits were struggling to get out of economic problems and caste based discrimination and attacks by the land owning communities.

These incidents shook the then national leadership. Hence, under pressure from Dalit MPs, the government of India started monitoring atrocities against SCs from 1974 with the special focus on murder, rape, arson and grievous hurt. All the above incidents, though appeared to be having different reasons, the actual cause lies beneath the extent practice emerging out of caste system that denied social and economic equality which were promised to people through constitution and election agenda. Because of these factors the social movement started if not apparently everywhere at least within the Dalit community. The movement took many forms like religious conversion, installing the statues of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and naming the streets after him etc.

C. 1. The Resistance of Dalits Till 1970

The struggle for the better living of Dalits in many ways differs from other sections/non-Dalits in India. For example, in European countries there is discrimination of economically rich against the poor but, the poor are treated equally with the rich once the former becomes economically stronger. It is not the case when it comes to the Dalits in Indian situation. The caste of a man or woman is given along with the birth and the man/woman will be considered as that particular caste fellow until his/her death regardless of achieving economic higher status. And the practice of the caste tenets is itself an activity of discrimination. So, struggle for equal access to resources and power has become the Dalits' story, generations together, in India. History shows that the Dalits are made economically and socially vulnerable for generations together. Concepts and theories iterated and reiterated on different dimensions of Dalits problem. Though the Dalits are struggling from ages, the struggle has seen a new high in 20th century across

the country. It has been translated into different forms of protest against the suppression. The different forms of struggle include dharnas, revolutionary songs and poetry, stage performances, attempts to enter Hindu temples and attempts to draw water from village well or village pond etc. However, the resistance at the individual level against the ill treatment ended up only with helplessness and cry. The strong resistance in an organized form only came up in the 20st century.

While the attacks are continued on one side, the resistance against the attacks and suppression simultaneously rose on the other side. The resistance also started to explode in an organized form for the first time with Mahatma Jyothirao Govindrao Phule when he started 'Satya Shodak Samaj' in 1873. With the help of the organization Phule encouraged rational thinking and rejected the need for Brahman priestly class as educational and religious leaders. Following Phule, on the same line, Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy took the movement little further and started 'Self-Respect movement' in Tamil Nadu in 1925. The movement has grown in the late 1960s and Tamil Nadu has become the first state to legalize Hindu marriages conducted without a Brahmin priest. This kind of marriages gained popularity in Tamil Nadu as they are recognised and encouraged by the Annadurai government in 1967-68 through an Act. The number of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages increased in Tamil Nadu as a result of Self-Respect movement.

About the same time, when Periyar launched the Self-Respect movement, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar came back to Mumbai after his higher studies in U.S. and England in 1917 and started an active movement against untouchability in 1927. As a learned man he started with mass movements and conducted marches to open up and share public drinking water resources. He led a *styagraha* in Mahad to fight for the right of the untouchable community to draw water from the main water tank of the town. Under his leadership thousands of people gathered and burnt the copies of Manusmriti as a symbol of anger towards the practice of caste. He stressed up on the right of the Dalits to enter into the Hindu temples. In 1930 Ambedkar started Kalaram Temple movement; about fifteen thousand people were gathered at the temple to organize a procession. The procession was headed by a military band. The movement was organized as a symbol of Dalits dignity and self-respect. After that Ambedkar has become a national leader. Even

as a national leader he did not forget upliftment of his community and he always fought for it until his demise in 1956.

C.2. The Resistance of Dalit in 1970s

Dalit youth who got inspired by the words of Ambedkar - 'educate, organise, and agitate' took the movement forward and founded a social organization called 'Dalit Panthers' in April 1972 in Mumbai. The name of the organization is taken from the U.S Black Panthers Party. The Black Panther Party also recognised the Dalit Panthers and rendered its support by publishing the news related to the Dalit Panther in their newsletter which was circulated worldwide on weekly basis between the years of 1967-1980. Namdev Dhasal, Raja Dhale, Arun Kamble were the founding members of the organization. They are Dalits, educated and neo-Buddhists. The aim of the organization was to fight for justice, equality and human rights of the Dalits and weaker sections in Indian and across the world. An article called 'Black Independence Day' by Raja Dhale which was publicised by the Dalit Panthers across the Maharashtra had attracted many Dalits into the movement and was ultimately helped the movement to spread in Maharashtra and to the other parts of India. The panther movement had motivated people of the Dalit community to live their lives with self-respect, leaving behind their political helplessness (Michael 1999).

On the other side Kanshi Ram inspired by Ambedkar started working to gain political power for Dalits. It was in 1971 when he participated in an agitation against the termination of the holiday on Ambedkar's birthday by the government, he started to know about the entire caste system and the role of the Ambedkar. Then he decided to quit his job and established the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Minorities Employees Welfare Association in Pune with the help of his colleagues. Though the main motive of the association was to help in resolving the problems of the SC, ST and Minority employees, its hidden motive was to bring awareness among the people about the caste system. Fortunately the association gained the popularity and many people joined it. With the success of the association in resolving the employees problems and bringing awareness about the caste system Kanshi Ram established the All India Backward and Minority Communities Employees' Federation (BAMCEF) in 1973. And the organization was officially launched with the 'birth of BAMCEF convention' which was held in New Delhi in 1978 with the motto

‘Educate, Organise, and Agitate’ on the eve of the death anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. The BAMCEF’s mission is to establish and fortify the non-political roots of the Mulnivasi Bahujan Samaj in order to change the Brahminical social system of inequality that is the traditional Indian social system based on castes and Varna. In 1980 he conducted a road show which was named as ‘Ambedkar Mela’ in which the pictures and narrations were used to show the life of the Ambedkar as a fighter for the Dalit rights.

Incidents, attitudes and frustrations of Dalits forced the government to adopt a development policy to resolve the problem that existed in that particular period of time but, the government had not planned for a long term and constructive development for the SCs. So far the programmes and schemes which were designed under this development programme did not yield any considerable results. Most of the time the programmes appeared to be ad-hoc. As a result, in spite of substantial amounts of money spent for a long period of time still the Dalits continue to suffer from the caste based discrimination, economic backwardness, poverty and political impotency.

D. Failure of Special Measurements Taken by the Government

The government has taken few special measures to improve the living conditions of SCs between 1940 and 1980. Some of these special measures are as following.

D.1. Ceiling on Agricultural Land Holding Act

The Zamindari system, which was introduced by the British to collect taxes from peasants also recognised the zamindars as the owners of the land. It was abolished in 1951 by the Government of India in order to curb the disproportionately large land-ownership, so that it reduces the dominance of landowners over the peasants. However, a provision in Zamindari Abolition Act, which accommodates the Zamindars to retain some extent of land for their personal use, did not specify how much land can be retained with the Zamindars. Besides, ceiling of land holding was not yet introduced. In an addition, there was no recorded information about tenancy or tenants. Hence, the Zamindars retained their entire lands with them by showing their servants as their tenants.

Later, the government has taken steps to bring land reforms in order to dismantle the tenancy and redistribute the land by using land ceiling policy. However, these moves did not yield successful results. According to the pro-land ceiling argument, due to the high prices of the farm land rich people started controlling the land. As a result many small and marginal farmers have lost their land. Large farmers tend to prefer single crop as they can be easily managed with heavy machinery. The use of machinery for farming reduces the employment opportunities and increases the unemployment rate which ultimately causes the fall in human development. Single crop method in large farm land also susceptible to pest attacks and reduces the soil fertility whereas small farmers usually go for intercropping which is good for improvement of the soil fertility. Hence, the land ceiling act is necessary to ensure land for everyone and reduce the economic imbalances in society.

Accordingly, few states have made the Ceiling on Agricultural Land as an Act. Jammu and Kashmir was the first state to make this Act in 1955 followed by West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra (1961), Tamil Nadu (1971), Haryana (1972), and Andhra Pradesh (1973). However, this move of the government was opposed by many saying that the ceiling on agricultural land should be abolished. Private sector should be given permission to buy agricultural land as it enables the entrepreneurship in the country. This entrepreneurs will create employment which will boost the country's economy. Small farmers do not produce as much as the big farmers do as they cannot afford for the modern machinery for farming. Ceiling on agricultural landholding and distributing surplus land to the landless neither eradicate poverty nor create job opportunity. There will be more farmers with less production. Once they lose the land they will be jobless again. The remedy to this problems is shifting some people to the manufacturing and service sectors from agriculture, this can only be possible encouraging the entrepreneurship by allowing them by more land. Hence, there is no need to give land to each and every landless person. Taking up this argument even state governments of Bihar, Karnataka, Orissa and Rajasthan have declared that there was no surplus land available with them. As a result, only 23 lakh acres of land was declared as surplus land in the entire country, out of which only 13 lakh acres were distributed for landless. Therefore, the Act of Ceiling on Agricultural Landholding did not help much to improve the poor economic conditions SC families.

D.2. 20 Point Programme

The 20 Point Programme, also well known as TPP, was launched in 1975 by Indira Gandhi during the emergency period i.e., 4th July 1975 – 21st March 1976. The programme was launched mainly to provide compensation to the landless labourers, small scale farmers and also rural artisans and to provide alternative credit as all the ongoing welfare programmes were stalled with the political and economic instability. The programme was also aimed to abolish the system of bonded labour, hiking the wages of agricultural labour and effectively implement the agricultural land ceiling laws in order to secure house sites for the landless labourers. The twenty points are as follows.

1. Attack on Rural Poverty
2. Strategy for Rain fed Agriculture
3. Better Use of Irrigation Water
4. Bigger Harvest
5. Enforcement of Land Reforms
6. Special Programmes for Rural Labour
7. Clean Drinking Water
8. Health for All
9. Two Child Norm
10. Expansion of Education
11. Justice to Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes (11 A – SC Families Assisted)
12. Equality for Women
13. New Opportunities for Youth
14. Housing for the People
15. Improvement of Slums
- 15 - Sum Improvement
16. New Strategy for Forestry
17. Protection of the Environment
18. Concern for the Consumer
19. Energy for the Villages
20. A Responsive Administration

However, the TPP was not effectively implemented in the consecutive years as Indira Gandhi lost elections in 1976.

D.3. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976

The practice of bonded labour was prevalent in India in various forms. People who were economically poor tend to rely on landowners and moneylenders for their economic needs which compelled them, in return, to work as bonded labourers in order to pay off their debt. However, due to illiteracy and vicious circle of poverty, these bonded labourers could not free themselves from the system of bonded labour. Number of incidents were recorded and research articles were surfaced during 1970s on the same. What they revealed is that the bonded labourers were subjected to life-time exploitation by their masters in the process of repaying even small amounts of debts. In some cases even a small debt was shown in a way that it took generations together for the labourer to repay the debt. In response to the Dalit movement, government had come up with Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act in 1976. With the implementation of the Act many State Governments including Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Orisa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh had identified bonded labourers and some of them were freed, while Kerala and West Bengal had announced that such system was not existent in their states (MKT 1976). In Andhra Pradesh ten thousand bonded labourers were identified during the Vengal Rao's regime (EPW 1978). However, there was never a sincere attempt to identify the bonded labourers until 1981 through which over two and a half million people were identified as bonded labourers (Sarma 1981). Majority of the bonded labourers were from SC and ST communities. They were exploited economically, on one hand, as they were made to work in brick kilns and construction sites at faraway places and yet paid a meagre labour charge that wasn't enough to survive for a day. On the other hand, they were exploited socially also as some of them were *Jogins* and *Devadasis* (Srivastava 2005).

Nevertheless, these efforts have not yielded expected results to cure the wound that the system of bonded labour has made. For example, in Andhra Pradesh though around ten thousand bonded labourers were identified, many of them were not freed from the bondage. This is due to the lobbying of the landowners and moneylenders with the politicians and the government. The situation is more or less the same in all the above states.

E. The Policy

Taking the constitutional guarantees as a source of inspiration and the above mentioned socio-economic and political conditions and resistance of Dalits as immediate motivating factors, the Indian government has finally made a historical attempt for the first ever time, almost after 30 years of the adaptation of the Indian Constitution, towards comprehensive development policy specifically for SCs. In 1975 the Government of India has arranged a central level meeting in New Delhi in which the Chief Ministers of all the States and Union Territories attended and there they came up with the decision to have a national development plan for SCs. As a result a plan called Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes has been proposed and adopted during Rolling Plan of the 1978 -80. Ms. Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India expressed her concern for solving the problems and socio-economic development of SCs in a letter that she wrote to all the States and Union Territories on 12th March, 1980. In the letter she particularly mentioned about the situation within which the Dalits have been struggling to lead their lives. To quote from her letter – “I am writing separately about the measures to be taken to deal with the atrocities or crimes on Scheduled Castes, which have been occurring in large numbers and have sharply increased in the last 3 years. There is a clear nexus between the economic plight the Scheduled Castes and the atrocities and social disabilities to which they are subjected. For example, any of these crimes are intended to terrorise and low down the Scheduled Castes when they seek their wages for agricultural labour or try to cultivate the lands legally allotted to them. A permanent solution for this situation must be based on the rapid economic development of the Scheduled Castes” (See Annexure - V).

Following Prime Minister Indira Gandhi’s letter, Dr. Manmohan Singh who was the then Member-Secretary, Planning Commission also wrote a letter in his capacity on 27th June, 1980 to the states and the union territories to highlight about the proper implementation of SCP. To quote from his letter – “In continuation of my letter on the formation of Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85 and the annual plan 1981-82, I invite your attention to two important aspects of the State Plans, vis., Tribal Sub-Plan and Special Component Plan. You are already aware of the Prime Minister’s letter on these two subjects and the importance attached to the completion of development programmes for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes”. (See Annexure - V)

However, there are few pro-Dalit leaders and bureaucrats who have contributed at their personal and official capacities to bring such policy for the development of the Dalits. Hence, it is appropriate here to mention the role of P.S. Krishnan (IAS) for the materialization of the SCP. It was him who has constantly worked for many years, outside of his official capacity, for the preparation of the SCP. In 1978, when he was on the deputation to the centre as Joint-Secretary in the Commerce and Industry Department he tried to put forth his plan for the official considerations but, he did not get any positive response. Later, when he voluntarily moved to the newly created post of Joint-Secretary for SC and BC Welfare, Ministry of Home Affairs in 1978 he proposed the same once again to the Planning Commission for the official considerations. The Commission did not consider the plan even the second time. Then, Krishnan took the other way to bring the plan for the government considerations. He wrote the letters to all the State Governments from the Ministry requesting them to formulate the State SCPs as part of their Annual Plan 1979-80 and Five Year Plan 1980-85 and giving them guidelines. To bring the attention of the government officials towards the Plan, he has initiated discussions with State Governments about the SCP formulation. The initiation was started with a meeting in Mumbai in which he explained to the then Minister of State Dhaniklal Mandal and to the State representatives on how to formulate the SCP. Later such meetings were also held in Bangalore and Lucknow. He also visited many States for personal interactions with State officers, particularly those Secretaries who belonged to the Dalit community and were working for planning and other departments. He used to attend all the meetings in different states and held interactions with the state officials to explain the SCP in detail i.e., how to prepare it, what not to include, what sort of schemes should be taken up for SCs under the SCP and so on.

Aims of the policy and guidelines for its implementation are only based on mention in the letter of Indira Gandhi and Manmohan Singh to the States and Union Territories. However, they are clearly mentioned in Planning Commission's Report on the status of SCP, 2006. They are;

1. Bring out the economic development through beneficiary oriented programmes which should raise their income levels and create permanent assets.
2. Implement such basti-oriented schemes which secure infrastructure like drinking water, roads, houses etc.

3. Programmes like establishment of primary schools, community halls, vocational centers, health centers, women work place should be given priority as they help bringing social development.

The move of the government was happily welcomed by the Dalit community and supporters of Dalit welfare. Nevertheless, while the above two letters, from the two important persons addressed the Union Territories and State Governments, are apparently showing that the government has committed for the development of SCs. At the same time, though the letters of Prime Minister and the member of Planning Commission gives the clue, they themselves were asked the question why the government has realised the importance of the development of SCs suddenly. Why only in 1979? And why it hasn't happened before? To expose this, a glance in to the socio-economic and political history of India with respect to the SCs and SCP is necessary.

When the policy has been adopted by the government of India it has certain objective and goals to achieve and to bring the Dalits equal with the advanced sections of the country. The Government of India during the Sixth Five Year Plan in 1980-85 proposed and adopted a Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes (SCP for SCs), which was later in 2006 renamed it as Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP). The main objective of the policy is to bridge the gap, which has been persisting through the ages into the present society between SCs and other privileged sections of India, until SC community emerges equal with the privileged communities in economic and social aspects in the country. SCP is an umbrella policy under which certain programmes and schemes, which should be aimed at relieving SCs from their disadvantages and bondages and give them equal access to resources, supposed to be developed and implemented successfully in all the states of India and all the ministries of the states and central governments. Though, the states like Andhra Pradesh (before its bifurcation into Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) and U.P claimed that the policy has been implemented successfully, the realities do not correspond with the objectives of the policy. At this point, however, it is appropriate to have a glance in to history to understand under what circumstances the idea to have a policy for the SC community development has been originated.

In addition to the above, there is more important point to ask i.e., why doesn't the government set clear-cut rules and regulations along with the policy at the time of policy adaptation itself? What has become a barrier for the government to sketch out the clear

rules and regulations to be followed to implement the policy even after the policy adaptation? And why doesn't the government make the policy an Act so far? All these questions raise doubts on the commitment of the government towards the development of the Dalits. However, here it is important to delve into the socio-economic-political situation of the country during 1970s to understand more about the policy why it has been as in the present situation.

F. Evolution of SCP

The evolution of SCP in chronological order can be noted as the following.

F.1. Standing Tripartite Committee

Almost two decades after the adoption of a strategy for the speedy development of SCs through effective implementation of SCP, the Planning Commission constituted a Standing Tripartite Committee under the Chairmanship of P.K Pandey in 1999 to review the status of special strategy of SCSP for SCs in order to resolve various policy related issues with respect to Central Ministries/ Departments as well as all the State Governments and UTs.

F.2. Guidelines of Planning Commission, 2006

In 2006 the Planning Commission of India has issued general guidelines for formulation, implementation and monitoring of Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP) for the States and Central Ministries / Departments. The fresh guidelines are issued due to the ineffectiveness of the existing guidelines.

Planning Commission highlighted the problems that are associated with the existing methodology in implementation of SCP.

1. States/ UTs were qualifying funds only from the divisible sectors/Programmes.
2. Plan outlays from schemes/programmes were not reaching the SC habitations which are outside the village/towns.
3. Priority sectors and need based schemes/programmes for the benefit of the SCs, like education, health, technical/ vocational training were not devised based on the needs.
4. Development schemes/programmes of infrastructure relating to roads, major irrigation projects, power and electricity sector mega projects are not occurring any direct or immediate benefits.

5. Schemes related to minor irrigation asset creation, housing and land distribution were not given importance.

To quote from the document of the guidelines of the Planning Commission - "Despite the fact that the strategies of SCSP have been in operation for more than 20 years, they could not influence all the concerned in its right perspective. Further, lack of effective monitoring to ensure that all the Ministries/Departments both at Central and State levels earmark funds under SCP and the funds received under SCA are utilized effectively and purposefully, is another area of concern." (Planning Commission 2006, First Page).

The gist of the guidelines is as follows.

- i. Earmarking of Funds
 - a. Earmarking the funds for SCSP should be at least to the proportion of SC population percentage i.e., according to 2001 census the percentage of SC population was 16.2.
 - b. The funds earmarked for SCSP should be placed under a special minor head '789' in order to ensure that the funds are not diverted to any other programmes or schemes.
- ii. Criteria for Funds/Expenditure Categorization Under SCSP
 - a. The programmes and schemes which ensure direct benefits for SCs should only be included under SCSP
 - b. Those areas oriented programmes which ensure direct benefits to the villages in which SC population is more than 40 percent should be included.
- iii. Monitoring Mechanism
 - a. A unit which dedicated to the SCs development and welfare should be appointed in every Ministry and Department. In addition, a Nodal Department should be given responsibility of taking care of SCSP funds flow.

However, these guidelines were just a repetition of the existing guidelines. There was no new aspect added to the existing guidelines.

The Special Component Plan was the original name given to the SCP when it was adopted by the Government of India in 1980. However, the Central Government has believed that the policy will be more effective if the name is changed. Accordingly, in

2006 the SCP has been changed to be called as Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan. Changing the name of the policy implies in its nature of funding and spending. However, the above guidelines were seem not effective for the successful implementation of the SCSP

F.3. Report of the Narendra Jadav's Task Force Committee

A Task Force was appointed by the Planning Commission of India to review the guidelines of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) in the month of June, 2010. The Chairman of the Task Force was Dr. Narendra Jadhav, Member, Planning Commission. The Task Force was given two important goals i.e., 1. To re-examine and revise the existing guidelines issued by the Planning Commission for implementation of SCSP and TSP, 2. To find out the operational difficulties by consulting the Ministries in which SCSP and TSP, are implemented and suggest corrective actions for the effective implementation of the same. The Task Force comprised union secretaries for the Nodal Ministries, which include Social Justice & Empowerment and Tribal Affairs, state secretaries dealing with SCs and STs from the states of Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat. In addition, the Task Force had specially invited experts in the areas of SC and ST development and working in Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation, Ministry of Finance and National Advisory Council.

The Task Force undertook number of discussions and consultations with the Central Ministries and Departments to know the possibilities of earmarking of SCP outlay in proportion to the population percentage of SC as per Census of India report 2001. The entire consultations and discussions arrived to a point where they decided to group all the ministries and departments into four categories.

1. The group of Ministries and Departments in which there is no obligation to earmark the funds towards the SCP.
2. The group of Ministries and Departments in which the funds for SCs less than 15% and for STs 7.5% will be earmarked.
3. The group of Ministries and Departments in which the funds for SCs 15% to 16.2% and for STs 7.5% to 8.2% will be earmarked.
4. In the fourth group of Ministries and Departments the funds will be more than 16.2% for SCs and 8.2% for STs earmarked.

However, the system of the earmarking and the grouping of ministries and departments has received a huge opposition from the Dalits and Dalit organisations. National Dalit Forum which took on this issue went forward to fight for the nullification of the grouping system. The Forum has conducted a meeting with all the SC, ST Parliament Members in New Delhi. The meeting was successful as there were 50 SC, ST MPs turned up to the meeting. All of them have signed the request letter addressed to the Prime Minister not to accept the recommendations of the Task Force.

F.4. Fresh look at SCP in Andhra Pradesh

The fresh look at the SCP was initiated by government appointed Cabinet Sub-Committee which was constituted on 13th April 2012 by the Government of Andhra Pradesh⁶. The Committee was constituted of nine members. The main objective of the Committee is to review the implementation of the SCP and that socio-economic status of SCs within state of Andhra Pradesh. The Committee was headed by Dr. Damodara Raja Narasimha who was the then Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. The CSC has worked for eighteen months within which duration it consulted a wide spectrum of stakeholder. It conducted district level workshops, State level meetings with stakeholder departments, a state level workshop with academicians, intellectuals, and civil society organizations. Apart from this the CSC had a discussion with Dr. Narendra Jadav, member, Planning Commission and the representative of the National Advisory Council (NAC) and chairman of the Task Force Committee, to take valuable inputs to consider for the preparation of the report. Need for the fresh look has arisen due to lack of comprehensive understanding of the policy and the social and economic conditions of the Dalits in the State.

The observations of the Committee are that the implementation of SCP is ineffective on the development of SCs as the system of accountability and monitoring is very weak. As a result the SCP funds were diverted to general programmes and schemes which are not directly and exclusively beneficial to SCs. However, the effectiveness of the committee was diluted due to the political intensions behind its appointment which is discussed in detailed in the next chapter.

⁶ The state of Andhra Pradesh has been divided into the state of Andhra Pradesh and the state of Telangana in the year 2014 before which the two states were under a single administrative boundary.

Conclusion

Welfare policy can be a source to reconstruct the milieu of the socio-economic conditions of target-group. Similarly, the Special Component Plan has originated in response to the Dalit struggle as a resistance to the chronic economic and social poverty. After the independence, socio-economic conditions of the SCs have deteriorated due to political instability, India's involvement in Bangladesh war against Pakistan, increased market prices of daily necessary provisions due increased purchasing capacities of the farmers and landlords with the success of Green Revolution, imposition of national emergency and failure of welfare programmes have left the SCs economically vulnerable and depressed. Hence, they demanded for the increase of wages which initially started as landowner and labour conflict and turned as caste conflict between landowning castes and labourer castes, especially SCs. This conflicts lead to killing of SC agricultural labourers all over the country by the landowners or dominant castes. As a response to this SCs have consulted Naxalites and Maoists to raise their voice against dominant castes and government. With the mounted pressure from the Dalits movement in India, the government has initiated SCP for all round development for SCs. Later the SCP has been renamed as SCSP and time to time guidelines have been issued for its implementation. However, it is very clear that there have been several compelling reasons why the SCP has to be materialized after all political reasons seems to be the most important one. If there was no political will, the SCP would not have seen the day.

STATUS OF SCP: A FRESH LOOK IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Introduction

As stated earlier, the SCP was reviewed in the united State of Andhra Pradesh. It claimed to have implemented the SCP successfully. In this context the effort is first to find out how the state machinery itself has perceived the SCP in terms of gaps, fallouts, shortcomings and achievements made so far. The second is to find out how the ground reality exists today. A comparison informs us the difference between the theory and practice. The present chapter discusses the first effort about the perception of SCP and its understanding by the AP government. It aims to review the report of Cabinet Sub-Committee. The review of the Sub-Committee is considered important not only for the above said purpose but also to understand how such committees work and also the working style of the government through its committees to review social issues for the purpose of policy considerations.

On 13th April 2012 a nine member Cabinet Sub-Committee (CSC) has been appointed by the Andhra Pradesh¹ State Government to review the functioning and to examine the matters relating to the implementation of the SCSP² within the state of Andhra Pradesh. Dr. Damodara Raja Narasimha, the then Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh headed the Sub-Committee. The CSC has worked for eighteen months within which duration it held consultations with a wide spectrum of stakeholders. It conducted workshops in districts, organised state level meetings with stakeholder departments, state level workshop with academicians, intellectuals, and civil society organizations. Apart from this, the CSC had a discussion with Dr. Narendra Jadav, Member, Planning Commission and the representative of the National Advisory Council (NAC) and chairman of the Task Force Committee. The committee has emphasised that there is a

¹ The state of Andhra Pradesh has been divided into the state of Andhra Pradesh and the state of Telangana in the year 2014 before which the two states were under a single administrative boundary.

² Since 2006 SCP has been modified to be renamed as SCSP by the Government of India. But, for the present study the policy has been addressed as SCP only.

need for the fresh look into socio-economic status of the SCs and status of SCP. This is due to non-availability of accurate records of the same with the Andhra Pradesh government so far.

Before taking up the discussion on the report of the Cabinet Sub-Committee it is necessary to consider the political climate in which the decision for constituting the sub-committee was taken. What was the need to constitute such a committee while no other state in the country considered it necessary? There was no any direction given from the central government either for the review of SCP by the states. Nor was then any demand by Dalit leaders of the state or country as such at that particular moment. Why was such a love for Dalit suddenly manifested from blue as there was no serious trouble from the Dalits from anywhere that required immediate attention of the central government?

The answer for these questions can be found from the political environment prevalent at that time in the state. The congress government in the state and central government beleaguered for quite some time i.e., since the death of Dr. Rajasekhar Reddy, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. During the terms of Rajasekhar Reddy the state enjoyed peace to some extent from two quarters. One was the disturbances from the Naxalites that in fact attempted on the life of Mr. Chandra Babu Naidu who preceded Dr. Rajasekhar Reddy for the oppressive attitude that the government shown to the Naxalite groups. When Rajasekhar Reddy become chief minister he made peace with the Naxalites by opening a dialogue with them and tried win over a few individuals offering seats from the congress party to win elections in certain administrative institutions (Business Stand 2004). Secondly, due to his policy of pro-poor and programmes introduced by his government such as Aarogya Sri, 108 Ambulance, waiving of formers' debts etc, the people felt some relief. At that time the demand for separate Telangana was beginning to emerge once again as a force but for his politically tactful ways of handling it did not become active movement. But the sudden death of Dr. Rajasekhar Reddy was a jolt to the Congress Party for the government as there was no appropriate or suitable substitute to him. His son Jaganmohan Reddy tried to siege the opportunity of sympathy shown by the people but he failed to find a place in the good books of the Congress party in the centre though he had some clout of followers at the state. Mr. Rosaiah was chosen by the Congress party to be the Chief Minister, and he proved to be very weak leader. During this period the Telangana movement re-emerged as big public demand. The political situation was such that there was a need to satisfy both Andhra and Telangana

groups. The wisdom of the Congress party had is that Mr. Rosaiah was to be replaced with Mr. Kiran Kumar Reddy who again favoured the united Andhra Pradesh. Kiran Kumar Reddy had to handle two important and immediate formidable issues. One is to stop the immanent bifurcation and to control his distractors Jagan Mohan Reddy's followers. The demand for separate is fuelled by not only Telangana Congress but also Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) headed by K. Chandra Sekhar Rao popularly known as KCR. The movement was spearheaded by Joint Action Committee (JAC) which was an umbrella organisation formed with only one aim of achieving the Telangana state. Several student, teaching, non-teaching employees, caste associations formed this JAC wherein all political parties had their representatives together formed this JAC. However, it is important to be noted that the JAC articulated loudly and clearly the Telangana envisaged would be quite different one being the state of social equality. Such stand was declared to shut down the criticism made by those criticized the objective of the JAC that the new state will be under the hegemonic rule of the elites Velama caste or Chowdhury or Reddy. Thus the JAC was able to attract Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Class, all and sounding. Every one regardless of caste or class participated in the movement organizing several protests, marches, dharnas, cultural events etc. the active participants were the SCs, STs, BCs (Venugopal 2011). Given this situation KCR has to open his arms for everyone inviting them to join his party and engage in the movement. At one point he made a statement that the first Chief Minister of Telangana will be from Dalit community (IANS 2013).

With regard to the clout of Jagan Mohan Reddy fell out from the grace of the central Congress party leadership engaged in criticisms levelling against Kiran Kumar Reddy accusing him diluting the popular programmes initiated by Rajasekhar Reddy. Kiran Kumar Reddy and his followers in fact had to down play the popular programmes in the effort to erase the memories of Rajasekhar Reddy from the minds of common people to prevent Jagan Mohan Reddy to cast out such memories. The Congress leadership also wanted such things to be done to build up its image by sending messages to the people that it does not support dynasty rules. Further, the party also had to respect seniority and experience though Jagan Mohan Reddy did enjoy popularity among the masses and support MLAs and other leaders particularly the Dalit leaders. In this background one criticism that came to the public against the congress government and Rajasekhar Reddy was that the welfare of Dalits and Adivasi. The both were neglected and particularly

there have huge diversion of funds from the SCP and TSP to often welfare measures that included everyone including the SCs and STs. This criticism was particularly raised by NGOs and Left parties joined by some Dalit organisations also (Venugopal 2011). Kiran Kumar Reddy had to woo the Dalit and show the party's concern for the Dalits for they are attracted by the TRS and JAC particularly in Telangana.

Both for KCR and Kiran Kumar Reddy the Dalit question became a thorny issue which is compounded by the demand of Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) by Manda Krishna Madiga. Though it is important to discuss the contemporary love and hate relationships and the Dalit castes i.e., Mala and Madiga in the state but for now it is necessary to note that all the political parties had to recognise the soured relations and balance their relation with these two castes. Both have been equally strong and united they were formidable groups but weak when separated. KCR developed some kind of animosity with Manda Krishna Madiga yet could not afford to lose the rest of the Madiga leaders in favour of Malas. Kiran Kumar Reddy also could not favour one against the other. But there was a lurking fear that MRPS may join any political party or become an independent political party and thus play the game of spoiled sport of splitting the votes of Dalit. To win over the Dalits of Telangana on one side, and take chance of criticism that came both Andhra and Telangana Dalit favoured groups on the other, Kiran Kumar Reddy's government shown their commitment to the Dalits by reviewing the SCP. Given this background the review of SCP by Cabinet Sub-Committee is understandable from political perspective. The SCP as discussed in the previous chapter is the outcome of political necessity of an initiative taken at the centre, the review of SCP at the state has essentially the reason to come into existence. The development of Scheduled Castes is more to do with the politics than to do with their actual development as the analysis presented here suggests. So what can be expected from the SCP is how any political party uses it for its own benefit of pursuing the votes in its favour regardless of meeting the objectives of SCP or not. It is to show the Dalits that the political party or its government is concerned with the development of the Dalit without any time limit. It can go any longer so long as the Dalits remain as poor and underdeveloped and non-Dalits cry out for stopping it. It is in this background that the review of SCP is to be understood, and an analysis of the same provides a picture of the state of affairs of the Dalits' development as of today.

Composition of the Committee

The CSC is a nine member committee which include...

1. Deputy Chief Minister (C. Damodar Raja Narasimha),
2. Minister of Industries and Export (Dr. J. Geetha),
3. Minister for Finance and Planning (Anam Ramanarayana Reddy),
4. Minister for Social Welfare (Pithani Sathyanarayana),
5. Minister for Tribal Welfare (P. Balaraju),
6. Minister for Education (S. Sailajanath),
7. Minister for Rural Development (Dokka Manikya Varaprasadrao),
8. Minister for Law & Courts (Erasu Prathap Reddy),
9. Minister for Medical Education (Kondru Murali Mohan).

The members in the committee represented from different caste communities i.e. six ministers belongs to SC community; a minister belongs to ST community and two ministers belongs to Reddy Community. With reference to the regional and caste differences the composition of the committees reveals as the Dr. Raja Narasimha (Madiga), Dr. Geetha (Mala) hail from Telangana while Sailajanath (Madiga), Kondru Murali Mohan (Mala), Maninikya Vara Prasad (Madiga) hail from Andhra Pradesh. Balaraju is from ST community of Andhra. Both Anam Ramanarayana Reddy and Erasu Prathap Reddy are from Andhra. In the light of the above discussion one can notice the balance of Mala and Madiga Ministers and from both Andhra and Telangana.

Working Style of the Committee

The committee has conducted 10 district level workshops, particularly with Dalits and district administration, and a meeting in each place. The places in which the meetings are held include Nalgonda, Hyderabad, Rangareddy, Visakhapatnam, P.A Paderu, Kakinada, Kurnool, Adilabad, Ananthapur and Vijayawada. In each meeting the committee emphasized upon the necessity of SCSP for the development of Dalits. Also, explained details about SCSP. All the departments in the district to present departmental view on the development of SCs. The meetings were aimed at reviewing the socio-economic conditions of the SCs and the status of the SCSP implemented in the each district. Besides the reviews, the committee also received a huge number of memorandums and requisition letters from Dalit community members and organizations pointing above their socio-economic problems that remained unaddressed in each of those meetings. The

major issues that are raised in the memorandums submitted include 1. The allocation of funds should be need based. 2. Proper health facilities. 3. Distribution of house and agricultural lands. 4. Proper hostel facilities for SC students etc.

Apart from the district level meetings, the committee has also conducted 20 state level consultation meetings with different departments which include Social Welfare, Tribal Welfare, Finance, Planning, and Law. The Committee has also consulted with Andhra Pradesh State Financial Corporation and Industries, District Co-operative Banks, Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. A meeting with the Porata Samiti (MRPS) was also held with the all political parties.

Four national level consultation meetings were also held: 1. The Principle Secretaries of Social Welfare Departments of all states, 2. all political parties, 3. all MPs, MLAs and MLCs, 4. Dr. Naredra Jadav, Chairman, Taskforce and Member, Planning Commission. In these consultation meetings the CSC received suggestions for improving the implementation of SCP.

Observations by the Committee

The Cabinet Sub Committee has studied and witnessed the funding pattern and administrative process of SCSP and came to a conclusion that the policy is not properly related to the intended goals. The committee has listed out some reasons about the policy has not able to achieve its goals or remained as a failure. The causes are as following.

A. Lack of Vision and Strategic Planning

- 1) It is one of the most noticeable aspect that there is lack of vision and strategic planning in promoting equal development among all SCs. There are considerable differences in the development indicators between SCs and the other socially advanced sections of the society. This may be due to the fact that the efforts made for the development of SCs lacked motivation, logical vision and action plan. Department are lacking clarity on socio-economic status of SCs. This is due to the absence of a system that can collect the information and analyse the progress among the SCs. The same has been going in a systematic manner when it comes to the other socially advanced sections. There is no genuine effort that has been made so far to accurately identify the barriers which are limiting the effectiveness of development stratagems.

- 2) SCSP plan needs to be intrinsic part of the state's vision. Unless this happens, mere allocation of funds under SCSP alone cannot achieve the set goals.
- 3) Sectors like health, nutrition, education, drinking water and sanitation, livelihoods, housing, access to credit and access to quality of life should formulate and uphold a clear vision and plan of action so that the state can provide an improved living for SCS as par with the mainstream population. The strategy should be a rights based approach and should clearly enunciate and outline rights and be given to SCs in every sector and hence anyone can question and enquire for the faster and effective implementation.

B. No clear guidelines or norms to be followed under SCSP.

- 1) The SCSP has no appropriate and specific guidelines to ensure the effective and proper implementation of the programmes and schemes under the policy in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, the programmes and schemes which are not directly relevant to the development of SCs are implemented and shown under SCSP. Mostly the SCSP allocations are more of statistical values than a meaningful allocation that could bring growth and development. Hence, the results that are yielded through it are not significant that can be quantifiable in terms of the benefits to SCs. Even the expenditure is done on conflicting manner to the spirit of the planning commission guidelines. Only additional funds for a given benefit to the general population needs to be actually booked under the SCSP is one of the cardinal principles.

C. No Process of Planning for SCSP

- 1) Lack of proper planning process for SCSP is another obstacle for the effective implementation of the policy. Planning a development objective encompasses assessment of development indicators, adopting of appropriate strategic plan of action in a way that all the stakeholders are involved in the decision making process of planning in order to reach the goal. Hence, the planning will be a meaningful one. Another important aspect which is missing with respect to SCP is consulting the stakeholders at every level through which participatory planning can be promoted.
- 2) The Sub-Committee found that departments are not cultivating the concept of systematic planning process as per the SCSP. Instead, the SCSP programmes and schemes are taken for granted so that any existing programme or scheme regardless

of its relevance to the development of the SCs is automatically shown under the head '789'. Besides, it seemed that up to 16.2% of state general budget is allocated under SCSP in the last 3 years. However, an intensive investigation shows that there is tone of deception and fraudulence involved with its implementation. The Committee also states that "it does not require time consuming research or analysis to come to a conclusion that the SCSP in AP is a mere paper exercise to satisfy reporting requirement to planning commission. One can quote hundreds of examples to prove this point. Such examples are quoted to highlight government's apathy in the media, year after year. But the very same, schemes and practices are repeated in every budget".

- 3) The Committee found that in 2012-13 a total of 158 schemes which are mentioned under SCSP are approximately accounted for Rs 1,700 crores. However, all 158 schemes do not qualify to be mentioned under SCSP. Many of the departments are found to be not aware of SCSP allocations until they see them in budget books. No institutional mechanism has been established for the purpose of evaluating the SCSP plans at the departmental level. Consequently no responsibility is felt to make a reliable and effective SCSP plan that can be included in budget estimates. To say it in brief SCSP as a whole in Andhra Pradesh has been reduced to be a mere mechanical and accounting practice.

D. Monitoring System is Very Weak

- 1) Due to the absence of a systematic approach to coordinate the implementation at the departmental level, consequently, affected the exercise of preparing SCSP annual plan of action at state and district levels.
- 2) Total outlays under SCSP in the state of Andhra Pradesh are approximately 10,000 crores. Hence, with such huge outlays it is rational to have a close monitoring right from the state level to the mandal level. No evidence is found about any periodic review being conducted. It almost has become impossible to trace out expenditure and beneficiaries alike. Besides this, incidences are found like issuance of utilization certificates without any details of beneficiaries.
- 3) According to the section 4 of the Right to Information Act, every department is bound to voluntarily disclose information. But, many departments, unlike Social

Welfare Department and Department of Rural Development, are not keeping the MIS information for the usage of public. In absence of such information it is highly difficult to keep a close watch on the implementation of SCSP.

- 4) Even the system of Nodal Agency which was introduced few years back for the purpose of monitoring the implementation of SCSP is not able to make a big difference. This is due to its limitation of not able to taking part in planning and limited to only monitoring the implementation. Besides, the Agency is given discretionary powers to re-appropriate funds from one department to another department. But, so far the Agency did not utilise its discretionary powers.

Apart from the above observations the Sub-Committee has also made an attempt of statistical analysis. The analysis is as the following:

Demographical Characteristics

The population of SCs in Andhra Pradesh according to 2001 census is 1,23,39,496 which is 16.2% of the total population. The Table 2.1 shows the district wise percentage of SC population.

Table 2.1: District Wise SC Population.

(In Percentage)

Sl. No	District	SCs Population Above Average (>16%)	Sl. No	District	SCs Population Below Average (<16%)
1	Nellore	22.0	1	Kadapa	15.74
2	Prakasam	21.29	2	Nizamabad	14.84
3	West Godavari	19.17	3	Rangareddy	14.55
4	Chittor	18.75	4	Ananthapur	14.14
5	Karimnagar	18.62	5	Vizianagaram	10.58
6	Adilabad	18.54	6	Srikakulam	9.05
7	Guntur	18.32	7	Hyderabad	8.02
8	East Godavari	17.99	8	Visakhapatnam	7.60
9	Krishana	17.83	-		
10	Kurnool	17.81	-		
11	Nalgonda	17.73	-		
12	Medak	17.58	-		
13	Mahabubnagar	17.10	-		
14	Waranagal	16.99	-		
15	Khammam	16.55	-		

The Table 2.1 shows the populations percent in descending order by district in Andhra Pradesh. Nellore stands the first while Visakhapatnam stands the last.

Table 2.2: Literacy Rate of SCs.

(In Percentage)

INDIA							ANDHRA PRADESH						
Census	Overall Percentage			SCs Percentage			Census	Overall Percentage			SCs Percentage		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	34.4	13	24	17	3.3	10.3	1961	30.2	12.0	21.2	13.4	3.4	8.5
1971	39.5	18.7	29.5	22.4	6.4	14.7	1971	33.2	15.8	24.6	15.9	5.3	10.7
1981	46.9	24.8	36.2	31.1	10.9	21.4	1981	39.3	20.4	29.9	24.8	10.3	17.7
1991	64.1	39.3	52.2	49.9	23.8	37.4	1991	55.1	32.7	44.1	34.4	20.9	31.6
2001	75.3	53.7	64.8	66.6	41.9	54.7	2001	70.3	50.4	60.5	63.5	43.4	53.5

Note: literacy is for 5+ populations for the years 1961 and 1971 thereafter it has been for 7+ age population.

The Table 2.2 shows a comparison of literacy rates of SC population with overall literacy rates both at national level and at state level for five decades. It is clear through the decades that the overall literacy levels both for all and SCs have been risen. However, the difference between the SCs and overall literacy rate remains constantly the same. This shows that the special efforts of the government through various ways, particularly through SCP to reduce the gap has not yielded considerable result. Only when the literacy rate of SCs achieved the same or more of the overall rates, one can say that SCP has benefited the SCs.

The Committee was very keen to examine the literacy rates in order to know the differences with respect to literacy rates among the sub-castes of SC population. The Table 2.3 shows literacy rates of different sub-castes of SCs according to 2001 census.

Table 2.3: Literacy Rate among the Sub-Castes of SCs in AP

(In Percentage)

Sl. No.	Sub-Caste	Literacy Rate	% of Sub-Caste pop.	Female Literacy	Sl. No.	Sub-Caste	Literacy Rate	% of Sub-Caste pop.	Female Literacy
1	Adi Andhra	69.63	1.16	62.99	31	Madasi Kuruva	59.89	0.00	47.87
2	Adi Dravida	65.38	1.58	55.07	32	Madiga	47.52	49.23	36.95
3	Anamuk	65.79	0.00	44.44	33	Madiga Dasu etc.	55.97	0.03	43.30
4	Aray Mala	71.96	0.04	65.97	34	Mahar	60.30	0.23	46.88
5	Arundhatiya	54.98	0.31	47.31	35	Mala	59.99	41.65	50.30
6	Arwa Mala	75.09	0.09	69.70	36	Mala Dasari	58.40	0.13	42.18
7	Bariki	46.33	0.02	33.98	37	Mala Dasu	70.71	0.08	56.93
8	Bavuri	43.56	0.00	31.94	38	Mala Hannai	100	0.00	100
9	Beda Jangam etc.	37.30	0.59	21.67	39	Malajangam	63.60	0.03	46.82
10	Bindla	53.35	0.11	38.01	40	Mala Masti	38.55	0.00	29.77
11	Byagara	35.88	0.17	24.98	41	Mala Sale etc.	43.10	0.93	31.51
12	Chachati	45.18	0.01	35.35	42	Mala Sanyasi	59	0.00	33.33
13	Vhalavadi	32.88	0.01	24.92	43	Mang	47.69	0.07	31.99
14	Chamar etc.	66.72	0.13	54.64	44	Mang Garodi	14.57	0.00	11.67
15	Chambar	39.79	0.00	32.40	45	Manne	38.80	0.37	28.58
16	Chandala	53.13	0.00	25.00	46	Mashti	36.52	0.02	22.28
17	Dakkal etc.	37.74	0.02	22.61	47	Matangi	34.17	0.00	22.45
18	Dandasi	45.16	0.04	32.73	48	Mehtar	60.98	0.04	49.84
19	Dhor	70.22	0.02	61.63	49	Mitha Ayyalvar	71.84	0.03	55.07
20	Dom etc.	47.72	0.30	37.18	50	Mundala	37.65	0.00	27.65
21	Ellamalawar etc	42.98	0.00	34.42	51	Paky etc.	56.61	0.06	45.02
22	Ghasi etc.	56.34	0.01	43.39	52	Pambada etc.	58.98	0.01	44.76
23	Godagali	48.48	0.02	34.63	53	Pamidi	45.69	0.02	33.98
24	Godari	67.85	0.01	58.61	54	Panchama etc.	45.49	0.03	41.75
25	Gosangi	36.39	0.16	23.83	55	Relli	56.06	0.98	44.87
26	Holeya	76.85	0.00	66.96	56	Samagara	78.11	0.01	69.94
27	Holeya Dasari	55.02	0.03	34.48	57	Samban	61.39	0.04	52.44
28	Jaggali	36.98	0.01	23.40	58	Sapru	21.46	0.01	18.96
29	Jambuvulu	57.45	0.13	50.07	59	Sindhollu etc.	53.57	0.02	27.67
30	Kolupulvandlu	52.38	0.00	43.33	60	Generic Castes	54.39	1.11	45.31
Total SC							53.52	100	43.35

Note: The figures are as presented in the report of the Sub-Committee.

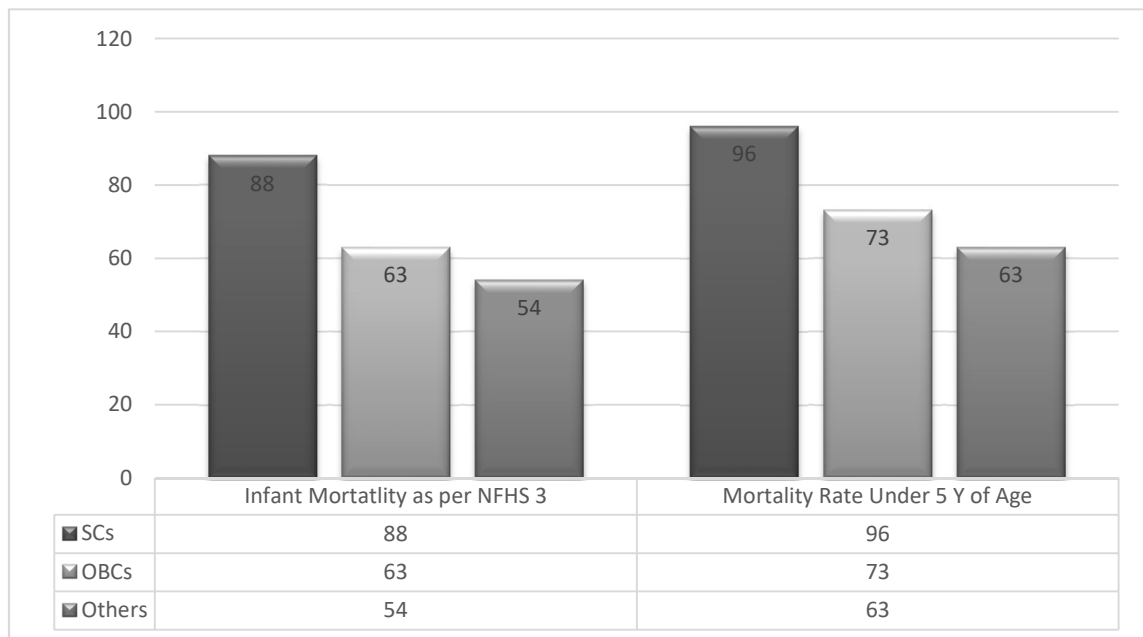
Table 2.3 shows that there are 60 identified sub-castes within the SCs caste. Population wise Madiga and Mala sub-castes are major sub-castes groups within the SCs caste. Regardless of population percentage of the sub-castes, there is no sub-caste, except 'Mala Hannai', with cent percent literacy rate. However, Samagara sub-caste with 0.01 population percent is at the highest literacy rate 78.11 percent, on the other hand Sapru with 0.01 population percent is at the least literacy rate 21.46 percent.

The two major sub-castes (constitutes approximately 92 percent of the SC Population) i.e. Mala and Madiga are not even in the same level when comes to literacy rate and it is so with the other sub-castes as well. Madiga fall behind the Mala in literacy rate marginally. Therefore, the Sub-Committee recommended for a development plan for all the sub-castes of SCs so that all the sub-castes would be able to achieve their literacy rates in a similar or equal manner. But, one notable point here is that the Committee itself could not find or highlighted either the reasons behind these differences or suggested specific measures to overcome the differences.

Infant Mortality

The Committee also compared the infant mortality rates of SCs with STs, OBCs and Others to see whether the infant mortality rates among the SCs are at par with the other sections of the society.

Bar Chart 2.1: Caste Wise Comparison of Infant Mortality

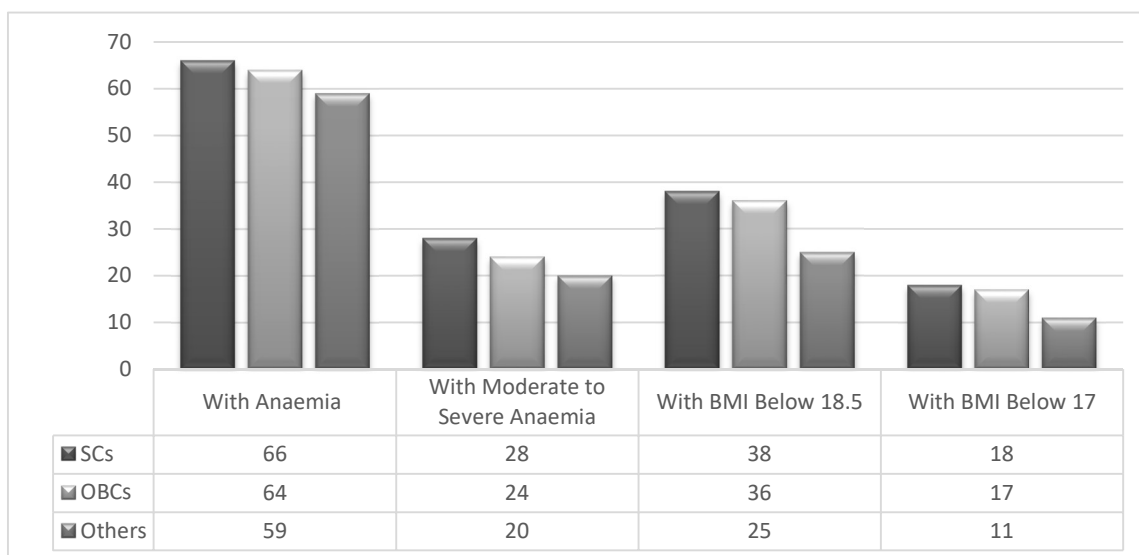


The Bar Chart 2.1 shows that the infant mortality rate is high among SCs. According to NFHS 3 the gap between SCs and the OBCs is 25 points and between SCs and Others is 34 which is too wide. Similarly, under 5 Years of age group the infant mortality rate among SCs is far above the OBCs and Others. This shows that the care about the infants of SCs is not par with the non-SCs and the special measurements which have been taken up by the government are insufficient and needed to be relooked to make them better.

Health

Not only in the case of infant mortality but also in case of health of women the status of SCs seems to be bad. The Sub-Committee has also gathered information and analysed to know the exact status of health of women among SCs. The Bar Chart 2.2 represents the factual information.

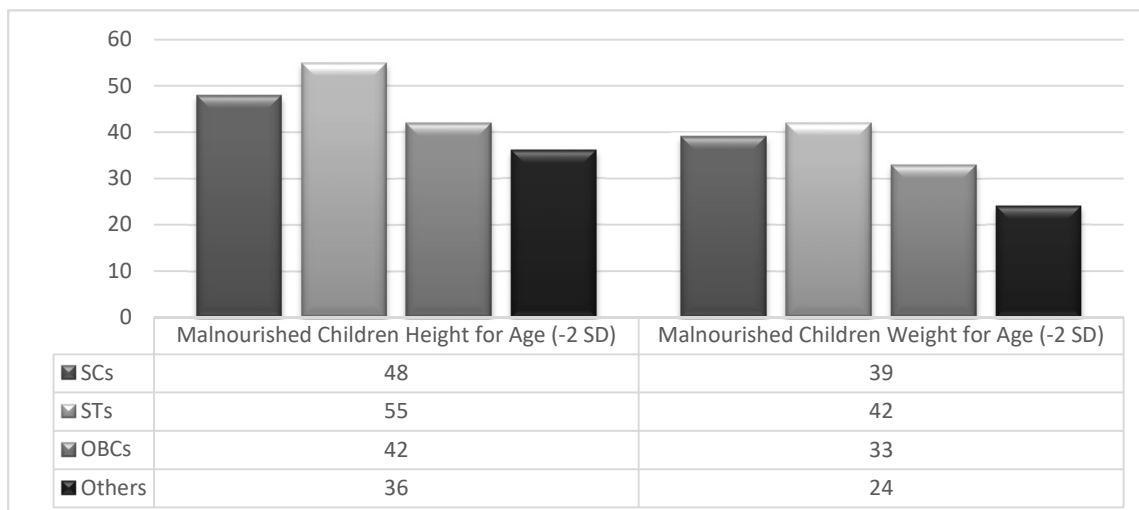
Bar Chart 2.2: Caste Wise Comparison Women's Health



The Bar Chart 2.2 shows that the health of SC women in comparison with the health of OBCs and Others women is poor with reference to the parameters as anaemia, and BMI at 18.5 and 17 respectively. Thus there is urgent need to improve the health status of SC women.

The Bar Chart 2.3 shows the comparison of children nutrition among SC with the non-SC children. Bar

Chart 2.3: Caste Wise Comparison of Child Nutrition

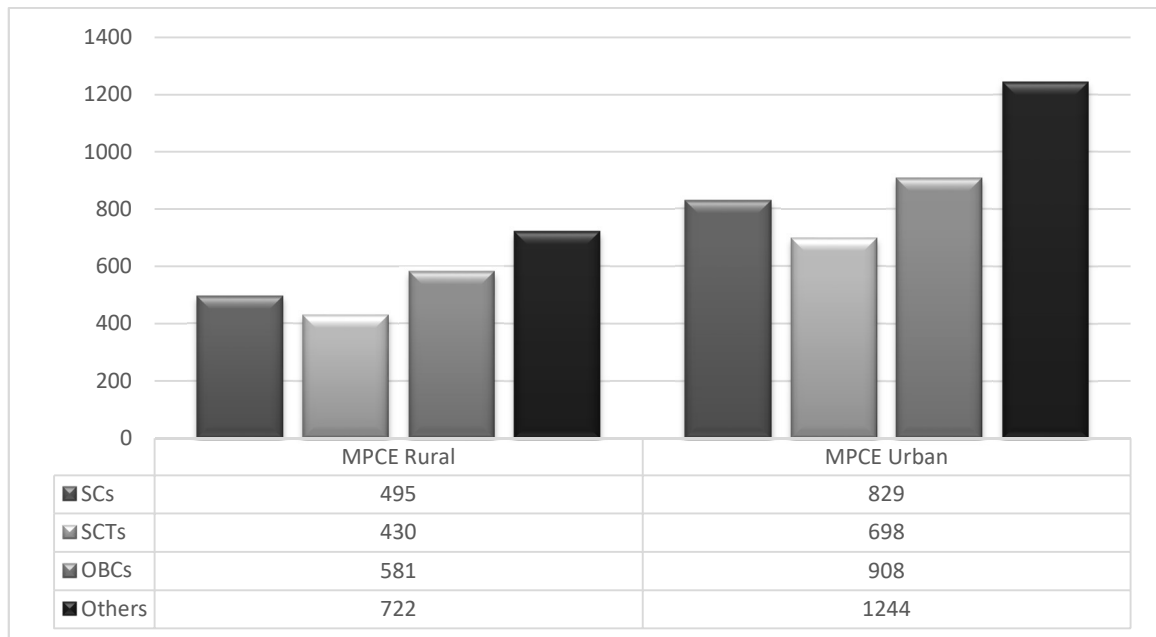


The Bar Chart 2.3 clearly shows that the SC children are more under nutritional when compared to the non-SC children. Thus suffer from under weight and under height problems. Due to poverty and low income the SCs children could not get nutritious food.

Economy

The above situation has direct relation with the income levels. The following Bar Chart 2.4 shows the comparison of income levels of SCs with the income levels of non-SCs.

Bar Chart 2.4: Monthly per Capita Expenditure



The Bar Chart 2.4 shows that the income levels of SCs in rural areas are just above the income levels of ST Population but way below the OBCs and Others. In urban areas the situation is no better. However, the income levels of SCs are more in urban areas when compared to rural areas. But it can be noticed here that the living expenses in urban areas are much more than rural areas. Overall, the economic conditions of SCs need to be improved.

Employment

The income levels again are largely dependent on the employment status. The Table 2.4 shows the percentages of occupational distributions by caste and rural and urban backgrounds for different years.

Table 2.4: Caste Wise Occupational Distribution (in Percentages)

Year	HH Type	Rural					Urban			
		SENA	AL	OL	SEA	Others	SE	RW	CL	Others
1993-94	SC	5.9	69.1	9.2	11.8	4	20	48.6	26.8	4.7
	ST	9.7	37.0	5.0	45.0	3.3	26.1	41.9	25.8	6.1
	Others	17.8	31.8	8.6	35	6.8	37.6	41.3	16	5.1
	Total	14.8	39.4	8.4	31.4	6	35.8	41.9	17.2	5.1
2004-05	SC	8.7	60.7	11.5	11.6	7.5	24.5	40.1	28.9	6.5
	ST	7.5	43.7	4	35.4	9.3	62.9	21.5	10.9	4.7
	OBCs	21.1	32.5	10.2	27.6	8.6	44	31.4	19.1	5.5
	Others	20	20	8.8	40.8	10.5	45.7	41.5	6.3	6.5
	Total	17.4	35.7	9.6	28.4	8.9	42.8	36.2	15	6
2009-10	SC	11.1	54.8	17.2	8.2	8.8	23.6	43.7	26.6	6.2
	ST	1.9	44.5	7.8	41.6	4.2	27.8	38.2	23.8	10.2
	OBCs	18.7	36.8	13.4	23.8	7.3	35.3	40	16.9	7.8
	Others	21.8	16.2	11.4	32.3	18.4	38.6	41.9	9.0	10.5
	Total	16.5	36.8	13.4	23.5	9.9	34.9	41.2	15.2	8.9

Note: 1. Figures represent the population; 2. Figure in parenthesis includes both OBC and the ‘other’ community for 2004-05 and is comparable with the ‘other’ in 1993-94; 3. SENA –Self-employed in non-Agriculture; AL – Agricultural Labour; OL – Other Labour; SEA – Self-employed in Agriculture; SE – Self Employed; RW– Regular Wage; CL – Casual labour.

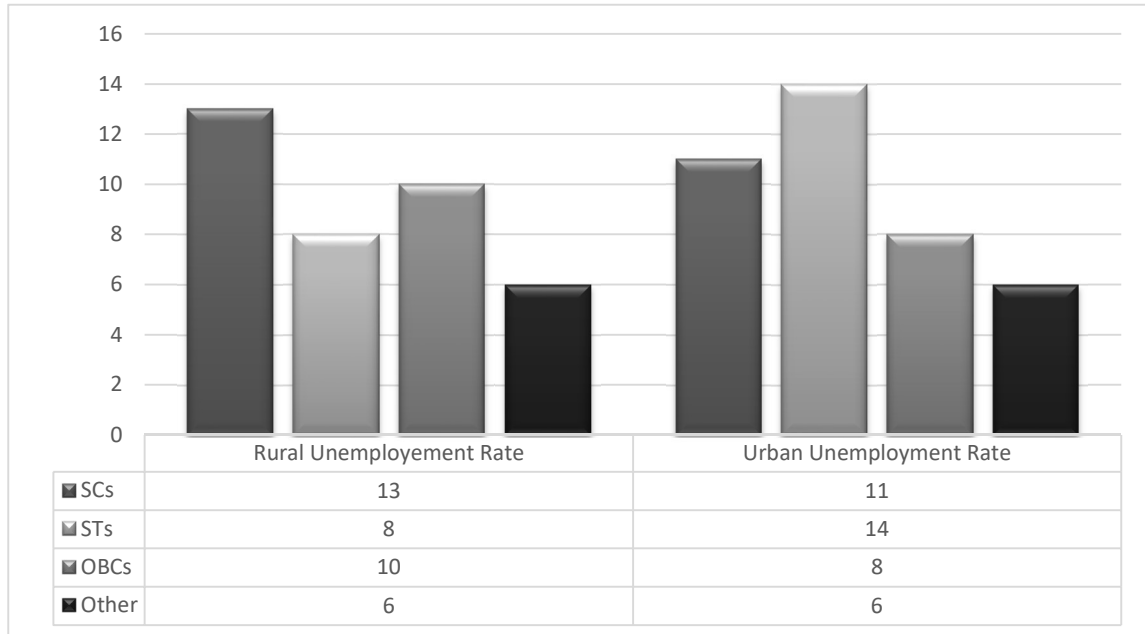
The Table 2.4 shows the trends of employment among different sections over the years. In rural areas there is a gradual decrease of SCs in Self Employment of Non-Agriculture, Agriculture Labour and Self Employed in Agricultural occupations from 1993-94 to 2009-10. But, they seemed to settle down in Other Labour and Other Sectors. On the other side the non-SCs have increased in Self Employment of Non-Agriculture, Self Employed in Agriculture, Agricultural Labour, Other Labour and Other Sector. This shows that in rural areas SCs are retrieving from agricultural activities and started to settle down in other sectors. The trend may be the response to the landlessness and introduction of technology into agriculture which reduces the need for the manpower in agriculture, whereas the non-SCs³ are spreading everywhere.

In Urban places the number of Self Employed SCs are gradually increasing. But, their numbers are fluctuating as Regular Wage and Casual Labour earners. For example, under Regular Employment category the number of SCs are reduced from 48.6 in 1993-94 to 40.1 in 2004-05 and slightly increased to 43.7 in 2009-10. But, overall there is reduction in regular employment. On the other hand, the non-SCs are again increased in

³ Other than STs.

all the categories. This means that the employment opportunities are very less for SCs when compared to the non-SCs. The comparison of unemployment levels are shown in the Bar Chart 2.5.

Bar Chart 2.5: Caste Wise Comparison of Unemployment



The Bar Chart 2.5 shows that the unemployment rate is severe among SCs than any other section. This may be due to loss of agriculture as an employment source because of many reasons and they are not able to find opportunities in other sectors as well. And in the case of urban areas they are still the vulnerable group and only next to STs. Overall, the number of unemployed SCs are more in rural areas i.e. (13) than in urban areas i.e. (11). However, at the both the places they lag much behind the other sections of the society.

Consequently, the less employment and unemployment factors affected the work participation rates of SCs. The Table 2.5 shows the work participation rates of different social groups at different ages.

Table 2.5: Work Participation Rates (%) Across Social Groups in AP

Year	Sector	All Ages					Age Between 5-14			
		SC	ST	OBC	Others	Total	SC	ST	Others	Total
1993-94	Rural	59.6	65.9	56	57.5	65.9	17.9	34.3	15.4	17.6
	Urban	39.0	44.7	37.2	37.6	44.7	5.4	17.1	6.6	6.8
	Total	56.9	63.8	50.3	52.3	63.8	16.2	32.6	12.7	14.8
2004-05	Rural	55.7	55	55.5	51.2	54.4	6.9	11	8.2	6.2
	Urban	37.6	32.8	43.7	35.2	39.2	0.8	2.9	4	2.7
	Total	52.3	52	52.6	45.6	50.5	5.9	10	7.2	4.8
2009-10	Rural	54.1	57.9	52.6	47.1	52.1	1.5	6	1.5	1.3
	Urban	39.2	41.8	38.2	33.1	36.4	1.2	0.4	0.9	0.6
	Total	51.1	56.5	48.7	41.2	47.6	1.5	5.5	1.3	1

The Table 2.5 shows that the work participation of SCs in 'All Ages' category slightly reduced over the years but when compared with other sections it is always higher or equal, which means that in the case of 5-14 age group the work participation drastically reduced which is a good sign but, by 2009-10 it is slightly higher than the other sections besides STs. This is perhaps the children are attending school.

At this point it is appropriate to look at the distribution of workforce. The Table 2.6 shows the caste wise workforce distribution.

Table 2.6: Caste Wise Distribution of Workforce between Agriculture and non-Agriculture Activities

Year	Sector	ST		SC		OBC		Other		Total	
		A	NA	A	NA	A	NA	A	NA	A	NA
1993-94	Rural	89.7	10.3	89.1	10.9	-	-	75	25	79.3	20.7
	Urban	30.7	69.3	21.7	78.3	-	-	14.7	85.3	16.3	83.7
	Total	84.3	15.7	84.5	15.5	-	-	61.5	38.5	67.5	32.5
2004-05	Rural	80	20	88.5	11.5	67.7	32.3	67.6	32.4	71.8	28.2
	Urban	11.1	88.9	36.5	63.5	10.7	89.3	6.3	93.7	9.9	90.1
	Total	70.7	29.3	84	16	56.1	43.9	50.8	49.2	59.4	40.6
2009-10	Rural	73	27	89	11	67.9	32.1	57.7	42.3	68.7	31.3
	Urban	7.4	92.6	15.8	84.2	6.2	93.8	2.8	97.2	5.3	94.7
	Total	62.9	37.1	84.2	15.8	54.8	45.2	39.1	60.9	54.8	45.2

Note: A = Agriculture, NA = Non-Agriculture

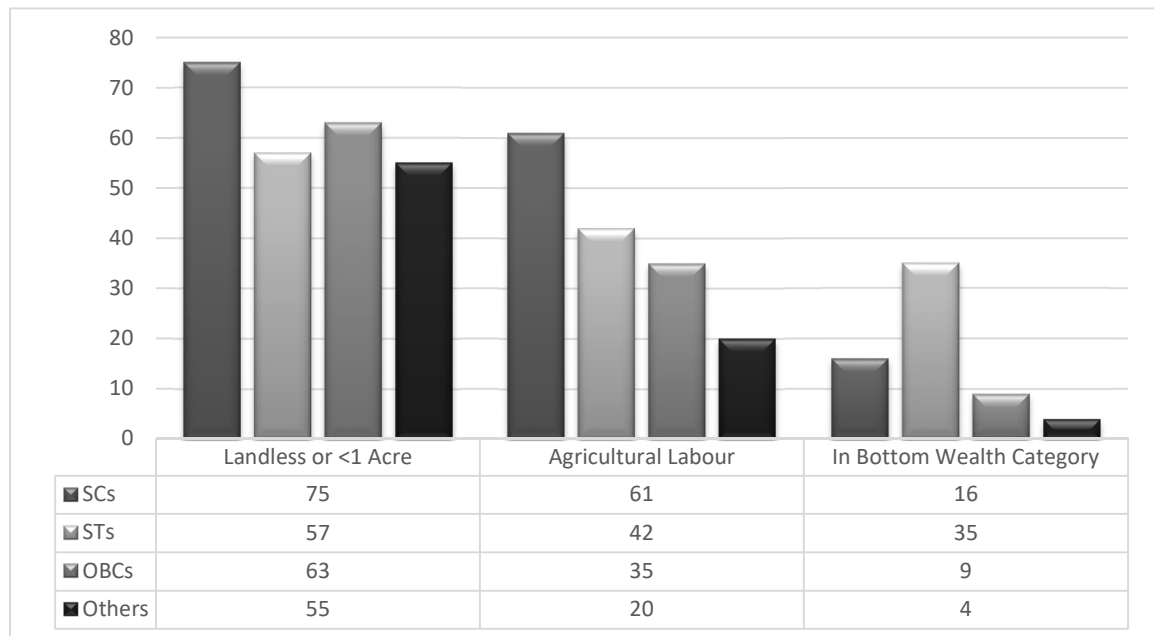
The Table 2.6 shows the workforce distribution between agriculture and non-agriculture sectors. Though there is a noticeable reduction in agricultural sector among the SCs, they

are still largely dependent on agricultural sector. By 2009-10 SCs are the largest work force, besides STs in the agricultural sector. It collaborates with the literary rates and occupation that SCs largely remain as illiterate agricultural labour that constitutes a major unorganised workforce.

Land Holdings

Though the SCs are largely dependent on agricultural sector for their livelihood they only constitute the labour force due to lack of land holdings among them. The Bar Chart 2.6 shows the caste wise landholding pattern.

Bar Chart 2.6: Caste Wise Pattern of Land Holdings



The Bar Chart 2.6 shows that the majority of SCs are found in the less than one acre land category. Consequently the landlessness caused the majority of the SCs to be dependent on agriculture but as labour. In bottom wealth category also so SCs are more. This means that landlessness caused the SCs to depend on agriculture as labourers where the labour charges are minimal and sometimes negligible. So they fall under the bottom wealth category. Though, work participation of SCs is high when compared to the other sections of the society, they could not make wealth as SCs are only confined to the low paid works or daily wage labour.

Table 2.7: Number of Land Holdings and Area Operated Across Social Groups

Social Group	Holdings (in Lakhs)		Area (in Lakh Hectares)		Average	
	1995-96	2005-06	1995-96	2005-06	1995-96	2005-06
SC	12.85	14.22	10.66	11.36	0.83	0.80
ST	7.54	9.27	10.87	12.12	1.44	1.31
Others	85.64	96.95	122.20	121.41	1.43	1.25
All	106.03	120.44	143.73	144.89	1.36	1.20

The Table 2.7 shows that the number of landholdings are reducing for all the social categories though the years. However, the gap between SCs and the others has never come closer in fact the gap is very wide which shows that the SCs are very vulnerable when it comes to the landholdings. This means that less landholdings leads to dependence on low paid work and less income generation and less wealth, this ultimately leads to poverty which again has its implications on the other parts of life.

The Table 2.8 shows the poverty ratio⁴ across the social groups in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 2.8: Poverty Ratio across Social Groups in AP

Year	Rural					Urban				
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total
Official Methodology (Lakdawala Committee)										
1983	35.7	36.7	-	23.5	26.8	43.0	50.6	-	36.3	37.8
1993-94	26.4	26	-	11.8	15.9	45.6	45.8	-	37.9	38.8
2004-05	28.3	15.5	8.6	3.8	11.2	51.9	37.4	28.7	20.2	28
Tendulkar Committee Methodology										
1993-94	58.4	64.4	-	42.4	48.1	43.9	45.5	-	34	35.2
2004-05	60.3	41.8	31.6	16.1	32.3	51.1	35	23.8	16.5	23.4
2009-10	39.3	23.5	22.2	8.4	20.7	19	17.4	15.7	13	14.9

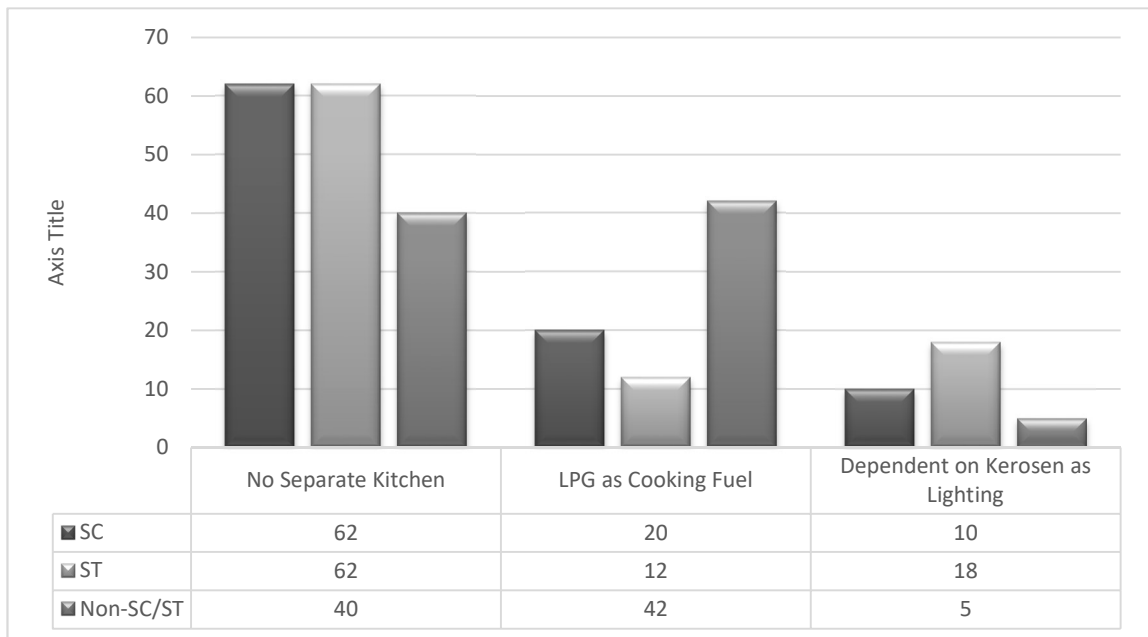
The Table 2.8 shows that the poverty ratio of SCs is the lowest amongst all social groups. Though SCs are with worst poverty ratio in both rural and urban spaces, they are poorer in the urban places. Though there are notable differences exists between the Lakdawala and Tendulkar committees, both the committees have shown that the SCs have the lowest poverty ratio.

Living Conditions

The Bar Chart 2.7 shows the living conditions of different caste groups.

⁴ The poverty ratio is measured on the basis of given percentage of population that is below the poverty line.

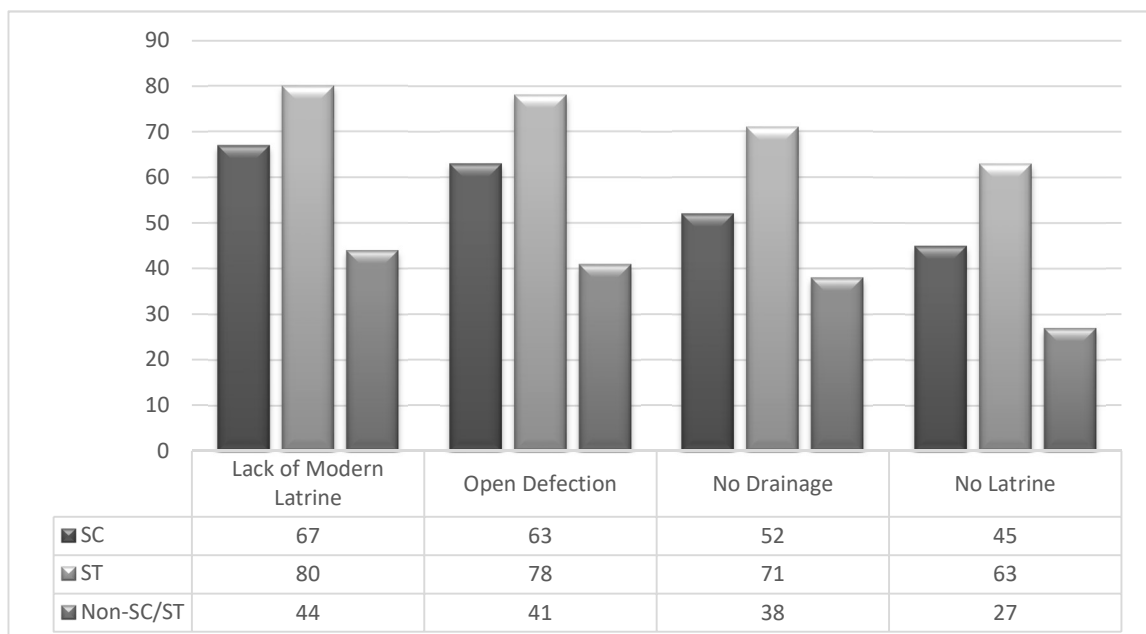
Bar Chart 2.7: Living Conditions



The Bar Chart 2.7 shows that there are more SC houses with no separate kitchen and they are dependent on kerosene as fuel when compared to non-SC/ST households. Similarly, there are very less SC families who use LPG as a cooking fuel when compared to non-SC/ST households. This means SCs are unable to offer to pay for CGP.

SCs not only are living in the above shown conditions but their sanitation also equally bad. The Bar Chart 2.8 shows a comparison of sanitation facilities across caste groups.

Bar Chart 2.8: Caste Wise Comparison of Sanitation



The Bar Chart 2.8 shows that in all the categories SCs are lagging behind. Lacking economic strength to construct their own sanitation facilities is leading them to poor sanitation and as a result of the poor sanitation facilities the surroundings of their habitations have gradually turned to be an un-hygienic areas which in return give them economic burden to face the health related problems.

Not only the above problems and poor conditions within which the SCs are living, but also facing the social evils. The Table 2.9 shows the crimes committed against Scheduled Castes in the state of Andhra Pradesh and in India.

Table 2.9: Incidence of Crimes Committed Against SC in AP and in India

Crime	AP	India
Murder	37	669
Rape	74	1172
Kidnapping & Abduction	21	258
Dacoity	0	26
Robbery	0	80
Arson	9	210
Hurt	459	3847
Prot. Of Civil Rights Act	61	291
SC/ST Prev. Atrocities Act	1244	8497
Other offences	1212	11077
Total Crimes	3117	26127
Population in Lakhs	132	1806
Crime Rate	23.7	14.5

The Table 2.9 shows a list of different types of crimes committed against SCs. It can be noted that the number of crimes that are registered under SC/ST prevention of Atrocities Act are more than any other above specified crime in AP. However, the most notable point here is that the crime rate is more than the national crime rate in Andhra Pradesh.

Examining all the above conditions of SCs the Sub-Committee has made recommendations for the betterment of SCs in the state and bring them at par with the other sections of the society in Andhra Pradesh. These are applicable for all Dalits in the country.

Recommendations of the Committee

The recommendations are as follows.

A. Need for a legislation on SCSP

Since the guidelines of the SCSP have not effective to bring any substantial improvements in planning and fund allocation the Cabinet Sub-Committee has emphasised the need for the adoption of SCSP by the government of Andhra Pradesh through a necessary legislation which would provide legitimacy and safeguarding the SCSP implementation through the enforcement of law. Hence, the entire executive mechanism will work to implement the policy with more responsibility and accountability. This will empower the Citizenry to challenge the administration and bureaucrats in courts in case of misappropriations and malpractices in the process of implementation of the policy. The sub-Committee has proposed a legal framework for the proper implementation of the policy. The legal framework is as follows.

1. Earmarking of SCSP funds from plan outlays: A share of the yearly Plan outlays of the state which is equivalent to the proportion of SC population should be kept for the purpose of allocating under the SCSP plan. This allocated funds will be determined and communicated by the Department of Planning in the month of September every year to the Nodal Agency i.e., the Department of Social Welfare which in turn to be communicated to all the other departments in response to their preparation of the annual plans. However, the earmarking of budget to the SCSP should be calculated on the basis of actual expenditures during a financial year.
2. The programmes and schemes under SCSP should be formulated by a specific department of the state government in order to fast-track the development of SCs so that the existing gap between SCs and the mainstream section will be bridged.
3. The programmes and schemes implemented under the SCSP should be potential enough to directly and exclusively beneficial to the SCs so that their economic, living and social conditions should be improved as par with the mainstream sections.
4. The programmes and schemes should secure direct and measurable benefits to the SC individuals, households and habitations. A SC inhabitation with more than 41% of population should be taken as a unit of consideration in order to formulate a programme for the inhabitation development and the development of SC as an individual, as a family and as a group.

5. The SCSP should emphasize on attaining unbiased development amongst the communities within the SCs. To achieve this the most backward groups within the SCs should be identified with a systematic approach and programmes and schemes should be prepared under SCSP with a special focus on those backward groups so that the equitable and unbiased development will be achieved.
6. The department and government alike should be taken responsibility in order to include the SCs in the ongoing development programmes which are designed for the general population development.
7. The plan outlays earmarked under SCSP by the department of planning should be communicated through a proper channel to the rest of the departments, and this should be done before September regularly in every financial year. The secretary of the planning department should take the utmost responsibility in the entire process on behalf of the department of planning.
8. The secretaries in every department of the state government should take responsibility to assess the gaps and impediments in the development of SCs with a comparison to the mainstream sections of the society. A consultative process should be adopted in order to provide certain facilities which enhances the development for the SCs. the Department of Social Welfare necessarily be involved in the entire process.
9. The process of submission of plans from every department every year to the social welfare department for appraisal under SCSP should be made mandatory. For this purpose a comprehensive format should be prepared and kept with all the departments.
10. The Social Welfare department as a nodal agency shall take up evaluation of the SCSP schemes and programmes which are submitted by the departments. The evaluations should ensure in a way that the proposals of the departments are fulfilled the norms and rules that are laid down in the suggested legal framework. Those schemes which are fulfilling the norms and rules should only be given permission to be included in the annual SCSP plans of the departments which will take approval from the state council headed by the Chief Minister. Consequently, the department of

finance will ensure that these approved programmes and schemes are included in the budget estimates under the exclusive head i.e. 786 of accounts for SCSP.

11. The nodal department is obliged to follow certain rules and norms while allocating SCSP funds to different programmes and schemes. The rules and norms are as following.
 - a. In respect of schemes exclusively benefiting SC individuals or SC households, 100% of scheme cost may be allocated under SCSP.
 - b. In respect of schemes benefiting SC habitations, 100% of scheme cost may be allocated under SCSP
 - c. In respect of other schemes benefiting SC individuals or SC households, along with others, the SCSP funds may be allocated, in proportion to the SC beneficiaries covered.
 - d. 2% of the scheme costs can be utilized for administration, institutional and human capacity building.

12. Norms for allocation of funds across various sectors, keeping in view the development needs of the SCs.
 - a. Schemes to secure greater access of irrigated land, promotion of self-employment schemes and enterprise development to SCs.
 - b. Basic amenities conforming to certain quality norms should be provided to all SC localities.
 - c. SCSP funds to be channelized only to such schemes where tangible benefits accrue to SC individuals or households or groups or localities.
 - d. 50% of the allocations under individual oriented schemes need to be channelized to women among SCs.
 - e. The nodal departments may prioritize allocations to ensure equitable development amongst sectors as follows.

13. It is the duty of the department of planning and department of finance to allocate the budget to the SCSP approved by the state council for development of SCs and include them in the demands for grants for the departments under the relevant head of account created for the SCSP.

14. As soon as the budget is passed by the state legislature, the principal secretary (SCSP), finance shall ensure that quarterly budget release orders are issued to each department, for the amount provided in the budget estimates for SCSP plans.
15. The departments should ensure that the budget release to the department is immediately distributed among the implementing agencies at the state and district level.
16. Unspent funds in a financial year will be added to the SCSP pool of the subsequent year by the planning and finance departments.
17. There shall be an exclusive secretary finance SCSP (like a secretary works and projects) stationed in finance department for performing the functions of issuing of BROs (Expand). Within the overall discipline of ways and means prescribed by the main finance department.
18. Each department shall ensure that the implementation support is provided to the district units by providing necessary staff, guidelines and training to the staff.

B. Need for the Creation of the State Council

A state council under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister needs to be constituted by the state government for the development of SCs to exercise the powers conferred and to perform the functions assigned to it. The composition of the council shall be as the following.

COMPOSITION OF THE STATE COUNCIL

1	Chief Minister	Chair Person
2	Deputy Chief Minister	Vice Chair Person
3	Minster, Finance	Member
4	Minster, Rural Development	Member
5	Minister, Panchayat Raj	Member
6	Minister, Rural Water Supply	Member
7	Minister, Roads and Buildings	Member
8	Minister, MA & UD	Member
9	Minister, Housing	Member

10	Minister, School Education	Member
11	Minister, Industries	Member
12	Minister, Health	Member
13	Minister, Social Welfare	Member
14	Minister, Tribal Welfare	Member
15	Chairman, SC/ST Commission	Member
16	Non-Official Members	Total 5 Members (SC-3, ST-2 within which 2 women. Each one from SC and ST respectively)
17	Chief Secretary	Member
18	Principal Secretaries of the Concerned Departments mentioned above	Members
19	Principal Secretary, Planning	Member
20	Principal Secretary, Social Welfare	Member -Convenor

Functions of the State Council: The council shall advise the state government on all the policies relating to SCSP and approve the annual SCSP plans of the departments as pre budget process. The council can also give administrative sanctions to the schemes included in the Sub-Plan after budget is passed in the assembly. The council can suggest measures to be taken for proper planning and implementation of the schemes by all departments.

Meetings and Terms and Allowances of the Council: The Chief Minister's council on development of SCs will meet twice in a year i.e., once in September and once in April.

Terms of office and allowances of non-official members of council: non-official members of the council will hold office for a period of two years and shall be eligible for reappointment only once. They shall also receive fees and allowance as prescribed by the government.

C. Creation of Nodal Agency

The Department of Social Welfare is designated as Nodal Departments for SCSP to coordinate the functions of the nodal agency headed by the minister of Social Welfare. It shall exercise the powers conferred and to perform the functions such as:

- a. Appraisal of the Sub-Plan proposed by the departments and approval of such schemes which satisfy the criteria laid down under the proposed legislation.

- b. Preparation of the state Sub-Plan for approval by the Chief Minister's council on development of SCs.
- c. Monitoring and evaluation of the schemes taken up under SCSP plan.
- d. Re-appropriation of SCSP funds from one department to another department.
- e. Coordination with the line departments for preparation of state level and district level SCSP action plans.
- f. Maintenance of Web Portal enabling tracking of progress of the schemes, expenditure and the outputs and outcomes of the programmes under SCSP.
- g. Facilitate periodic social audit of expenditure of SCSP funds and outcomes of the Schemes.
- h. Any other items that may achieve the objective of the Sub-Plan in the state.

D. Appointment of an Exclusive Principal Secretary

- 1) An exclusive principal secretary SCSP in Social Welfare department shall coordinate the functions of the nodal agency. He/she shall be supported by a technical support unit staffed with experienced personnel drawn from the field and a secretariat unit for the processing of files etc. the principal secretary SCSP shall be primarily looking after the administration of the SCSP besides overall coordination of the department. Regular line functions of the welfare department will be looked after by the secretary of the department.
- 2) Each department accessing substantial funds under SCSP including commissioner, Social Welfare department shall have a programme management unit, headed by a Sub-Plan officer, to assist the secretary of the department on all matters relating to SCSP i.e. planning, implementation and monitoring.
- 3) An empowered group of ministers constituted by the government shall review the implementation and monitoring of the SCSP programmes beside, identification of the impediments and suggest measure to overcome the impediments. The directions of the EGOM (Expand) shall be binding on the departments. The EGOM shall review the implementation of the programmes each month. The principal secretary of the respective nodal departments in charge of the SCSP shall be the convenor of the EGOM.

- 4) A district monitoring committee on SCSP under the chairmanship of district collector with the composition to be prescribed by the government is responsible to coordinate and review the implementation of the SCSP schemes in the district. At the district level, the district collector will be solely responsible for the implementation of the SCSP and will be assisted by the additional joint collector along with the ED SC corporation as the same may be who shall be the member convenor. The office of the ED SC Corporation will be strengthened to perform these responsibilities. The post of the ED shall be suitably upgraded to be manned by an officer of Joint Director Cadre.
- 5) The District Planning Board set up in the districts is empowered to review the implementation of SCS periodically with the district and sub district level officers.
- 6) Gram Panchayats must formulate the development plans for SC habitations having more than 40% population and submit the same through the MPDO to the district nodal agency for sanction and approval. Similarly municipalities and municipal corporations shall formulate similar plans for the SC localities having more than 40% population off SC to the district nodal agency for approval. All the works undertaken under the SCSP shall subject to social audit.
- 7) There shall be a 10 day mass contact programme every year lead by the ministers, MLAs, MLCs and MPs from 5th April to 14th April to educate SCs about the Sub-Plan so as to enable them to access the schemes effectively. Development plans for the SC habitations shall be formulated and submit to the district nodal agency for approval. During this period all works undertaken under the SCSP shall be subject to social audit.
- 8) Transparency and accountability at all levels in the implementation of schemes need to be ensured by the government. For this, every department will host in public domain, documents like annual SCP plan approved by the state council for development of SCs, scheme wise budgets sanctioned by the legislature, quarter wise budget release orders issued, scheme wise quarterly physical and financial progress, district wise, village/town wise, scheme wise expenditure incurred, re-

appropriation of budget made in the course of the financial year and the reports of the evaluation studies conducted on the SCSP schemes.

- 9) The secretaries of the departments are responsible for the proper utilization and management of funds allotted to the departments under SCSP for the purpose of implementation of the schemes.

E. Accountability and Punishment

Secretaries, HODs, District Collectors and District and sub-District officers who are responsible for the implementation of the provisions will be held accountable for any negligence or for not exercising due diligence in discharge of their duties.

Government will formulate a scheme to award incentives to the officers whose performance in the implementation of SCSP is outstanding.

Disciplinary action shall be initiated against officers who are responsible to;

- i. Earmark SCSP every year fails to do so.
- j. Prepare Sub-Plan, as a part of the preparation of the Annual Budget of the state, fails to do so.
- k. Make budget provisions for the Sub-Plans approved by the state council on development of SCs, fails to do so.
- l. Implementation of the schemes under SCSP, fails to do so.
- m. Release funds, fails to do so.
- n. Lapses SCSP funds at the end of the financial year.

If proved to be guilty of negligence and lack of due diligence, he/she shall be liable to such major punishment including a fine as disciplinary authority may decide, in consultation with nodal departments for SCSP the findings of the departmental enquiry shall be submitted to Ombudsman and also placed in public domain.

F. Creation of an Ombudsman System

The state government shall constitute an Ombudsman with powers and functions for redressal of grievances, as may be prescribed, to issue binding directions to the departments of the state government. The Ombudsman shall be appointed by a selection committee consisting of Chief Minister, the leader of the opposition and the Loayuktha.

He shall have the rank, pay, facilities and perquisites of High Court Judge. He can be removed only by the Legislative Assembly in the same manner as the High Court Judge. The Ombudsman is empowered to impose fines on any functionary, if proved to be guilty of negligence in respect of any provision of this Act or rules made under this Act. The orders of the Ombudsman are binding on the government. The state government shall place an annual report of the Ombudsman in the legislature. If there is any deviation in the implementation of the orders of the Ombudsman, the same shall be placed in Legislature every year giving the reasons for the deviation. His appointment would be for a period of 3 years.

An annual report on implementation of SCSP will be laid before state legislature once in a year with department-wise particulars of achievements and the unutilized funds of the department in a financial year.

The government shall put in place a comprehensive MIS system to monitor the outcomes in various sectors for SCs so as to identify appropriate policy interventions to ensure the enhanced financial resources result in measurable outcomes for SCs.

The Andhra Pradesh Act of SCSP

Finally, on 24th January 2013 the SCSP policy has become an Act in Andhra Pradesh, the first state to make SCSP as an Act. The Act is documented in six chapters. The Act is called as the ‘Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Planning, Allocation and Utilisation of Financial Resources) Act, 2013.

According to the Act, the State shall, in every financial year, earmark in such manner as may be prescribed, a portion of the total Plan outlays of the State which shall be proportionate to the Scheduled Castes population of the State, to be called as Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan fund. Resource Allocation of Sub-Plan fund to be earmarked is determined at least 6 months prior to commencement of the next financial year. Expenditure of the SCSP fund shall be accounted for in the manner hereafter specified in this Act.

Each Department, excluding the departments separately notified under this Act, shall submit each year, to the respective Nodal Departments, the Sub-Plan comprising of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan Schemes proposed to be included in the Annual Plans, for appraisal by the Nodal Agency concerned, within the time frame and in the format, as

may be prescribed.

The Nodal Agency for Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan, shall take up appraisal of the Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan schemes submitted by departments, to ensure conformity with the conditions and norms laid down in the Act. Each department shall ensure transparency and accountability at all levels in the implementation of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan schemes. Each department shall, host the documents, as may be prescribed in public domain. Government shall formulate and appropriate scheme, to award incentives for commendable performance and disincentives for proven negligence and lack of due diligence, in discharge of responsibilities under this Act by any functionary or official concerned.

The Nodal agency shall place before the State Legislature, an Annual Report on outcome of implementation of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan containing department-wise achievements and the un-utilized funds during the financial year under report. The report on TSP to the extent of scheduled areas shall form part of the Report regarding the administration of scheduled areas to be submitted to Governor in consultation with A.P. Tribes Advisory Council. Every rule made under this Act shall, immediately after it is made, be laid before the Legislature of the State, if it is in session and if it is not in session, in the session immediately following for a total period of fourteen days which may be comprised in one session or in two successive sessions and if, before the expiration of the session in which it is so laid or the session immediately following the Legislature agrees in making any modification in the rule or in the annulment of the rule. (For the full official document see Annexure - IV).

Analysis

From the above the following emerge:

1. It is apparent that the SCP has failed to obtain the desired result for the following reasons.
 - a. There are no clear guidelines or norms to be followed
 - b. Lack of systematic planning
 - c. Absence of monitoring system in the Departments
 - d. The state level monitoring mechanism is weak.
 - e. The nodal agency Department is weak to get responses from other Departments.

- f. There is overall government apathy for the development of SCs.
2. The development of SCs has not taken place, worth to mention anything, as in all development parameters, and they lag behind other groups in the state.
 3. There is need of legal support for enforcing the SCP to be implemented. This means that unless force is applied the government does not follow the welfare policy for the SCs through it was developed on consensus basis of all political parties. It may be noted here that even the legal course of action is not so easy to get the desired result, since the court procedures involved inordinate delays as the legal battle is long drawn process. But this is the only effective final option left in the extent democratic system. It speaks of the altitude of the non-SCs/STs towards the SCs/STs for their development. This can further be buttressed with the fact of atrocities committed on the SCs in large numbers.
 4. The remedial measure taken by the A.P state for the effective implementation has been to establish an administrative system that resembles a parallel state administrative system exclusively meant for the SCs. It has the following:
 - a. Chief Minister's Council for SCs
 - b. Exclusive Principle Secretary in Social Welfare Department for implementation of SCP
 - c. A District level Monitory Committee
 - d. District Planning Board
 - e. Panchayats with 40% above SC population to prepare development plan for SCs
 5. Fixing accountability and responsibility
 - a. Officers are given identity
 - b. Awards and rewards are placed in spot
 6. The elected members (MLAs, MPs and MLCs) are to interact with SCs

The above points largely tell about human element necessary for the implementation of welfare policy meant for the SCs. There is a need of involvement of legislative members and administrative officials to implement the decision taken. Since there is an absence of obligatory or voluntary action the SCP remains a stand-still exercise. There are at least two important reasons for prevalence of such a kind of stalemate: (a) conflicts within SC community, (b) Weakness of the SC leaders.

- a. It has been alluded in the beginning to the fact that the MRPS is agitating for categorization of SC into ABCDs for the purpose of the reservations in education

and employment. This proposal has led to division of SCs into blocks of loggerheaded groups on caste lines. While the Madiga community demanding the categorization of SCs, the Mala community has vehemently opposed such categorization. Both the communities continuously engaged in organizing meeting, mobilizing people etc., the government has also added fuel to the fire by bringing out a government order by categorizing the SCs into ABCD. Instead, the government should have thought about a suitable solution for the issue which involved in personal emotions, political interests and so on so as to defuse tensions. Debates and discussions should have been held at different levels according to the democratic principles and mechanisms in place. It rather tried to exploit the situation in the sense that by watering over the acrimonious situation it did not take up the matter of SCP and development of SCs as the leaders of the latter were basically engaged in the conflicts. They spent all their time and energy to win over the other than concerning their development by interacting with the government machinery.

- b. The second reason for the apathy of the government or stand still situation concerning SCP is that SC MLAs, MPs, MLCs are so weak that they could not question their party leaders whether it is their government or not. Their strength in the Assembly or Council or Parliament or any other democratic institution their voices need support of the non-SC/STs and their proposals are to be vetted by others. Since the SC/ST development has not been the main concern of the non-SC/ST members they shown lukewarm attitude or also gave only lip service. Further, the SC/ST leaders are more interested in their personal gains such obtaining party ticket in next elections or a position in the government as Chairperson or a Deputy Chairperson, or a member of an institution or committee etc. unless they are good books in the party leadership they will not be able to get what they wanted. In this situation raising questions on SCP or functioning of the government with reference to the SCP, if not liked by the leaders, they kept quiet. They largely followed their non-SC/ST leaders meekly for their personal gains rather than meeting the interests or demands or the poor SCs in the villages or urban areas. They must have focussed on certain individual SCs to get their problems solved or get some personal benefit. Thus, the general welfare and development of the large mass has been neglected. The majority of SCs who are

illiterate and ignorant of the SCP have not been able to make use of the SCP benefits either through mobilization of masses or by individual efforts.

Conclusion:

The State appointed State's Cabinet Sub-Committee has worked for almost two years to review the status of both SCP implementation and the status of socio-economic conditions of SCs. It has submitted the report to the government of Andhra Pradesh with observations and recommendations for the policy considerations.

Though the Cabinet Sub-Committee is appeared to have worked very hard to make a report for the comprehensive understanding on the status of SCP as well as on the socio-economic status of the SCs in Andhra Pradesh, the points it made in the report are not unknown to general public. The problems identified are very general in nature and almost all the points it raised in its report are already raised in different occasions in the past. It has been observed that the Committee has depended too much on already available surveys and available secondary data when it supposed to make all fresh survey.

The Committee has missed stressing on what exactly has to be done at the capillary level. It only considered how the policy can be implemented more seriously and it has fixed accountably. Here the notable point is that the Committee has taken the existing policy as a whole as granted because nowhere it tried to evaluate the compatibility and effectiveness of the policy to the local of existing conditions of SCP.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTINGS OF SCs AT THE CAPILLARIES IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Introduction

The previous chapter has examined the self-reflection of the government on the implementation and outcome of the SCP. This chapter envisages examining the conditions of SCs in the villages of Andhra Pradesh as observed by anthropologists in their studies published in village monographs or thesis. These studies provide the scenarios of SCs at different points of time and they also represent scenarios at different geographical locations of the combined state of Andhra Pradesh. These are compared with the two villages i.e., Pasarlupudilanka and Unagatla where the present study is carried for field observation of SCP implementation. The comparison that cuts across the space and time reveals the fact that the condition of the SCs remains the same with a marginal difference in quantitative terms from the past to the present with reference to the implementation of the SCP. The relative backwardness of the SCs compared to the upper castes is the unchanging situation everywhere.

A welfare policy can be considered successful only when it is well conceived properly planned and ensured inclusion of local people. These should be reflected not only in the policy document but also get translated into proper execution systematic administration with accountability and transparency so that the intended goals could be achieved within the specified time and space. Most importantly, its success can be reassured only when the target group or a beneficiary at the bottom is able to realize the policy goals envisioned through specific programmes and schemes within a specific period of time. An evaluation of the impact of welfare policy engages one to compare socio-economic conditions of the target-group before and after the implementation of policy and programmes. So, the gap between the set policy goals and the socio-economic conditions of the target group inform the success of a policy. It can be said as, less the gap between before and after the implementation of the policy better the policy, and wider the gap less impact of the policy, which needs to be critically examined for the reasons of its failure.

In the light of the above, the success of the Special Component Plan must be examined. The document¹ of SCP mandates that the programmes and schemes implemented under the policy shall aim to improve the socio-economic conditions of SCs to that extent that the SCs would as good as the other privileged social groups in the country. This Chapter aims to present the actual living conditions of the Scheduled Castes that are believed to have been affected by the programmes and schemes implemented under the policy at the capillaries. This helps understand net result of the impact of SCP on SCs and also the efficiency of the programmes and the schemes in relation to the needs of the people.

In this context, it is appropriate to elaborate the meaning of the word ‘capillary’ which usually means small tube or tapered end of a large passage. The word here implies, at this moment, a collective human settlement, village. As regards to geography, it is larger than a hamlet and smaller than a town and usually referred to as village and rural area. The state’s administration culminates at this end. It is either inhabited by a single-caste or several castes; but, mostly we find multi-caste villages. The co-inhabitation of different caste groups over several years resulted in a complex network of social, economic and political relations. Types of these relations structured in the caste system that gives the larger picture of Indian society. Therefore, an understanding of these networks and relations is vital to understand the Indian society in which SCs form an important component of it. Several scholars from sociology and anthropology have studied villages for a long time to conceptualise the reality of Indian society and SCs in it.

Hence, for the present research, village is taken as a unit to analyse the socio-economic conditions of SCs not only because of the above mentioned reasons but also for other reasons. Village has been backbone for Indian economy through agricultural practices. This is plausibly due to accessibility of fertile land in the rural areas and availability of unskilled labour. Despite increasing influence of technology and rapid urbanisation the importance of village in economic, political and social systems has not been diminished. However, the Indian social scenario is becoming more complex than before. Since the SCs largely depend on agriculture for their living and agricultural work is available in rural areas, they mostly live in villages. They can be found in almost every village in India. According to 2011 census, 18.5 percent of rural population is SC population which is 153850562. This means that out of 166635700 total SC population in India, 92.3

¹Published by Planning Commission, Government of India in 2006

percent is living in rural areas and majority of which is dependent on agricultural labour. Therefore, considering village as a unit of study is appropriate in this context. Two villages viz., Pasarlapudilanka from East Godavari District and Unagatla from West Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh are selected for the present intensive study purposively.

However, it is needless to say that these two villages neither represent all villages of Andhra Pradesh nor reflect the conditions of Dalits in the state due to regional variations. Therefore, few studies which have been published or submitted as theses that represent different regions are briefly reviewed here so as to represent the situations at different time periods and locations. It is believed this endeavour help examine the SCs in a diachronic perspective. A comparison of these villages focussing on SCs enable us to find if there is any change due to SCP which was implemented since 1980. The village studies under review include S.C. Dube's (1955) Shamirpet, Paul Heibert's (1971) Konduru (1968), Sudhakar Rao's (1998) Anthatipuram, Ravikiran's (2009) Kothagudem, Kranthi Kumar's (2013) Karavadi and Virabhadrapuram and Bhim Reddy's (2014), Chennaram.

Shamirpet

Dube (1955) has studied a village called Shamirpet which is around 25 kilometres away from the present Telangana state's capital, Hyderabad. Muslims and Hindus, two contrasting religious groups, are the main inhabitants of the village. The village once was under Nizam rulers and administered by Muslim authorities. However, after 1948, as the Nizam surrendered his Hyderabad state to Indian Union, and gradually the Muslim domination slowly diminished and the caste Hindus began to claim their superiority in society, if not in terms of economic and political orders. According to 1951 census there were 508 houses with the total population of 2494 out of which 1434 were clean castes, 680 were Untouchables or Scheduled Castes and 340 were Muslims. The Hindus of Shamirpet were classified in to three main divisions i.e., 1. Cultivators i.e., Reddy and Kapu. 2. Occupational castes which are associated with traditional crafts and professions and considered as clean castes i.e., Brahmin, Komati, Kummari, Golla, Wadla, Kammari, Ausula, Kase and Kanchari. Besides these, there were also Sale, Gaondla, Sakali, Mangali, Vaddar, and Erkala; although they were slightly different from the above

mentioned clean caste, they were also considered as clean castes. 3. Depressed classes, Mala and Madiga were considered as impure castes.

Dube explains the village organisation through family, caste units, and inter-caste and inter-village relations. Family is an exogamous unit with socio-economic and religious affairs controlled at the individual level. Head of the household will organise these affairs with the help of other family members. The Hindu social system divides society on the basis of caste hierarchy. The *varna* system divides the society into five groups. The first three are Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas who are considered as twice born and they have the right to undergo upanayana, a ceremony in which they wear a sacred thread. The fourth group consists of numerous occupational castes. The fifth group is composed of untouchable castes.

Among the Hindu castes the Brahmin holds the highest office, the priest. As a priest he conducts ceremonies on demand for all castes except for Vaddar, Erkala, Pichha-Kuntla, Mala and Madiga. However, the priest accepts invitations from these castes at the time of agricultural operations, marriage ceremonies etc. All the caste people seek his guidance for identifying auspicious days and times as he is expert in astrological calculations, and all accept food from his hand. But the priest will not accept food from other than his caste fellows. The Komati who are generally traders, shop-keepers and money-lenders are next to the Brahmins. All castes except Brahmins accept food from their hands. But they do not take food from those lower than their social position. Reddy, Kapu, Kummari and Golla castes are equal in their social status. Though each one is an endogamous group, they inter-dine. On the next level Sale and Gaondla who claim the same position and endogamous but do not inter-dine. They accept food from those higher than their rank. The similar practice exists among Sakali and Mangali. Panch Brahma group is a unique group, the members of which neither accept the food from any caste nor is their food accepted by any other caste.

The economic system of Shamirpet is found in the functional specialization and interdependency of castes. For example, agriculture is the specialization of Kapu. Trading is Komati's specialization. Similarly, priesthood is always associated with Brahmins. Kummari does pottery; Mangali is a Barber for the villagers and Sakali washes clothes of the agriculturalists and others. Madiga deals with the carcass, skinning and leather works. Though these castes mainly depend on their traditional specialization,

they also undertake agriculture work, especially, at times of high demand during rainy season. However, there are four major types of castes related to economic dealings found in the village. One, obligations to provide services to agriculturalists which have direct link to their agricultural activity. For example, the carpenter repairs the agricultural implements of the agriculturalist whenever needed, particularly, before the beginning of the agricultural activity every year. In return he gets payment twice a year at the time of harvest. Two, there are obligations to provide services to agriculturalists as well as to others which have link to the socio-economic life. For example, barber, washer man, carpenter, potter and Madiga have definite functions during lifecycle rituals as well as during other occasions. Three, there are obligated to provide services to other service castes. For example, Barber provides services to the male members of weaver's family in return he will get a piece of cloth or a sari to his wife etc. Fourth, there are obligations to provide services with an expectation of cash payment in return. For example, Barber only provides his services to the visitor to the village on the basis of cash payment. Dube says that most of the service caste men provide their services on the basis of the fourth category.

The total cultivable land available in Shamirpet village is 3,765 acres out of which 3,000 acres are cultivated by the villagers themselves. Dube has divided the land holdings into four parts in the village. In the first quarter, a Reddi family holds 800 acres of land. In the second quarter, eight families comprising Muslim and Reddi castes hold 100 acres of land. In the third quarter, twenty families comprising Reddis, Brahmins, Komatis, Toddy Tappers, Shepherds, Muslims, Mala and Madiga hold 40 acres of land, in which 40 percent of land again is held by Reddi community. In the fourth quarter, 160 families comprising several families belonging to different castes hold just five acres of land. Hence, Reddi community as an agricultural community provides work for all the villagers and it requires service caste men from different castes to provide service. The Untouchables i.e., Mala and Madiga mainly are agricultural labourers and are dependent on the Reddi community for their livelihood. Besides this, Madiga also provides services like removing carcass, providing drums and pipes during religious ceremonies.

Dube explains the stereotypes about each caste. Brahmin is a pious from outside, but not so at heart; Komati is a born coward; Kapu are hardworking people; Kummari lives in his world of earthen pots; Golla is a butt of many cruel jokes; Sale are symbolized as

cowardice; Gaondla marked as when he is poor he works; but when he amasses his head turns and leans to speak the urban language. Sakali as a washerman cannot maintain himself clean. Though the status of Mangali is not high everybody bows their heads at him. The Mala and Madiga will be rude if you are gentle with them, and will be gentle if you are rude to them. Kick him first and then ask him to do a thing, a Madiga will never refuse. Ask him to do something in soft words and he will have a thousand excuses ready. The existence of stereotypes explains the popular considerations towards different castes in the village.

Konduru

Hiebert (1971) has studied Konduru which is located 160 km away in the south from Hyderabad in the state of present Telangana. The social life in the village circulates around trade, cultural, religion and administration activities. The complexity of the village life can be understood from the narratives on the societal categories, social groups, status and power, networks, panchayat, rituals and the change in the village. The societal categories through which people are bound by the consciousness of the kind, is a mental image of their social order. This means that the members of these categories not necessarily have face-to-face interaction, or share same geographical boundary, but they are aware of the commonality in their identity, traits or characteristics. Caste and religion are such societal categories. He differentiates caste and class; as in caste, unlike in class, individual mobility is nearly impossible, but there are exceptions. Sometimes, castes ranks are region specific i.e., same caste may rank high in one region low in another region. Caste also was differentiated with tribe in terms of relationships with other people. Tribe is an independent group with territorial monopoly and has an egalitarian outlook and lack of economic specialization, whereas caste is heterogeneous society with other castes in the same territory as distinct subculture.

In Konduru, thirty Hindu castes that are grouped under including four overarching categories of Varna; Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. Each caste itself forms a caste community and all together forms the village community. They perform their duties according to their rank in the caste hierarchy, except the defiling jobs. Heibert uses transactional analysis of food and water for ranking the castes. The highest rank belongs to three Brahman castes i.e., Smarthulu, Ayyavaru and Niyogi, and their members claim hereditary rights to provide religious services. There are two other castes

i.e., Tambalas and Nambis, who have religious functions but their Brahmin status is not acknowledged in the village. Kshatriya who are ranked second do not live in Konduru, except a few visitors from surrounding areas. Vaishyas who stand in third rank in the varna ladder are present as Komati caste. Panchalas, known as Vishwa Brahmins, who though claim themselves superior to the Brahmins are never accepted by the villagers. Velama, Reddy, Kama, and Kapu castes are of Shudra varna. They live with other castes, in contrast to the Untouchables who live separate from Shudras.

The Untouchables, also called as Harijan, Castes are considered ritually polluting castes. Their occupations are weaving and leatherwork and these are the two main Harijan castes and both of these have a set of sub-castes. Hiebert calls tribes as marginal castes which include Chenchu, and Lambadi. Transient castes who are beggars and frequent visitors to perform as entertainers, genealogists, priests, magicians, soothsayers, mendicants, herbal doctors and many more. There are Muslim as well in the village.

In Konduru status and power of men is closely related to the concepts of purity and pollution. These concepts are applied to physical contact, sexual contact and food and water. Though the practice of pollution is not much seen in public places like market, school and buses, it is seen at temples and houses of higher castes. Harijans are attached to those which are considered as defiling activities like dealing with dead bodies, eating meat, consuming strong drinks etc. Hence, certain occasions like food exchange they are looked down and not welcomed by the upper castes. Owning a well is a status symbol. Each community has their own well and wealthy families possess their private wells. Due to low and impure status of Harijans are not allowed to take water from public wells or they are asked to choose different timings where the drawing job is over for the other caste people. In Konduru men and groups pursue their goals through effective mobilization and use of social power. Social power can be obtained through wealth, offices of both the types i.e., hereditary (purohitha, a religious leader) and acquired (land revenue officer, for example). Those who have power has unlimited access to the resources in the village and they control the social life. Those who do not possess the power, has very limited or no access to resources and controlled by the powerful. In Konduru, Upper castes of Hindu varna have power as they possess agricultural land and occupied religious and government offices where as Harijans are not so, and therefore the later are always controlled by powerful men and groups. However, at times of

conflict with another group which seeks to grab the power to sustain power these power holding group will make alliance with inferior groups. For example, in Konduru, Brahmins made alliance with Washermen and Leatherworkers whereas Reddis made alliance with Harijans.

Hiebert says, the jajmani system in Konduru is based on the relation between land owner or jajman and service caste men. An upper caste jajman maintains economic, social and ritual relations with his workers or service caste men. If the jajman is from lower caste the relations between jajman and his workers are just economic relation. In Konduru caste wise total landholding is more for Harijans when compared to any other caste. However, the average landholding is more among Brahmins followed by Reddis, and it is least among the Harijans. The average landholdings for Bahmins is 38.3 acres whereas it is 8.5 for weavers i.e., Mala and 4.9 acre for leatherworkers i.e., Madiga who constitute the Harijan community.

A Reddi jajman requires services of washermen, barber, leatherworker, ironsmith, carpenter, potter, field labourers and priest. Each service is provided by a specific caste man and no other. Washerman provides his services throughout the year. However, his services are called with special importance at times of birth, marriage and death ceremonies. He visits the jajman's house to collect soiled clothes and takes them to stream to wash and returns them. However, it is not the same in case of Harijans, as they have to bring clothes and soak them before washerman treats them. There are two types of jajman relations in Konduru i.e., 1. Introverted jajmani network 2. Extended jajmani networks. In the former network, a jajman has a group of his caste men who exclusively provide services to their master and to the other caste men in their group, while in the later network jajman is served by caste men from different castes and each caste man serves different masters. Trespassing the rules in the jajmani relations often cause tension. For example, in Konduru a Harijan boy who learned barbering work and provide the same to his caste man raised tension between Harijans and barbers where Harijans say, 'if barber cannot provide his service to us then we will have our own barber'. At the same time, Reddi community warns barber discontinuing of their services to Reddies in case they provide services to the Harijans. Finally Harijans have their own caste man as their Barber in the village.

The study clearly shows the dominance of the upper caste, which is also land owning caste, on every other caste in the village. Reddis and Brahmins use economic and religious dominance to mould other castes in order to gain political control in the village.

Anthatipuram

Sudhakar Rao (1998) provides a vivid pictures of operation of power, and resistance among caste, gender and age groups in Anthatipuram (pseudo name) located in Pottisriramulu or Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh, where mica mining and agriculture are the major economic bases. The village consists of twenty one castes distributed in 475 households, besides, Muslim (16) and Christian (3) minorities. The castes present in the village include i.e., Kammas (69 households), who are politically, economically and religiously dominant group in the village. In addition, Brahmin (6) (priests), Reddy (12) (cultivators), Velama (2) (cultivator) and Vaisya (3) (traders) are other dominant caste groups. The lower castes include Kamsali (7) (smiths), Jangam (3) (priests for Shivites) Balija (36) (agriculture labour), Gowda (10) (toddy tappers and labour), Golla (18) (shepherd), Sale (7) (weaver), Gandla (1) (oil presser), Vadde (28) (stone cutter), Kalavanthulu (1) (dancer), Mutharachi (1) (labour), Dudekula (15) (cotton carder), Chakali (7) (washerman) and Mangali (3) (barber). Besides, there are Untouchable castes i.e., Madiga (106) (leather workers), Mala (47) (agriculture labour), and Vettimala (11) (grave diggers) who together form one third of the total population of the village. Besides these castes there are Scheduled Tribes, Yanadi (61) and Erukala (2), also in the village.

To understand the organisation of the village it is important to understand the caste dominance in the village. Brahmins and Kammas are two dominant caste groups in the village. They share political, economic and ritual role relationships in organizing the affairs in the village. Brahmins occupy two important offices in the village i.e., one, the religious office of priest. Two, the secular office of Karanam. As a priest he is given importance to perform ritual services at the times of festivals and life cycle ceremonies of members of all castes. Harijans are excluded from these services. However, Harijans have their own priest called guruvu (a man of Balija caste) who often visits them. Karanam, as a secular office holder, maintains the village land records, land registration, collection of annul rents, and maintains law and order under Tahsildar and District Collector.

Kamma caste is the most powerful in the village as they are numerically and economically strong. Majority of lands are in the hands of Kamma community. They are the centre of the jajmani relations in the village. Though, there are twenty three castes in the village only six castes render services to the Kammas. They are Brahmins, Kamsalis, Chakali, Mangali, Vetti Malas and Madigas. Rao says, the jajmani relations are different from North Indian type with respect to barbers and washermen as their services are contractual and are renewed every year. The services of Brahmin are permanent. Though the family shifted to Guduru town the services are offered whenever required by the villagers. The mode of payment to all the services is no more restricted to grains but yearly cash payment for the service offered yearly or as soon as the service was over. Now they are paid with an option of monthly and in cash, besides gains. Except Brahmins, all the services castes also serve Untouchable.

The total landholding in the village is 771.95 acres of which 54.1 percent belongs to Kamma households. The average landholding comes to be 6.2 acres. In case of the Scheduled Castes the percentage of land holding is 4.0 acres in the total landholding of the village. The average landholding of the Scheduled Castes is 0.6 acres. The literacy rate in the village is 45.9 percent.

Large chunk of agricultural landholdings by Kammas required them to employ cheap labour to operate it. Employing cheap labour not only gave them huge profits but also created a situation of dependence of large number of labourer on Kamma land owners for their daily wage work. Though the labourers are from different castes, majority of them are from landless Harijans community. The economic power of Kamma benefitted in form of dependency of labourer on them and ultimately gave a way to manipulating capacity in social, political spaces in the village. However, due to introduction of Mica mining majority of the landless Harijans labourers preferred to work in mining sites as loaders, factory workers and surface workers. The change of occupation from agricultural labourers to mining workers is due to partly personal choice and landlessness and partly availability of labour in mining thorough out the year. They preferred to work in Mica mines for maximising their daily earnings by taking up extra work as contractual labour, and also there is considerable absence of caste discrimination. Further it is considered comfort work compared to agriculture. However, the workers are not out of exploitation and domination from the owners in terms of making them work more in less

time, not fully providing compulsory welfare measures, sexual abuse of female workers etc.

Dry climatic conditions and increased in labour charges and due to the competition created by the mica mining the practice of agriculture became non-profitable enterprise. Adding to this, charcoal making has become an alternative source of living. The emulative effect is that the operated area under agriculture has drastically shrunken. Due to shortage of the rainfall, before mining, rich landlords depended on open wells as source of water for irrigation besides tank. This dependence on open wells created more job opportunities for leatherworkers as drawing water from well as huge leather bags and ropes were required. Dry weather for long duration due to shortfall of rains also affected the cattle rearing as there is no grass to feed them. Consequently, the post of village servant, whose job is to take care of the cattle, is abandoned. The types of crops also changed from paddy, *jowar* and bajra to tobacco and lemon, where less workforce and less water resources are required. The practice of *kamathalu*, the traditional patron and servant relation, also has been terminated.

The mobility in occupation from traditional agricultural workers to industrial workers has affected the social relations with respect to Harijans and high castes in the village as mentioned above. However, the caste hierarchy still can be seen in the form of rituals during which caste roles, rights and duties of various castes particularly the Harijans are defined and formalized.

Kothagudem

Runjala Ravikiran² has studied Kothagudem village in 2009, in West Godavari district, which is located at a distance of 20 kilometres from Eluru town, the headquarters of West Godavari district. The narrations of folk tales of the village reveal that the village was originally inhabited by Dalits and the non-Dalits moved in and settled here some years ago on the land donated by a woman called Sithamma. The two hamlets inhabited by Mala castes are called Koreppalli and Sithampeta. Besides these two castes, the other castes that inhabit the Kothagudem village include: Brahmin, Kamma, Kapu, Vaishya, Gouda, Kurma, Mangali, Kamsali, Kautlu, Salilu, Padmasalilu, Uppara and Sri Saina.

²Runjala, R. (2009). Social networks and social Exclusion: A case study of Dalits in multi-caste of West Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh. (Master of Philosophy Dissertation). Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy. University of Hyderabad: Hyderabad.

The Scheduled Tribe that lives is Yerukala. The total population of the village is 1995, of which the Kapu are in majority (28.3%), followed by Mala (24%), Gouda (13%) and Yerukala (0.4%). While the total literacy of the village is 71.73 percent, the literacy among the Mala is 71.72. While most of the Kamma, Kapu and Guda families live in pucca and semi-pucca houses, the Mala lives in Kutcha houses which speaks of the economic status of the Malas.

The village is in two locations: Kothagudem and Thota. In each location the castes inhabiting are viewed as unmarked classes in a vertical hierarchy. The superior class includes: Kamma, Kapu, Brahmin and Vaisya. The middle class includes: Gouda, Kurma, Mangali, Kamsali, Kautlu, Salilu, Padmasalilu, Uppara and Sri Saina. The lower class includes: Mala and Yerukala.

Out of 1228 acres of land in the village 35.6 % of it is possessed by the Kapu, and 32 % by Kamma, and the remaining is shared by the rest of the castes. The castes such as Thurupukapu, Chakali, Sri Saina and Muslim do not possess any land though the Mala have some land but very meagre (5.1%). Even among those who possessed land, it is not equally divided among them rather one has 120 acres and another 60, yet another 40 etc. Thus, there is unequal possession of land, and a few households of Kapu, Kamma and Gouda are landless. The land is mainly irrigated by bore-wells.

Runjala states that on the basis of landholdings, there are two kinds of relations: dependency on own caste people and dependency on other caste people. He says, “Generally Kamma, Kapu and Gouda are first to have economic inter-dependency with their own caste people. In this situation some people from upper castes who are landless depend on the land holders of their own cast. The remaining castes are depending on these land holding households for wages and financial assistance. The landholding farmers are locally called as *rytes*” (p 42-43). Since Kamma and Kapu possess large chunk of land they directly and indirectly control other castes in Kothagudem village. The other important livelihood practice in the village is masonry which is mainly practiced by Kapu and Sri Saina castes, and there are small trading activities taken up Kamma, Kapu and Gouda caste members which are called non-agricultural livelihood practices. Five Kamma and four Kapus are employed in IT industries.

The leadership in the village can be noted at three levels: kin, caste and political party. In each kin group there is a leader who is a well-wisher, advisor, and councillor, and there are few leaders in each caste. The social networks among the non-Dalits are based on kinship, caste and friendship. Kinship is though within the caste the relations are stronger among the consanguine and affinal relations and these take precedence over the caste relations. The one's own caste relations take priority vis-à-vis other caste. The friendship takes precedence over an unknown or someone with whom there are only formal or informal relations. In these social networks sometimes economic relations are superimposed.

In case of Dalits, besides the above network social relations they maintain distinct economic relations with other castes particularly with the Kamma and Kapu. Most of the Mala are since landless they depend on land owning castes as daily wage labourers, permanent wage labour, and renters. They are wage labourers for the Mala landowners, but they are not permanent wagger labour and renters. The other caste land owners keep the Mala labour when the latter are found trustworthy and reliable. Such of them are institutionalized as *paleru – rYTE* institution. A Mala is employed as *parelu* on certain fixed wages and payment in kind for a year which is renewable every year. In the subsequent year the terms may be renewed or new terms may be fixed. The Kamma and Kapu landlords have been renting lands to Malas for generations due to their mutual relations and reliability for long time. New relations also develop when a Mala continues to depend on a particular landlord and this result in the landlord's benevolence of renting a piece of land to the Mala.

As wage labour Malas developed an informal institution called *mutta* to organize themselves as voluntary association. There are several *muttas* in the village, and each *mutta* has a leader called *mestry* who is an experienced and skilled worker under whose direction a novice works. The *mestry* undertakes a work either in the agricultural field or house construction or any other on contract for certain amount from which he/she pays wages to the workers. Thus, the economic-relations appear between the *mestry* and workers and also between the *mestry* and the landlord. The workers are not directly related to the landlord. The social interaction in terms of residence indicates that the lower castes do not mind residing next to the upper castes besides preferring their own caste. But the upper castes never like to associate themselves with the lower castes. No

caste or tribe is willing to live along with the Malas. Runjala concludes, “From the above discussion, it is clear that caste plays a significant role in the village Kothagudem. It is as rigid as it was with regard to the practice of untouchability” (p 84). The social relations among the individuals are based on the need of fulfilling economic, political, and religious necessities. Caste though determines the social status it also plays appropriate role in social discourse. Kamma, Kapu and Gouda that are economically better off and political leaders that emerged from these castes. These are channels to connect the villagers with the political elites of the state both Congress and Telugu Desam Party. These castes send their children to private schools that provide quality education, and their children are able to secure jobs as engineers in software companies and other coveted jobs. The lower castes and Malas send their children to government schools and mostly work in agricultural fields. Several of these children are drop-outs of the school. The non-Dalits have established social networks outside the village in Eluru town and other places, but the lower castes particularly Mala do not have exposure outside the village. The Kamma and Kapus are the central nodes of social networks, the low castes and Malas connect themselves at the margins of these networks. The latter depend on the central nodes to get connected outside the village. The study concludes that the “social exclusion of Dalits means not only living away from the non-Dalits but also economic exclusion. The economic exclusion is leading to political exclusion also. Therefore, Dalits are not only socially excluded but also economically and politically. It may finally be said that without economic inclusion, political and social inclusion will be impossible.” (p 96).

Karavadi and Veerabhadrapuram

Kranthi Kumar Chikkala (2013) provides an ethnographic account of Karavadi village in Prakasam District where the cultivation of tobacco, a market or commercial crop, has brought changes in the social relationship between the Dalits and non-Dalit castes in the village. This village is contrasted with another village called Veerabhadrapuram in the same district for methodological purpose. While Karavadi represents the tobacco village with less food crops, the latter is non-tobacco village and where more food crops are grown than commercial crops. Other than these the rest of the features in these two village are almost the same in terms of population, castes, religion and development activities etc. The details of these village are the following in brief.

Karavadi: The village is spread out in nine distinct areas. The central location of the area is called Uuru which is inhabited by upper caste households Brhamin, Kamma, and Kamsali and lower caste households of Mangali and Vadde. Muslims also live in the same locality. The rest of the areas are the extensions of the Uur, but each of the area is inhabited by one single caste households. These are: Madigapalli, Malapalli, Yanadi Sangham, Reddypalem, Gollapalem, Chakalipalem, Kammapalem and Balijapalem. Thus, the households are segregated not only caste but also by residential localities. One is easily identified with caste and locality. The total population of the village is 4,225 distributed in 1,239 households of 21 castes. The highest population is from Malas (43.3 %) followed by Kamma (16.1%) and Madiga (13.4%). Thus, the Dalits constitute 56.7 % percent of the village. About 96% of the households are nuclear in structural composition.

Most of the houses are concrete made, and while new house has a kitchen, bedroom and drawing room, the old houses do not have separate drawing room. A number of houses have two rooms only. Most of the houses do not have attached toilets, so they go outside the house into the fields or road side to attend the natural calls. A distinct feature of the village unlike several others is about the drinking water facility. Since 1980 all the villagers draw water from the same single well located in the village. One reason for such uniqueness is non-availability of potable water in and around the village except in agricultural wells. Another important reason is the presence of Communist Party cadres who committed to the party ideology and fight against the practice of untouchability on the basis of human equality.

About 2, 233 (90.1%) of the villagers are directly dependent on agriculture and allied pursuits, and the rest pursue non-agricultural occupations. Out of 4035 acres of total land, 2, 607 acres (64.6 %) belongs to Kammas, and 441 acres (10.9%) to Reddys and only 536 acres (13.7 %) and 37 acres (0.9%) are in possession of Malas and Madigas respectively. Thus, though the Dalits constitute 56.7 % population, they possess 14.6 % of the land in the village. About 82.8 % of the cultivated land is dry and rain fed which is used for tobacco cultivation. While the average land holding of Kamma households is 12.9 acres, the Mala and Madiga hold about 1.0 and 0.1 acres respectively. They thrive mainly as agricultural labourers. The government provided the Dalits 150 acres of waste

land but most of it has been illegally sold away for real-estate businessmen and it was not fit for cultivation.

Karavadi is a major panchayat with 14 wards. The important point to be noted here is that during the term of 1995-2001 a Dalit was elected to the position of Sarpanch with the support of Communist Party of India which is very unusual for the Dalits are restricted to SC-reserved Panchayats only. The Malas and Madigas are strong supporters of the Community Party whereas others support of either Telugu Desam Party (TDP) or Congress (I) or Community Party. However, since 2001 the TDP has strong hold in the village.

The inter-caste relations in the village are somewhat different from other villages. As mentioned earlier, the untouchability that regulates the caste relations particularly with reference to Dalits is not strong since all of them draw water from the same well. Further, the Washermen wash clothes for all castes including the Dalits. The Brahmin provides the services to the Hindu Malas. The upper castes do attend to the feasts arranged by the Dalits on the occasions of wedding, and the Dalits also attend to the wedding feasts of the upper castes and the food is offered to them as in case of other castes without discrimination. However, a few Malas provide funeral services to the upper castes and a few Madigas remove carcasses of dead animals and work on the leather for making footwear.

Veerabhadrapuram: This village is 80 kilometres away from Ongole on the western side of the district. The houses in the village are clustered on either side of the road that connects with Yerragondapalem which is at 10 kilometres away and a village called Kolukula. A little away from the main village where all upper castes such as Reddy, Kamma, Vaisya, Baliya, Chakali, Mangalai, Yadava and Muslims resides, Mala and Madiga live. The village is very tradition bound with old houses with poor drainage system. Since there are no attached toilet facility in any of the houses, all of them use open spaces for attending to natural calls. Cooking is done usually outside the house in an open space in the courtyard. They use agricultural well for drawing drinking water. The Mala and Madiga use two separate agricultural wells located on the north-east and west of the village. Though the government has constructed three overhead tanks for supplying water through pipes, but the water is inadequate for all the residents, hence they depend on agricultural wells.

The total population of the village is 3,640 which is distributed in 16 castes and Muslims. Madigas, 446 households, form the main population of the village (44.5%), followed by Kammas, 159 households (15.7 %) and Malas, 103 households (10.6%). The inhabitants of 2,347 constitute the total workers of which the cultivators are 500 (20.5%) and 1847 (75.8%) agriculture labour. There is a strong association between the caste and traditional occupation in the village.

The village is a separate Panchayat with 12 wards. Since 1953, a person of Reddy caste got elected as Sarpanch except for a term in 1958 and a woman in 1985 as it was reserved for woman. Thus, Reddys have been the political leaders of the village who enjoy great respect. While the Reddy, Balija, Telaga, and Kamma castes pursue agriculture as their main occupation, the Mala and Madiga provide agriculture labour in the village, besides the funeral services and leather work respectively. As the Washermen wash clothes, the Mangalis provide the services of barber and Kamsali offer the services of smithy and carpentry. The villagers grow cotton, chilli and sunflower as commercial crops and jowar as food crop. In Veerabhadrapuram the institution of *jeetha* has a significant role to play in the lives of the Dalits and Reddy and Kamma landlords. About 30 households of Reddy and Kamma caste employ one or two farm servants from the castes of Mala or Madiga in this institution of *jeetha* for a period one year. The village Veerbhadrapuram represents the traditional village while Karavadi, a village in transition. In the farmer, the practice of untouchability, traditional occupational role relationships, and the traditional outlook characterize the village. In the latter there is absence of untouchability, individualistic life, and impact of modernity and market.

Chikkala (*ibid*) attributes the factors of change to the tobacco cultivation that provides employment throughout the year and the Communist ideology. It has been argued that tobacco cultivation accompanied industry has transformed the villages, and the case of Karadi is typical. Tobacco gave higher wages to the labour, employment throughout the year, and imparted new skills which enabled the labourers to grow in their own lands whatever be the size of the land that helped earning more than any other traditional crop. Further, the political consciousness brought by Communist Party has benefitted the labour widening their political knowledge. They formed into labour unions to demand higher wages. Further, an institution of labour agency called *mutah* in which a few workers form an association of contract who bargain collectively with their help of their

leader on behalf of the workers. Further, the new skills of tobacco helped some Dalits to migrate to Karnataka and other places where tobacco is introduced. Using their skills there some Dalits labourers are able to increase their incomes which helped purchase lands in Karavadi village. In the last few years out 69 Dalit landholders of Karavadi 40 of them bought land while 10 households inherited some pieces of land. But in Veerabhadrapurm only 10 households inherited lands and none of them brought any land. While 7 households of Karavdi got the benefit of land through government scheme, 12 households of Veerabhadrapuram got such benefit. The economic benefits accrued are well reflected in Karavadi in terms of house structures, material possessions – furniture, agricultural implements, livestock and other possessions. . Karavadi has locational advantage; as it is located closer to Ongole town where they have access to educational and health institutions. However, the improved economy helped sending their children to schools within the village and outside also to either government institutions or private where there are residential arrangements. The establishment of schools by some Christian agencies also helped the Dalits sending their children to their schools. Some of them have become engineers, doctors, lawyers, police, teachers etc. But in Veerabhadram such educational change did not take place. The Dalits in Karavadi could witness occupational change through generations, but in Veerabhadrapuram the traditional life continues for generations.

The cumulative effect of education, employment, higher incomes and ideological change has enabled the Dalits of Karavadi village to have an impact on the traditional life at Karavadi. They could claim equal status with all castes, and others also could acknowledge their economic status and this gave way for breaking the traditional suffocating inter caste relations. The study makes it amply clear that economic change with tobacco and accompanied industrial relations with the emergence or appropriation of social equalitarian approach and empowerment facilitated by the Communist Party of India has brought unprecedented changes in the social relations of the village. The role of government in bringing such change is marginal. The government schemes such as land distribution, providing educational facilities, and scholarships etc., implemented in Veerabhadrapurma could not bring any perceptible change in the lives of Dalits.

Chennaram

Bhim Reddy (2014)³ has studied Chennaram village. The village (a pseudonym) located Maahbubnagar district, 40 kilometres away from the district headquarter, Mahbubnagar. It is a Gram Panchayat of single village with a population of 1,311 distributed in 230 households according to the survey by Reddy in 2006.

The total 230 households by caste include: SC households belong to Madiga (52) and Bainla (15), ST household - one, OBC households belong to Telugu (37), Sakali (17), Golla (27), Vodde (3), Kummari (2), Pinjari (1), Vodla (2), Jangam (1), Goud (7), Komati (2) and OC households belong to Reddy (63). The scheduled castes constitute 31.73 percent of the population with 67 households, the OBC's constitute 42.3 percent with 97 households and OCs constitute 25.93 percent with 63 households. Among them the 40.89 percent SC and ST 39.8 OBC and 65.1 percent OC are literate. The percentage of literate who achieved beyond the Intermediate among the SC is three percent, OBC one percent and OC nine percent.

Madigas are traditional leather workers who also played dappu (drum) on the occasions of marriages, funerals and rituals which is considered a menial job. But with the decline of traditional occupation this practice is withering away. They are also engaged another menial job i.e., digging grave for all castes. The tradition which is weaning has engaged some Madiga families to be clients to the Reddy families for which they are paid grain during harvest. The men were to dispose of dead cattle, dig graves apart from agricultural work for which they were paid separately. The Madiga women were to collect the dung of the cattle and clean the cattle shed and clean the surroundings of the house on every day. Earlier three Madiga households provided unpaid labour called *yetti* in lieu of rent free land. Earlier several of the Madiga were engaged by the Reddy families for *jeetham or gaasam* (annual wage labour) who normally worked against loan taken by the farmer towards marriage of self or children. But today there is only one young man in the village as *jeethagadu*. Bainla Madiga claim superior status to Madiga who are priests at the marriage and ceremonies of Madigas and also priests to Maisamma and Yellamma deities who are worshipped as the village deities by Reddys and others. Both the castes are basically wage workers.

³ Labouring in and away from the village: A study of labour, circulation and agrarian change. Bhim Reddy 2004.

The two households of the Reddys of the village had 250 acres four generations ago. These were holding the positions of Police Patel and Malipatel that enjoyed the adjudicatory powers and maintenance of law and order in the village. But today due to the population dynamics, sub-divisions of land, devolution, inheritance and transfer by selling of land etc., one of them has one and half acres, a couple of them are having 29 and 25 acres maximum and several of them are having a few acres of land. Several of them seasonally migrate to other towns such as Mumbai, Pune, and Hyderabad to earn by non-agricultural activities. However, two of them are contenders of political parties, one for Telugu Desam and the other for Congress, and thus continue to hang on political power and economic power as their economic position is better than other though diminished as in case of others.

The material conditions of the households in Chennaram shows that while 62 (95 percent) Reddy households are having electric supply, 75 (77 percent) OBC and 46 (68 percent) SC households are having electric supply. As 44 (68 percent) Reddy households are having drinking facility only one SC family has this facility and 29 (30 percent) OBC households have drinking water facility. In case of houses, 63 (99 percent) Reddys have *pucca* houses, 55 (81 percent) SC households have *pucca* houses and 13 (19 percent) have kutchha houses. The case of OBCs is same as that of the SCs. While 48 (22 percent) Reddys live in one room houses 26 (38 percent) SCs live in such houses and OBCs live in 18 (20 percent) of such houses. Though 22 (34 percent) Reddys live in three room houses, OBC and SC live in such houses in the proportion of 13 (15 percent) and 5 (7 percent) respectively in such type of houses.

When it comes to land distribution across the castes in the village, the Reddys own 51.5 percent of the total area with an average size holding of 6.75 percent. The OBC households hold 32.17 percent of the area with an average size holding of 2.84 percent, and the SCs hold 15.5 percent area and the average size holding is 1.97 percent. Bhim Reddy gives the details about how the Police Patel household who once held 300 acres of land as *deshmukh* or so in erstwhile Nizam state lost everything by selling off of land in course of time and the Mali Patel who was able to sustain but sub-divisions of land among the children brought the landholding to small sizes for the individual households. This is true in all cases. The analysis further shows that while several Reddys sold land due to unviable agriculture landholding and adverse climatic conditions and draughts,

loss of ground water etc., some OBCs and a few SCs were able to buy the lands of the Reddys. The above scenario presents the current position with loss and gain of land by different castes in Chennaram village.

The agricultural lands of Chennaram village depended on rains, and the village has a tank to provide irrigation facility for two crops. But failure of rain the tank irrigation has made 58 percent of agricultural land non-profitable. Then people tried to exploit the ground water with bore-wells. But even the bore-wells did not help much with the depletion of ground water. Some bore-wells became irreparable. The cumulative effect of all this is that agriculture has become unviable livelihood practice in the village either for the Reddy or others.

Out of 795 workers in Chennaram, 236 i.e., 30 percent belongs to SC category while OC and OBC are in proportion of 209 (26 percent) and 350 (44 percent) respectively. Among the SC only 4 percent constitutes cultivators, 33 percent cultivators cum agriculture labour and the remaining 62 percent is non-agricultural labourers. In case of OBC 9 percent is cultivators, 25 percent cultivators cum agricultural labour and 66 percent is non-agricultural labour. Among the OC, 31 percent is cultivators, 28 percent agriculture and agricultural labour and 59 percent is non-agricultural labour.

The situation in Chennaram points to the changing trend of occupational pattern in Andhra and Telangana villages and also change in rural agricultural practices. As mentioned above, the agriculture has become non-remunerative compared to non-agricultural activities and agriculture has become non-profitable. The study makes it clear that the villagers, all castes, have been temporarily migrating to Mumbai, Nasik, Pune, Hyderabad and other places and taking up non-agricultural works which include construction work, working in tea-shops, grocery shops, flower weeding etc. Some of the land owners sold away unviable landholding and some others rented out their land. In majority of the cases the non-agricultural savings made in migration to urban areas are utilized in agriculture in the villages. Since the incomes in the urban areas are more and also savings accumulated by frugal practices, some SC households were able to rent land of the OCs and few could even buy the lands. Despite this improved purchasing capability as shown above the average landholding of the SC remains lowest in the village.

The failure of agriculture to hold the villagers together in interdependencies has resulted in independence of the villagers. As the SC and OBC landless or small holders of land migrated to urban areas as they did not find enough earnings in the villages, the demand for labour has increased in the village, and the farmers have to struggle to find labour and increase the wages, and thus the farming became more capital intensive, but the crop yields are not remunerative. So, the options are to leave the land fallow or rent out or even sold out. The SC and OBC are not able to rent these lands and invest their earnings of the urban areas. In the changes situation, the institutions of *jeetham* or annual labour have become uncommon phenomenon. Since migration is more common among men, the feminization of farming has taken place with the help of old members of the household.

Pasarlupudilanka

The village is located in the East Godavari in Andhra Pradesh. As one approaches to the village Pasarlupudilanka from north, one can see from a distance across the river, a beautiful green landscape that was formed by hundreds and thousands of coconut trees and limited its boundaries by a river called Vainateyam⁴ flowing under the bridge and through the full length of the green landscape. It traverses approximately 17kilometres until it falls into the Bay of Bengal. (See Plate 6). In the middle of this green beautiful landscape lays the village Pasarlupudilanka. Near the village besides the bridge on the bank of the river, men can be found at work unloading sand and soil from boats and loading them into trucks and bullock carts. The village is connected by a bridge, over the river, to the north, to reduce the travelling time and distance up to a considerable extent to reach Amalapuram, a famous urban centre for the surrounding rural areas within the radius of fifteen to twenty kilometres. One has to travel down 17kilometres from Amalapuram to reach the village. Similarly, at a distance of seven kilometres on the south, another urban centre called Mamidikuduru is located, which is the Mandal headquarter within which revenue jurisdiction the village falls. These two urban centres are connected by National Highway 214. The same highway plays a crucial role in two ways for the villagers. One, the highway is the only connecting point with the rest of the world for the villagers. However, villagers have to travel three kilometres to reach the highway where a road from the village converges with the highway. They named this

⁴A sub-branch of Vasista Godavari which is again one of the two main branches of river Godavari.

place as Chintamma centre. The centre was named after the village goddess Chintamma who is believed to have been protecting the villagers. Two, transporting coconuts from the village to urban market of Amalapuram is crucial in order to earn profits. In this respect the bridge that connects Amalapuram side of the river is a profit earner for the coconut farmers. Previously, when there was no bridge, travelling to Amalapuram used to be costly and tiresome as either they had to take boat to cross the river or travel by Mamidikuduru road which is a two and half hour long journey. After the construction of bridge, the travelling time is drastically cut down to 15 to 20 minutes. Due to the presence of the bridge, crossing the river by boat has become a history for the villagers. Now the boats are no more a means of transport for the villagers, instead they use them for, if any, transporting sand and soil, and fish. The highway is important not only for business people but also for other villagers who visit Amalapuram for shopping, watching movies, college education and so on. There are regular RTC buses and auto services available for commuting to the urban centres.

The Pasarlapudilanka villagers and travellers from surrounding villages especially from Pasarlapudi village⁵ regularly visit Chintamma centre which is about a kilometre away from the bridge. As large number of people constantly visit the centre for travelling and other purposes, there mushroomed several petty shops either side of the road at this centre. Presently, two small tiffin centres, a hotel, a tea shop, two cold drink shops, a barbershop, a cycle repair shop include in this list. Besides, a carpenter's workshop, recently opened Canara Bank, a temple and an auto stand came into existence. Some of the Pasarlapudilanka villagers are working as auto drivers who take passengers to and fro between Chintamma centre and Pasarlapudilanka village and they transport men and materials, often, to the other places as well.

There are three ways to reach the village from the highway. One, from Chintamma centre road, which is considered as the main road of the village. This road leads to the central location of the village where gram panchayat office, co-operative bank, Chintamma temple, a water tank and weekly market place are located. Two, a mud road that starts right from the ending of the bridge and runs along the river bank into the rear side of the village. This road runs through coconut and banana farms and takes first to the houses of fishermen, SCs and then to the main part of the village. Between these

⁵Pasarlapudi village is a major panchayat located on the highway, is often confused by strangers with the study village Pasarlapudilanka which is three kilometers interior to the highway.

two roads there is another road which runs through thickly planted coconut farms and runs through the houses of BC community, Brahmins and then to the centre of the village. Taking a walk on this road can be a pleasant experience for the nature lovers. However, this road is mostly used by farmers and cattle tenders.

As one enters the village, taking any one of these three roads, can observe rich flora and predominantly flourishing coconut farms spread all over that place. A random presence of banana, mango, jack fruit, *peepul*, and tamarind trees within the coconut farms also can be observed. Besides, there are, small patches of paddy fields in and around the village, and ponds and irrigation canals. Many houses are located either in the middle of coconut farm or surrounded by few trees. With its picturesque appearance the village is potential to become an eco-tourist spot (See Plate 1 & 2). The climatic condition of the village is similar to that of a typical costal Andhra village. It has very humid climate throughout the year as the location of the village is close to the Bay of Bengal, and river Vainateyam. In addition to this, the area around the village is occupied by many small irrigation and drinking water canals as well as aquaculture ponds. Maximum and minimum annual temperatures of the village are approximately between 45° and 20° Celsius. The annual rainfall fluctuates generally between 30mm to 45mm.

Demography of the Village:

When one proceeds half a kilometre from the entrance of the village to the village centre, can find a few huts on either side of the road followed by aquaculture ponds, two petty grocery shops owned by BC community, a series of semi-pucca houses of SC families and three very grand mansions of Komati community. It is a multi-caste village with few households of a tribe. These castes are categorized in official terminology as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Backward Class (BCs) and Open Category (OC). Each caste is again divided into sub-castes. There are in total 12 such sub-castes in the village. The caste wise sub-castes include SC – Mala and Madiga; BC – Agnikulakshetra or Markad (Fisherman), Chakali, Kummari, Mangali, Settibalija and Vishwabrahmin; OC – Kapu, Komati, Brahmin, Kshatriya. Besides these castes and sub-castes, a very small number of tribal population, who are identified themselves as Yerukala are also inhabiting as a tiny clusters in the village. There are 1093 households with the total population of 3752 inhabiting in the village. However, Kapu caste is the major group in the village in terms of numbers. The Kapu community with 1120 members constitutes approximately 29

percent of the total village population. Mala, a sub-caste of SC community, stands as the second numerically largest community in the village. It constitutes approximately 21 percent of total population of the village, which is 798 persons. SCs as a community i.e., Mala and Madiga sub-castes together, constitute approximately 22 percent of the total population in the village. The Table 3.1 shows the details of population in Pasarlapudilanka village.

Table 3.1: Caste Wise Population of Pasarlapudilanka Village

Sl. No.	Category	Population	%	No. of H.H
1	Kapu	1120	29	306
2	Mala	798	21	235
3	Settibalija	782	20	230
4	Komati	375	9.9	175
5	Brahmin	157	4.1	35
6	Yerukala	145	3.8	32
7	Chakali	125	3.3	27
8	Kummari	74	1.9	15
9	Markad	58	1.5	12
10	Kshatriya	45	1.1	10
11	Mangali	29	0.7	6
12	Madiga	23	0.6	5
13	Vishwabrahmin	21	0.5	5
TOTAL		3752	100	1093

Source: Records of the Pasarlapudilanka Village Panchayat

Settibalija caste is the third dominant caste according to the numerical strength. The Komati caste stands after these above three castes. Though the Komati caste is not numerically strong, it is the most powerful group in the village when considered from economic point of view. Majority of the landholdings in and around the village is held by this particular caste members. The detailed caste wise land holdings in Pasarlapudilanka village are shown in Chart 3.1.

The arrangement of places of habitation in Pasarlapudilanka represents a typical Indian village. It means that the village structure and the habitations of the caste groups within the village depicts a kind of hierarchical order which is similar to the caste hierarchy, a unique traditional character of a typical Indian village when compared to any other village in the world. To explain: the village is divided into few parts and each part is inhabited by the household members of a particular caste group. The habitations of these caste groups are arranged in an order which is similar to that of the caste hierarchy. The entrance and considerably the prominent part of the village is occupied by two dominant

castes of the village i.e., Komati and Kapu community members. This place is considered by the villagers as prominent because the government offices are all located in this part of the village. This place also has the direct connection to the national highway by which there is easy access to outside world. The adjacent part to the prominent part of the village is occupied by the habitations of the Settibalija as they are considered as the next prominent caste group in the village. Next to the Settibalija households all the other castes, except SC/ST, are located without a clear division among themselves. The far exterior part of the village is left to the deprived castes i.e., Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, the eastern part of the village is occupied by the Brahmin households without any particular order with reference to the other caste groups in the village (See Map 1).

The place where the Komati and Kapu caste households are located is also the most happening place in the village. The place is considered as an important place in the village because the village Panchayat, village revenue office, village co-operative society, temple of the village goddess and village market place are located in this area. So, the decisions taken at this place is considered legitimate. For example; a resolution for a conflict between two persons or between two groups is considered as legitimate only when it is resolved at this particular place. This is so for two reasons i.e., one, the temple of the village goddess Kondamma is located in this place which means for them it is a holy place. They believe that in holy place no one should do wrong or bad things, lest incur the curse of the deity. Two, it is a place where dominant caste people, government officials and elders in the village usually spend their time and so they are easily available at the place.

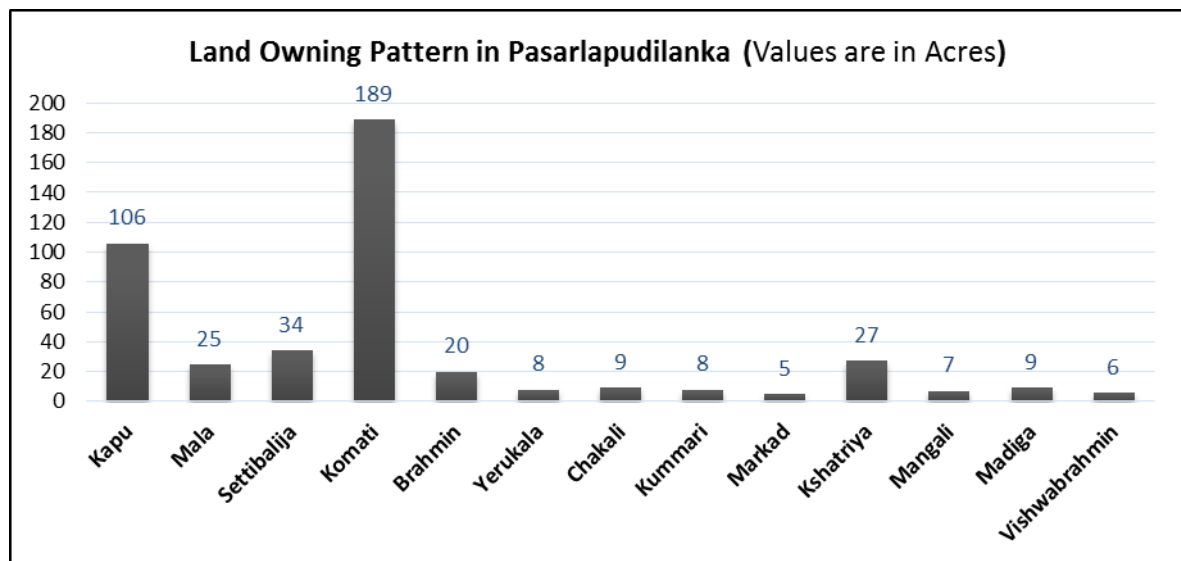
Socio-Economic Conditions of the Inhabitants

Since the climatic and geographic conditions favour the coconut farming in the area, life in the Pasarlupudilanka village is bound to revolve around coconut farming. They see coconut as an important component in many occasions of their lives. Coconut sometimes is not just a mere economic element but it has got its own cultural meaning in certain occasions of the villagers' lives. The importance of the coconut can be seen especially at the time of religious ceremonies. For instance, visiting the village goddess Kondamma temple without a coconut is considered incomplete. It is one of the main offerings of devotees to the goddess. Its importance can also be seen in the normal life as well. For

example; at the time of puberty function of a girl and at the time of wedding, to mention a few, they use the coconut because they consider the coconut as a symbol of auspiciousness and completeness. Besides this, the coconut water is served as a welcome drink to the visiting guests especially in summer season. It is observed that the unpeeled dry coconuts are used to decorate the courtyard of the houses that are believed to avert evil eye that befall on the household members. Hence, coconut is not just a mere economic item, but it goes with cultural value, sentiment, a sign of honour, a symbol for completeness and it is part of their culture.

Considering all of these, owning a coconut farm in Pasarlapudilanka not only makes a person rich but also enhances his ability to meet the cultural expectations. After all, what makes a culture functional is that the ability to meet the cultural expectations. To meet these expectations one needs to perform certain rituals. Performing rituals is not possible without using or consuming culturally significant material goods. These culturally significant material goods are again cost effective; this means that in Pasarlapudilanka those who have money are considered as better performers of their culture. So, such individuals are given more respect than those who are not good performers of the culture. Since most of the lands in and around the village are filled with coconut estates and these coconut estates belong to the Komati and Kapu caste members, they have emerged as strong and rich communities in the Pasarlapudilanka village. The Chart 3.1 shows the statistical presentation of the caste-wise landholdings in the village.

Chart 3.1: Caste Wise Landholdings in Pasarlapudilanka Village.



Source: Village Revenue Records of Pasarlapudilanka Village.

It is very clear from Chart 3.1 at the first look itself that the land owning pattern among the caste groups in Pasarlapudilanka village is quite uneven. There is a caste with the land holdings beyond its population percentage and a caste with hardly one percent land holdings. Nevertheless, as per the village revenue records the total land owned by the villagers across the castes is approximately 453 acres. The landholding pattern presented in the Chart 3.1 shows the cultivable land but did not include the land that comes under the residential area. However, a mere look at the above Chart 3.1 is not sufficient to understand how exactly the land owning pattern is in the Pasarlapudilanka village. Hence, it is necessary to compare and analyse the size of the land that is owned by a particular caste group with its population size. For example; Kapu caste is, as shown in the Table 3.1, numerically largest community in the village. Its percentage in the total village population is 29. Considering the population percentage of the Kapu caste, the amount of land that the caste members hold i.e., 106 acres which is approximately 23 percent of the total landholdings by the villagers, is nearly equal to the community's population size. Though the Komati caste is not so strong numerically it is the second highest land owning community when considered land holdings altogether. But, when the landholdings considered in association with the caste wise population as shown in the Table 3.1, it is the richest community in the village. At the same time the second numerically largest caste, SC i.e., including Mala and Madiga, holds only one percent of the land in the total land holdings of the villagers and when it is compared with the population size of the community it remains as the poorest community in the village. The situation among the SCs in the Pasarlapudilanka village with respect to the possession of the property prevails more or less the same regardless the government's effort to create a permanent property for the SCs through SCP.

Since Komati and Kapu castes, as per the Chart 3.1, hold major chunk of the land, they have become economically strong, and the most influencing castes in the village politics as well as the overall progress and development of the village. For instance, the maximum number of village panchayat presidents or sarpanches so far came from these two communities only. Few SC respondents replied, when asked about what is their criteria to vote for a person in elections, they said that they do not enjoy free choice rather they are forced by the Komati and Kapu castes to vote for a particular person. This is because of their dependency on the Komati and Kapu, the land owners for

employment. Whatever the land owners suggest they have to obey. Here it is a kind of relation persisting in the village between the land owning community and the SCs i.e., employer and employee or master and servant. So, it is clear that so far the SCs cannot think and go beyond the livelihood that they have in the village i.e., work related to coconut farming. They are not yet economically free. The primary occupation of SCs which is well known through the ages has not changed much. The Table 3.2 presents the occupational structure among different caste in the Pasarlapudilanka village.

Table3.2: Caste Wise Occupation Details of the Pasarlapudilanka Village.

Name Of The Caste	T. HH*	Farmers	Agricultural Labour	Daily Wage Labour	Shopkeeper	Trader/ Business	Jobholders	Others*
2015								
Kapu	30	12	00	00	03	09	06	00
Mala	24	00	15	07	00	00	02	00
Settibaliya	23	05	01	00	10	04	03	00
Komati	17	07	00	00	05	05	00	00
Brahmin	03	01	00	00	00	00	02	00
Yerukala	03	00	02	01	00	00	00	00
Chakali	02	00	01	01	00	00	00	00
Kummari	02	01	00	00	00	00	00	01
Markad	02	00	00	00	00	00	00	02
Kshatriya	02	02	00	00	00	00	00	00
Mangali	02	00	01	00	00	00	00	01
Madiga	02	00	01	01	00	00	00	00
Vishwabrahmin	02	01	00	00	00	00	01	00
TOTAL	114	29	21	10	18	18	14	04

Note*: T.HH - Total Households., Others – including Drivers of vehicles (i.e. tractor, lorry, and auto rickshaw) and Caste associated occupations (i.e. barber, potter, fisherman and purohit)

According to Table 3.2 the agricultural labourers are mostly from the SC communities i.e., Mala and Madiga. Being coconut farm owners, Komati and Kapu caste members of Pasrlapudilanka village usually make money from every product of the coconut i.e., coconut water, dry coconut, coconut fibre ropes, coconut mats and coconut brooms. For example; one acre of coconut trees can produce approximately ten thousand coconuts or more in a season and each dried coconut costs Rs. 10 to 15. Which means in each coconut season a coconut-estate owner earns approximately between Rs. 1,00,000 to 1,50,000 per acre for dried coconuts alone. One of the respondents (a member of Kapu community, who is not the richest in the village) is having 15 acres of coconut estate in and around the village. Besides this, he also earns from other aforementioned products as

well, among which the coconut mats and the coconut fibre ropes and threads are even costlier than the coconut itself.

Besides this, the poor people in the village who largely belong to SC and ST communities and a small number of Backward Class members also fall in this category. They mainly depend on daily wages. The daily wage works are offered work by the Komati and Kapu land owners. There are a variety of daily wage works available in the village i.e., coconut plucking, peeling off the fibre around the shell, transportation of coconut, coconut broom making and coconut rope making etc. All these works are generated from the yields of the coconut trees. The wages are very low and are not fixed. The wages fluctuate between Rs.100 to Rs. 200 per day and varies between men and women. As these wages are not sufficient to plan a decent life, they live only on hand to mouth economy. However, the coconut related work is not available throughout the year.

In the off season, it is usual for the workers who belong to SC community to do household works of the land owners on demand. In return the workers get food and a very little amount of money as a payment. However, the majority of the other caste members are not daily wage labourers like SCs or STs. They either work as government employees or petty shopkeepers who are running their shops at Mamidikuduru (which is a Head Quarter of the Mandal) or working as assistants in shops or as small farmers.

Table 3.3: Caste Wise Statistics of Annual Income in Pasarlapudilanka Village

Name Of The Caste	T. H.H	Less than 25000	25000 to 50000	50000 to 100000	100000 to 500000	More than 500000
Kapu	30	--	--	12	12	06
Mala	24	02	14	06	02	--
Settibaliya	23	--	09	03	10	01
Komati	17	--	--	--	05	12
Brahmin	03	--	--	01	02	--
Yerukala	03	01	02	--	--	--
Chakali	02	--	02	--	--	--
Kummari	02	--	02	--	--	--
Markad	02	--	02	--	--	--
Kshatriya	02	--	--	01	01	--
Mangali	02	--	02	--	--	--
Madiga	02	--	01	01	--	--
Vishwabrahmin	02	--	--	02	--	--
TOTAL	114	03	34	26	32	19

The Table 3.3 shows that the income levels in the Pasarlapudilanka village are spread between two extreme points i.e., a caste group earns more than five lack rupees in a year

on the one hand where as another caste group earns less than twenty five thousand rupees per year on the other hand. These economic disparities between the caste groups in the village leveraged a caste group to be dominant and left another caste group vulnerable.

To understand how their dominance in the village and village development activities affected, one should have a look at the distribution of the common facilities of the village, besides many other things, among the different castes in the village. For example; the Panchayat provides drinking water facility from a water tank which is located in the middle of the village. Only few houses in the village are given water tap connection leaving majority of the houses aside without water tap connection within which majority of them are SCs (See Table 3.4).

A survey was conducted in the village to know about status of SCs in comparison with the other caste groups in the village. The survey covered few important aspects with which their socio-economic status could be measured i.e., distribution of common minimum facilities, literacy, house type, occupation and income. Respondents from all the castes are elected for the purpose. The selection of the respondents is based on stratified sampling method and then systematic sampling in each strata. The sample size has been fixed at 10 percent of the total households in each strata i.e., caste group. However, the samples are not always exactly the 10 percent; in some cases it is more or less. Since the objective is to know the socio-economic status of the SC community in the village, more emphasis is given to selecting the respondents from the community. The criteria for the selection of respondents from SC community has been that the respondents are one or the other way included as a beneficiary in a programme or a scheme that is considered or counted under the SCP at the District level.

The common facilities that are covered in the survey include water tap connection, CC roads, drainage and streetlights. Table 3.4 presents the data on the availability of the above mentioned common facilities among different caste members in the village.

Table 3.4: Distribution of Common Minimum Facilities in the Village

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	Total H.H	Water Tap	CC Roads	Drainage	Streetlights
1	Kapu	30	30	30	30	30
2	Mala	24	05	14	14	20
3	Settibalija	23	20	22	22	23
4	Komati	17	17	17	17	17
5	Brahmin	03	03	03	03	03
6	Yerukala	03	01	03	03	03
7	Chakali	02	01	02	02	02
8	Kummari	02	01	02	02	02
9	Markad	02	-	02	02	02
10	Kshatriya	02	02	02	02	02
11	Mangali	02	-	-	-	02
12	Madiga	02	-	-	-	-
13	Vishwabrahmin	02	02	02	02	02
TOTAL		114	82	99	99	108

Table 3.4 shows that the SC community persons are lacking or are not equally benefited with the above mentioned common facilities when compared to the other castes in the village. This fact reveals that there caste wise inequality in terms of distribution of common facilities is prevalent in the village. A respondent, who has shared his opinion about the distribution of common facilities in the village said ‘Those who know the government officials could only get things done in the village. If you want to have a water tap connection in the village it is not just enough to belong to the Pasarlapudilanka village; but you should also know and maintain a personal relation with those who are looking after the village administration’. This is because, the distribution of the common facilities in the village are found to be based on maintenance of personal relations with the village officials as well as with Kapu and Komati community members in the village. For a person belonging to SC community maintaining a personal relation with these two caste group members is always depended on accepting their decisions in the village administration and political matters and obeying the orders on certain social and religious occasions. For example, the Kapu caste, which is the second richest and most populous caste in the village, wanted to defeat the Komati caste leader in the last panchayat elections. The Komati caste is not dominant in terms of population but it is a game-player when it comes to the mass mobilization in the village which is very important for the electoral purposes. Komati caste has always maintained good relations with the SCs as these people are the main labour source in the village. The relation it maintained with the SCs is master and servant relation. This relation emerged because SCs always rely on the daily wage work and the work is provided by the Komati land

owners as they are the largest land owning community in the village. Since the SCs constitute the second largest community in terms of population in the village, they have become the key factor during the village elections. So, defeating a Komati caste leader in the village elections is not so easy for the Kapu caste leader.

Further, the SC community has always been left behind when it comes to their advancement, especially in the case of literacy. The Table 3.5 show the literacy details in the village. Thus, the village politics are inherently related to economy and numerical strengths of castes. It is paradoxical that the power of the numerical strength at the time of elections quickly evaporates after the elections. The voters do not use their numerical strength to put any pressure on the leaders to meet their needs or grievances after the elections. They wait for next elections with new demands.

Table 3.5: Caste-wise Literacy Statistics of the Pasarlupudilanka Village Population

Sl. No.	Category	No. of Respondents	Total No. of Literates M/F	% of Literates M/F	No. of Males	Literates Among Males	% of Literacy Among Males	No. of Females	Lit. Among Females	Female Lit. %	Lit % of Caste
1	Kapu	30	30	100	18	18	100	12	12	100	32.23
2	Mala	24	15	62.5	14	08	57.1	10	07	70	16.12
3	Settibalija	23	20	86.9	11	11	100	12	09	75	21.50
4	Komati	17	17	100	09	09	100	08	08	100	18.27
5	Brahmin	03	03	100	03	03	100	--	--	--	03.22
6	Yerukala	03	01	33.3	02	01	50.0	01	--	--	1.07
7	Chakali	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07
8	Kummari	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07
9	Markad	02	--	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--
10	Kshatriya	02	02	100	02	02	100	--	--	--	2.15
11	Mangali	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07
12	Madiga	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07
13	Vishwabrahmin	02	01	50.0	01	01	100	01	--	--	1.07
TOTAL		114	93	81.5	70	57	81.4	44	36	81.8	100

The Table 3.5 presents a comparison of literacy status of SC community with all the other castes in the village. It is obvious with the literacy rate of SC community is very low. One of the reasons why the literacy rate among the SCs in the village is very low is the poverty i.e., either inability to send their children to schools or lack of awareness about the importance of the education. Nevertheless, both the reasons in many ways are related to their poor economic condition.

It is not very different in the case of housing facility in the village. The SCs are excluded even in this regard. This can be understood with a glance at the housing facility among different castes in the village. The caste wise house type details are as follows.

Table 3.6: Caste -Wise Details of the House Type in Pasarlapudilanka

Year	2015				
	Name Of The Caste	Total No. of H.H	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Kutchha
	Kapu	30	28	02	-
	Mala	24	05	09	10
	Settibalija	23	10	13	-
	Komati	17	17	-	-
	Brahmin	03	02	01	-
	Yerukala	03	-	02	01
	Chakali	02	-	02	-
	Kummari	02	01	01	-
	Markad	02	-	01	01
	Kshatriya	02	01	01	-
	Mangali	02	-	02	-
	Madiga	02	-	02	-
	Vishwabrahmin	02	01	01	-
	TOTAL	114	65	37	12

From the Table 3.6 it can be noticed that the pucca house with the walls constructed with cement and bricks and with the concrete roof stands out at the top. The semi-pucca houses with the walls constructed with cement and bricks and non-concrete roof, are very few. The kutchha houses with mud walls or other materials but not with bricks and cement and with the roof constructed either with the coconut fronds or other material but not with the concrete materials are less than the pucca houses. The Table 3.6 shows that in Pasarlapudilanka the SCs lag behind compared to any other caste with reference to the pucca houses. None of the Komati, Brahmin, Kamma, Kshatriya, Chakali and Mangali even lived in kutchha houses.

Unagatla

Geography of the Village

Unagatla village in West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh is located little interior to the highway between Nidadavole and Chagallu (See Map 2). The village is well-

connected by roadway to the above said major urban centres which are seven and two kilometres away respectively. It falls under the revenue jurisdiction of Chagallu Mandal. The village is surrounded partly by coconut and eucalyptus trees, and partly by paddy fields. Unlike the Pasarlapudilanka, Unagatla is located little far away from the river Godavari (See Map - 2). Most of the roads within the village are cemented and some roads do connect houses of SCs while the rest are mud roads. The climate of the village is very similar to the typical coastal climate in Andhra Pradesh. Generally, the climate is very humid throughout the year. Maximum and minimum temperatures of this region fall approximately between 45° and 20° Celsius. The annual rainfall fluctuates between 30mm to 45mm.

Demography of the Village

According to 2011 census the total households in the village are 1225 and the total population is 4666. Unagatla is a multi-ethnic village. The population comprises of 19 caste groups viz., Goundla, Kapu, Kamma, Golla, Mala, Brahmin, Uppara, Chakali, Komati, Setty Balija, Senapathi, Dommara, Madiga, Teli, Kamsali, Mangali, Yerukala and Kummari. The total SC population in the village (combining Mala and Madiga) comprises 654 persons which means that the SC population in the total village population is approximately 14 percent. The detailed population statics of the village is given in the Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: The Population Statistics of Unagatla Village.

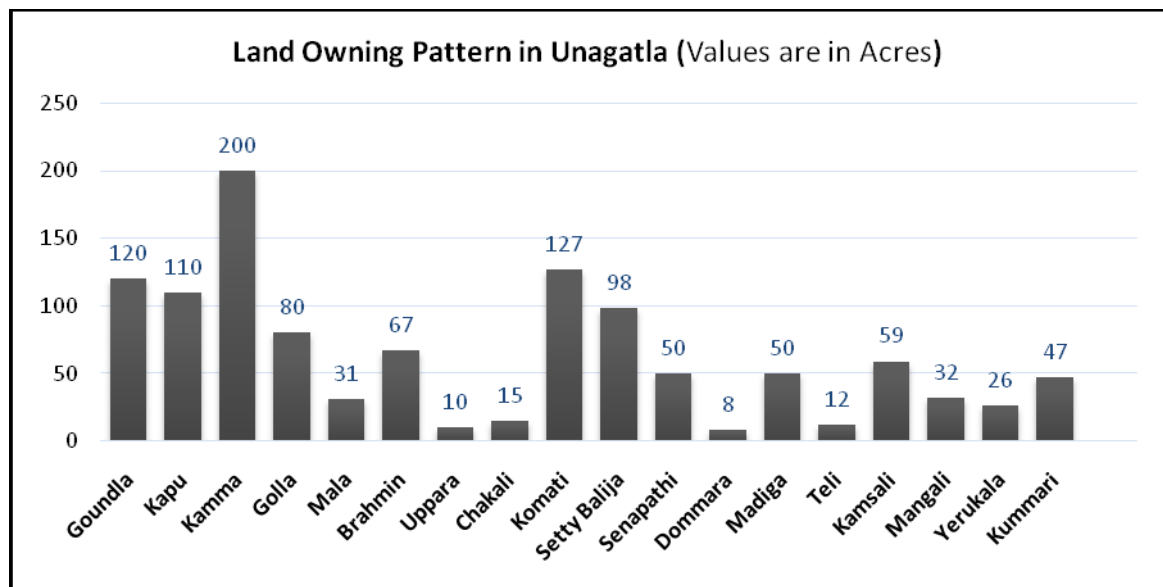
Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	Population	%*	No. HH*
1	Goundla	711	15.23	201
2	Kapu	685	14.68	135
3	Kamma	380	8.14	112
4	Golla	270	5.78	64
5	Mala	186	4.00	48
6	Brahmin	120	2.57	33
7	Uppara	240	5.14	63
8	Chakali	116	3.55	51
9	Komati	142	3.04	43
10	Setty Balija	143	3.06	53
11	Senapathi	152	3.25	40
12	Dommara	123	2.63	33
13	Madiga	468	10.03	110
14	Teli	116	2.48	32
15	Kamsali	226	4.84	55
16	Mangali	215	4.60	53
17	Yerukala	148	3.17	41
18	Kummari	225	4.82	58
TOTAL		4666	100	1225

The Table 3.7 shows that the Goundla caste is the largest community numerically in the village. SCs, unlike in Pasarlapudilanka, are not numerically strong but remained as the third numerically largest community.

Most of the SCs are still relying on agriculture related works. Some of them are working as daily wage labourers. The education levels among SCs is still lower when compared to the other caste groups in the village. However, a look at the statistics of socio-economic conditions of SCs in the village indicate this point. They are as follows.

Socio-Economic Conditions of Inhabitants

Chart 3.2: The Land Owning Pattern in Unagatla Village



Source: Village Revenue Records of Unagatla Village

The Chart 3.2 shows that the total land available in the village is about 1149 acres. Kamma caste is the largest landholding community in the village. It possess about 17.4 percent of the total village landholdings, which is more than two folds to their population in the village (see Table 3.7). On the other hand, SCs (Mala 2.67% + Madiga 4.35 percent) share the landholding of about seven percent which is about four percent less than their population percentage (see Table 3.7). The facts given above show that the land holdings and population of castes do not correspond. . So, the population size is not a determining factor when considered economic dominance in the village. The economically well off caste even if its population is small it can dominate the inferior

castes. This is true in case of Unagatla. For example, a look at the distribution of the common minimum facilities in the village explains this.

For this purpose, information was collected through a survey covering ten percent of households in the village i.e., 120 respondents, each representing a household. The respondents are from all the castes. The respondents are drawn from stratified random sampling method. However, care is taken that the respondents belonging to SC are beneficiaries at least in one scheme or programme of SCP. The common minimum facilities that include water tap, CC road, drainage and streetlights are as shown in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8: Distribution of Common Minimum Facilities in Unagatla Village

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	T. H.H*	Water Tap	CC Road	Drainage	Streetlights
1	Goundla	17	17	17	17	17
2	Kapu	16	16	16	16	14
3	Kamma	06	06	06	06	06
4	Golla	07	07	06	06	07
5	Mala	05	02	03	03	05
6	Brahmin	05	04	04	04	05
7	Uppara	05	02	02	02	05
8	Chakali	06	03	06	06	06
9	Komati	06	03	06	06	06
10	Setty Balija	05	05	05	05	05
11	Senapathi	05	04	04	04	05
12	Dommarra	05	02	04	04	05
13	Madiga	10	04	05	05	10
14	Teli	04	02	04	04	04
15	Kamsali	05	03	04	04	05
16	Mangali	04	02	03	03	04
17	Yerukala	04	01	02	02	04
18	Kummari	05	03	05	05	05
TOTAL		120	86	102	102	120

Note: T.H.H = Total number of households.

The Table 3.8 shows that the common minimum facilities are not equally distributed among different caste groups. It shows that, those who have better landholdings have better common minimum facilities in the village. For example: Goundla, Kapu, Kamma and Settibalija have the better landholdings when compared to other caste groups in the village. Consequently, almost all the respondents belonging to these caste groups have full access to all the aforementioned common minimum facilities. The Table 3.9 shows the caste-wise occupation details of the residents of Unagatla village.

Table 3.9: Caste Wise Occupational Statistics of the Village

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	No. of H.H	Agri. Labour	Farmers	Shopkeeper	Petty Business	Jobholders	Others*
1	Goundla	17	01	05	04	05	02	--
2	Kapu	16	--	05	01	04	06	--
3	Kamma	06	--	04	--	--	02	--
4	Golla	07	01	02	--	--	02	02
5	Mala	05	03	--	--	--	01	01
6	Brahmin	05	--	--	--	--	03	02
7	Uppara	05	03	--	--	--	--	02
8	Chakali	06	03	01	--	--	--	02
9	Komati	06	--	01	04	01	--	--
10	Setty Balija	05	--	02	--	--	01	02
11	Senapathi	05	--	01	--	02	01	01
12	Dommara	05	03	--	--	--	--	02
13	Madiga	10	06	--	--	--	02	02
14	Teli	04	01	--	--	--	--	03
15	Kamsali	05	--	01	02	01	--	01
16	Mangali	04	01	--	02	--	--	01
17	Yerukala	04	03	--	--	--	--	01
18	Kummari	05	01	01	--	01	01	01
	TOTAL	120	26	23	13	14	21	23

Note: Others – including Drivers of vehicles (i.e. tractor, lorry, and auto rickshaw) and Caste associated occupations (i.e. barber, potter, fisherman and purohit)

As mentioned before the respondents having more landholding i.e., from the castes of Goundla, Kapu, Kamma and Setty Balija have indicated agriculture as their main stay more than the other castes. The less landholding communities, especially SCs, remained as agricultural labour. In fact they constitute (including Mala, 3 and Madiga, 6 together) the largest agricultural labour community in the village. The Table 3.9 shows that out of 26 total agricultural labour 9 are from SCs community, which is 31 percent. “Being an agricultural labour one can only earn for sustaining everyday life, future savings are a myth” – one of the respondents opined when asked about their economic condition.

Few landholdings and low paid occupations form the characteristic features of the SCs in Unagatla who earn less incomes. The Table 3.10 shows the caste wise income details in the village.

Table 3.10: Caste Wise Annual Income Statistics of Unagatla Village

Sl. No.	Name Of The Caste	T. H.H	Less than 25000	25000 to 50000	50000 to 100000	100000 to 500000	More than 500000
1	Goundla	17	01	05	06	02	03
2	Kapu	16	03	03	05	03	02
3	Kamma	06	01	01	01	01	02
4	Golla	07	02	03	--	01	01
5	Mala	05	03	--	02	--	--
6	Brahmin	05	01	--	02	01	01
7	Uppara	05	03	02	--	--	--
8	Chakali	06	02	01	02	01	--
9	Komati	06	--	02	02	01	01
10	Setty Balija	05	01	--	03	--	01
11	Senapathi	05	--	02	02	01	--
12	Dommara	05	02	02	01	--	--
13	Madiga	10	04	01	05	--	--
14	Teli	04	01	02	01	--	--
15	Kamsali	05	--	--	03	02	--
16	Mangali	04	02	02	--	--	--
17	Yerukala	04	02	02	--	--	--
18	Kummari	05	--	02	02	01	--
TOTAL		120	28	30	37	14	11

T.H.H = Total number of Households.

The Table 3.10 shows that out of 28 respondents, whose annual income is less than twenty five thousand rupees, seven are from SC caste. On the other hand, no SC respondent is found either under whose annual income is more than 5 lack or 1 lack to 5 lack rupees. This clearly shows that the economic condition of SC caste in the village is not healthy.

The poor economic conditions of SCs eventually had impact on their housing conditions. The caste wise details of the housing conditions in the village shown in the Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Caste Wise Details of House Type in Unagatla Village

Sl. No.	Name Of The Caste	2015			
		No. of H.H	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Kutcha
1	Goundla	17	15	02	--
2	Kapu	16	12	04	--
3	Kamma	06	06	--	--
4	Golla	07	03	04	--
5	Mala	05	02	02	01
6	Brahmin	05	03	02	--
7	Uppara	05	01	03	01
8	Chakali	06	02	03	01
9	Komati	06	04	02	--
10	Setty Balija	05	03	02	--
11	Senapathi	05	02	03	--
12	Dommarra	05	--	04	01
13	Madiga	10	02	04	04
14	Teli	04	--	04	--
15	Kamsali	05	03	01	--
16	Mangali	04	02	02	--
17	Yerukala	04	--	04	--
18	Kummari	05	04	01	--
TOTAL		120	64	48	08

Except Mala, Madiga, Uppara, Chakali, and Dommari others are living either in pucca or semi-pucca houses. All most all upper castes are living in pucca houses. A few of them are in semi-pucca houses while majority of the lower castes and some SCs are also living in these houses. It shows clearly the economic condition of the SCs in the village.

The survey conducted in the village reveals that 85 percent of the respondents are literate in the village, and among them the men 88.3 percent, and among the women, 74.4 percent, is literate. When the percentage of literate by caste is concerned the Goundla has the highest literates followed by Kapu. However, within the caste, 88 percent of Goundla and 87.6 percent of Kapu are literate. The contribution of Mala and Madiga is 3.92 and 5.88 to the percentage of literate of the village, as it depends on their population and the literate within. When it comes to Mala and Madiga 80 percent of Mala and 60 percent of Madiga are literate. Thus, the SCs lag behind these upper castes. The Table 3.12 shows the caste wise literacy in Unagatla (See Table 3.12).

Table 3.12: Caste Wise Literacy in Unagatla Village

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	No. of Respondents	Total No. of Literates M/F	% of Literates M/F	No. of Males	Literates Among Males	% of Literacy Among Males	No. of Females	Lit. Among Females	Female Lit. %	Lit % of Caste
1	Goundla	17	15	88	11	10	90	06	05	83	14.70
2	Kapu	16	14	87	09	09	100	07	05	71	13.75
3	Kamma	06	06	100	05	05	100	01	01	100	5.88
4	Golla	07	07	100	04	04	100	03	03	100	6.86
5	Mala	05	04	80	03	02	66	02	02	100	3.92
6	Brahmin	05	05	100	04	04	100	01	01	100	4.90
7	Uppara	05	03	60	03	02	66	02	01	50	2.94
8	Chakali	06	05	83	03	03	100	03	02	66	4.90
9	Komati	06	05	83	04	03	75	02	02	100	4.90
10	Setty Balija	05	05	100	02	02	100	03	03	100	4.90
11	Senapathi	05	04	80	04	04	100	01	00	00	3.92
12	Dombara	05	03	60	03	02	66	02	01	50	2.94
13	Madiga	10	06	60	06	04	66	04	02	50	5.88
14	Teli	04	04	100	03	03	100	01	01	100	3.92
15	Kamsali	05	04	80	04	03	75	01	01	100	3.92
16	Mangali	04	03	75	03	02	66	01	01	100	2.94
17	Yerukala	04	03	75	03	03	100	01	00	00	2.94
18	Kummari	05	05	100	03	03	100	02	01	50	4.90
TOTAL		120	102	85	77	68	88	43	32	74	100

Since Goundla, Kapu, and Kamma castes possess agricultural land holdings, they are economically strongly. Obviously, they possess power to influence in the village politics. According to one of the respondents “These people involve and influence not only in political matters at the time of elections but also in the day to day village administration. For example; at the time of construction of roads in the village, they are the people who had decided which road should be constructed and when. The situation of the roads in the village explains the fact.”

The obvious and immediate reason why the agricultural labourer is very common among the SCs is that they do not have the landholdings, and they do not even have other sources of income like business, government job etc. So, for their survival they have to rely on other for work; and it is because of the availability of the fertile land in the region, agricultural work is available for most of the time in a year the landless poor SCs are dependent on the agricultural works for their living.

Conclusion

The foregone discussion provides some important facets of rural life in Andhra Pradesh, particularly in reference to SCs, over a period of more than half a century. The six

village studies reviewed in addition to the two villages covered for the present study reveal sufficiently the living conditions of the SCs before 1980 and after 1980 when the SCP was implemented. While Shamirpet and Konduru offer the picture before 1980 and the rest, Anthatipuram, Kothagudem, Karavadi and Chennam inform the conditions of the SCs after the implementation of SCP. It is a fact that the latter set of villages did not purpose to examine the impact of SCP and they do have different objectives for those village studies, they do reflect on the SCs in these villages. While exogenous and endogenous factors of change continue operating on the rural masses, the planned change implicated through programmes brought by the government agencies should also become visible over a period of time. But such changes appear to be imperceptible or marginally noticed particularly with respect to education among the SCs.

In all through these villages what seems to be common are: hierarchy of castes, dominant caste or castes, jajmani relations and marginalization of SCs. The dominant caste or castes in terms of landholding, ritual status and often numerical strength exercises social power on the lower castes and SCs as clearly articulated by Dube, Paul Heibert and Rao. These castes dearly hold their higher social position and do not let it go down by allowing the service castes that serve them to extend their services to the SCs. Further, they use their economic domination for the subordination of SCs. The patron-client relations foster unequal relations which become advantageous for the upper castes. The numerical preponderance of SCs in the villages has no relevance with landholding or economic status. Their aver landholding is abysmally low compared to others. In other castes also there are poor households and even landless who depend on agriculture labour but the degree of their suffering of indignity, discrimination, exclusion is far less compared to the SCs.

The studies of Anthatipuram and Chennaram make is very clear that agriculture has been the key factor that held all the castes together. As soon as agriculture became unviable due to mica industry and alternate sources of income like charcoal making in Anthatipuram besides the erratic rainfall and due to failure of rains and availability of non-agricultural employment in cities in Chennaram, the total social fabric in the rural set up got disturbed. This in fact appears to have facilitated the SCs to be become free labour and that helped increase of their incomes. In case of Karavadi village, the commercial crop tobacco and associated industry, have relieved the SCs from the traditional social relations and improved their economy. When agriculture became un-

remunerative the farmer rented out their lands and some even sold away, and the SCs could afford either bought or rented them. When ideology also contributed for social equality as in case of Karavadi the situation of SCs has become totally different.

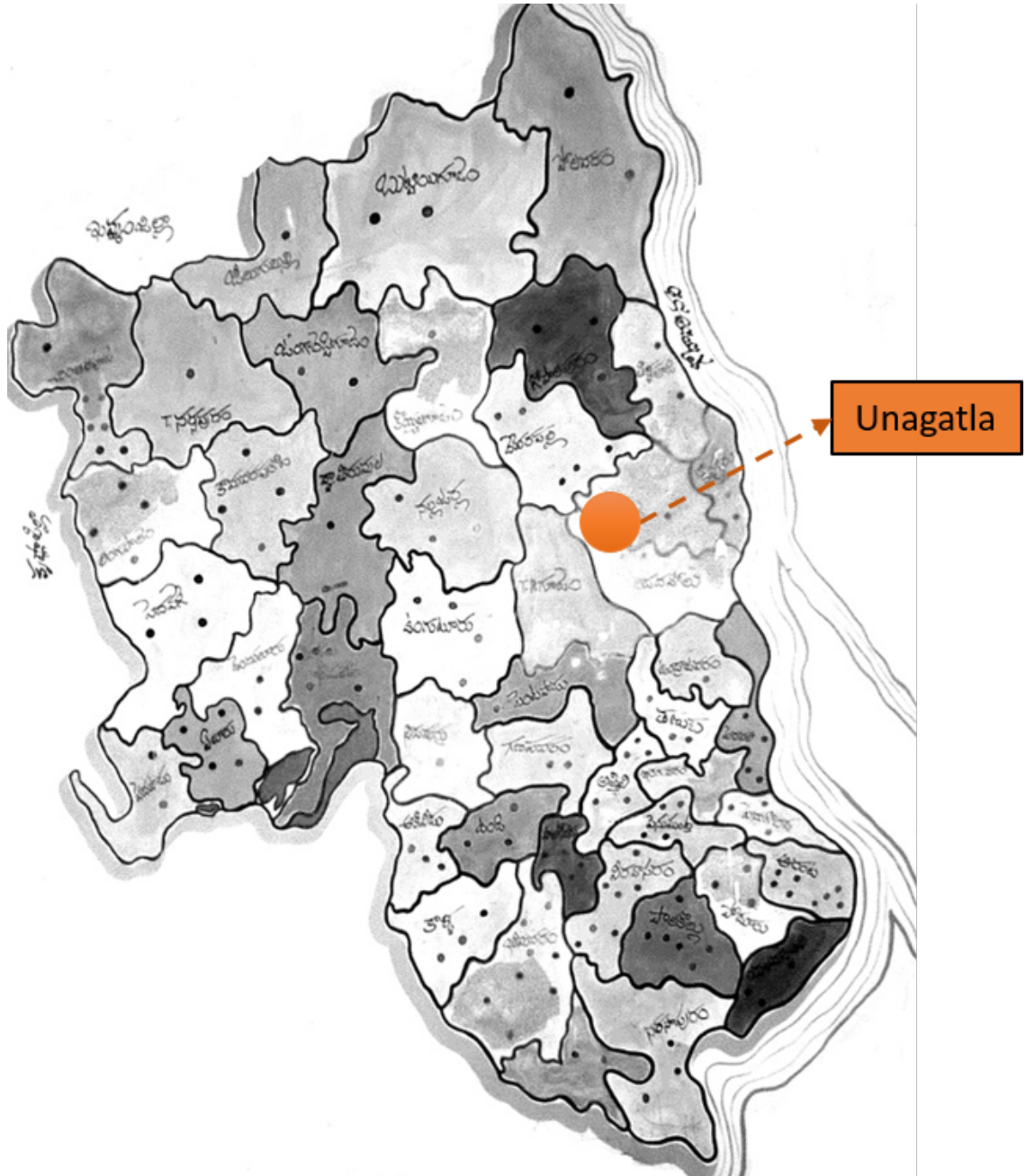
These facts imply that these endogenous factors of changes have far fetching impact on the SCs than the government introduced exogenous factors of change. In Karavadi and Veerabhadrapuram village, distribution of land to the SCs has taken place, but in neither case these have benefitted the SCs. These lands are found to be unfit for cultivation.

The social network analysis in Kothagudem reveals the fact that the dominant upper castes maintain vertical as well as horizontal networks with their caste-men are in a better position in their social advancement. The SCs who lack such networks remain at the margins of the networks of the upper castes as dependents on the networks of the latter. This is true in all villages as economic exclusion also leads to political exclusion and marginalization.

Though the tradition of *jeetham* (annual farm servant) is withering away in Chennaram and Anthatipuram, it continues in the villages of Godavari i.e., Kothagudem, Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla. It is due to the fact that wetland cultivation continues to be main source of income for the dominant castes. The SCs stay connected with the social power holders through the institution of *paleru* (annual farm servant) for their living and to use their network when it becomes necessary. The situation of SCs in Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla is no way different from the prevalent situation in other villages reviewed here. The SCs are weak in terms of economic and politic life as elsewhere. They are dependent on the dominant agricultural castes.

The education of SCs who mostly attend the government institutions appears to have been changing. Perhaps here the government can take credit to some extent. This must have helped some getting low grade employment, but the studies have not indicated much impact on the lives of the SCs. But here the analysis clearly indicates that though there is improvement in literacy rates, the gap between the SCs and Non-SCs remains almost unchanged in almost all villages including Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla.

Map 3.2: Location of Unagatla Village within West Godavari District, A.P.



CHAPTER 4

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SPECIAL COMPONENT PLAN AND THE FIELD REALITIES

Introduction

The previous chapter has disclosed the life of SCs in rural Andhra Pradesh in depth and breadth through ethnographic descriptions of villages in different parts of the state at different times. Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla villages, the last two villages, provides the latest scenario of SCs in so called developed part of Andhra Pradesh. In fact, as it has revealed, in general the socio-economic conditions of SCs throughout Andhra Pradesh have been more or less the same. The traditional jajmani system has marginally changed its form but it still persists in its character and strength. The SCs of Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla continue to maintain the same social relations as in case of Shamirpet in 1950s. They are basically agricultural labour and engaged in leather work or grave digging etc. They are under the same power relations of the dominant upper castes as in Konduru or Anthatipuram or Kothagudem. More attention is given to these two villages in this chapter to examine the impact of SCP. While the situation of SCs in the villages presented earlier provides space dimension, the condition in these two villages reveals the time dimension. The field observations made in 2015 in comparison to the conditions prevailed in 1961 as recorded by the Census of India will disclose actual change that has taken place over a period of 64 years at least on certain parameters. These villages are selected for the purpose of longitudinal comparison as certain data of 1961 could be compared with the present situation. Further, information available reveals that these two villages were also covered under the SCP programmes implemented ever since the SCP came into existence.

Before the said comparison is taken up, it will be in order to examine the administrative structures of implementation of SCP, patterns of allocation of SCP budget, expenditure and the process of implementation of the SCP programmes. First the administrative structures, through which the programmes and schemes are implemented under this policy is discussed. It is followed by the patterns of allocation and expenditure of SCP funds.

Implementation of programmes means the process of general functioning of administration and its approaches to reach out to the target-group in order to transform them through the policy benefits. This transform is examined in two ways. One is specific change brought in particular sectors. The other is general changes occurred spreading across all other sectors.

As regards to the specific changes to be studied in particular sectors, there are about 46 Ministries or Departments of the government of Andhra Pradesh that have been implementing the SCP. It is beyond the scope of this study, and in fact it would be herculean task to study the implementation of SCP in all the Ministries or Departments. Hence, only two Departments or sectors are selected for the present study. These are Education and Agriculture as these being most important sectors not only in terms of drawing substantial budget allocations and also the impact that these are expected to cause on the lives of SCs. After general discussion about the administrative structures and allocation of budget, the actual impact these specific sectors shall be examined.

Andhra Pradesh

As stated in Chapter 2, the selection of Andhra Pradesh for the study is based on the following reasons. 1) The State¹ has claimed that it has been a better performer when compared to other states in India with respect to the implementation of programmes and schemes under SCP. 2) It is the first state in India to appoint a review committee to examine the socio-economic status of SCs, and to make a legislation² on SCP. 3) The presence of a good number of SC population i.e., more than national average. The total population of the united Andhra Pradesh is approximately 8.46 crore³ out of which 1,38,78,078 is SC population, which means 16.2% in the total population of the State. In 2014 the state of Andhra Pradesh has been bifurcated into two states i.e., the state of Telangana and the state of Andhra Pradesh. After the division the State of Andhra Pradesh has the population 4,93,86,799 out of which 17.1 percent is SC population, which is 84,45,398 (Census of India 2011).

¹ Here the state indicates the state of Andhra Pradesh before bifurcation in to the state of Andhra Pradesh and the state of Telangana.

² The legislation was made in 2012.

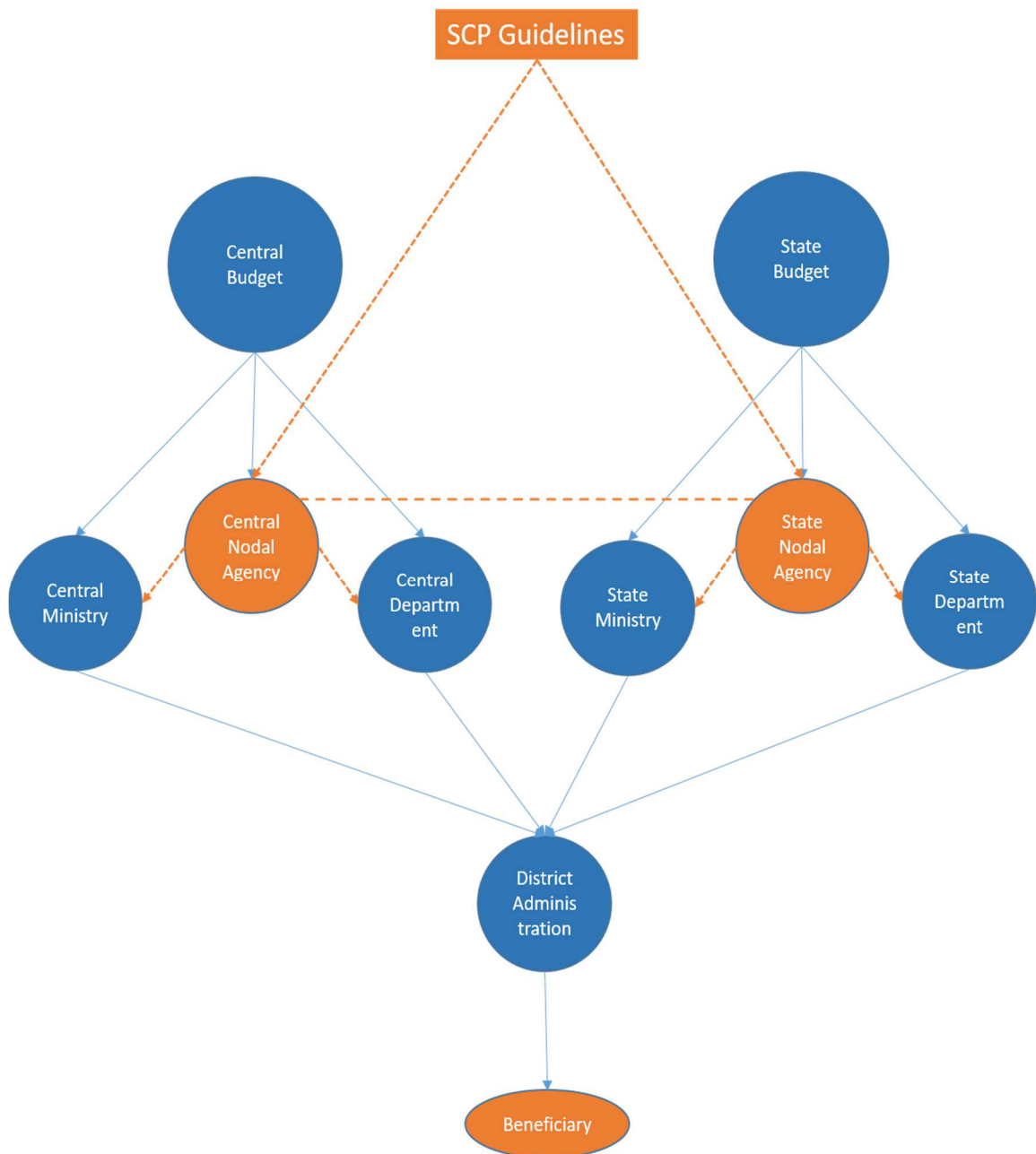
³ The figures are according to 2011 Census.

However Telangana has the total population of 35,193,978 (Census of India 2011) out of which 54,08,800 are SCs population which is 15.43 percent. The percentage of Telangana SC population is almost two percent less than that of Andhra Pradesh SC population. Hence, Andhra Pradesh is taken for the intensive study.

Administrative Structure for the Implementation of SCP

There was a proposal from the inception of SCP that the Department of Social Welfare should be given the Nodal Agency status for appraising and monitoring the SCP programmes and schemes, at the Centre as well as at the States. These Nodal Agencies are expected to act as the guardians of the policy guidelines. This means that the Department will be given authority and responsibility to look after proper planning, funding, implementation, and evaluation with respect to SCP. The Nodal Agency is also expected to take accountability from all the Ministries and Departments with respect to implementation of SCP. It is also expected to impose, certain pressure and insist appropriate action on any Ministry/ Department in case of breaching the policy guidelines as well as the norms laid down by the Nodal Agency for the implementation of SCP. The agency mandates upon Ministries/ Departments for proper planning of programmes and schemes in a way that they not only benefit SCs exclusively but also constructively empower them. They are also required to send annual as well as five-year plan budget estimates to the Agency. The Agency holds the responsibility to make sure at the time of budget preparation that the policy guidelines are followed both at the Centre as well as at States so that the proportionate share of budget is divided equal to the SC population's percentage. The Diagram 4.1 illustrates the proposed administrative structure for the implementation of SCSP in Andhra Pradesh.

Diagram 4.1. The Proposed Administrative Structure for Implementation of SCP.



However, the proposal of making the Social Welfare Department a Nodal Agency for the implementation of SCP has never been realized fully. In fact, few states such as Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Kerala have given the name as Nodal Agency to the Social Welfare Department but executive power was not given as mentioned above. Thus it lacked effective implementation of SCP. As a result, chaotic situation arose due to the absence of separate records under the sub-head '786' with respect to the funds spent for programmes and schemes under SCP. Such situation is prevalent not only in Ministries and Departments at the Centre but also at the States. This has been prominently identified by the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet Sub-Committee (Cabinet Sub-Committee 2012: 49). As a result, the same situation exists in the lower administrative units. For example, it is observed that the district administration of East Godavari and West Godavari did not maintain specific records to indicate funds received under SCP. Therefore, the available records do not indicate different programme and schemes taken up under the SCP. Therefore, there is no clarity on what programme is exactly implemented for the exclusive benefit of SCs in the district. The situation is worse when one proceeds further down in the administrative structure, the Mandal and Village levels. At these levels officials do not even have the idea whether SCP funds are used for certain programmes and what programmes can exactly be counted under SCP. They do not even have clear idea about the policy document i.e., what are the main objectives mentioned in the policy document. When the Mandal Revenue Officer (MRO) and Mandal Development Officer (MDO) of Mamidikuduru Mandal, were asked about implementation of SCP programme in Pasaralpuvilanka village exclusively for the benefit of SCs they replied 'old age pension and house loan are benefiting SCs'. In fact these are not exclusive programmes for SCs. When asked whether SCP funds are used under any programme or scheme, they said that no programme is executed with the funds of SCP exclusively for SCs. The SCP funds are allocated for all the general programmes. These answers of the officials show that either they are not aware of the significance of SCP and any guidelines for implementation of SCP for the benefit of SCs or pretending to be ignorant of SCP.

However, these loopholes in the administrative set up have not only affected the effective implementation but also affected the nature of allocation and expenditure of funds under the SCP.

Patterns of Allocation and Expenditure of SCP Funds in Andhra Pradesh

The patterns of allocation under SCP shows that the state of Andhra Pradesh appears to have been active and progressive. It seems that the amount of allocation of fund has been increasing year by year. However, this increase of fund must be appreciated with reference to factors like market and the State's general budget. The increase of allocation of fund should be realised in terms of market value of rupee that changes from time to time. For example, the value of amount of money spent on a beneficiary depends on market conditions at a particular time. In other words, the present value of a rupee is different from its value ten years ago. So, the amount of money should always be compared to its market value. In addition to this, increase of SCP funds could also be due to increase in the State's budget. As the State's budget increases proportionately the SCP fund should increase. Hence, here it is clarified that, understanding the pattern of allocations under SCP needs to take into the market value and the State's general budget. The 'Total Plan Outlays and Expenditures' of Andhra Pradesh State's general budgets and allocations under SCP for the last 10 years i.e., between 2003 and 2013 is shown in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Year Wise Outlays and Expenditure under SC Sub-Plan in Andhra Pradesh (2003 - 13)

Figures are in Crores

Sl. No.	Year	Total Plan Outlay	Total Expenditure	Total Expenditure Under SCP	SCP Expenditure %
1	2003-04	10970.46	10758.80	0694.45	06.45%
2	2004-05	12790.43	11456.54	0878.91	07.67%
3	2005-06	15650.77	13439.41	0474.54	03.53%
4	2006-07	20000.00	18206.98	2369.37	13.00%
5	2007-08	30500.00	27170.80	3830.16	14.00%
6	2008-09	44000.00	30617.68	3692.81	12.00%
7	2009-10	33496.75	29390.97	2923.01	09.94%
8	2010-11	36800.00	31576.36	3744.75	11.85%
9	2011-12	43000.00	39265.05	5163.62	13.15%
10	2012-13	48935.00	38854.01	4467.48	11.49%
TOTAL		296143.41	250736.60	28239.10	11.26

Source: Government of Andhra Pradesh Budget Reports of the Respective Years.

Table 4.1 shows, the allocation of funds under SCP has gradually increased between 2003-04 and 2012-13. However, the column 'SCP Expenditure Percentage', shows that the minimum percentage of funds spent during the aforementioned years is 03.53 and the maximum is 14. The incident of allocating the maximum percentage of fund has happened during 2012-13 financial year. It may be remembered here that in this year the state was

under political crisis and the Cabinet Sub-Committee was formed to review the SCP only in this year. Before this year i.e., 2008-09 and 2010-11 also there is substantial increase. Nevertheless, the average of the expenditure during these 10 years is approximately 11.26 percent which is below 16.2 percent (SCP). In an addition, the most notable aspect here is that the government has not maintained consistency in expenditure of SCP funds and even no explanation has ever been given either in budget reports or elsewhere for such inconsistency. In four years i.e., 2003-04, 2004-05, 2006-07 and 2009-10, the expenditure did not cross even two digits. This clearly shows the unaccountability of the government on spending of the funds for the development of SCs.

It is clear that the government has failed to spend the allocated budget under the SCP; more than 25 percent of fund remained unutilized. Naturally a question arises what has happened to this fund. Obviously, the SCP fund has been spent away along with the general budget for all. The State government it appears has deliberately ignored the SCP and Scheduled Castes population in the state. It appears only when there is political crisis the SCs and STs are remembered for their votes.

However, with the appointment of ‘Cabinet Sub-Committee’ or review of the implementation of SCP in the state, the situation has improved as the expenditure has crossed two digits. The allocation of the funds is also very uneven. A look at the Table 4.2 reveals the fact of unsystematic and improper budget estimates for the financial years between 2012-13 and 2016-17 of Andhra Pradesh.

Table 4.2: Trends of Annual Budget Estimates for the SCSP of Andhra Pradesh

Sl. No.	Year	Total State Budget Estimates	Budget Estimates for SCP under Head 789	SCP % in the Total State Estimates
1	2013-14	5295529.00	575813.30	10.87
2	2014-15	2667016.93	427800.00	16.00
3	2015-16	3440984.70	547012.64	15.89
4	2016-17	4913444.00	872425.61	17.75

Source: Budget Reports of Andhra Pradesh for the Appropriate Years.

The figures shown in the Tables 4.1 and 4.2 make it clear that neither the expenditure nor the estimates for the SCP under the head 789 for the fourteen consecutive years, except for 2016-17, are appropriate with the SC population percentage in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The above mentioned situation can be clearer with closer look at the implementation of programmes. Hence, the present Chapter focuses on the two important programmes that are implemented in Andhra Pradesh. These programmes are selected for the intensive study based on three main reasons. One, it is clearly mentioned in the policy document itself that the creation of permanent assets for the SC population is one of the primary objectives of the policy. Two, the empowerment of SCs in India has always been seen in association with education and land ownership. Majority of SC population is identified with illiteracy and landlessness. Hence, providing proper education and promoting them from landless agricultural labourers to land owners is an important step to be taken forward in the process of development of SCs. In this context both education and agriculture can be seen as permanent assets. Even the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet Sub-Committee emphasized the importance of these two sectors (Cabinet Sub-Committee 2012: 15, 19). Three, the funds allocated for these programmes are relatively more when compared to the rest of the programmes implemented under SCP in Andhra Pradesh (See Table 4.3).

SCP programmes

So far in the State of Andhra Pradesh (before its bifurcation into Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) the SCP funds have been spent approximately for about four hundred plus programmes⁴ and schemes across different Government Ministries and Departments. Majority of these programmes and schemes are useless as per the SCs development is concern. For example, the SCP funds are allocated to Outer Ring Road (ORR) project, Metro Rail, Hussain Sagar cleaning, roads widening, Hyderabad city beautification etc. one can see that these programmes have no connection to the development of the Scheduled Castes in any form. This clearly shows that the government has little or no concern either stipulated allocation of SCP funds or proper utilization of the allocated funds for SCs development. However the Table 4.3 shows the details in this respect, for the years 2016-17, 2016-15, 2015-14, 2014-13 and 2013-12.

⁴Budget Report of the Government of Andhra Pradesh on SCP funds

Table 4.3. Allocation of Funds under SCP in Andhra Pradesh by Ministry /Department

Rupees in Lakhs

Sl. No.	Department/Ministry	2016-17	2015-16	2014-15	2013-14
1	Agriculture	33646.00	10690.28	8800000.00	40201.80
2	Director Horticulture	14065.00	4041.55	150000.00	10164.51
3	Animal Husbandry	5959.00	974.88	100000.00	4628.00
4	Fisheries	5931.00	1013.54	82500.00	1000.00
5	Sericulture	200.00	---	---	---
6	Forests	---	---	---	544.34
7	Cooperative Societies	137.00	115.57	---	85.70
8	Rural Development	260636.00	139756.21	6700000.00	75000.00
9	Food and Civil Supplies	1231.00	---	---	---
10	APSERP	---	---	---	25000.00
11	Panchayat Raj	22100.00	11000.00	1000000.00	6410.00
12	CE Minor Irrigation	20878.00	3427.70	265000.00	70457.00
13	APSIDC	---	---	---	10615.21
14	Ground Water Dept.	200.00	200.00	---	200.00
15	Rural Water Supply	13737.41	13375.00	1000000.00	---
16	APTRANSCO	2667.00	3619.25	250000.00	10000.00
17	Industries	18140.00	26319.85	2100000.00	9500.00
18	LIDCAP	---	---	---	1900.00
19	CE, R & B	1050.70	1380.00	---	3000.00
20	CE PR Roads	---	---	---	10000.00
21	Housing	61467.00	25692.00	2500000.00	---
22	Planning	17631.00	8540.00	160000.00	16000.00
23	IT & Communication	3116.00	2832.35	200000.00	1400.00
24	School Education	29593.48	6813.20	345600.00	27372.01
25	SSA	13332.52	30845.49	654400.00	26294.60
26	Intermediate Education	1218.00	---	150000.00	289.00
27	SAAP	1000.00	175.00	---	1400.00
28	Tech. Education	1095.00	995.72	100000.00	5670.25
29	College Education	3500.00	102.46	250000.00	----
30	AYUSH	522.00	---	---	---
31	Medical Education	---	---	150000.00	---
32	Health & Family Welfare	18272.00	12730.00	715000.00	---
33	Women & Child Welfare	29758.00	30847.16	1500000.00	---
34	Disability &Seni. Citizen Welfare	86.00	85.66	6000.00	---
35	Employment & Training	4414.00	785.78	30000.00	---
36	Municipal Administration	31806.50	17783.47	1000000.00	---
37	Information and Public Relations	---	1000.00	---	---
38	Aarogya Sri	---	2.00	---	---
39	Skills entrepreneur & Innovation	8265.00	4200.00	---	---
40	AP SCCFC	---	44839.00	---	---
41	APSRTC	---	427.00	---	---
42	AP Tourism	---	450.00	---	---
43	Youth Services	5000.00	100.00	---	---
44	Director& Inspector General of Police	200.00	---	---	---
45	Relief and Disaster Management	1000.00	---	---	---
46	Cultural Affairs	250.00	450.00	30000.00	1000.00
TOTAL		632104.61	405610.12	28238500.00	358132.42

Source: Budget Report of the Respective Years SC Sub-Plan, Andhra Pradesh.

It can be noted from Table 4.3 that agriculture and its allied activities like horticulture, animal husbandry, fisheries, sericulture and rural development have been given priority in budget allocation. Housing is another important area and it is followed by education that includes school education, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, intermediate education, SAAP, technical education and college education. Consistently substantial amounts have been allocated to these departments in all the years. Therefore it is thought it would be appropriate for the study to focus on agriculture and education with regard to the utilization of funds released under the SCP.

1. School Education: The Cases of Sarva Sikha Abhiyan and Social Welfare Hostels

In case of education the SCP funds are streamed into six different acquirer agencies i.e., School Education, Intermediate Education, Technical Education, Medical Education, Adult Education and Higher Education. Among these six, the School Education has been given priority for further intensive examination for three main reasons. One, it is obvious that the school education, in many cases, plays a decisive role on continuation of further studies for students. Two, the government has allocated huge amounts, as shown in the Table 4.3, into this particular field in order to provide quality education for the poor SC children at this particular level. Three, the government has claimed that it is a successful area in increasing the enrolment figures with respect to SC children in schools and considerably reducing illiteracy among the SCs.

However, it is appropriate to look at the ground realities about the school education. The school education has been receiving approximately five percent of total annual fund allocated under SCP to make sure that every SC child gets primary education without fail. This means that the fund allocated under SCP to this particular programme is an extra fund besides the fund allocated from the general budget. Nevertheless, the allocated fund for the school education is not exclusively used for the benefit of SC school going children.

Table 4.4 Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan Schemes/ Programmes Included in AP Budget
under School Education from 2012-13 to 2016-17

Rupees in Lakhs

Sl. No.	Name of the Scheme/Programme	2016-17	2015-16	2014-15	2013-14
1	Continuation of District Institutes of Education Training	247.00	13.20	---	300.00
2	Mid-day Meal Programme	13335.00	6000.00	---	3459.71
3	IT Facilities in 2000 Schools	---	---	---	374.83
4	IT Facilities in 5000 Schools	----	---	---	2000.00
5	IT Facilities in 5000 Schools	---	---	---	627.47
6	Nutritious Meal Programme fir EBB Mandals	---	---	---	2593.73
7	Rashtriya Madhyamika Siksha Abhiyan	7123.13	800.00	345600.00	5744.73
8	Setting up of Model Schools	---	---	---	3240.00
9	Nutritional Meal Programme – Primary	---	---	---	3821.99
10	Nutritional Meal Programme – Upper Primary	---	---	---	1238.12
11	Vocationalisation of Education	---	---	---	13.17
12	Supply of Textbooks & Material to SCs, STs & Minorities	---	---	---	273.40
13	Nutritional Meal Programme for IX and X Class	----	---	---	3684.86
14	Sarva Siksha Abhiyan	22220.87	30845.49	563831.00	18829.35
15	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidhalayas (KGBV)	---	---	---	4257.65
16	National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NEPGEL)	---	----	---	---
17	Strengthening of Elementary Education	---	----	90569.00	3207.60
Total Funds for School Education		42926.00	37658.49	1000027.00	53666.16

Source: Andhra Pradesh Budget Report of SC Sub-Plan for 2013-14

Table 4.4 clearly shows that there is no programme exclusively meant for SCs in the above list. For example, serial number 12 in the Table 4.4 clearly states that the scheme is aimed to supply the textbook material for SCs, STs, and minorities. Similarly, mid-day meal programme, model schools, nutrition programme, KGBV, strengthening of elementary schools etc. are not exclusively meant for SC children. However, SSA is considered for further examination based on the priority among the all the schemes and programmes listed in the Table 4.4 with respect to estimation of funds.

So, the goal of the SSA programme is such that the progress and achievement of the SC children would be better when compared with non-SC children. But, the government of India itself has acknowledged that the progress in achieving the goals of the programme has not been achieved as par the schedule at all India level (MHRD 2012). Still there is a

considerable gap between SC and non-SC⁵ children with respect to continuation of their school education. The Table 4.5 presents the comparison of the all India dropout rates between SC children and non-SC children.

Table 4.5: Dropout Rates for Classes 1 to 8 at National Level

Category	2003-04			2007-08			2009-10		
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
All	50.84	50.49	51.28	42.88	43.72	41.34	42.39	40.59	44.39
SC	57.26	55.95	59.95	52.47	53.56	51.12	51.25	50.59	51.99

Source: Select School Education Statistics, Government of India (Various Years)

It clearly shows that there is some progress in reducing dropout rates over the years in both 'SC' and 'All' categories. But, what should be noticed here is that the disparity between the 'SC' and the 'All' categories has not reduced at any point of the above mentioned periods despite spending the SCP funds and special attention paid to the development of SCs. Not much progress has been achieved in reducing the dropout rates from the schools so far as the SC children are concerned. One has to, then, raise a question whether or not the SSA is helpful for the improvement of literacy rates among SCs? Are there any problems associated with the proper utilisation of the SCP funds allocated to this programme?

Even in the picture of Andhra Pradesh does not seem to be different. The Table 4.6 shows the community wise dropout rates in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 4.6 Community Wise Dropout Rates in Andhra Pradesh

Year	2007-08			2006-07			2006-05			2001-02		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
SCs	68.12	70.09	69.09	68.27	71.43	69.82	68.41	72.2	70.24	76.44	79.87	77.96
STs	81.08	83.61	82.26	80.19	84.08	81.96	80.05	83.88	81.76	83.45	88.98	85.71
All	62.30	64.00	63.13	62.99	65.33	64.13	62.24	65.2	63.67	71.6	73.28	72.37

Source: Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan, Andhra Pradesh

It shows that the dropout rates are high in Andhra Pradesh when compared to the national dropout rates. However, the gap in the dropout rates between SCs and non-SCs other than the STs is more or less the same. Throughout the years the overall dropout rates are getting

⁵ Excluding STs and Muslim Minorities.

reduced gradually for ‘All’ category and so with the SCs. However, always at least five percent or more gap is maintained through all the above mentioned years, which means that whatever special measures are taken they have not effectively yielded the desired results. Hence, it is appropriate here to examine the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan programme.

A. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) was sometime translated as ‘Rajeev Vidhya Mission’ during the Congress era and ‘Badi Pilustundi’ in the present TDP government of Andhra Pradesh. SSA is a central government initiated programme aimed at bringing every child into elementary school education. However, here SSA is referred to examine the status of school education with respect to SC children because the SCP funds are streamlined into SSA (See Table 4.3). Funds for the programme have been allocated from the centre as well as from the state government in the ratio of 65:35. Though, the actual implementation of the programme is intended for the children in general irrespective of caste, region, religion and language to bring them into the universal elementary education. The programme has also received funds under SCP as shown in the Tables 4.3 and 4.4. The Table 4.7 shows the allocation of SCP funds for SSA in different years.

Table 4.7: Allocation of SCP funds to SSA

*Figures in Lakhs

	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17
Total SSA Funds	26281.81	12027.00	179534.64	130777.60
SCP Funds	26294.60	6544.00	30845.49	22220.87
% of SCP Funds	100	54.41	17.18	16.99

Source: Andhra Pradesh SCP and State Budget Reports of the Above Respective Years.

During the above mentioned financial years the SCP funding has been reduced from 100 percent to 17 percent. However, the allocated fund from SCP are always equal or more to the population percentage of SC. Hence, the programme should have been more careful about inclusion of SC children in school education in a way that achievement in the school education is much better among SCs when compared to the non-SC children. However, in the Andhra Pradesh annual budget explanatory note, there is no mention about how the allocated SCP funds in this programme shall be utilized and how the targets are to be met in a way that they will be exclusively benefitting the SC children. For example, in the

2016-17 budget explanatory note it is mentioned that SCP funds will be utilized for the following items.

1. Opening of new primary schools.
2. Upgrading primary schools in to upper primary schools.
3. Sanction of regular teachers to new Schools and additional teachers in the existing primary and upper primary schools.
4. Strengthening of Mandal resource centres and school complexes providing training to in-service teachers every year.
5. Interventions for out of school children and special training supply of two pairs of uniforms to the children studying in government schools up to VIII class every year.
6. Implementing activities for the education of children with special needs.
7. Civil works.
8. Release of teaching learning equipment grant to new primary and upper primary schools.
9. Release of school grant, teacher grant and maintenance grant to schools.
10. Conducting research and evaluation studies on interventions being implemented - supervision and monitoring of activities.
11. Management, quality and community mobilization.
12. Innovations – organizing innovative activities for girls’ education, early childhood education, education of SCs and STs, minority, urban deprived children and computer education for upper primary schools.
13. Training of community leaders and community mobilization.
14. Transport / escort.
15. Running special residential schools and hostels for urban deprived children.
16. Opening of Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBVs).

The points mentioned above are the targets to be met in the financial year 2016-17 under the SSA programme in the state of Andhra Pradesh. However, what may be noticed here is that, except the point 12, all the points mentioned are targeted to the general children. They do not aim at any particular social category but all children from all the social groups. It is noticed that the same points are mentioned in the budget explanation note even for funds allocated under SCP⁶. This means that government does not have any special

⁶ Andhra Pradesh State Budget Report for 2016 -17.

programmes or schemes for the SC children. Even the point 12 has not been elaborated as to how it is going to be beneficial exclusively for SC children.

The above discussion makes it clear that there is no idea of any special measure or care targeting the SC children and how the funds will be used exclusively for SC children. Besides this, in the state mission authority note of SSA, Andhra Pradesh it is mentioned that ‘In context specific situation, engagement of experts on tribal education, education of SC children, education of children with special needs, etc., may also be considered’ (Rajeshwar 2011). By this statement the government has made this provision as an option rather than a compulsory one. What it actually meant or translated for action can be illustrated from the ground reality.

SSA in Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla

Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla are listed under SSA as Non-Educationally Backward Blocks (Non-EBB) by the central government (Planning Commission 2010). It means that the literacy rate in these Mandals is higher or equivalent to the national average literacy rate. Hence, it claims that enough care has already been taken in these particular Mandals as far as elementary education is concerned. Here the situation may be true as mentioned by the government with respect to the general children. But, one can question about the education of SC children of these areas. In Pasarlapudilanka village the total population is 3752⁷ out of which approximately 250 are children in the age group of 5 to 14 years across all the sections of this village. Among these 250 children, 41 are from SC community. Many of these children were once enrolled in the school. But, they did not continue and dropped out of the schools due to several reasons. The Table 4.8 presents the details of the school going children in the Pasarlapudilanka village.

Table 4.8: The Children in the Age Group of 5 - 14 Years with Respect to Elementary Education in the Pasarlapudilanka Village

	SCs Children	ST Children	Non-SC&ST Children	Total
Total Children	41	9	200	250
Total Enrolled Children	36	8	196	240
Non Enrolled Children	5 (12%)	1 (11%)	4 (2%)	10 (4%)
Dropouts	15	2	10	27
Enrolment %	87.8	88.8	98	92
Dropout %	41.6	25	5.1	11.2

Source: Records of Pasarlapudilanka Government Elementary School

⁷See the Table 3.1

The Table 4.8 very clearly shows the disparity between the SC, ST children and non-SC children regarding enrolment and dropout rates. When considered the total dropout rates across the caste categories it is just 11.2 percent. But then, it has been registered too high among the children of the SC community. More than half i.e., 55.5 percent of the total dropout children are from SC category in the village. The reasons for the dropouts are many. A study⁸ which focussed on the school dropouts in the state of Andhra Pradesh between the years 2011 and 2014 has come up with few findings. The dropout rates in the state of Andhra Pradesh are due to family migration, poverty, sibling care, child labour, poor health, illiteracy of the parents, poor teaching and poor basic infrastructure facilities in the primary schools. The situation in the Pasarlapudilanka is identical to the above mentioned findings. Hence, an attempt is made to explain the status of the primary education among the children of SC community in the Pasarlapudilanka village by presenting the two case studies from the field. The same are given below.

The Case of Chintu

The 12 years old Chittala Chintu, enrolled in the school seven years ago in class one during the academic year 2009-10. But, after four years i.e., 2012-13 he had to discontinue his schooling when his parents realized that they cannot afford anymore for his schooling. They wanted him to stay back at home and help them. The parents Satyanarayana and Kanakadurga rely on daily wage for their survival and they work at a coconut farm. They go to the coconut farm whenever they get work where they are engaged in peeling off the skin of the coconuts, making coconut broom, loading and unloading the coconuts onto the trucks, collecting the coconuts from the trees etc., or attend to some other sundry works. In return they get paid Rs. 150 to 200 per day depending on the nature of work. For peeling off the skin and making broom they usually get Rs. 150. For loading and unloading the coconuts from the truck they are paid Rs. 200 per day. There is a wage difference of Rs. 50 between men and women. Women usually get paid less amount than men for the women are given easier work than men. In this way Chintu's parents earn maximum Rs. 350 per day. But, there is no guaranty that they get work throughout the week or throughout the year. It depends on the season and the yielding of coconuts. The more yielding the more

⁸Narasimha, R.G & Rao, M. (2011-14). A Study on Students Absenteeism in Primary and Upper Primary Schools with Reference to Mahbubnagar District in Andhra Pradesh. SCERT (AP). Government of AP.

work they would have. So, with whatever money they get, they have to run their home and meet every need of their children and save some money for their future needs. Besides the above, they also have to spend some money for house under construction. (See Plate 5) which is pending for a long time as it could not be done in one go due to paucity of budget. Whenever they don't get work they borrow from money lenders, and return with interest.

The above description explains the economic condition of Chintu's parents. So, in this situation Chintu's parents have to educate him. As he grew to the age of earning they wanted him to be a helping hand for the family. The parents forced him to leave the school and join them for work so that he can earn at least for his own expenses now and for near future. In addition to the above, another important reason why Chintu had to discontinue his school is that even after completion of the elementary education i.e., after 5th class he has to leave the village to continue his education as there is no high school in the village. He required additional expenditure for commuting to the school. This again will be an added burden for his poor parents. So, "*Chadivinchadam maaku moyaleni baaram*" said his parents. Giving education is a burden that we cannot bear is its literal translation. Supporting for their child's education is more than what they can afford. But, when asked Chintu whether he wants to continue his education, he said, "Every child in this village is studying in schools so I really want to continue my studies and one day I would become a doctor. But, my parents could not afford for my education. What can I do? They asked me to stop my studies. I had to look after my sister whenever she needs. I was encouraged to earn like my parents so that our economic position will be ok. My parents told me that once we earn enough to support my education I can again continue the schooling".

So in this case, the Chittala Chintu of Pasarlapudilanaka had to discontinue his classes and dropout from the school just because of his parents' poor economic status. It is not just Chintu alone suffering from this malady but there are 15 out of 36 enrolled SC children in this village. What is more despair than the above case is that there are five more SC children who could never enrol their names in school due to more or less same conditions.

The Case of Sunita

Peddamullu Sunita is a 13 year old daughter to very poor SC parents of Pasarlapudilanka, who has never attended and never enrolled in any school. Her parents are dropouts at their elementary schooling and now live on daily wage labour. They earn so little from their daily wage labour that they could not afford for Sunita's education. They said that they

want to send her daughter to school and college till whatever extent she wants to study, but their economic position does not allow to do so. This poor family has neither a piece of agricultural land nor a proper house. This is what they had to say about what they are going through with regard to the government support... ..”Nobody has come to our rescue. Nobody has told us that there are some government policies or programmes which can benefit the poor people like us, and no government programme has reached us. We don’t even know how to approach and whom to approach to get them. Even the village officials are not easily accessible to enquire or to get help in order to be included in any programme through which we can get benefits. Sometimes when we go to them for any information they act like as if we are not existing. They don’t reply or they ask us to come after some days and the same will be repeated many times. That is why, we are not covered in any government programme as a beneficiary. When it comes to children’s education we did not get any help from government”. When asked about the SSA they said they don’t even know what it is.

In the above circumstances Sunita’s parents had no choice but send their daughter to do domestic work at one of the biggest land owner’s house in the village. They say that “whatever we are earning is not even enough to survive through our everyday life. What if something happens? So, we need to have some protection. If we send our daughter to work at the land owner’s house then he will take care of us in certain difficult situations or any eventuality”.

In the above two cases it can be clearly seen that the family’s economic condition is affecting the children’s education. The poor parents are not able to send their children to schools because they need them to take some responsibility of home in order to survive in the pathetic economic conditions. What is most important thing in these cases is that when the parents were asked whether they have accessed the SSA programme in order to help their children’s’ school education, they said that nobody told them about the programme in the first place, and they do not know where to get such information. So, it is clear that the SSA programme in Pasarlapudilanka village has failed in bringing awareness about the programme among the poor SC illiterate parents. Besides the above, the government’s categorisation of this Mandal as Non-Educationally Backward Block is not reflecting the reality in this region so as far as the SC children’s primary education is concerned.

B. Social Welfare Hostels

According to the rules of the government social welfare hostel, the students who get hostel accommodation in social welfare hostels have to inevitably study only in government schools. They are not allowed to study in private schools. Given this state of provision, one cannot study in a private school if one wanted to stay in the government hostel. A number of studies which focussed on primary school education in Andhra Pradesh have revealed that the situation of government elementary schools in the state is very poor. They are lagging behind in many aspects such as infrastructure, student teacher ratio, teaching methods etc., when compared to private schools (Tooley, Dixon and Gomati 2007). The students who pass out from the government schools are not able to compete with the students who studied in private schools. The reasons for the situation have been that those students who study in the private schools are given training in soft-skills i.e., computer education, English medium teaching and personality development which are not provided in the government schools. Due to these constraints in the rules of the social welfare hostel facility, the SC children who want to study in private schools but cannot afford stay in private hostels or rented houses are not able to utilize the social welfare hostel facilities. Those who stay in social welfare hostels are not allowed to study in private schools.

To conclude, in the light of the above analysis, the education programme which is aimed at improving the literacy rate among the SC communities is not satisfactory. The school education, particularly, at the grassroots apparently shows that there is a clear imprudence in the government's effort. The SSA which has been started by the government of India to enhance the literacy across different sections of the society has failed to yield the expected results when it comes to the rural SC community but then, the SSA receives a considerable amount of SCP money in every financial year. Besides, backwardness of SCs in literacy rate has in fact benefitted the non-SCs forwardness in the areas which have been declared under SSA as Non-Educationally Backward Blocks. The stay in the Social Welfare Hostels has become a technical hurdle for SC children to study in better schools if they can afford. Overall, the education programme is yet to reach the rural poor SCs.

2. Agriculture: The Case of The Land Ownership

One of the most important reasons why SCs have been in the firm grip of poverty is due to lack of permanent income generating assets, which are essential for anyone to be

economically independent. When mentioned permanent assets, it is the land which can be considered at the first place. SCs have been agricultural workers for generations but, they have never been the land owners. The village studies reviewed in the previous chapter also buttress the same point. A few of them are possessing small patches of lands but, that only can generate very little income. According to a study, about 87 percent of the total landholdings among the SCs belong to small and marginal category farmers (Agricultural Census, 2005-06). About sixty four percent of the SCs are either workers or agricultural labourers, and even the percentage of SCs among the agricultural labourers is grown from 57 in 1961 to 78 in 2001. The situation of the landholdings of SCs is turned worse due to fragmentation of land ownership. The average size of operated land has declined between 1975-76 and 2005-06 from 1.19 hectares to 0.8 hectares respectively. In the state of Andhra Pradesh, the SC population constitutes 16 percent in the total population, but, the land under their control is only 7.5 percent of the total operated land (Singh, 1997 and Mungekar, 1999). Considering this fact, the government of India has kept a provision in SCP to redress the problem. In the SCP document it has been stated that the policy is aimed at creating the permanent assets to the SC community members (Planning Commission 2006). This may be done by distributing the agricultural land to the landless SCs so that they will use the land for the agricultural purposes and generate income from it. However, so far not much has been done with regard to distribution of cultivable land to the poor SCs. The statistics show that a large proportion of SCs are still continuing as the agricultural labourers in the state of Andhra Pradesh. A glance at the occupational distribution will give the comprehensive understanding about the situation. The Table 4.9 shows the community wise occupational distribution in Andhra Pradesh.

Table 4.9: Community-Wise Occupation in Andhra Pradesh, in 2004-05 and 1993-94.

Type of Occupation	2004-05					1993-94			
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	Total	ST	SC	Others	Total
SENA	7.5	8.7	21.1	20.0	17.4	9.7	5.9	17.8	14.8
AL	43.7	60.7	32.5	20.0	35.7	37.0	69.1	31.8	39.4
OL	4.0	11.5	10.2	8.8	9.6	5.0	9.2	8.6	8.4
SEA	35.4	11.6	27.6	40.8	28.4	45.0	11.8	35.0	31.4
Others	9.3	7.5	8.6	10.5	8.9	3.3	4.0	6.8	6.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: SENA – Self-Employed in Non-Agriculture; AL – Agriculture Labour; OL – Other Labour; SEA – Self-employed in Agriculture. **Source:** Andhra Pradesh Human Development Report 2007

The SCs are in a very poor state in all the categories as indicated in the Table 4.9. However, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has claimed that it has distributed approximately 800

acres of land to 700 plus landless SC families in 2005-06 financial year. However, the realities are very different. There are cases which reveal that the government has actually distributed already possessed lands to the SCs. That means it has not distributed any extra land to them. The A.P Cabinet Sub-Committee has reported that the actual land distributed to SCs is just 125 acres out of 800 acres, whereas it is 380 out of 400 acres in case of others in 2005-06. Besides, it is found that majority of the beneficiaries i.e., 68 percent belong to OBCs followed by SC's 19 percent and OC's 11 percent respectively (Rani 2013). In an addition, there are cases which show that the distributed land is practically not viable for cultivation, either they are dry lands where water facilities are not available or lands are barren in which cultivation is not possible. Such cases are observed in Pasarlapudilanka as well. In this village, land was distributed to four SC families who doesn't have a piece of land until then. But, the land which was given to them for the purpose of the cultivation is not at all viable for cultivation. This is due to two reasons. One, the land which was distributed is in the lower parts of the village where Godavari River overflows unpredictably or whenever there is heavy rain the lands get submerged under water. This means that doing agriculture in this area always yields an uncertain results. The poor SCs farmers who are with very limited resources dare not to invest in agriculture under such conditions. Local politics also play a vital role in the distribution of such lands to the poor SCs. Local panchayat in the Pasarlapudilanka village helps the government in identifying the land for the distribution. The villagers say that there are useful lands available in the village but these are under the control of influential land lords. These lands are not suggested by the village panchayat for distribution to SCs. Instead, it distributed waste land which is not viable for agricultural purposes.

The Case of Suryanarayana Boopati

Suryanarayana a 66 year old man with three sons, two daughters and wife says, 'the government has never bothered to looking into the realities of SCs at the grassroots'. He is an illiterate and has very limited knowledge about functioning of government departments. For him, government is Gram Panchayat and the Office of the District Collector and nothing else. Even the position of the Chief Minister according to him is just a political position and he only does politics. He has very little idea about how government and administration are linked together. All he has been doing throughout his life is working in the fields on daily wage basis for his and his family's survival.

He is a beneficiary, few years back, under the land distribution programme in the village. But, he expresses his hopelessness about the government and its working style. When asked about why and how he has got the land, he said “I worked for the Gram Panchayat and it gave me”. It means that he did not know about the land distribution programme that was implemented years back for the benefit of poor SC families in the village.

However, he says, “The land he got is not viable for cultivation”. He is entirely dependent on daily wage labour and he hardly saved anything. Over the years he was able to save twenty five thousand rupees with great difficulty. Few years back when he got the land, he started cultivating it with an investment of fifteen thousand rupees. In the same year his agricultural land, including many others (most of the lands belonging to SCs), was affected by unseasonal floods and back waters from the Bay of Bengal. His entire efforts and investment of fifteen thousand rupees have gone with the floods. He did not get any relief from the government or any other source afterwards. With that incident, more than half of his lifelong savings have gone in to the waters.

He continued to be a daily wage labourer. After two years, again, he invested his remaining savings of ten thousand rupees in banana farming. This time due to heavy rains the banana farm got ruined and he only got half of what he has invested. Afterwards, he is not daring to invest anymore in the farming or agriculture in the government provided land.

The fact both heard and observed from the villagers is that, those lands which were provided by the government under the land distribution programme for the poor SCs families are not useful for cultivation or any farming activity. The lower altitudinal levels and proximity to the Godavari and Bay of Bengal make the land almost impossible for any kind of agricultural activity.

Suryanarayana, said that he was very happy when he got the land. But, he realised that the lands were useless when he started cultivating of them. He said, “It may be a political drama to woo the SC voters towards a particular political party”. He recollected and explained about what has happened at the time of land distribution. He used to work in a Komati land owner as a daily wage labourer. The owner mostly preferred to give him work as he is very loyal servant to work for low wages. At the time of scarcity of work the villagers, mostly poor SC wagger labourers, used to approach the Komati landowner to get the work in his fields. Suryanarayana is such a loyal worker to the landowner that many times he was able to manage to get some work from the Komati and he also used to get

work for others as well. Over the years he evolved himself as a mediator between daily wage labourers and landowners.

Few years ago a relative of the Komati landowner contested for the post of village Sarpanch as a TDP candidate for which they need the support of SC voters, who are second largest community in the village. But, SCs have not been supporters of TDP traditionally, hence there are very less chance of getting votes of SC community for the TDP candidate. At this juncture, Suryanarayana who is already popular among SCs in the village came in hand for the Komati landowner. The land owner used him to motivate the SC voters. The Komati landowner managed to include Suryanarayana's name in the land distribution programme which also took place sometime back in the same year. As a result, Suryanarayana campaigned for the Komati candidate and announced on behalf of the landowner that if the TDP candidate wins the SCs will be given priority to work in the fields of Komati and the daily wages will be hiked to Rs. 150. Attracted to this, majority of the SCs had voted for the TDP candidate. Thus, candidate of the Komati won the elections. After that Suryanarayana got the land under the land distribution programme. However, the wages were never hiked to Rs. 150 during the entire tenure of the Komati Sarpanch. Besides, Suryanarayana said he is realizing now that he has been used for the political ends. He was given only useless land instead of good land that is available in the village for distribution. Now, all his lifelong savings are lost on the un-viable land for cultivation, and turned as a dependent on his children, who are again wage labourers.

The notable point in the case of Suryanarayana is that the efforts of the government have reached to the bottom level for sure. But, the local politics and personal networks have ruined the effectiveness of the programmes. The problem cannot be linked to only local politics and personal networks but also most importantly with governments' inefficient implementation process. Absence of a systematic process of identification of land that is good for the agriculture along with the systematic identification of the beneficiaries is what shows the negligence of the government on part of the development of SC community.

The Case of Satyanarayana Chittala

Satyanarayana is a 51 years old man with wife, son and daughter who depends on daily wage labour. He is not an illiterate, but studied up to sixth standard. His fore-fathers and father never had a piece of land before and until his father got a piece of land under the land distribution programme. Since, his father did not have the ability to educate him and

he was needed to help his father. He was forced to discontinue education at sixth standard. Since then, he had been contributing to family's economy. When he was at the age of 28 his father got the land. After his father, he inherited the land. Since then he has been taking care of the land and earning his bread.

However, now his land is not safe for cultivation anymore. The ONGC pipelines are laid through his agricultural land (See Plate 7). This may turn out to be very dangerous for life at any time. He recollected the past experiences of gas leakage in 1995 in the same village, and in 2005 in Thandavapalli village which is close to the Pasarlpudilanka, and Nagaram incident in 2014 in which 14 people were dead and 15 people were injured. He says, this happened because of the caste politics in the village. According to him, the actual pipeline laying plan was different from what it is now. Initially the pipeline plan route was to go through the other parts of the village so that the pipelines could be straight. Later, the plan is changed because according to the first plan the pipeline has to go through or nearby the Komati and Kapu caste habitations in the village. Since they are politically influential and were able to lobby with the government officials, they were able to change the plan. According to the new plan the pipelines are running through the lands that mostly belonged to SCs and STs. In his words "Due to the pipelines and their maintenance I had to give up the agriculture in that land. The compensation paid also is meagre. I have no other land to cultivate anymore. Government only gave and government only took it away. Finally, I am left with the daily wage just like my father".

The notable point here is that as the case of Satyanarayana Chittala reveals the government contradicts its own activities. It is paradoxical that on one hand it aims at improving the living of the most backward and unprivileged sections of the society, especially SCs, through various welfare measures but on the other hand, in the name of national development activities the benefits of SCs are taken away. It may be a local political game that effected the land of Satyanarayana Chittala along with the other SCs, but, government should have taken measures to protect SCs as it takes care of the privileged sections in the village.

From the above two cases it can be concluded that SCs are not given priority in the programme meant for them unless it is mandatory and enforceable. The SCP has been created to improve the socio-economic conditions of the poor SCs. But when it comes to the implementation there are a number of malpractices in the form of party politics, local

caste networks, and economy based master and servant relations. The dark side of the SCP implementation is never addressed. The following comparison gives a clearer understanding about the progress in the socio-economic development of SCs in Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla between 1961 and 2015.

Comparison of Socio-Economic Conditions of SCs between 2015 and 1961

The comparison is based on the available variables in the Census Monographs on Pasarlapudilaka and Unagatla in 1961, and the data collected from the two villages during the year 2015 through fieldwork, a part of which has already been presented in the Chapter 3. The 1961 Monographs of Census of India are taken for the comparison because these are the available official records about the conditions of these two villages prior to the implementation of SCP. The comparison is aimed essentially to see whether there are any changes with respect to the goals mentioned in the policy document of SCP.

Before going to the variables to be compared it is appropriate to consider a few important aspects of these two villages. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the dominance of Komati, Kapu in Pasarlapudilanka and Kamma and Komati in Unagatla is a significant aspect. The dependence of SCs on these communities for work remains still unchanged. This shows that SCs in these villages have not developed or become economically independent in the last half a century or more. This is clear when the present land owning pattern in these two villages is compared with that of the 1961. But, due to the technical differences in the type of variables in these two villages with respect to absence of caste wise possession of land in 1961, the comparison of land owning pattern has not been undertaken. In the monograph of the Pasarlapudilanka there is some information about 'land reclamation and development by household and caste' and 'land reforms and its effects by households and caste' in Table forms, which could only give the information pertaining to SCs that a Mala household reclaimed an acre of land and another Mala person lost an acre due to land reforms. In the monograph of Unagatla caste wise size of land holding is given. But, it is only based on the sample survey which covered 943 persons out of which 501 are male and 442 are female, whereas the total village population is 4107 out of which 2,084 are male and 2,023 are female. Hence, neither Pasarlapudilanka nor Unagatla caste wise land details of 1961 are comparable with 2015. The details of land possession by caste is given as shows in the Charts 3.1 and 3.2 respectively in chapter 3 for 2015. This data were

collected personally by the researcher. Hence, the comparison of caste wise landholdings between 1961 and 2015 has not been given, as such data are absent for 1961.

However, other available human development indicators such as caste wise occupation, literacy and house type comparisons are given. Occupation is one important indicator for change in economic status. This indirectly informs the caste wise landholdings as an index though not in actual figures.

Table 4.10: Caste Wise Occupational Statistics of the Pasarlapudilanka Village.

Name Of The Caste	T. HH*	Farmers	Agricultural Labour	Daily Wage Labour	Shopkeeper	Trader/ Business	Jobholders	Others*
2015								
Kapu	30	12	00	00	03	09	06	00
Mala	24	00	15	07	00	00	02	00
Settibalija	23	05	01	00	10	04	03	00
Komati	17	07	00	00	05	05	00	00
Brahmin	03	01	00	00	00	00	02	00
Yerukala	03	00	02	01	00	00	00	00
Chakali	02	00	01	01	00	00	00	00
Kummari	02	01	00	00	00	00	00	01
Markad	02	00	00	00	00	00	00	02
Kshatriya	02	02	00	00	00	00	00	00
Mangali	02	00	01	00	00	00	00	01
Madiga	02	00	01	01	00	00	00	00
Vishwabrahmin	02	01	00	00	00	00	01	00
TOTAL	114	29	21	10	18	18	14	04
1961								
Kapu	20	11	02	04	00	00	01	02
Mala	26	02	13	08	00	01	00	02
Settibalija	25	05	09	08	00	01	00	02
Komati	06	05	00	00	00	01	00	00
Brahmin	11	05	00	00	00	00	02	03
Yerukala	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	01
Chakali	02	00	00	00	00	00	00	02
Kummari	01	01	00	00	00	00	00	00
Markad	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	01
Kshatriya	02	01	00	00	00	00	01	00
Mangali	02	01	00	00	00	00	00	00
Madiga	02	00	01	00	00	00	01	00
Vishwabrahmin	01	00	00	00	00	00	00	01
TOTAL	100	31	25	20	00	03	05	14

Note*: T.HH - Total Households., Others – including Drivers of vehicles (i.e. tractor, lorry, and auto rickshaw) and Caste associated occupations (i.e. barber, potter, fisherman and purohit)

The Sample size in the Table 4.10 shows that the SCs (Mala and Madiga) as farmers, traders and shopkeepers are diminishing, but increasing as agricultural labourers, Others workers and government job holders. However, the trend in the occupational mobility may be due to either selling up of their lands or given up cultivating as shown in the cases of Suryanarayana Chittala and Satyanarayana Boopati. This trend has not shown any dependency on their literacy rate as well. Table 4.11 shows the comparison of caste wise literacy rates of 2015 and 1961 in Pasarlupudilanka.

The Sample size of 100 households in 1961 has increased to 114 households in 2015. It can be noticed that the number of household decreased are from the castes of Mala (2), Settibalija (2), and Brahmin (8). The increase of the number of household has taken place among the castes of Kapu (10), Komati (11), Yerukala (2), Kummari (1), Markad (1), and Vishwabrahmin (1). There is no change in case of Chakali, Kshatriya, Mangali and Madiga castes. The decrease in number of households is actually due to migration to towns.

The number of farming households is reduced by two households, and similarly the number of agricultural households is also reduced by four households. The number of daily wage labour also got reduced by 10 households. However, the number of shop keepers (18) and job holders (9) has increased. Thus, the non-agricultural households have increased substantially. It is interesting to note here that neither Mala nor Madiga is found in this category. In this category only Kapu, Settibalija and Komatis are found. Among the job holders, there are Mala (2), Kapu (5), Settibalija (3) and one Vishwabrahim (1) whose number has increased. The Brahmins remain the same in category of job holders. Thus, the major shift can be noticed among the Kapu, Settibalija and Komati castes in terms of continuing the original occupation and holding some employment of steady income. During the last fifty years, these three castes have shown more economic improvement through occupational shift compared to others. The marginal change is noticed only in case of Mala and Vishwabrahmin in terms of getting employment.

When it comes to decrease of farming is concerned it happened in case of Brahmin (4) and Mala (2) households, and increase of farming has increased in case of Kapu (1), Komati (2), Kshatriya (1) and Vishwabrahmin (1). The agricultural labour has increased among Mala (2), Yerukala (2), Chakali (1), and Mangali (1). Thus, the Mala (2) who lost farming got employment but increase in agriculture labour. Therefore it is a case of standing on unsteady ground, whereas Settibalija have improved by changing from agriculture labour

and daily wage to shop keeping, trade and employment. The daily wage work is carried out by Mala, Madiga, Yerukala, Chakali and Mangali. Thus, as these castes remain in the same state others have either improved or maintained a status quo of higher economic condition compared to the above.

Changes in Literacy and Education

Literacy is an important indicator of change and it could be counted as permanent asset. The SCP aims in creation of such assets for SCs. the sample data analysis shows the changing trends in the village.

Table 4.11: Caste-wise Literacy Statistics of the Pasarlapudilanka

YEARS	Sl. No.	Category	No. of Respondents	Total No. of Literates M/F	% of Literates M/F	No. of Males	Literates Among Males	% of Literacy Among Males	No. of Females	Lit. Among Females	Female Lit. %	Lit % of Caste	
2015	1	Kapu	30	30	100	18	18	100	12	12	100	32.23	
	2	Mala	24	15	62.5	14	08	57.1	10	07	70	16.12	
	3	Settibalija	23	20	86.9	11	11	100	12	09	75	21.50	
	4	Komati	17	17	100	09	09	100	08	08	100	18.27	
	5	Brahmin	03	03	100	03	03	100	--	--	--	03.22	
	6	Yerukala	03	01	33.3	02	01	50.0	01	--	--	1.07	
	7	Chakali	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07	
	8	Kummari	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07	
	9	Markad	02	--	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	10	Kshatriya	02	02	100	02	02	100	--	--	--	2.15	
	11	Mangali	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07	
	12	Madiga	02	01	50.0	02	01	50.0	--	--	--	1.07	
	13	Vishwabrahmin	02	01	50.0	01	01	100	01	--	--	1.07	
TOTAL			114	93	81.5	70	57	81.4	44	36	81.8	100	
1961	1	Kapu	119	37	31.03	57	23	40.35	62	14	22.93	22.41	
	2	Mala	111	29	26.13	62	20	32.29	49	9	18.36	20.90	
	3	Settibalija	107	28	26.17	53	19	35.85	54	9	16.66	2-.12	
	4	Komati	068	49	70.06	32	26	81.25	36	23	63.61	12.82	
	5	Brahmin	065	49	75.38	37	31	87.00	28	18	64.28	12.25	
	6	Yerukala	005	-	-	02	-	-	03	-	-	0.94	
	7	Chakali	006	-	-	03	-	-	03	-	-	1.13	
	8	Kummari	007	07	100	02	02	100	05	05	100	1.32	
	9	Markad	005	03	60.00	03	03	100	02	-	-	0.94	
	10	Kshatriya	015	12	75.00	08	06	73.33	07	06	75.00	2.84	
	11	Mangali	011	06	54.55	08	06	75.00	03	-	-	2.07	
	12	Madiga	008	02	25.00	04	01	25.00	04	01	25.00	1.50	
	13	Vishwabrahmin	004	03	75.00	01	01	100	03	02	66.66	0.76	
TOTAL			531	225	43.37	272	138	50.73	259	87	33.59	100	

Source: 1961 Statistics are from the Monograph, Page No. 12

The percentage of literate in the village in 1961 was 43.37 and this has increased to 81.5 in 2015. The percentage of literate among the Kapu has increased from 31.03 to 100 percent in 2015. The Komati and Brahmin which stood at 70.06 and 75.38 percent in 1961 has now reached 100 percent in 2015. The Kshatriya caste also has achieved 100 percent literacy from 75 percent. The most dramatic change has been in case of Settibalija which is from 26.17 percent to 86.9 percent. Compared to these cases, the case of increase of literacy among the SCs is marginal. Among the Mala the increase is from 26.13 percent to 62.5 percent, and among the Madiga it is from 25.0 percent to 50.0 percent. Where there is no much improvement in case of Mangali, the Chakali have improved from zero to 50 percent. Only in case of Kummari it has got deteriorated from 100 percent to 50 percent. Thus, there is very marginal change in literacy situation of the SCs for the last 54 years in Pasarlapudilanka village.

The gender wise disparity shows interesting results across the castes in the village. The males of Kapu, Settibalija, Komati, Brahmin and Vishwabrahim castes have achieved 100 percent literacy by 2015 from 40.35, 35.85, 81.25, 87.00 and 100 percent in 1961. In case of males of the SCs, the Mala has achieved 57.1 percent from 32.29 and the Madiga has achieved 50 percent from 25.0 percent. These figures corroborate with the above findings. As regards to female literacy, the Kapu and Komati castes have achieved 100 percent while the Mala achieved 70 percent and Madiga 25.0 percent. The Settibalija has achieved 75 percent in 2015 from 16.66 percent in 1961.

In the village the Kapu caste has been contributing the highest percent of literate population when compared to others since 1961. It is followed by other upper castes. The above analysis makes it clear that in the 54 years there is no great change in the literacy among the SCs Pasarlapudilanka, but upper castes have made quite visible upward change.

Changes in Housing Pattern

It is observed that there is very little progress even in the case of caste wise housing facility with respect to SCs in the village. This can be understood with a glance at the housing facility in two different time periods among different castes in the village. The caste wise data analysis of house type details is as follows.

Table 4.12: Caste -Wise House Type Details in Pasarlapudilanka

Name Of The Caste	2015				1961			
	Total No. of H.H	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Kutcha	Total No. of H.H	Pucca	Semi-Pucca	Kutcha
Kapu	30	28	02	-	20	17	-	3
Mala	24	05	09	10	26	02	05	19
Settibaliya	23	10	13	-	25	12	01	12
Komati	17	17	-	-	06	06	-	-
Brahmin	03	02	01	-	11	11	-	-
Yerukala	03	-	02	01	01	-	-	01
Chakali	02	-	02	-	02	02	-	-
Kummari	02	01	01	-	01	01	-	-
Markad	02	-	01	01	01	-	-	01
Kshatriya	02	01	01	-	01	01	-	-
Mangali	02	-	02	-	02	-	-	02
Madiga	02	-	02	-	02	-	-	02
Vishwabrahmin	02	01	01	-	01	-	-	01
TOTAL	114	65	37	12	100	52	06	42

The Table 4.12 shows it clearly that the villagers in 2015 are able to construct their own pucca houses with cement walls, bricks and concrete roof. The situation is more or less the same when compared to 1961 situation. However, the SCs are still a majority group to live in kutcha houses both in 1961 and 2015. It can be easily understood that while 19 out of 26 i.e., 73 percent lived in kutcha houses in 1961, 41.7 percent are living in 2015 in the same type of houses. There is certainly an improvement. But in case of Kapu out of 20 i.e., 15% lived in kutcha houses in 1961 and none of them are living in kutcha house, and 93 percent of them shifted to pucca houses in 2015. The Komati community is rich so they all living in pucca houses. The two Madiga households continued to live in the same kutcha houses for the last 45 year. Thus, no much progress has been seen as per the house type is concerned pertaining to SCs when compared to situation in 1961.

The overall picture about the living conditions of SCs in Pasarlapudilanka village when compared with that of the 1961 has not changed much. Due to incompatibility of the land type for cultivation most of them have given up practicing agriculture, instead they have become agricultural labourers. With reference to literacy, the gap between SC community and others has not been bridged. Besides, majority of the SCs are still living in kutcha houses. This shows that they are economically weak as before and there is no sign of

economic independency. To say it briefly, the socio-economic condition of the SCs in Pasarlapudilanka in 2015 is not different from the condition that prevailed during 1961.

Unagatla

Even in case of Unagatla not much difference has been noticed between 1961 and 2015. The details of the comparison in terms of caste wise occupation, literacy rate and house type give a quick look about their un-changed socio-economic conditions. The Table 4.13 shows the caste wise occupational details in Unagatla.

Table 4.13: Caste Wise Occupational Details of Unagatla

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	2015							1961						
		No. of H.H	Agri. Labour	Farmers	Shopkeeper	Petty Business	Jobholders	Others*	No. of H.H	Agri. Labour	Farmers	Shopkeeper	Petty Business	Jobholders	Others*
1	Goundla	17	01	05	04	05	02	--	46	26	9	-	2	-	9
2	Kapu	16	--	05	01	04	06	--	24	9	8	3	2	1	1
3	Kamma	06	--	04	--	--	02	--	26	6	17	-	2	-	-
4	Golla	07	01	02	--	--	02	02	6	4	-	1	1	-	-
5	Mala	05	03	--	--	--	01	01	10	7	2	-	1	-	-
6	Brahmin	05	--	--	--	--	03	02	4	-	-	-	-	-	4
7	Uppara	05	03	--	--	--	--	02	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
8	Chakali	06	03	01	--	--	--	02	8	-	1	-	-	-	7
9	Komati	06	--	01	04	01	--	--	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
10	SettyBalija	05	--	02	--	--	01	02	35	19	3	1	12	-	-
11	Senapathi	05	--	01	--	02	01	01	5	1	-	-	-	-	4
12	Dommara	05	03	--	--	--	--	02	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
13	Madiga	10	06	--	--	--	02	02	28	25	-	-	1	-	2
14	Teli	04	01	--	--	--	--	03	3	1	-	2	-	-	-
15	Kamsali	05	--	01	02	01	--	01	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
16	Mangali	04	01	--	02	--	--	01	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
17	Yerukala	04	03	--	--	--	--	01	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
18	Kummari	05	01	01	--	01	01	01	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		120	26	23	13	14	21	23	205	100	42	7	25	1	30

Note: Others– include traditional occupations and those works that doesn't come under the mentioned categories.

The Table 4.13 shows that majority of the SCs including both Mala and Madiga in Unagatla in 2015 are relying on agricultural labour as their primary occupation i.e., out of 15 total respondents 9 are agricultural labourers, which is more than half. The SC community is still remained as a major agricultural labour community in the village. The situation is more or less the same when compared to the 1961 situation where out of 38 total SC respondents 32 were agricultural labourers. However, the situation of Goundla,

Kapu, Kamma, Settibalija with respect to agricultural labourers has changed so much in 2015 from 1961. For example, the 26 agricultural labour in 1961 among Goundla got reduced to one in 2015. In case of Kapu and Kamma the 9 and 6 agricultural labour in 1961 has completely disappeared in 2015. Similar in the case with Settibalija. There are no farmers among the Mala in 2015 while there are two in 1961. There were no farmers among Madiga in 1961 and there is no farmer in 2015 also.

Table 4.14: Caste Wise Literacy Details in Unagatla Village

Sl. No.		Name of the Caste	No. of Respondents	Total No. of Literates M/F	% of Literates M/F	No. of Males	Literates Among Males	% of Literacy Among Males	No. of Females	Lit. Among Females	Female Lit. %	Lit % of Caste
1	2015	Goundla	17	15	88	11	10	90	06	05	83	14.70
2		Kapu	16	14	87	09	09	100	07	05	71	13.75
3		Kamma	06	06	100	05	05	100	01	01	100	5.88
4		Golla	07	07	100	04	04	100	03	03	100	6.86
5		Mala	05	04	80	03	02	66	02	02	100	3.92
6		Brahmin	05	05	100	04	04	100	01	01	100	4.90
7		Uppara	05	03	60	03	02	66	02	01	50	2.94
8		Chakali	06	05	83	03	03	100	03	02	66	4.90
9		Komati	06	05	83	04	03	75	02	02	100	4.90
10		SettyBalija	05	05	100	02	02	100	03	03	100	4.90
11		Senapathi	05	04	80	04	04	100	01	00	00	3.92
12		Dommarra	05	03	60	03	02	66	02	01	50	2.94
13		Madiga	10	06	60	06	04	66	04	02	50	5.88
14		Teli	04	04	100	03	03	100	01	01	100	3.92
15		Kamsali	05	04	80	04	03	75	01	01	100	3.92
16		Mangali	04	03	75	03	02	66	01	01	100	2.94
17		Yerukala	04	03	75	03	03	100	01	00	00	2.94
18		Kummari	05	05	100	03	03	100	02	01	50	4.90
TOTAL			120	102	85	77	68	88	43	32	74	100
1	1961	Goundla	213	30	14	123	25	20	90	5	5.5	13.45
2		Kapu	121	51	42	65	33	50.7	56	18	32.1	22.8
3		Kamma	109	49	44.9	49	22	44.8	60	27	45	21.97
4		Golla	19	-	-	9	-	-	10	-	-	-
5		Mala	50	20	40	27	14	51.8	23	6	26.	8.96
6		Brahmin	18	-	-	9	-	-	9	-	-	-
7		Uppara	9	-	-	6	-	-	3	-	-	-
8		Chakali	31	-	-	15	-	-	16	-	-	-
9		Komati	16	-	-	11	-	-	5	-	-	-
10		SettyBalija	150	29	19.3	84	20	23.8	66	9	13.6	13.00
11		Senapathi	25	-	-	12	-	-	13	-	-	-
12		Dommarra	3	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
13		Madiga	115	44	38.2	57	32	56.1	58	12	20.6	19.73
14		Teli	22	-	-	10	-	-	12	-	-	-
15		Kamsali	11	-	-	6	-	-	5	-	-	-
16		Mangali	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
17		Yerukala	5	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-
18		Kummari	7	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-
TOTAL			925	223	-	491	149	-	434	77	-	-

Note: Blanks indicate non-availability of data in the Census Monograph of 1961.

In 1961 the total SC (including Mala and Madiga) respondents are 165 out of which 64 are literate which is 39 percent. Among this literate SC population, 46 are male and 18 are female. In 2015 out of 15 total respondents 10 including 6 male and 4 female are literate, which is 66 percent. However, Goundla, Kapu, Kamma, Golla and Setty Balija the situation with respect to the literacy is progressive and far better than SCs in the village. The literacy among these castes shows that 88 percent, 87 percent, 100 percent, 100 percent and 100 percent respectively. The gap between these caste groups and SCs has not been changed much when compared to the situation in 1961.

Table 4.15: Caste Wise comparison of Income Details between 2015 and 1961 in Unagatla

Sl. No.	Name Of The Caste	2015						1961					
		T. H.H	Less than 25000	25000 to 50000	50000 to 100000	100000 to 500000	More than 500000	T.H.H	Below 300	301 to 600	601 to 900	901 to 1200	1201 to 1500
1	Goundla	17	01	05	06	02	03	41	03	09	17	08	04
2	Kapu	16	03	03	05	03	02	20	01	01	08	05	05
3	Kamma	06	01	01	01	01	02	14	-	03	04	05	02
4	Golla	07	02	03	--	01	01	05	-	02	02	01	-
5	Mala	05	03	--	02	--	--	09	-	02	02	03	02
6	Brahmin	05	01	--	02	01	01	03	-	-	01	01	01
7	Uppara	05	03	02	--	--	--	01	01	-	-	-	-
8	Chakali	06	02	01	02	01	--	07	03	01	01	02	-
9	Komati	06	--	02	02	01	01	02	-	-	02	-	-
10	Setty Balija	05	01	--	03	--	01	31	03	07	09	10	02
11	Senapathi	05	--	02	02	01	--	04	-	01	01	02	-
12	Dombara	05	02	02	01	--	--	01	-	-	-	01	-
13	Madiga	10	04	01	05	--	--	27	-	08	13	04	02
14	Teli	04	01	02	01	--	--	02	-	-	01	-	01
15	Kamsali	05	--	--	03	02	--	02	-	-	01	-	01
16	Mangali	04	02	02	--	--	--	01	01	-	-	-	-
17	Yerukala	04	02	02	--	--	--	00	-	-	-	-	-
18	Kummari	05	--	02	02	01	--	00	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL		120	28	30	37	14	11	170	12	34	62	42	20

It can be noticed from Table 4.15 that there is clear improvement in terms of earnings regardless of caste in Unagatla between 2015 and 1961. In 1961 they are very low when compared to 2015. Variations in the value of rupee and market is the major reasons for this improvement, which means that in 1961 a person who has annual income between Rs. 1200 to 1500 is considered as rich whereas a person with the same annual income in 2015 is considered as very poor. Hence, comparison of income levels on these lines cannot give clear understanding about the changes that have taken place in income levels of SCs in comparison with the other caste groups in the village between 1961 and 2015. But the

figures are indicative of economic status. We need to understand in qualitative terms rather than quantitative terms. However, for our best understanding, all the five income categories in 1961 i.e., 'below 300', '301-600', '601-900', '901-1200' and '1201-1500' can be considered are equal with the income categories in 2015 i.e., 'less than 25000', '25000-50000', '50000-100000', '100000-500000' and 'above 500000' respectively. These 1 to 5 categories in each year can be considered as very poor to very rich i.e., the first category represents very poor, second category represents poor, the third represents balanced, the fourth well off, and the fifth represents rich. The total number of persons from a caste group fall in each of these categories can be compared with the total number of persons from other caste groups, and the gap between SCs and other caste groups in income levels in 1961 can be compared with the gap that is existing in 2015 so that it can be clear if there is any change in income levels of each caste from 1961 to 2015. However, here it is intended to focus on comparison of SC's income with the other caste groups.

Table 4.15 shows that out of 36 total SCs respondents (including Mala 9 and Madiga 27) in 1961 no one falls in the first category, which means that there were no very poor SCs. However, there are 10 respondents in the second category and 15 in the third category. Besides, there are 7 and 4 respondents in the fourth and fifth categories respectively. At the same time, majority of the other caste groups in the village are under balanced, well off and rich categories. For example, Goundla 29 out of 41 are under these categories. Similarly, Kapu 18 out of 20, Kamma 11 out of 14 and Setty Balija 21 out of 31 are under these categories. This shows that majority of SCs i.e., 21 out of 36 are under poor and balanced income categories in 1961 in Unagatla.

The situation in 2015 is that out of 15 total SC respondents 7 are under very poor and one under poor categories, and there are 7 respondents are under balanced category. There is no representation from SC respondents under well off and rich categories. Besides, there are 11 out of 17 Goundla respondents under balanced, well off and rich categories. Similarly, out of 16 total Kapu respondents, 10 are under these three categories. Out of 6 Kamma respondents 4, out of 5 Setti Balij respondents 4 are under these categories.

In 2015, the trends in the caste wise income levels and the gap between these caste-groups especially SCs versus higher castes i.e., Kamma, Kapu, Goundla and Setti Balija show that there is no much improvement. We may even say that it is worsen when compared with 1961 situation. Hence, once can say that the economic situation of SCs has not improved,

instead, it is deteriorated in Unagatla despite programme and Schemes that believed to have been implemented under SCP for the development of SCs.

Conclusion

In Andhra Pradesh, the administrative mechanism i.e., Nodal Agency for the monitoring and implementation of SCP is not effective. It is also not given proper authority and responsibility to check misappropriations with reference to implementation of the programmes and schemes under the SCP. This led to improper allocation and spending of SCP funds. It is noted that around 11 percent on an average from 2003 to 2013 is allocated for SCP from the state budget which is way below the total SC population percent i.e., above 16 percent of the state population. Even after the sub-committee recommendations i.e., from 2013 till 2016 the allocations for SCP are inconsistent and improper. However, among the Departments and Ministries which have received the SCP funds, agriculture and school education have received major chunk of it. The effectiveness of these departments in achieving the goals is examined in the village. Under school education, the SSA programme has been receiving majority of funds from SCP. However, it is noted that there is not a single programme or scheme undertaken at in a way that it is exclusively beneficial for SCs, instead the funds are utilized under general programmes. The effect of this is observed in Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla that there are more number of drop out among SC children when compared to the other caste groups in these villages, the cases of Chintu and Sunitha have explained that their poor economic condition is the major reason for the situation. Drawbacks in the rules of the Social welfare hostel also making it difficult for SC students to get quality education.

In the case of agriculture and possession of land similar results were found. Majority of the SC population in these two villages are agricultural labourers whose incomes are very low when compared with those who involved in non-agricultural activities. When it comes to land ownership SCs possess very negligible amount of land. Even the distributed land by the government under land distribution programme is not viable for cultivation. From the cases of Suryanarayana and Satyanarayan it is understood that they have lost their savings by investing on the land that they have got under the land distribution programme in Pasarlapudilanka as these lands are not useful for cultivation. Besides, there are local politics involved in selecting beneficiaries under such programmes.

The comparison of the socio-economic situation in terms of occupation, literacy, house type and income of these two villages in 2015 with that of 1961 situation reveals that they is no much change has happened and are still under development when compared to the other caste groups in the village.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The thesis examines the Special Component Plan (Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan) as a unit of study and as a problem in order to understand how SCP in particular and welfare policy in India is functioning in general towards the socio-economic development of Scheduled Castes in order to uplift them to the level of other sections of Indian society. The concept of welfare has been employed differently in different contexts and in nation states depending on its relevance for the social and cultural background of the group or citizens. In Indian context the focus is on the economically weaker sections of the society, and of them more particularly the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. India declared herself as a welfare state in the Constitution in Article 38. In Article 46 the Constitution clearly states the mandate for the welfare of the SCs and STs. Thus, under the provisions of Constitution, the SCP has been introduced an important mechanism through the social and economic problems of the SCs and STs who constitute almost one fourth of the country's population is addressed.

The SCP is taken up for study mainly for three reasons. One, it is a unique policy that aimed for the overall development of a social group i.e., SCs with special emphasis on socio-economic growth. This is to be achieved making available sufficient fund for this purpose by dividing the general budget on the basis of population in proportion to the SCs, and allocate them for the purpose of creating permanent assets and increasing incomes. In the history of India no such programme at its magnitude, besides TSP, has been undertaken and publicized by the government. Two, despite implantation of such important policy for nearly four decades with hundreds of different programmes and schemes in all the states and in centre, the discourse about their development is still emphasizing on the need to improve their basic necessities such as *pucca* house, education, nutritional food, economic independence and so on. This raises curiosity about the realities. Three, examination of the realities of SCP is aimed at contributing for better policy making as it explores the ground realities about the policy implementation. The thesis hopes to contribute how policy can be studied within the subject of anthropology of public policy, by studying the SCP in its formulation, implementation and achievements made so far.

The thesis is organized primarily in four Chapters excluding introduction and the conclusion. In the Introduction the anthropological concerns towards public policy which include why and how anthropologists study policy are covered. Following this, a brief introduction about SCP has been provided. According to SCP guidelines issued to all State and UT governments (including Central Government) are required to implement the policy in all their ministries and departments, by way of creating a separate budget in proportion to the SC population in the country and in respective states and UTs. Accordingly, many States and UTs have formulated and implemented a number of programmes and schemes. Some states even set up a special administrative mechanism for the implementation of the programmes and schemes under the policy. Many States have made Social Welfare Department as the nodal agency for the implementation of the SCP. This has followed, few important research findings of various studies on the implementation of SCP. They reveal the fact that the SCs still lag behind in the vital aspects of development such as literacy, economy, health, infrastructure, opportunities and in political spaces. On the other hand, the implementation of the SCP has not been that effective as intended results are not obtained due to some serious drawbacks in the formulation of SCP itself. In the light of these the research problem is presented, which states that ‘one should raise questions about the formulation and implementation of the SCP whether its failure or success anything to do with its formulation or implementation? or whether the policy has been made a channel to execute the power of the state over population against aspirations of people? Is it tactically played decisions of political interests of the powerful at the cost of the powerless? Whether this phenomenon is solely confined to the upper levels where political elites take decisions or it is also associated with the bottom level where policy implementation carried out? Hence, it is very important to see how this social process has really been taken place at the both upper and bottom levels. Finally what do we understand from the SCP or what gaps exist in the welfare policy of Scheduled Castes in India?’

The available anthropological literature posits the view that policy is a form of ‘power’ which is institutionalized and it determines the way in which individuals, groups, and organizations must act. Further, policy is inevitably associated with ‘politics’ because policy is largely bound with higher authorities who are most of the times directly or indirectly political in nature. Policies are also made keeping politics and power in mind rather than the needs of the people or target-group. Hence, policy needs to be seen as a ‘channel’ through which the powerful play politics to control the ordinary. In the light of the above it is aimed to understand the making

of SCP, strategies and methods that are used for its implementation, ground realities with respect to the development of SCs in order to understanding the success and failure of SCP.

To realize the objectives, an explorative research design is followed to carry out the research. Foucauldian concept of 'power' is adopted as the appropriate theoretical framework to understand and explain the phenomenon of SCP and the welfare policy. According to Foucault, power can be operated in two ways i.e., negative force and positive force. As a negative force, power excludes, represses, censors, abstracts, masks and conceals the truth and act as a coercive force that compels us to act against our wish. This negative dimension of power is largely studied and well known to many. However, Foucault explored and emphasized on the positive dimension of power. As a positive force, power produces reality, it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth (Foucault 1991: 194). This means that power establishes the truth, and makes individuals and groups accept it not in a coercive way but cooperative way. To explain this phenomenon Foucault took examples of prisons, schools and mental hospitals from 18th century Europe (Foucault 1991). He says that these systems of surveillance and assessment not required coercive action, as people learned to discipline themselves and behave in expected ways because power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and truth. He also challenges the idea that power is possessed by people or groups by way of periodic or dominant acts of coercion. He says that, power dispersed and pervasive in the society. To say in his words 'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense it is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault 1998: 63). This doesn't mean that all the existing things possess power, but they can be used to exercise power. This conceptual understanding of power is used to explain the present context.

The exploratory design of the study considered to examine the SCP at the level of policy formulation, the circumstances under which the SCP has emerged for the upliftment of the poorer sections of the society. The review of the functioning of SCP in a self-reflective strategy by the government mechanism has also become part of the examination of the SCP in its formulation and function. The methodology also include an empirical study on the socio-economic conditions of SCs at two villages in 2015 where SCP has been implemented some programmes while comparing these villages with anthropological studies of villages that covered the conditions of SCs at different locations and different periods of time before and after the implementation of SCP. The implementation of SCP has been studied in these two villages in 2015 comparing the data available for these villages during 1961 when the SCP was

not implemented in these villages. However, the limitation of the study is that quantitative data of 1961 could not be compared for certain parameters.

The first Chapter has aimed reconstructing the sociological milieu and crisis at the first place, which ultimately led to adoption of corrective measures for the development of SCs in the form of SCP in 1980. This part of the Chapter unfolds the pathetic socio-economic conditions of SCs which have been there from ancient times. The political instability that occurred during rule of Indira Gandhi in 1970s gave a way to the Congress party and central government to seriously consider the expectations of the SCs from the government for betterment of their lot. Due to political instability the administrative system was stalled and that caused the situation to stand still the implementation of welfare programmes. Besides this, the green revolution that was initiated during 1960 has it positive impact on the farmers by increasing the yielding. With this increased yield, farmers have improved their purchasing capacity which ultimately led to increased prices of common minimum provisions in the market. But the landless poor SCs who relied on their daily wages were not able to cope up with the market conditions. Hence, they demanded for the increase of wages for their daily labour but the farmers or landlords were not ready to do so. This resulted in conflict between agricultural labourers and landlords and ultimately turned as caste conflict between dominant castes and SCs as majority of the labourers were from SC community. In the process of fight for their rights, SC labourers were killed. Such kind of conflicts were spread all over the country not only in Punjab and Indo-Gangetic plain. The increased gap between rich and poor became a fertile ground for the spread of communist ideology in the country. The SCs in several states were attracted to this ideology as their expectations from independent India have not been fulfilled and their development still appeared to be a dream. The Maoists and Naxalites resistance groups that emerged in several places across the country quickly attracted the educated SCs who were frustrated and disgruntled to join the cadres. Around the same time, failure of special measures such as abolition of bonded labour, 20 point programme, land redistribution programme etc., could neither stop the ongoing Dalit movement not completely satisfy the needs of the SCs. In this conditions the elections for Parliamentary and Assemblies had to take place. Indira Gandhi who was facing opposition within the party had to mobilise SC votes as a famous SC leader has left the party. As a result, finally she as a Prime Minister pushed the SCP through Parliament and directed all the states and UTs to implement SCP as an all-round development policy for SC in 1980.

The evolution of the SCP has been dealt in the second part of the first Chapter by examining the reports of Standing Tripartite Committee, and Narendra Jadav Task Force Committee and Andhra Pradesh Cabinet Sub-Committee. The critical evaluation of the SCP by these Committees led to the development of the guidelines for the implementation of SCP given by Planning Commission in 2006. By going through the reports of committees and SCP guidelines, one can understand that there is no considerable change so far as the implementation is concerned. SCP as a document stands as a testimony for achieving ideal Indian society by up lifting the poorest of the poor.

The second Chapter has aimed to present and critically examine the fresh look at SCP by the Cabinet Sub-Committee in Andhra Pradesh. Almost three and half decades later, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has appointed a Cabinet Sub-Committee to relook and review the status of SCs and SCP in the state. Accordingly, the Committee has surveyed within the state of Andhra Pradesh, consulted number of policy making experts, academicians, intellectuals and other government officials, and received overflowing requests and memorandums from pressure groups, activists and individuals. The Committee submitted its report to the Government of Andhra Pradesh with findings and recommendations for policy considerations. The findings of the Sub-Committee include; lack of vision, lack of clear guidelines or norms to be followed for the implementation of SCP, absence of planning for SCP programmes and schemes and weak monitoring system. The committee also found that the SCs population are still lag behind in the aspects of literacy, infant mortality, health, employment, land holdings and living conditions. Hence the committee has strongly felt the need for a legislation for SCP in the state, creation of a state council, creation of a nodal agency, appointment of an exclusive principal secretary, accountability and punishment, and an ombudsmen system. Accordingly the committee made recommendations which were received by the Government of Andhra Pradesh and enacted the bill which has been titled as ‘Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Planning, Allocation and Utilization of Financial Resources) Act, 2013’.

However, the report of the committee suffers from certain inadequacies. First, the committee was given very little time i.e., four months, to find the socio-economic status of SCs in Andhra Pradesh. Second, due to inefficient time the committee largely relied on the secondary data available at that time that do not give the clear picture of conditions of SCs at the grassroots. Third, it only managed to conduct a few meetings at some towns whereas majority of SC

population live in rural areas. The committee should have consulted grass root level SC families to understand the bottle necks of the development process. It is important to understand that the constitution of this committee and review of SCP in the state itself is political in its motive and objective. The political crisis developed due to the untimely death of Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, C.M. and unpopular government under the leadership of his successor. Besides, the rise of Telangana movement and the movement for categorization of SCs launched by the MRPS have led for the review of SCP. The SCs strongly felt that the government has been neglecting their welfare and the development. Under these circumstances the government has constituted the Cabinet Sub-Committee.

Third Chapter provides a descriptive analysis of socio-economic conditions of SCs in villages of Andhra Pradesh over a period of sixty year or so. This analysis is based on the available village studies between 1950 and 2014. The village studies of Shamirpet in 1951, Konduru in 1971, Anthatipuram in 1998, Kottagudem in 2009, Karavadi and Veerabhadrapuram in 2013 and Chennaram in 2014 inform the socio-economic conditions of SCs and the social fabric and milieu in which they have been living. The analysis shows that the occupation of SCs has been mainly agricultural labour with marginal changes. They have been landless and dependent on the landlords for their living who are upper caste Hindus with wealth and political power. Hence, traditional practices that are strongly rooted in castes' rank provide the social order founded on political and economic power. These practices are taken shape in master and servant or patron – client relations and operated in *jajmani* system. The underlining factor that emerges in these studies is that the land owning communities who are economically dominant organise the communities, especially SCs, in a way advantageous to them and the servants or clients continue remain as dependents. The dominant castes take advantage of the benefits of the modernity, education, technology, politics and comforts of life. The dependent castes struggle to get out of the disadvantageous social relations to become independent and get access to modernity. Wherever the traditional social relations are broken either due to failure of farming or cultivation of commercial crops and establishment of industries the SCs got liberated from the disadvantageous social relations and became freemen to sell their labour. The government's efforts do not seem to have helped facilitating the intended planned change among the SCs. However, there is some effect so far as education is concerned due to establishment of social welfare hostels for boys and girls including residential schools. The reservation policy also has helped securing admissions into schools and colleges and few jobs. The land distribution scheme has been by and large failed to yield any tangible benefits to SCs.

Given this understanding the observations from two coastal villages of Andhra Pradesh i.e. Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla reveal prevalence of the same situation. The villages were selected based on the availability of beneficiaries and bench mark data from the village monographs published by Census of India in 1961. The analysis of the primary data shows that the land holdings in the Pasarlapudilanka village are concentrated in the hands of only two caste groups i.e. Kapu and Komati. The land holdings by the SCs in the village are very minimal or negligible. The SCs are lagging behind not only in terms of land holding but in many other aspects. Occupation wise majority of them are agricultural labourers hence their economic conditions are such that they have to rely on everyday labour work to survive. Their literacy rate also very poor when compared with the other social groups in the village. Majority of their houses are *pucca* houses. Even their habitations in the village are not extended with the common minimum facilities as much as they are done to the other social groups' living in the village.

The SCs in the village continue to depend on the two dominant castes who have been exploiting the SCs in many ways. For example, during the elections they demand the SCs to vote to the candidate whom these dominant castes support. Those who do not oblige will not be considered to get the benefits from any government scheme or welfare programme. Further such of them will be employed in their agricultural fields or they are paid less. In Unagatla village, it is the Kamma community who controls the land holdings and so the village politics. SCs always remain as dependents. A very large section of the SCs are not even heard of the SCP and those who have heard are not aware of its function in these two villages. However a very tiny section, who are educated, know about it. These people are generally do not stay in the village in the majority of the cases they live in towns and cities. Hence, those who do not know about this welfare policy are not informed by anyone. Due to this reason the ignorant people are not able to enquire or access the benefits of government the programmes and schemes. Hence they go to others those who are loyal to the land owners for help.

The fourth Chapter has discussed the implementation of two important programmes, education and agriculture. The administrative structure lacks the mechanism to ensure strict implementation of SCP. There is no nodal agency or coordinating department for SCP either at the centre or at the states which resulted in irresponsibility in maintaining the records pertaining to allocation and expenditure of funds. There is no system of developing scientific plan for effective programmes and schemes for SCs. The allocation of funds show unsystematic

and inconsistent patterns. To study of two programmes i.e., school education and agriculture reveals above assertions. Sarva Siksha Abhiya (SSA) and Social Welfare Hostels are examined under the school education. The analysis of SSA implementation shows that in Andhra Pradesh the dropout rates of the SCs children are certainly reduced over the years but the SSA was not able to reduce the gap between the non-SCs and SC children. This is due to absence of any special programme primarily focus on reducing the dropout rates among the SC children. The study of drop outs in Pasarlapudilanka village also show high dropout rates among the SCs children and poor literacy rate.

The social welfare hostels are playing a vital role in promoting education among the SCs. However, drawbacks in its rule book have become an obstacle for the SCs children to attain the modern education. For instance, those who are given residence in the social welfare hostels are only supposed to study in government schools and not in private schools. This is an obstacle because in the government schools there is no English medium instruction, whereas in the private schools provide English medium education. However, in India after the school education English is highly required language to study further. But SC children who stay in social welfare hostels during their schooling cannot get English medium.

In case of agriculture, the implementation of the land distribution programme in the village is proven faulty in terms of the quality of land selected for the distribution. In some cases the land is given but after some time it became useless due to clash with other scheme. Thus the land that has been distributed is not helping the poor SCs to overcome their economic dependency. Hence, their situation in the villages is not changing. The comparison of development indicators such as occupation, literacy, residential structures etc., between 1961 and 2015 there is no much difference among the SCs in Pasarlapudilanka and Unagatla village compared to the non-SC villagers.

The above observations made it clear that SCP as a policy has socio-economic, political and cultural implications for the SC community. For instance, in 1970s the immediate reason that drove the government to formulate SCP is participation of SCs in the movement demanding the government for taking steps for their social and economic development and protection of their rights and wellbeing. Besides this, there was a fear of Congress Party losing their vote bank for the split in the Indira Congress Party initiated by the popular SC leader. Hence, the government had to woo and win the favour of SCs and divert them from joining the militant political groups or parties. The first national level meeting was held with the Chief Ministers

of the states and Union territories and all the Central Ministers to discuss various issues on the development of SCs in 1975. The government established the first commission for SCs and STs in 1978 though there is already a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that has Constitutional mandate. In fact, there is no much difference between the Commission and Commissioner in their functions. At last, the former helped accommodating a few SC leaders as Chairman and Members of the Commission. The Mandal Commission was established in 1979 to satisfy the Backward Class communities, and finally came the grand proposal for the speedy implementation of the SCP in 1979. All these moves have made in order to take control of the uprising Dalit and Backward class Movement.

The steps initiated for the development of SCs seemed to have worked out effectively for some time and to certain extent until the movement slowed down. Later, the policy has been ineffective by taking advantage of the unenforceable guidelines. The SCP appears to have taken as a choice but not a mandate for the governments to implement the same. Thus, one can interpret that the government became successful in maintaining the status-quo wherein the SCs will remain where they have been so. The issue of the empowerment of SCs can remain an everlasting slogan for the politicians and the government. Keeping the issue alive means creating more mileage for the political parties to easily grab the attention and mobilise the community for the electoral and other political purposes. This is one of the most important reasons why if majority of the SCs are spotted most of the time in association with a particular political party. This phenomenon is nothing but positive force of power where it constituted through established or accepted forms of knowledge and scientific understanding. The accepted form of knowledge here is the policy itself. When policy is made by the government or through a proper process it is largely accepted by the people without questioning how and why and under what circumstances it is made by whom? Hence, the policy can be used for achieving agendas whether declared or undeclared.

This established or accepted forms of knowledge can be used as a tool to exercise the negative force of power. For example, the ineffective SCP not only served the purpose of the political parties as mentioned above but also contributed to the continuation of the primordial sentiments of caste hierarchy and hegemony, but in a modified form. From the ancient times, the caste system excluded the SCs from the control of political and economic resources along with many other resources which kept the SC castes as weak groups. The introduction of SCP was meant to bring a change in the society. However, this did not happen so far and there are no indications

that it could ever happen. The SCs perhaps have not achieved either political or economic independence or control over the resources as in case of others. The political parties that are dominated by the upper caste members and those who form the governments do not allow significant changes in the conditions of SCs. An Expert Group, which submitted its report to Planning Commission, has clearly identified the political marginalization of SCs (2008: 18). This not only shows, as Gilbert says, that government's irresponsibility and silently surrendering the public responsibility (2004) but also that policies are used as a tools to mobilise masses for political interests. Foucault calls this phenomenon as 'political technology'. He says, a political technology is a means by which power conceals its own operations (1991).

Conclusions

The development of SCs have been in discourse for quite a long time since the independence of India. Though several measure are taken including constitutional guarantees and SCP, SCs economic liberty is still far from the reality. Prevalence of this situation for such a long time can only be understood when the problem is seen from the cultural, religious and political points of view. Even the SCP as a welfare policy could not achieve the goals due to faults in keeping the implementation process of SCP under a genuine accountability shield. As a result the SCP funds are not allocated proportionately, allocated funds are diverted, and those funds are spent are not spent exclusively to the benefits of the SCs, there were no specific programmes or schemes exclusively for SCs and finally the SCP is not effective enough and hence problem of the SCs is not fully touched and not fully taken away.

The functionality and effectiveness of the policy can be interpreted may be in other words, instead. When policy is formulated and not given strict and fair guidelines to implement it, it's going to be a failure for sure, or it may be an intentional attempt to dilute it and achieve something invisible behind it. Certainly to mobilise the community in the shadow of the policy for the political purposes. So, it is very necessary to understand that a welfare policy can not only be a tool for public good but it can also work as a political tactic to mobilize the masses.

Since the main objective of SCP is to transform the lives of the SCs it is necessary to dwell on the matters what come on the way of change as challenges, deterrents or facilitators. First of all the SCP is an important slice of the welfare policy of the state. The concern of the state for the welfare her people is quite reasonable, and as such Indian state has formalized in the

Constitution the welfare of her poor citizens in categorical terms scheduled castes and scheduled tribes who suffered from certain social disabilities for ages. The state determined to use its benevolence which may be called power to provide relief to these sections. Such benevolence if one looks down the history it becomes clear that it was neither absent nor unexperienced by these sections in colonial or precolonial state, it remained in unwritten form. But the written Constitution of the Indian republic of modern state makes it an obligatory action upon the state to plan and execute this benevolence. It is not intended to discuss here the reasons for the SCs and STs to find such a place in the Constitution though there are other categories of people with a little less severity of the suffering but not fortunate enough to find such a place. Besides several other reasons, the role of politics in the freedom struggle cannot be dismissed and this benevolence cannot also be disconnect with those politics.

This benevolent attitude of the state does not come nowhere, but from the society, the people. The moral, ethics, values, and religion of the people that underlie in structuring the society provide mental map for the social order in a historical social process. In this social context benevolence can be noted with regard to the SCs who have never been in isolation, though the STs have been. They have been living along with the non-SCs who are diverse in terms of groups and physical numbers. The non-SCs include socially, politically, economically, and numerically dominant castes who could wield social power on SCs and others as well. As the SCs, though live physically in separate habitation away from the non-SC habitation that has its own name as the village while the former does not have, their relations with non-SCs shaped by principles of inclusion and exclusion. While they are included and integrated with the village community with reference to economic and political activities but are excluded so far as religious participation or worship of village deities are concerned. These social relationships of inclusion and exclusion now-a-days are contingent upon the social and economic status of the individual SC as much as on the socio-economic status of the non-SCs. But traditionally the group precedes the individual, and the SCs strongly desired the obliteration of the exclusionary processes and become single community in a habitation without any caste discrimination. But that has not happened till now.

The benevolent modern state in principle respects this desire of the SCs and felt the objective of the welfare policy should be towards that end in line with the modern human values, human equality, human rights and human dignity and bury the past in the annals of history. This can happen through several welfare measures and the state felt the SCP is the best to achieve this

goal. The SCP when implemented over the years would uplift the SCs from the poor socio-economic conditions and help achieving the modern human values and make India modern egalitarian society and it can no longer be a traditional unequal society.

However, the social context in which the SCs live should correspond with the state's objectives and vision so as to achieve the above goal. As the village studies reviewed indicate that the ground realities of actual social context are different. The prevalence of dominant caste¹ provides the basic social context in the village where majority of the SCs of Andhra Pradesh live. Further, the traditional inter-dependent relations popularly known as jajmani system, a system of relations², is the traditional institution that brings the SCs also into the fold of village community. Several scholars such as Beidelman (1959) and Mencher (1974) have disagreed with Wiser (1936) who viewed the jajmani system as a cooperative and non-exploitative interdependent economic system. The present study is also of the same opinion wherein the SCs are subjected to exploitation. The SC families that are educated and became economically independent are no longer part of the jajmani system and they could enjoy certain autonomy but the large majority of SCs who are poor do depend on the dominant non-SC castes. Here the social power of the dominant non-SC upper castes needs a careful examination. The patron-client relations are not seen as exploitative by the neither of the parties; the non-SCs families if are rich provide employment to the poor SCs and others. When the former needs financial support in exigencies like medical treatment, or wedding of children etc., extend loans. Since these SCs cannot get loans from the commercial institutions or banks, the landlord comes forward as the banker regardless of the motive behind for such a step. This kind of patronization of course would be used for assured labour when there is demand for labour or votes at the time of elections etc. This view has been expressed in Pasarlapudilanka where a school age daughter was employed with the landlord as a domestic help keeping such exigencies in view. Such instances are noted in Kothagudem as well. In the village if someone is in any crisis some sort of support comes from some non-SCs also. In some cases the SCs use the networks of their masters when working as *paleru*. They may rent lands from the absentee landlords who may not have obligation to do so. The existence and operations of this sort of benevolent power of the non-SCs in the village cannot be ignored. These kinds of relations also play significant role

¹This analytic concept was developed by MN Srinivas (1959), and it clearly explains the social reality of Indian village.

²Dumont (1970) theorizes that the system of relations is based on religious and moral ground rather than on strict market forces; this phenomenon is quite unique to India.

in village life and politics; the SCs align themselves, if they have good numerical strength, to a particular dominant caste or a faction of it. Such situation has been revealed in Konduru.

But in case the non-SCs become poor by themselves for any reason as it happened in Anthatipuram or Chennaram they cannot provide support to the SCs, but then alternatives are necessary for the SCs in such cases. Here the empirical data show that the alternatives became available when the SCs migrated from the village to the towns and cities where non-agricultural employment was available. In such circumstances the traditional ties or institutions got loosened paving a way for partial liberation of the SCs from the grip of the landlord or jajman.

The negatively working of social power as brute force has also been noted in Anthatipuram and Konduru. In fact atrocities committed on the SCs in Andhra Pradesh and elsewhere stand testimony for this. The landlords terminate the services of the *paleru* or do not hire the SCs to work in their farms when the latter are found not supporting the landlord on any issue particularly during elections as narrations of SCs at Pasarlupudilanka and Unagatla reveal. When such a coercive action is taken, often times the upper caste come together unitedly as a single agentive force, forgetting or temporarily abandoning their differences, to act upon the SCs. The dominant castes often use such negative power by not extending government schemes or facilities to the SCs. These members influence the government machinery in their favour which become disadvantage for the SCs as in case of laying gas pipeline in Unagatla village. The non-SC upper castes are often annoyed of the non-conformation of the traditional reverential practices of the SCs who are educated. Symbolic gestures of accepting superiority of the non-SC upper caste males include standing up when a non-SC passes by, giving way to the when a non-SCs comes across, and use of honorific terms addressing a non-SC. In villages the SCs are not allowed to wear footwear when passing the locality of the non-SCs, and they are not allowed to use umbrella also and when are not allowed golden ornaments etc. But the educated SCs and particularly those who are employed in towns and cities and who no longer under the control of the non-SCs in the village do not conform to such traditional norms. This non-confirmative behaviour is taken as violation of norms and signs of disrespect to the non-SC male, and the response and reaction of the annoyed non-SCs is usually harm or work against the interest of the SCs. Often the lower caste non-SCs such as barber, washerman, carpenter, potter and so on who are called service castes also join with the non-SC upper castes. Though these service castes provide their services to SCs they consider themselves or seen by the dominant castes superior to the SCs in social status though they are not equal to the dominant

castes. They also expect respect and honour from the SCs. When it comes to the benefits of the SCP for the SCs the non-SC upper and lower castes in the village feel that the poor families among them also deserve such benefits. They argue it is favouring SCs leaving out the other poor which cannot be justified. This social context is important where the SCs and implementation of SCP for them. Such kind of mind set is present in the village and even among the non-SC employees in the government offices at Mandal and District level offices.

The failure or success of SCP implementation shall be explained in view of the above complex social context. If the SCP entitles such wide range ramifications, it must be seen that non-SCs who are not directly involved remain invisible participants with a concern that their interests are not drastically affected. When they sense or note that their interests are being affected they take steps for averting such moves to the state. As detailed above, since the social relations are affective, they even touch upon the primordial sensibilities of the SCP designers and implementers. It means to say the SCP planners are actors who invariably belong to castes of dominant caste groups are likely to design or implement the schemes in a normative and mechanical way. This helps in a way the direct non-SC participants in the locations or villages where the SCP schemes are implemented, such that the interest of the non-SCs are not drastically affected. If possible they will work out in such a way that they will become indirect beneficiaries when the SCs are direct beneficiaries.

The above social context may serve as a model for application the same at a higher level but more focusing on the political arena. SCP stands as a symbol of paternalistic gesture of the government, a particular political party that formed the government. The analysis of circumstances under which the emergence of SCP has taken place demonstrates the political underpinning of the SCP. The political leaders other than SC and ST mostly represent the non-SC upper caste elites very rarely do we find the non-SC lower or service castes. One may argue that these political elites at the Centre or Assembly have their counterparts in the villages. In fact most them hail from the villages or carry sufficient rural background. They are not totally removed from the rural moorings. They require wider base of supporters from the grass roots. The networks of rural leaders connect these higher nodes, and the SCs also sometimes seek to network through their local connections. Thus, the rural social power transcend to the higher levels. The positive power can flow from the top for the benefit of the grass root SCs. The same power can become negative force if the benefits of SCs pose a problem for the non-SCs in the village.

Finally the success of any policy depends on the participation of people through cooperation not by compulsion whoever are related directly or indirectly. In this case of SCP appears that though the SCs are very enthusiastic to participate, there is lack of whole hearted participation or there is some sort of non-co-operation and unwillingness on the part of non-SCs either at policy implementers either at the level of political party or government machinery or at the village level. The study is unable to contribute anything in this regard, but the discussions from various non-SCs and observations in the village have given the impression that the SCs have been largely agricultural labour in the unorganized sector of the rural economy. If all the SCs or a majority of them become independent agriculturists or pursue non-agricultural occupations independently the non-SCs are surely going to be affected for who will provide agricultural labour service to the non-SC land holders? Then, also how the SC agriculturists themselves manage labour? Whether mechanization of agriculture that makes labour free is a viable solution? Whether cooperative labour or exchange of labour and service can be an alternative? What happens to rates of wages which certainly depend on market forces; if shortage of labour becomes inevitable, the labour changes would be high. If that is so agriculture is going to be viable? In fact, the prevailing labour relations most of the agriculturists are seeking alternatives by renting the land to others. Andhra Pradesh has started witnessing this trend of agriculture losing its charm for the big landlords, and slowly non-SCs are gaining some landholding and the consequences of such changes are to be studied.

The social relations are characterized on the basis of both on political-economic and religious principles. SCs are inferior not only politically and economically but on the religious principle also as they are untouchable despite the fact that the untouchability is out-law. As politically and economically the SCs being lower in status they are expected to exhibit traditional respect and reverence to the dominant caste members in various symbolic and non-symbolic gestures and attitudes. When once the SCs become independent there will be change in this particular domain as the SCs tend to be defiant or not conforming to maintain the traditional etiquette or behaviour that honour the dominant caste members. Such behaviour is bound to have serious consequences for the SC and non-SC social relations.

The failure or success of SCP implementation shall be explained in view of the above complex social context. If the SCP entitles such wide range of ramifications, it must be seen that non-SCs who are not directly involved remain invisible participants with a concern that their interests are likely to be drastically affected. When they sense or note that their interests are

being affected they take steps for averting such move of the state. As detailed above, since the social relations are affective, they even touch upon the primordial sensibilities of the SCP designers and implementers. It means to say the SCP planners are actors who invariably belong to castes of dominant caste groups on on-dominant and non-dominant are likely to design or implement the schemes in a normative and mechanical way. This helps in a way the direct non-SC participants in the locations or villages the SCP schemes are implemented, such that the interest of the non-SCs are not drastically affected. If possible they will work out a way that they will become indirect beneficiaries when the SCs are direct beneficiaries. However, this assertions require serious consideration and study the situation in different perspective.

PLATES

Plate 1: Coconut Farm of a Komati man in Pasarlapudilanka Village.

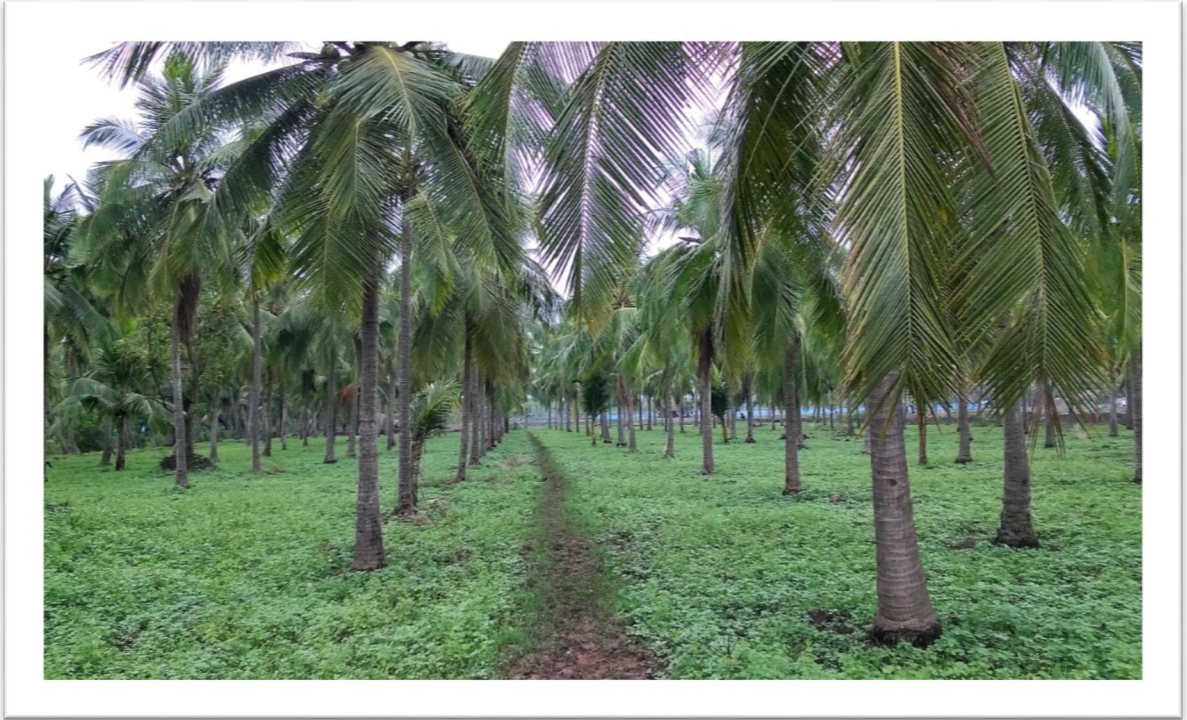


Plate 2: A Mala House on the Side of the Pasarlapudilanka Village Main Road



Plate 3: Scheduled Caste Men are working for a Komati Coconut Farm Owner.



Plate 4: Government Elementary School in Pasarlapudilanka



Plate 5: An Unfinished House of a Scheduled Caste Household.



Plate 6: A View of Pasarlapudilanka from a Distance.



Plate 7: ONGC Gas Pipeline Running Through Agricultural Field that Belongs to SCs



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