Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu: Legal conditions and development policies

Dr. Dag Erik Berg

1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this report is to map, analyse and compare the official framework and policies for Scheduled Castes (SCs) in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. To do so, I will clarify the relevant legislation at the all-Indian, federal level which applies to all three states as well the individual policies of the specific states. Clarifying what these three south Indian states have in common through the constitution and the unitary framework of the Indian federation helps understand the differences between their respective state policies; conversely the positions embodied in the federal system can illuminated through different approaches taken by the regional states.

I will prepare a framework for comparison across the three different states, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. These states are the focus of the Caste Out of Development project, to which this report belongs, and this is the simple reason for selecting these states rather than any others. Nevertheless these three south Indian states occupy a central role in the history of policies designed with reference to caste. They differ in several ways (most obviously in terms of language) but they have an overlapping political history, and they all have a prominent position in the history of caste based politics. As the political scientist Ashutosh Varshney argued in an analysis of India’s democracy, “...the South has experienced caste-based politics much more intensely than the other regions of India.” Varshney argued that while the Hindu-Muslim cleavage has been the master narrative in North India, the situation in the South has been characterised by its linked history of comparatively significant caste politics. This history is clearly part of the background for the present study, however, I do not aim to deal with the politics of caste overall. The main focus of this report is to clarify the existing government policies, schemes and development initiatives that currently exist.

1 Most of the research for this report was carried out as a desk study in SOAS, March-April 2012. The paper has been further developed during the Spring and Summer terms 2012, which has enabled me to include recent events and policy developments. I wish to acknowledge help, comments and inputs from Selvaraj Arulnathan, then in Delhi, Sudhir Krishnaswamy, Naryana A. in Bangalore, G. Krishna Reddy in Hyderabad, Alexander Fisher, Lawrence Saez and Murali S. in SOAS, as well as Abhiroop Mukhopadhyay and several others. The report has been developed in the context of the research project “Caste Out of Development” and has materialised as a result of Professor David Mosse’s insightful suggestions, advice and interest in seeing that the development policies were addressed and analysed. I thank him, my colleague Luisa Steur and others in SOAS and London for making my stay in the school a pleasure and a stimulating experience.

Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

While the aim of this report is to provide a basis for comparisons across the three south Indian states, more specifically the hope is to create a starting point for a more systematic data collection. This is a desk study in which I have mainly relied on websites and newspaper reports to document the government policies and schemes and to outline the central premises in the discussions regarding SCs in the three states.

Methodologically, the study aims to prepare for both comparative and discourse analysis. First of all, I suggest that in practical terms the main point of reference to develop a comparison across Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu are the ‘Scheduled Castes Development Corporations.’ (SCDCs) These are part of a centrally sponsored scheme operating in twenty-three states and four union territories. Despite being a ‘scheme’ itself, this provides three comparable institutions in the three states which are central to the creation of further development schemes. The SCDCs, were introduced by the central government in 1978-79. In their comprehensive study of untouchability and public policy, Mendelsohn and Vicziany argue that “the Scheduled Caste Development Corporations were set up in the States in order to oversee the flow of development funds through the Special Component Plan and other schemes.”

Although Mendelsohn and Vicziany questioned the extent to which the Special Component Plan would be implemented at lower administrative units, the fact remains that the SCDSs are central institutions in the study of schemes, constituting concrete institutional sites that may be compared across states. In addition, the history of the SCDSs appears central to the history of schemes. The Special Component Plan represents a promise to move from a fragmented collection of schemes to having integrated schemes into a comprehensive plan that earmarks schemes for target groups such as the SCs and the Scheduled Tribes (STs). It is beyond the scope of this study to conduct a full comparison of all elements the SCDCs in the three states, but I will present an outline of the schemes and programmes they incorporate.

Secondly, the official documents that I refer to involve essential information about the way in which the policies and schemes are developed and conceptualised by the state bureaucracy. Discourse analysis is therefore useful in this study. It is useful to focus on central concepts, ideas and references that shape the schemes, because they reveal ideas about the target group, the SCs and what they need in terms of development. The available information is also a basis for analysing the ways in which the bureaucracy operates in relation to its environment.

The report has six chapters. The first chapter addresses some conceptual issues regarding Dalits, law, data and method. In the second chapter, I discuss the origin of the category and its imp act for discussions regarding religion, internal inequalities and sub-categorisation. In

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3 This methodological ambition is perhaps the basis for distinguishing this study from contributions such as the overview of schemes and data of relevance for the Scheduled Castes, which was developed by professor Thorat and his colleagues in Sukhadeo Thorat, _Dalits in India. Search for a Common Destiny_ (New Delhi: Sage, 2009). Some information in this report regarding schemes can also be found in that book.

4 Government of India "Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Assistance to State Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (SCDCs)", Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment  22 August 2012:  
http://socialjustice.nic.in/schemescdc.php

5 Ibid.

6 Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, _The untouchables: subordination, poverty and the state in modern India_ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 163. As the discussion below suggests, the history of the SCDCs seems to involve a process that is less top-down than Mendelsohn and Vicziany suggest. For example, the central sponsored scheme for the SCDCs was created four years after the regional counterpart in Andhra Pradesh.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

the third chapter, I follow up the discussion regarding the formal system of governance and quickly outline the formal distinctions that are relevant in discussions of divisions between the central and constitutional level on one hand, and the regional level, on the other hand. I also discuss the organisational structures at the centre, introducing the National Commission on Scheduled Castes and the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment. I focus on the latter ministry, since it is a ‘nodal ministry’ in the official approach to development for the SCs. Therefore, in the fourth chapter, I enumerate the schemes that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment has for the SCs in particular. I conclude this section by pointing out the significance of the SCDCs, which are represented in each state. As mentioned already it is with reference to the SCDCs that I think one may develop a more systematic comparison of the policies in the three south Indian states. The fifth chapter seeks to sketch a basis for a discourse analysis of schemes. In this quick sketch, I hope to draw attention to discourse as a distinct method and concern in a future comparative study. Finally, the sixth chapter presents the three south Indian states, their Ministries of Welfare, the SCDCs and some main observations regarding schemes. I conclude again by underlining the different meanings of the term “development” and by emphasising that the SCDCs constitute a basic object of study for future research regarding development and the Scheduled Castes.

2 CONCEPTUAL REMARKS: LAW, DALIT ACTIVISM, STATE AND METHOD

Let me clarify two of the premises for this report. The first concerns the relationship between the Dalits and the law, meaning the formal legislative and policy framework. The second deals with methodological issues regarding information or data and the possibility for comparing public policies.

2.1 Dalits and the law

The relationship between the context for Dalits and the formal policies of the state has been essential in the history of the Dalit movement. In this report, I will attempt to map the policy environment for Dalit activism and Dalits in general. While this involves a constitutional dimension given their classification as ‘Scheduled Castes,’ I aim to create an overview of the policies that are designed for development.

I will not document the Dalit movement as such, although a movement perspective is crucial in any study of Dalits and law. Indeed, the laws that have been developed relating to Dalits have largely been developed as a result of enduring demands by Dalit activists, and once a law is on the statute book, the demands by Dalit movements are often crucial to ensure it is implemented. Ambedkar is the classic exemplar in this regard. Ambedkar’s participation in the process of constitutional drafting after the First World War was essential to the development of the specific laws and approaches that have been developed to ameliorate the situation for the untouchable castes. More generally, Dalit movements intervene around problems (often referred to as “issues”) and demand that representatives in the formal

7 Dag Erik Berg, "Dalits and the Constitutional State. Untouchability, Dalit Movements and Legal Approaches to Equality and Social Justice for India’s Scheduled Castes" (PhD thesis, University of Bergen, 2011), chapter 2
8 Christophe Jaffrelot, Dr Ambedkar and untouchability: analysing and fighting caste (London: Hurst, 2005).
9 This is expressed in different ways. For example, the Dalit Panther leader Thirumaavalavan explained to me in an interview that his movement was largely “issue-based” (Chennai, April 2003).
apparatus respond to the local problems that occur.\textsuperscript{10} Well-informed and committed representatives associated with the Dalit movements address specific pieces of legislation that the government has not implemented. In Tamil Nadu, for example, the so-called “Special Component Plan” initiated by the Planning commission in 1979 had not been fully implemented and this failure was addressed by two Dalit secretaries in the state government who were active in the Dalit movement in the state. As a result there have been organised movements in Tamil Nadu since 2001 to demand that the Special Component Plan should be implemented.\textsuperscript{11} There has been a similar movement in Andhra Pradesh where activists associated with Centre for Dalit Studies sought to address the relevance of the Special Component Plan in the state since 2001. This movement has gained more formal recognition in 2012.\textsuperscript{12}

While recognising this context, the main objective of this paper is to specify the common terminology and different policies that appear central for the aim of mapping the policies for Scheduled Castes in the three different states.\textsuperscript{13}

\subsection*{2.2 Information, data and comparisons:}

This study is based on formal policy analysis and historical research. While the study is informed with ethnographic insights, it is not an ethnographic study as such. Instead, I aim to map official policies, mostly collected from online sources, and combine this with the aim of describing and comparing the three different states, drawing on historical approaches. The analysis of formal policies seems most often to be conducted by lawyers, or it may be a comprehensive survey of existing data and legislation.\textsuperscript{14}

In theory, the Indian federal system should be well suited to comparative research with its twenty eight states and five union territories. The central level develops many policies that are equal across the states, although the liberalisation of India’s economy resulted in devolution of power and greater policy differences between the states. Yet the scholarly literature on inter-state comparisons is somewhat fragmentary. Frankel and Rao made a seminal contribution in compiling comprehensive chapters on different regional histories in one publication.\textsuperscript{15} However, Jenkins correctly argues that the individual chapters were not organised to conduct strict comparative analysis. Jenkins underlines that “India’s federal system provides a laboratory of democracy” and that this should, in fact, allow for more “studies on Indian politics [to be] based on an inter-state comparative approach.”\textsuperscript{16} His edited volume included several comparisons, including a comparison of the different approaches to economic

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\textsuperscript{10} For an example of this see Dominic Davidappa, "Caste – Society, State and Bureaucracy: Contestations from Below," in “Caste out of Development” Research Seminar (Chennai, 15-16 December, 2011).
\textsuperscript{11} See ManuAlphonse, “Special Component Plan for Dalits in Tamil Nadu – A New Dalit Discourse in the Making?,” (n.d.).
\textsuperscript{12} Mallepalli Laxmaiah, "Law on SC/ST sub-plan," The Hans India, 29 March 2012.
\textsuperscript{13} One obvious difference in terms of terminology is that while the state department relevant for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh is called “Social Welfare,” the state Department in Tamil Nadu goes by the name “Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department.”
\textsuperscript{14} One example here is Thorat, Dalits in India. Search for a Common Destiny.
\textsuperscript{15} Francine R. Frankel and M. S. A. Rao, Dominance and state power in modern India: decline of a social order (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989).
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liberalizations in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.\textsuperscript{17} Yet, it is still the case that inter-state comparisons are not the dominating norm in the literature. This tendency could be due to the considerable complexities in the states, and of course each state is a large entity on its own, and comparisons may not come across as being very feasible or desired. However it may be more relevant to note that there are often difficulties in accessing relevant data in a context where statistical information is not always produced and published.\textsuperscript{18} This study has encountered some very clear limitations in accessing information and I would suggest that the relatively low level of comparative research in India could be a result of the methodological problems of accessing data and information. The uneven information that is available creates limitations for systematic comparisons.

This study seeks to make a contribution to the literature on comparisons across Indian states through the information collected. However it should be noted that even when collected together the legislation and policies are often to be written in different ways, and can be difficult to comprehend in isolation from their own setting of the state materials within which they sit.

The primary material in this report has mainly been what is published by the governments on the internet. There are considerable differences between the states and what they publish on the internet. Indeed, what surprised me were the considerable differences between the Welfare ministries in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in terms of published information explicitly designated for the Scheduled Castes. Although Andhra Pradesh is known for schemes and its priority of software development, the Tamil Nadu government had better websites and more information than the two other states. On the one hand, this could be a problem with my search. I mainly searched for what can be referred to as “identity-labelled” schemes, that is, schemes that have the Scheduled Caste label. The welfare of the same group of people could, theoretically, be addressed through “no-identity-label” or “non-labelled” schemes, such as agriculture and water. And there have been major schemes for agricultural development in Andhra Pradesh (see below). However, the availability of information might be considerably changed after the State Assembly in Andhra Pradesh adopted a Bill to implement the so-called Special Component Plan for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes – also referred to as Sub-Plan.\textsuperscript{19} The Sub-Plan implies that the annual budget in the state will include distribution of funds in accordance with the numerical percentage of the SCs and STs in the state (see section 3.1 and 4.9). This Bill in Andhra Pradesh, however, was adopted 2 December 2012, after this report was completed, and it remains to be seen how it will be implemented.

\textsuperscript{17} See Loraine Kennedy, "The Political Determinants of Reform Packaging. Contrasting Responses to Economic Liberalization in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu," in Regional Reflections. Comparing Politics Across India's States, ed. Rob Jenkins (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004). Methodologically, her research is mainly based on government policy documents and newspaper articles. The argument and exposition does not reflect ethnographic data and observations, but this is the most organized comparison of the two states that I know about. See also James Manor’s contribution in the same volume, James Manor, "Explaining Political Trajectories in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka," in Regional Reflections. Comparing Politics Across India's States, ed. Rob Jenkins (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).

\textsuperscript{18} The Sachar committee report on the situation for the Muslims in India involved many requests to the Ministry for statistics, Rajinadar (Chairman) Sachar “Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community in India. Prime Minister's High Level Committee” Government of India Cabinet Secretariat: http://minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload_files/moma/files/pdfs/sachar_comm.pdf Although this was an official commission where one should not expect problems in accessing statistical data, it seems to have involved an extra work on behalf of the government to produce the relevant statistics. The Right to Information Act 2005, might have changed this and made it easier to carry out a comparison across the states.

\textsuperscript{19} The Hindu "Andhra Pradesh Assembly creates history,"3 December 2012
3 THE SCHEDULED CASTE CATEGORY IN INDIA’S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY: RELIGION AND INEQUALITIES

3.1 The creation of a homogenous category for egalitarian policies

The concept ‘Scheduled Castes’ was created by the colonial government in the early 1930s and officially endorsed in the Government of India Act of 1935. It refers to an official list of castes grouped as one unit. All castes in this group are eligible for positive discrimination.

The creation of this category must be seen in the context of a long historical process, which should be seen as an interface between the state and various lower caste struggles. On the one hand, there were attempts during the British colonial administration to ameliorate the situation for the underprivileged sections of the society – especially the untouchables. On the other hand, there were several reform movements in India that tried to address the problem of the lower castes, particularly in western and southern parts of the country. Jotirao Phule was the main leader for the social reform movement in Maharashtra during the nineteenth century that was termed a ‘Non-Brahmin movement’. Phule’s movement addressed the concerns of the shudras and the untouchables, also known as the ‘Depressed Classes’ prior to India’s independence. Ambedkar’s father and Ambedkar himself were inspired by the Phule movement for social reform. There was also a strong Non-Brahmin movement in South India at the same time. The formation of the Justice Party in 1916 in Madras Presidency is a reflection of this movement and the accumulated aspiration to address the considerable underrepresentation of non-Brahmins in the colonial bureaucracy.

According to Radhakrishnan, the term ‘backward classes’ (BCs) was already used in the aftermath of the mutiny of 1857, and the Muslims were classified as a ‘backward class’ already in 1872 due to the social disadvantage and gradual disappearance of Muslims from public service. According to Galanter, the term ‘backward classes’ first gained “a technical meaning in the Princely State of Mysore.” although it is unclear what Galanter meant by technical.

The relevant point to note is that there were strong movements and incentives to address the problem of the so-called backward classes already before the Government of India Act of 1935. However, it was in this Act that the term ‘Scheduled Castes’ eventually replaced ‘Depressed Classes,’ which had been used as the official designation for the untouchables. This conceptual development represents a transition from a comparatively vague definition of ‘Depressed Classes’ to a clearer identification of the untouchables. By introducing the term ‘Scheduled Castes,’ the Government wanted to list the groups – or castes – that should be entitled to the special electoral representation that the colonial government proposed for the ‘Scheduled Castes’ in the Government of India Act, 1935. Galanter argues that it was on the

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21 See, for instance, V. Geetha and S. V. Rajadurai, *Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium. From Iyoothee Thass to Periyar*, 2nd ed. (Kolkata: Samaya, 2008).
basis of the 1935 Act that the colonial government developed its “Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936” where all untouchable castes were “finally” listed.\(^{25}\) It was precisely this approach that was introduced in the Constitution of India 1950, thus listing the ‘Scheduled Castes’ in one homogenous category.

The Constitution of 1950, moreover, was mainly concerned with the procedure for how castes should be included in the schedule rather than the internal differences. It was decided that the power to include (and exclude) castes should be vested with the President.\(^{26}\) Overall, the resulting Scheduled Caste Order (the Presidential Order) is essentially designed as a formal statement about the castes that should be entitled to government provisions. It considers the category Scheduled Castes as one entity and does not put the homogeneity of the category into question as such. Rather, the main topic of concern has been the criteria for inclusion and exclusion in the category.

While it was agreed that castes that face untouchability practices would be included in the schedule, it was clear already in the first Scheduled Castes Order of 1936 that religion would be one of the main criteria. Christians and Muslims were to be excluded from this list. According to Galanter, the exclusion of Christians and Muslims were already an established norm in 1932. The central concern at this time was the electoral representation, and both Christians and Muslims were groups that at that time had “special electoral treatment as minorities.”\(^{27}\) However these separate electorates were subsequently eliminated from the electoral system, whereas religion has remained a standard for inclusion and exclusion in the category Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Castes Order, 1950 makes it clear that “no person who professes a religion different from Hindu religion shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste.”\(^{28}\)

The religious criteria for determining the members of Scheduled Castes has been a central topic in the postcolonial period. It has resulted in contestation among of Dalit Christians and neo-Buddhists.

The religious principle is worth elaborating further with regard to the Scheduled Castes entitlements, especially in south Indian states where many members of the untouchable castes have converted to Christianity. For example, there are many Dalits in the Chundur village who are Christians and attend the services in the local church. In 1991, nine Dalits were massacred by members of the dominant castes in the village as well as the neighbouring villages. The case was taken to court in the context of the SC/ST Act 1989 but this could only done because the Dalits killed were not officially registered as Christians. Chundur Dalits are officially registered as Hindus and the Scheduled Castes laws therefore apply to them. Other Dalits have converted to Buddhism in order to avoid the identification with Hinduism. Dalits who converted to Buddhism became eligible for reservation after 1990.\(^{29}\) The official assumption has been that untouchability is confined to Hinduism. Yet this is based on a classification system that was originally balanced by the ‘special electorates’ as part of the constitutional drafting process.

\(^{25}\) Galanter, *Competing equalities: law and the backward classes in India.*, p. 130

\(^{26}\) Ibid. Galanter, p. 134

\(^{27}\) Ibid. Galanter, p. 143. Galanter is not clear what this treatment implied, but it is clear that separate electorate and minority representation was a major topic at least since the Simon commission.

\(^{28}\) [http://lawmin.nic.in/ld/subord/rule3a.htm](http://lawmin.nic.in/ld/subord/rule3a.htm)

While the question regarding special electorates seems to have been decisive in terms of the practical policies, one may note that there was an underlying principle of representation where individuals were registered by virtue of their membership in a caste or community. Anupama Rao discusses this with reference to the concept of minority and its position in liberal-democratic thought. Here she follows a proposition from Marx’s essay regarding the Jewish question, and she brings into account Ernesto Laclau’s idea about how universal terms such as citizenship and equality creates equivalences “between unlike persons, objects or qualities.”

The basic point is to note that the principle of communities and representation encouraged mutually exclusive categories. Rao argues that the Muslims became “India’s modal political minority” after they were granted a separate electorate in 1909. As such, the Muslims became the standard for thinking about how communities should be addressed and how policies should be designed. Rao then argues that the centrality of the Muslim question was decisive for Ambedkar’s approach and his fight for a double vote, which the untouchables were granted in the Communal Award 1932. She also argues that Ambedkar gradually projected the untouchables as “a vulnerable and separate political minority.”

The decisive point in this context is the way in which the Communal Award identified the untouchables with Hinduism. As Rao argues, the basis for granting the ‘Depressed Classes’ a double vote was the fact that they were first identified as a community within Hinduism, hence the general vote, and then as separate element that should be entitled to a double vote. It should be worth noting that the Indian National Congress argued in 1919 that the untouchables were part of Hinduism, whereas the colonial officials had enumerated them as a separate community. To sum up, Rao offers a theoretical argument: the concept of minority represented an extension of liberal political philosophy, and its idea of a lack was decisive for Ambedkar’s approach.

Religion has become standard norm for classifying the Scheduled Castes. And it is against this backdrop that the Dalit Christians, especially in Tamil Nadu, have tried to make Dalit Christians eligible for Schedule Caste provisions. This resulted in a Supreme Court case in 1985 regarding a Christian cobbler in Chennai. He was not provided with the same shelter for his work as a cobbler on the streets as his friends next to him, who were engaged in the same kind of work. The problem of Dalit Christians has also been raised in the Supreme Court of India in the past recent years, without any success. The Government of Tamil Nadu explained that he has also filed a complaint against the cobbler in Chennai.

Notes:
31 Ibid., p. 22
32 For further discussion about the process behind way in which the untouchable question became a matter of religion and the private sphere in Madras Presidency, see Rupa Viswanath, “Spiritual slavery, material malaise: ‘untouchables’ and religious neutrality in colonial south India,” Historical Research 83, no. 219 (2010).
33 This is based on field work in Delhi 2009. In an interview with David Mosse in 2010, the Chairman of United Front of Dalit Christian Rights, Joshua Alfred in Andhra Pradesh explains that he has also filed a petition in the Supreme Court to make Christians among Dalits entitled to the Scheduled Caste reservation. According to Joshua Alfred, every commission that has addressed the Dalit Christian issue has claimed that they are discriminated against in the Constitution of India and that they should be included in the...
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

Nadu has confirmed the religious principle as late as 2009. In the context of a government order from the Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department in Tamil Nadu, for example, it was affirmed that converts to other religions than Hinduism are not eligible for reservation or welfare benefits since they are not classified as Scheduled Castes. That is, the entitlements do not apply to Dalits or people from castes formerly known as untouchables. Reconverts, however, are entitled to the provisions for Scheduled Castes.35

To sum up: the Scheduled Castes category is a homogeneous category where the list of castes is developed with a reference to religious identity, excluding Muslim and Christian Dalits from the official entitlements.

3.2 Sub-categorisation and the scope for policy manoeuvres

The homogenous character of the Scheduled Caste category also creates a lacuna: it is designed to list castes that are victim to untouchability, but it is not designed to address internal differences and inequalities among these castes. It is precisely the internal differences among the Scheduled Castes that have gained momentum in the recent decade where the regional states have responded in different ways.

The debate about creating new quotas among the Scheduled Castes has been particularly contested. Andhra Pradesh has been at the forefront here in terms of policy initiatives and constitutional debates. Its policy of sub-categorising the Scheduled Castes in the state in four different quotas was struck down in the Supreme Court judgement EV Chinnaiah in 2004. Being a constitutional case, this judgement has - in theory - implications for the policy developments in the neighbouring states. In other words, the development policies in Andhra Pradesh predated initiatives in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, and yet the states are confined by the fact that the Scheduled Castes is a constitutional category. However in practice the policy developments show the way in which the different regional states may operate in the federal structure. There may be some leeway for the states to manoeuvre among constitutional principles, court judgements and responses to movements. Policies evolve as a result of the interplay between movements, social problems and the government’s responses. Indeed, the history of sub-categorisation highlights the federal structure and the importance of the social movements in the legal development overall. It also shows how this legislation can be implemented in the regional states as long as it is not directly stopped by the courts.

There have been strong caste (or ‘sub-caste’) movements among the Dalits in the three south Indian states to address the problem of inequalities and underrepresentation among the castes within the category Scheduled Castes. Andhra Pradesh is a starting point and constant point of reference. Here, the movement Madiga Reservation Parota Samiti was established in 1994 to struggle for a greater degree of representation for the Madigas. In Andhra Pradesh, the pattern seemed to be that most of the posts reserved in educational institutions and public offices for the Scheduled Castes were taken by Malas, who have been comparatively more successful in making use of the reserved posts. This left other Dalit castes, including the Madigas, unable to benefit from the reservation policies. It was against this background that the government of Andhra Pradesh issued its Scheduled Castes (Rationalisation of Reservation) Act 31 May 2000 which split reservation quotas among four sub-groups

Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

proportional to their population. This Act was struck down by the Supreme Court in November 2004 in the five bench judgement *E.V. Chinnaiah*, and the government in Andhra Pradesh therefore had to bring its policy to an end and cancel its order from 2000. This decision also brought the sub-categorisation among the Scheduled Castes in Punjab to an end, a policy that had been practiced in Punjab since 1975.

Sub-division between the Dalit castes has been a particularly bitter conflict in Andhra Pradesh, where the Madiga movement has triggered reactions from a radical group of Mala activists. But there has also been a consistent demand among the less privileged Dalit groups in other states such as Tamil Nadu for creating a method of positive discrimination among the Scheduled Castes. Here, the demands among Arunthathiyars seem to have gained force in 2007 and 2008 when the organisation Aathi Thamizhar Peravai (ATP) intensified its struggle and made a number of representations across the state. The leader of the ATP Mr. Athiyamaan asked the Chief Minister on 27 November 2008 to create a six percent quota for the Arunthathiyars; that is, as far as I understand, six percent of the total sixty nine percent seats that are reserved in the state. The Chief Minister asked them to accept a three percent quota, and this was precisely what the Government of Tamil Nadu introduced five months later. On the 29th of April 2009, the Government of Tamil Nadu implemented its so-called ‘Arunthathiyars Act’ in the Government Order number 50 that year. It states,

“In the sixteen per cent of seats offered to Arunthathiyars within the seats reserved for Scheduled Castes for admission in Educational Institutions including Private Educational Institutions and of appointments or posts in the services under the State, the first seat shall be offered to Arunthathiyars…”

The Arunthathiyars Act was slightly amended one month later, but this is essentially a specification of the practical procedures for filling up the reserved seats. This policy of sub-

39 I do not have data on the development of the Act. Information about this case might give me an idea to compare the history of this type of legislation in the three states and how they differ in terms of the intervention of the Supreme Court.
40 The full title is as follows: Tamil Nadu Arunthathiyars (Special Reservation of seats in Educational Institutions including Private Educational Institutions and of appointments or posts in the Services under the State within the Reservation for the Scheduled Castes) Rules, 2009.
41 *Tamil Nadu Arunthathiyars (Special Reservation of seats in Educational Institutions including Private Educational Institutions and of appointments or posts in the Services under the State within the Reservation for the Scheduled Castes) Act, 2009,* (2009).
42 Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare (TD2) Department Government of Tamil Nadu, "The Tamil Nadu Arunthathiyars (Special Reservation of seats in Educational Institutions including Private Educational Institutions and of appointments or posts in the services under the State within the Reservation for the Scheduled Castes) Act, 2009," (2009). Here, it says, The seats to be allotted to Arunthathiyars on preferential basis shall be offered in the horizontal rotation such as 2,52 and 66. The preferential seats if filled up, it does not mean that the other qualified Arunthathiyars shall not compete with the rest of the Scheduled Castes members on inter-se merit basis; vice versa, if no qualified Arunthathiyars are available to fill up the preferential seats, it does not mean that the vacancies so arising shall not be filled up by the Scheduled Castes members on merit basis.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

Caste Out of Development project

categorisation in Tamil Nadu differs from the attempt to create quotas within the existing quota in Andhra Pradesh. It targets the Arunthathiyars in particular, and it does not involve the same degree of categorisation. In comparison, the policy of positive discrimination within the Scheduled Caste category in Andhra Pradesh involved four new categories. The castes listed as Scheduled Castes in Andhra were thus divided between categories of A, B, C and D. The Reellies, a group of manual scavengers were placed in group A, the Madigas in group B, the Malas in group C and the Adi-Andhra in group D.

Sub-categorisation is not contested in Tamil Nadu among the Dalit movements to the same degree as it has been in Andhra Pradesh. This does not mean that there is no contestation of sub-categorisation, and in fact there has been resistance to the Arunthathiyars Act. However it is significant that the leader of the Dalit Panthers, Thol Thirumavalavan, was among the many politicians who welcomed the implementation of the three percent reservation for the Arunthathiyars. While there was some resentment to the creation of this Act among political leaders, some of it did not last very long. For example, the leader of AIIDMK, J. Jayalalithaa, said that the state government did not have the authority to create this order. Her statement appears consistent with the Supreme Court decision E.V. Chinnaiah, and it is interesting that she has an impression that sub-categorisation was controversial in the context of the constitutional law. However, she later endorsed the policy.43

The Dalit communities who have opposed the Arunthathiyars Act seems to have been more consistent in their critique. The leader for the Pallar community, Dr. Krishnaswamy, seems to have criticised the positive discrimination among the Scheduled Castes from the very beginning; that is, at the time it was enacted.44 Krishnaswamy is widely seen as a representative for his ‘community’ – the Pallar caste, or Dalit sub-caste, which has a better social and economic position when compared to the Arunthathiyars and the Pariayars.

It is more significant for the future of the positive discrimination among Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu that the Arunthathiyars Act has been challenged in court. This happened in August 2010 after the Madras High Court Bench in Madurai accepted a public interest litigation filed by a lawyer from Tuticorin.45 The Advocate General in Tamil Nadu defended the government order in court, and it seems noteworthy that the High Court of Madras in practice supported the state government. It is noteworthy because the E.V. Chinnaiah judgement clearly limits the authority of the state to amend the Scheduled Castes category. This judgement also criticises the creation of micro-classifications as a procedure in the context of egalitarian policies. But the High Court of Madras does not seem to have brought the limitations that the E.V Chinnaiah case could impose into the discussion regarding the authority of the state government of Tamil Nadu to implement sub-categorisation.46 Instead the High Court avoided opposing the Government of Tamil Nadu, and it deferred the question to a case pending in the Supreme Court. It declared that the future of the Arunthathiyars Act must be decided only after the Supreme Court has reached its decision about a similar piece of legislation in Punjab. This Supreme Court case however is precisely about the impact the E.V Chinnaiah judgement which was used in the High Court of Punjab to challenge the government of Punjab with the result that this state government had to bring to an end the sub-categorisation it had practiced since 1975, and the Punjab Scheduled Caste

45 The Hindu "High Court admits public interest litigation against reservation for Arunthathiyars ",16 September 2010
46 Let me add that my data is limited to newspaper articles.
and Backward Classes (Reservation in Services) Act 2006 was struck down. The state of Punjab then appealed to the Supreme Court which suspended the High Court order, allowing the state to continue sub-categorisation until a new decision has been made in the higher court. As far as I know, the Supreme Court has not yet made a decision. The Court in Tamil Nadu has decided that it will wait until this decision has been made and it is noteworthy that the Madras High Court allows the state government to continue its policy.

The situation in Karnataka has been quite different from both Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in that the government had not implemented sub-categorisation. While the state government has tried to address the problem of social inequalities among the Scheduled Castes in the state, it has clearly not been rushing through new policies. In 2004, the Government of Karnataka organised a commission for mapping the problem of internal differences among the Scheduled Castes. The Commission is led by a judge, Sadashiva, and it was said that his commission was “the longest-serving inquiry commission in Karnataka.” The Commission report had been delayed a number of times. In an interview in 2010, for example, Sadashiva stated that it would not be possible to adopt the Madiga demand of sub-categorisation given the precedent in Andhra Pradesh. However when the Sadashiva commission finally submitted its report 14 June 2012 it then recommended that the 15 percent Scheduled Castes in Karnataka should be sub-classified in four different groups, 1) the ‘left hand,’ 2) ‘right hand,’ 3) ‘other SCs’ and 4) ‘touchable’ castes. The proposal was, out of the total of fifteen percent reservation quota, to reserve six percent for the left hand, five percent for the right hand groups, one percent for other SCs and three percent for the ‘touchable’ castes.

The longevity of the Sadashiva Commission’s work could be seen as simply due to the technical work involved. The Commission undertook a comprehensive door-to-door caste census among the Scheduled Castes in Karnataka to clarify the extent to which each caste has benefitted from the constitutional provisions. This survey has been far more systematic that the one-man commission, lasting less than a year, in Andhra Pradesh prior to the sub-categorisation there, and the considerable empirical data collection has taken time. At one point it also seemed that the Commission was taking its time to await the outcome of the court cases elsewhere, although the fact that it has now reported seems to counter this.

More generally the idea of creating new categories and system of positive discrimination among the Scheduled Castes is a topic that creates political contestations. Not only may groups with different views on the proposals link up with different political parties with implications for electoral support, but in addition sub-categorisation is controversial among Dalit movements themselves. In Karnataka the Sadashiva Commission’s recommendation of creating internal quotas gained support from H.N. Chandrappa, president of Karnataka Adjambava Mahasabha but representatives for the Lambani community wanted to reject the same suggestion. One of the strongest protests seems to have been made by the

48 Cf. IBN Live "HC to wait for SC ruling before tackling TN Arunthathiyyars Act," 3 February 2011
49 This is a question for research, a point to be followed up.
50 The Times of India "Sadashiva panel on caste demands goes on and on," 27 April 2010
51 Deccan Herald "Census midway, has several firsts," 22 January 2012
52 Deccan Herald "Sadashiva panel favours internal quota among SCs," 15 June 2012
53 The Hindu "Implement Sadashiva Commission report"," 4 July 2012
54 The Hindu "Reject Sadashiva Commission report," 30 June 2012
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

Karnataka Dalit Sanharash Samiti (KDSS), who had mobilised 150 activists to make a protest in front of the official residence of the Karnataka’s Chief Minister early in the morning – at 4am. The group also tried to enter the official premises to address the Chief Minister in person, although the activists were prevented from doing so by the police.55

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CONSTITUTIONAL RULES OF GOVERNANCE, FEDERALISM AND DEVELOPMENT

In discussing the constitutional goals that are specified with reference to the Scheduled Castes, it is useful to note the obvious difference between the rule of law, ie the constitutionally stipulated rules and regulations, and the political practice with its scope for states to develop their own rules and government orders. India’s Constitution combines both a unitary and a federal system. According to the Rudolphs, the colonial government created a degree of federalism in the Government of India Act 1935 in correspondence with a long history of government practices on the subcontinent, from the Mughal period to East India Company and British Rule. However, there was a considerable interest in the Constituent Assembly to introduce a greater degree of unitary control in the postcolonial state56 and much discussion about the about the role of the union level, and whether India should be a federation. Ambedkar used democratic rather than federal, and this suggestion was accepted.57

On the one hand, it is worth underlining that the Indian Constitution includes some centralising principles where it is implied that states are not sovereign political entities.58 This is obvious in the position of the Governors of the states: while having executive power, the Governor in each state is appointed by the President of India (Art. 155). As such, one may explain the federal system with reference to the constitutional framework. On the other hand, the federal system is far from static and while the formal framework has a rigid dimension, there are also processes where it may be open for change. Indeed, the federal character of India’s democratic state has been subject to ongoing negotiations and developments. As Sáez argues, there have been continuing struggles in India over the different types of federalism that it should pursue.

The process of globalisation represents a broad development with obvious differences and negotiations in the federal structure. As Jenkins argues, globalisation allowed for processes where state governments negotiated directly with international financial corporations such as the World Bank and state governments, although the central government exercised constant control in these processes.59 More generally, case studies may give a more accurate understanding of the way in which federal system works in practice and insight into the actual

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55 Deccan Herald "Dalit activists stir chief minister out of sleep,"30 July 2012; DNA, Daily News & Analysis "A 'good morning' protest for Karnataka PM,"


58 Ibid., p. 35

scope for negotiations in the development of public policies and laws. For example, the discussion regarding sub-categorisation above shows quite well the limits and scope for policy and law making and the level of the regional state. Agriculture is a policy domain where the states have greater power. As Jenkins puts it, “agriculture is a classically a state subject.” Reservation for the Scheduled Castes should represent a clear contrast to agriculture, as a state’s ability to design its agricultural policies differs from its ability to redesign affirmative action, particularly, in the area of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Moreover, there is a considerable difference between a state’s ability to legislate in the context of ‘Other Backward Classes’ (OBCs) compared to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The policies for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes appear harder to change than the policies for Other Backward Classes. While states are overall able to create quotas within the Other Backward Classes quota without involving the central government, this does not apply to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

4.1 Equality of opportunity, welfare and schemes: Planning and development for the Scheduled Castes in the context of India’s federal structure

In order to compare policies across three regional states it is vital to elaborate the distinction between fundamental and directive principles. This distinction has relevance for the way in which abstract, fundamental principles are combined with more specific expectations about social justice, welfare and development.

The legal framework is essential to understand how equality and welfare are conceptualised in the Indian state. In the Constitution of India, principles such as ‘equality’ and ‘equality of opportunity’ are specified in separate Articles. They included among the ‘fundamental principles’ in Part 3 of the Constitution. Part 4 consists of the directive principles for state policies, which correspond directly to the fundamental principles. The directive principles supplement and make specific these abstract constitutional principles. One may thus say that while ‘equality of opportunity’ is a fundamental principle, the directive principles aims at establishing a welfare state in practice through different kinds of schemes and legislations. Formally, therefore, it is in the context of this distinction that one may discuss welfare programmes and schemes for the Scheduled Castes. The distinction between the fundamental and directive principles may also shed more light on the formal conditions for the basic vision for development planning in the postcolonial state.

The fundamental principles include guaranteeing the right to life (Art 21) and that everyone is equal by law (Art 14). The directive principles differ from the fundamental principles mainly by the fact that they cannot be enforced in court of law. Instead the directive principles of

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60 For useful background studies on federalism in India, see Sáez, Federalism Without a Centre. The Impact of Political and Economic Reform in India’s Federal System; Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, “Federalism as State Formation in India: A Theory of Shared and Negotiated Sovereignty,” International Political Science Review 31, no. 5 (2010); Subrata Kumar Mitra, Politics in India: structure, process and policy (London: Routledge, 2011); Katharine Adeney, Federalism and ethnic conflict regulation in India and Pakistan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). There are different and overlapping terminologies in these important studies. For example, Mitra emphasizes the “flexibility” in the federal system, whereas the Rudolphs have stressed how federalism is essentially a matter of ongoing negotiations.


62 The concept of creamy layer is a central topic that illustrates the differences between the categories, SC, SC and OBC. While the concept does not legally apply to the SCs and STs, it is used in the context of OBCs. See Berg, "Dalits and the Constitutional State.", chapter 9
state policies constitute a set of principles that any state in the federation needs to take into consideration when framing its policies and laws (Art. 37). It is a considerable emphasis in the directive principles that the state should ensure social justice, minimize inequalities in terms of income and status and facilitate more equal opportunities. In fact, the Supreme Court of India has summarised their essence by stating that the directive principles embody the aims and objects of a ‘Welfare State.’ According to Basu, this statement appeared in Kesavananda Bharti v. State of Kerela from 1973, the most significant constitutional judgement in the history of India’s Supreme Court. This is not an overstatement, since the directive principles includes, for instance, an explicit mention of “the welfare of the people” (Art. 38). In 1976, moreover, the Parliament of India inserted Article 39A. This says not only that the state should “provide free legal aid,” but it also says that the state should develop “suitable legislation or schemes” to ensure equal opportunities and that “opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities.” As such, the states should follow the directive principles about achieving social justice and equal opportunity when they develop their legislation and policies within their jurisdiction. One may suggest that the introduction of this article seems to reflect an increasing specification of the relevance of redistributive justice in more proportional terms in the mid-1970s.

Indeed, the idea of schemes is that they are tools in a larger movement to create social justice and equal opportunities. In this context, one may see the Special Component Plan as recognition for the idea that the resources of the state should be more clearly distributed in proportion to the size of the population. The Special Component Plan is based on the logic of proportional equality or equity; the point is that there should be funds and allocations of resources earmarked for the Scheduled Castes in proportion with their size in the population, and the aim is thus to ‘bridge the gap’ between the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the rest of the population. The earmarking of funds should be reflected in the budget. This Plan appears to be a principle of distribution and policy designs, which seeks to reinforce the visibility of individual schemes and ensure they have an identified relevant role in the overall plan for development.

The Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes was first introduced in 1978 by the then Joint Secretary for SC and BC Development in the Ministry of Home Affairs, P.S. Krishnan. It was subsequently introduced in the Fifth and Sixth Plan. The Special Component Plan, renamed as Scheduled Caste Sub Plan, figures prominently in the Eleventh Five Year Plan. Here it is emphasised that funds in every state should be earmarked for the Scheduled Castes in proportion to their number in the population. The Ministry of Social Welfare should be the “nodal department for formulation and implementation of SCSP” and its Principal Secretary should work as “Planning Secretary” with “exclusive authority for the reallocation of funds to other line departments” for schemes designed to the development for the Scheduled Castes. The guidelines further suggests that there should be a separate heading under the budget “for each development department.” This means that each technical department, such as transport or agriculture, should have special posts for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes indicated in their respective budget.

65 Ibid., p. 104
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

It should therefore be quite clear that the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan should create a great deal of information about the actual funds that should be directed to the Scheduled Castes. Issues of institutional arrangements and implementation of welfare policies have certainly been addressed before the Sub Plan was created. In an article published in 1972, S.N. Dubey and Usha Mathur proposed that it should be useful to have mechanisms to ensure that there was coordination between the Ministry of Welfare and the ‘Technical Departments.’ They proposed a committee to ensure that the development policies were designed for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes. They were writing prior to the creation of the Special Component Plan and their discussion includes basic observations that seem to endure: they argued that some of the technical “departments enjoy a higher status than the Directorate [Social Welfare Departments for Scheduled Castes].” Here, Dubey and Mathur put their finger on a crucial point: some departments enjoy higher prestige than others. This applies to the contemporary situation as well. One of the observations emerging from fieldwork in Tamil Nadu, conducted by the Caste out of Development project team, was precisely that a Minister of Social Welfare would aspire to move to another ministry because the welfare policies for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes have a low status.

To sum up: the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan represent a considerable step in designing the development policies in such a manner that funds should be earmarked for the Scheduled Caste with the aim of bridging the gap between them and the other parts of the population. Theoretically, the Sub Plan therefore represents a significant step in assuring that the ‘fundamental principles’ in India’s constitution are developed into a state that ensures welfare and development for all. However there are many problems in the implementation of the Sub Plan. The problem may not only be due to the character and hierarchy between the state departments, but it may also be problems with the ways in which the schemes are designed – and, of course, whether they are known to the public at all.

4.2 Organisational structures, capacities and schemes at the centre

Before proceeding to the schemes and the state level policies I wish to outline the organisational structures and relevant programmes at the central level. The organisations at the central level closely relate to the constitutional goals and directions, while reflecting the extent to which the policies for the Scheduled Castes are designed at the central level.

Given the constitutional mandate to address the problems of the so-called Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, the Constitution introduced an administrative unit to oversee and investigate all manners related to implementation of the SCs and the STs. There has been a gradual expansion of the administrative capacity from a rather limited office to a larger commission.

The mandate for such an office was specified in Article 338 of the Constitution. This administrative unit seemed to have been called “the Commissioner for SCs and STs” or a “Special Officer” or a “Commissioner” at the time of Independence. It had 17 regional offices in the country. However, there has been an enduring demand to improve the administrative capacities for the Commissioner of the SCs and STs. Members of the Parliament therefore moved an amendment of Article 338, and the commission started as a multi-member commission in the 1970s. It started with its first Commission in 1978 with five

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67 This is an assumption emerging from fieldwork. David Mosse, personal communication, London, March 2012.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Caste Out of Development project

Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Caste Out of Development project

The aim of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes is to investigate and monitor, evaluative, advice and provide remedies to ensure that the constitutional safeguards for the SCs are properly implemented.70 For this task, the commission also has a number of offices throughout the country in addition to the commission office in Delhi. The political scientists Niraja Gopal Jayal argues that the Commission is designed to be a “watchdog institution that monitors the executive wing on behalf of the legislative wing of the state.”71 She also argues that the Commission is fairly legalistic and interprets its mandate in a limited manner. They act, moreover, on the basis of complaints rather than being a proactive institution for social transformation. It should produce annual reports to the Indian parliament, although it is unclear, for instance, whether the fifth and sixth reports were ever presented for the Parliament.72

In any case, the National Commission for the Scheduled Castes is not primarily an institution that initiates development programmes, nor do they produce schemes. Rather, the development planning, schemes and welfare policies are basically the mandate of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes is a commission under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. This ministry was called the Ministry of Welfare prior to May 1998 when it was renamed to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment.73

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is essential to the development policies for the Scheduled Castes. Their own website refers to the institution as “the nodal Ministry to

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68 This could possibly be seen in the context of a larger reorganisation of ministries or commissionaries for minorities and special offices at the time of the Janata Party, see discussion in Granville Austin, Working a Democratic Constitution. A History of the Indian Experience, Second impression. First published 1999. ed. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 450-1
69 NationalCommissionforScheduledCastes "Genesis" NationalCommissionforScheduledCastes http://ncsc.nic.in/index2.asp?sid=160
71 Ibid., p. 79
72 Ibid., p. 81. Jayal’s book is published in 2006, some years after these reports were published. The sixth report dealt with the period 2001-02, although I am not sure when they have been published, nor if they have ever been presented to the Parliament.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the
Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

oversee the interests of the Scheduled Castes.” The goal of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is to supplement the development initiatives that the respective states have already created. The Ministry implements the Scheduled Castes Sub Plan, the “umbrella strategy to ensure flow of targeted financial and physical benefits from all the general sectors of development for the benefit of Scheduled Castes.” Here, the states should formulate and implement the plan and, in doing so, specify the earmarked resources in the Annual Plans. The ministry also provides extra support to states with large SC population or states with a greater need for development assistance. The ministry has the responsibility for the implementation of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989. It deals with affirmative action, including in the private sector; and it monitors a “20 point programme.” In short, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment has the responsibility virtually for all policies and laws that have been created for the Scheduled Castes, being the nodal administrative unit.

On 14 May 2012, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment created two Departments under its ministry. The first is the “Department of Social Justice and Empowerment” and the second is the “Department of Disability Affairs.” This reorganisation in the ministry seems to reflect a development where disability has gained new political and legal recognition, including, notably, the “Persons with Disabilities Bill, 2011.” However, the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment should be “the nodal Department” for groups such as the Scheduled Castes, Socially and Educationally Backward Classes, Denotified Tribes, Economically Backward Classes and Senior Citizens.

The Department of Social Justice and Empowerment shall be the nodal Department for the overall policy, planning and coordination of programmes for the development of the groups mentioned at (i) to (iv) above, and the welfare of the group at (v) above. However, overall management and monitoring etc. of the sectoral programmes in respect of these groups shall be the responsibility of the concerned Central Ministries, State Governments and Union Territory Administrations. Each Central Ministry or Department shall discharge nodal responsibility concerning its sector.

The Department has special schemes for the target groups as well as a few organisations. The schemes are specific to this ministry; while they represent a mixture of schemes, there are several schemes that have been created to promote education and to improve the conditions for manual scavengers after the abolition of Manual Scavenging Act of 1993.

Also, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment has both particular organisations for Scheduled Castes development as well as a number of schemes. The associated organisations include “Babu Jagjivan Ram National Foundation” and Dr. Ambedkar Foundation External, both of which are established to promote ideology and spread ideas about social justice among people. Then, there are the two commissions – the National Commission for Safai Karamcharis (manual scavengers) and the National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC). Finally, there is National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) and the National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (NSCFDC). I will deal with schemes in the next chapter in more detail.

75 Ibid.
76 http://socialjustice.nic.in/index.php
77 http://socialjustice.nic.in/subject.php. The word responsibility is misspelt in the original version, on the internet-site and official document.
CENTRAL LEVEL: THE MINISTRY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT – A NODAL MINISTRY AND ITS “SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES”

This chapter describes the schemes and programmes that the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment has listed. While the previous section described “the umbrella strategy” of the Sub-Plan that this Ministry implements, they have also published a collection of schemes. The shortest title for this site is simply “Schemes/Programmes.” The slash is noteworthy. While it shows how schemes and programmes are two related terms, the slash has a practical meaning. It reflects to the fact that the schemes are parts in a large technical web. The list of altogether 18 Schemes and programmes includes a number of corporations under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, and these related corporations may have new schemes that are not stated on this list. For practical reasons, this chapter will be limited to the list provided on this particular site. The list includes both important and less important schemes. However, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is a nodal ministry in the central government as far as the development policies and schemes are concerned. And the schemes that they provide are relevant across the country. As such, this list is a useful entry to clarify some of the most central schemes and directions that one may expect to find on the regional level.

Some schemes are more important than others. One of the most significant schemes is called “Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Assistance to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations” - SCDCs. This does not only appear to be a clear scheme where the central and regional level share financial responsibilities, but it is also a scheme for significant regional institutions that should be “nodal agencies” for development in the context of Scheduled Castes.

In what follows, I simply try to clarify and map the schemes. I wish to underline that the schemes are published on this site using very different type of documents. The schemes are not presented in one specific form. Taken together, the documents appear as a bundle of papers, many of which are written in very different ways; some appear quite systematical, whereas others are written as if it should be an official letter. On the one hand, this bundle of papers can be seen as a reflection of an inherently chaotic practice where documents are collected somewhat arbitrarily to announce the scheme, or where the standards of designing policies and schemes do not exist. On the other hand, it reflects the temporality of the schemes and the way in which certain documents assume greater significance to clarify one scheme, perhaps because they appeared to have been available. In spite of some differences, there are some patterns. I will try to address the patterns in the next chapter.

5.1 Scheme of Grant-in-aid to Voluntary and other Organizations Working for Scheduled Castes

This scheme is granted to NGOs, representing the “voluntary sector and training institutions of repute.” It is a comprehensive grant and it seems to be designed for professional organisations – cf. “of repute.” It targets Scheduled Castes with a view to enable them start their own job “or get gainfully employed in some sector or the other.”

Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

5.2 Central Sector Scheme of 'Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship' For Providing Scholarships to Scheduled Caste Students To Pursue Programmes In Higher Education Such As M.Phil. And Ph.D.

This scheme\(^{80}\) was created as “a Central Sector scheme” in 2005-6 “to increase opportunities” for SCs to study for degrees such as M.Phil. and Ph.D. Its present form was made effective in 2010. The scheme may, as such, make more SCs eligible for posts as lecturers in colleges and universities and the increased opportunities “at the national and international level in the context of the new economic order.”

The scheme provides 2000 fellowships per year to SC students. It covers all institutions recognized by University Grant commission, which implements the scheme.

5.3 Pradhan Mantri Adarsh Gram Yojana (PMAGY)

This is a “pilot scheme”\(^{81}\) implemented “from the financial year, 2009-10, for integrated development of 1,000 villages in the country, each with more than 50% Scheduled Castes (SC) population.” The pilot project is being tried out in five states, which includes 225 villages in Tamil Nadu.\(^{82}\) The scheme is not yet implemented in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.

The scheme seems to have been developed on the basis of the Special Component Plan. It was announced by the Finance Minister in the Budget Speech 6 July 2009, and it appears to be a carefully developed scheme; at least, the background document completely corresponds to the approach of the Special Component Plan.\(^{83}\) The objective of the scheme is to ensure that the “integrated development” in the selected villages will make them to “model villages.” (p. 7). This means that one will develop “physical” and “socio-economic” infrastructure and reduce the disparity “between the SC and non-SC population in terms of common socio-economic indicators.” There is also a specified goal in this scheme to eliminate untouchability, segregation and atrocities against SCs.

10 lakh rupees will be provided to each village in the pilot scheme to improve the effect of the schemes that already exists in the states. The approach is described as follows:

Integrated development of selected villages will be primarily achieved through implementation of existing scheme of Central and State Govts. in a convergent manner. Gap-filling funding of Rs. 10.0 lakh per village on an average will be provided by the Central Government (with expectation of a matching grant from the State Govts.) for meeting special requirements of villages which cannot be met from existing schemes, in the short term.

In other words, the scheme also brings into question the extent to which existing schemes, their range and the degree to which they are being implemented.

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\(^{80}\) Government of India "Central Sector Scheme of 'Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship' for Providing Scholarships to Scheduled Caste Students to Pursue Programmes in Higher Education such as M.Phil and Ph.D. (Effective from 01-04-2010)" Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment http://socialjustice.nic.in/Rajiv.php

\(^{81}\) "Pradhan Mantri Adarsh Gram Yojana (PMAGY) " http://socialjustice.nic.in/pmagy.php

\(^{82}\) For a list of the selected villages, see http://socialjustice.nic.in/pmagy-statewiselist.php

5.4 Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana (The Centrally Sponsored Scheme Of Hostels For SC Girls And Boys)

This scheme, which has been effective from 1 January 2008, is a scheme for construction of hostels to ensure that SC students will “attain quality education” and to avoid that students, especially girls, drop out of school. The scheme is to create “accommodation for SC boys and girls studying in middle schools, higher secondary schools, colleges and Universities.”

In 2008, there were 7608 boys and 13883 girls who were granted support under this scheme.

The scheme seem to have a longer history, as the construction of hostels for girls was in operation from Third Five Year Plan, that is, from 1961. The same scheme was applied for boys from 1989-90. The two schemes seem to have been revised, merged and renamed as Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana, which has been effective from 1 January 2008.

The funding seems to be slightly higher for girl’s hostels than for boys. The central government will provide 100 percent support “to States/UTs/Universities” for construction of girls hostels; there are other categories in the context of boys, where the states are expected to provide funds as well.

The scheme is informed by specific considerations for students. In fact, it is one of the objectives of this scheme that one should avoid that girls drop out of school. It is perhaps as a result of the idea that creating a safe and assuring institutional context for learning that the scheme includes guidelines such as the following: first, the number of students should not exceed 100 students; it should be two-three students in each room and no single rooms. Two, the girls’ hostels should be built preferably “within a radius of 200 meters... of the educational institution.”

5.5 Post Matric Scholarships for Scheduled Castes /Scheduled Tribes Students

This scheme is to support students to complete education after matriculation at an educational institution. The objective is to allow Scheduled Caste students “to obtain post-matric and higher level of education resulting in their over all educational and economic development.” This statement is not particularly precise, but the objective is to enable SC students to complete their “post-secondary education.” The scheme covers 30 lakh SC students across India.

5.6 Pre-Matric Scholarships to the Children of those Engaged in 'Unclean' Occupations i.e. Scavenging, Tanning and Flaying

This scheme was created in 1977-8. State governments and “UT administrations” will obtain “100 % central assistance ... of the total expenditure under the Scheme.” The scheme is for

85 Ibid.
86 These background considerations are more explicit in the background document to this scheme. See, Government of India "BABU JAGJIVAN RAM CHHATRAWAS YOJNA " Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment http://socialjustice.nic.in/pdf/bjrcyojna.pdf
children of manual scavengers, tanners or flayers. It is for children “irrespective of their religion” whose parents are engaged in these professions.

The scheme has recently been updated so as to assure that the scheme is only eligible for those who are presently engaged in the “unclean” occupations. The changes came into force 1 July 2011. The main change is perhaps the emphasis that the objective of the scheme is to help children “to pursue Pre-matric education” if their parents are “Persons who are either presently engaged in manual scavenging or were so engaged upto or after 1.1.97 or the date on which the “The Employment of manual scavengers and construction of Dry latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993” came into force in their State/UT,…” What strikes me about this guideline is that it seeks to depend on the existing situation in the state, although the sentence seems unclear.

One of the noteworthy guidelines in this scheme is that a child adopted by a person engaged in the “unclean occupations” will be “eligible for scholarships only after a lapse of three years from the date of such adoption [and] that they have been living with the adopted parents since the date of such adoption.” This specification is noteworthy because it is spelled out in such a way that it seems to be a clear rationality behind. For example, it seems to suggest that there has either been a concern that the scheme might be exploited by individuals who claim to be or that there have been actual situations that have created a need to make this specification.

5.7 Central Sector Scholarship of Top Class Education For SC students

This scheme’s objective is “to promote qualitative education among SC students, by providing full financial support for pursuing studies beyond 12th class.” The scheme applies to “205 institutions of excellence spread all over the country” and includes “1250 slots” each year. It is based on merit, and it applies to SC students who gain admission “in the notified institutions.” It is a generous scholarship, which will cover “full tuition fee and other non-refundable charges..., living expenses, books and stationary… a latest computer...” The scholarship will last until the course is completed, although this commitment seems to be combined with the ambiguous remark that the support is “subject to satisfactory performance.”

There were 2,17 Crore rupees spent under this scheme in 2007-08, and 14,15 Crore rupees spent in 2010-11. This represents a significant increase of money allocated to this scheme, although the funds are distributed across 121 institutions in 2007 and 181 in 2010.

This scheme was framed in the context of the Union Budget 2005-06, and it became effective from 21 June 2007. This scheme should be a good example to illustrate the considerable value that is given to education in the contemporary situation. It is not only about education and development, but it is also about “Top Class Education” and to support individual achievements and careers in the context of marketization and competition.

89 As far as I understand, the 1993 Act is a piece of legislation that should apply to the entire country in which case it should be applied anonymously across the country. The statement does not seem to suggest that this is the case.
90 Government of India "Central Sector Scholarship of Top Class Education For SC students" Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment http://socialjustice.nic.in/topclass.php
5.8 Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers

The scheme was introduced in 2007 with the objective “to rehabilitate remaining Manual Scavengers and their dependents in a time-bound money.” The scheme uses occupation to identify the target group, which means that income is not relevant to identify the beneficiaries for this scheme.

Manual scavengers and their dependents will be subsidised with “upto Rs. 20,000 and concessional loan for undertaking self-employment ventures. Beneficiaries are also provided training for skill development for a period upto one year, during which a stipend of Rs. 1000 per month is also provided.” The new occupations are illustrated in different categories. Category number 1 includes “self employment” in a fruit or meat shop, a paan shop or watch repairing shop. Employment in this category is estimated to obtain upto 25,000 rupees. Category 2 includes barber shops, category 3 auto-rickshaw on petrol, and category 4 includes transport and dry cleaning shop etc. The latter type of jobs will be estimated to cost between 100,001-500,000 rupees.

There will be both loan and microfinancing under this scheme. Microfinancing will be organised in self-help groups and “reputed Non Governmental Organisations.” There are, for instance, two categories of loan. Projects up to 25,000 rupees will be repaid over a period of three years, while projects with loans above 25,000 rupees can be repaid over a period of five years.

The scheme should be implemented by the National Safai Karamcharis Finance & Development Corporation at the national level. But the counterparts in the different states do not seem to be the Ministry of Social Welfare specifically. Rather, the implementation at the level of the state seems more open-ended and in terms with a neo-liberal government of rule. It says that “the implementing agencies will be the state channelising agencies identified for the purpose, which may include government agencies and reputed non-governmental organisations.” The statement does not reflect very clear guidelines. One reason might be that the concession that the “limited infrastructure capacity [of the NSKFDC and its SCAs] would need to be enhanced.” Another reason implied here seems to be that the scheme is designed in such a way that it may outsource or employ NGOs to carry out the task, although these should be “reputed.”

However, it is important to note that this scheme is linked to “the programme of conversion of dry latrines in co-ordination with the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation (MoH&UPA).” In fact, this scheme is implemented in a larger context. Among the existing mechanisms is the “implementation of the National Action Plan for Total Eradication of Manual Scavenging” from 2007, and the scheme appears to be co-ordinated with such a policy as well. Overall, the idea is that the scheme should be more effective with efforts “to converge the benefits with other exciting programmes so as to give a meaningful package to the target group.” No doubt, this could be a reasonable justification for viewing a scheme as a complementary effort in a more comprehensive approach to eradicate manual scavenging. On the other hand, it could also indicate some of the problems with the scheme, being left to state government to implement it.

93 Ibid.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

The expenditures for this scheme seem uneven. While 56 Crore rupees were being spent in 2006-07, 25 Crores were spent in 2007-08, 100 Crores in 2008-09 and 50 Crores in 2009-10.94

5.9 Special Central Assistance to Scheduled Castes Sub Plan95

Although the Special Component Plan – later renamed as SC Sub Plan – is a comprehensive plan of action, this is a central scheme at the central level to give a “100 percent grant” to the States/UTs “as an additive to their Scheduled Castes Sub Plan.” The Special Central Assistance (SCA) scheme is meant to be a flexible scheme so as to help the States/UTs to improve the effect of the schemes already developed in the states. The overall objective, following the logic of the Sub Plan, is to fill “the critical gaps and for providing missing vital inputs so that the schemes can be more meaningful.” But the flexibility in this particular scheme (SCA) is to take into consideration that there are different schemes developed in different areas, partly due to differences in occupational and economic patterns.

The history of this SCA-scheme is not too clear, except that it seems to have been created in the early 1990s. At least, there are background documents for this scheme published in 199396 that emphasise the need “to give a thrust” to the economic development, noting the occupational patterns among the SCs and the need to improve the economic productivity in their particular contexts.

There is a statement of the budget of this scheme available online.97 It shows the released funds provided to the different regions. The figures are given in lakhs (not Crores, which is the normal figure in other schemes, and I select the figures relating to the different states.

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5.10 Central Sector Scheme of National Overseas Scholarship for SC etc.98

The National Overseas Scholarship (also referred to as the Overseas Scholarship Scheme for SC&ST prior to 1999)99 includes thirty awards every year to “finally selected candidates for pursuing Master level courses and Ph.D. abroad.” This scheme is not only for SCs; it also includes other categories such as “Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes” as well

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99 See Krishnan 2009, p. 57
as “Landless Agricultural Labourers and Traditional Artisans.” But the majority of the awards are given to the Scheduled Castes. Out of the 30 awards, 27 will be given to SCs, 2 to denotified tribes etc. and 1 to landless agricultural labourers etc.

The awards are specifically for engineering, management, “pure sciences,” agricultural sciences and medicine. There are no awards for studying degrees in humanities, law or social sciences under this scheme. There are 20 “seats” for engineering, 5 for “Pure Sciences” and 5 for “Agricultural Science.”

The scheme includes an income “ceiling,” as the candidate’s parents or “guardians” cannot earn more than 25,000 rupees a month. The scheme includes a long list of mandatory conditions. One of these conditions is that the candidate is “required to execute a bond with this Ministry and the Indian Mission abroad” and “not seek any extension of stay abroad beyond the duration for which the scholarship is awarded.” The scholarship’s many obligations and design reflect a keen interest to direct the students to “repay” the Indian state with their skills. This fits the objective of a state that aspires for development. Indeed, the skills that the students have acquired can not only be seen as an attribute to the particular individual and their possibility for upward social mobility, but it can also be seen as an asset that should be considered as a contribution to the state and society.

The scheme includes a gender perspective, although this seems to be a recent development. From 2007-8 to 2011-12, 30 percent of the awards should be for women. That is, 30 per cent “shall be earmarked for women candidates.”

5.11 **Educational Development Programme for Scheduled Castes Girls**

This scheme, also referred to as “Special Educational Development Programme for Scheduled Castes Girls Belonging to Low Literacy Levels.” Unlike some other schemes published on the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment’s website, this scheme is published without explaining too many details. It is explained that this scheme will provide

a package of educational inputs through residential schools for Scheduled Castes girls in areas of very low literacy and where traditions and environment are not conducive to learning amongst SC girls. This Scheme is implemented by the Zilla Parishads of the concerned Districts.

The statement is vague and refers to several administrative efforts without spelling them out. The Zilla Parishads is a local government unit, but it is not clear why this particular unit is chosen to implement the scheme. It is not clear what the “package of educational inputs” implies; nor is it clear whether this scheme is implemented across the country, including the south Indian states.

5.12 **Upgradation of merit of SC/ST students**

This scheme involves full support from the central government “to states/UTs for arranging coaching for SC/ST students studying in class 9th to 12th.” This coaching, whether “Remedial” or “Special,” is meant to “upgrade the merits of SC/ST students for all round

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101 Ibid.

development through education in Residential School.” No doubt, there is an interest to address the low level of education among SCs and STs, underpinning the scheme. However, the terminology in the statement explaining this scheme is far from neutral. The very title of this scheme reflects a condescending inclination. This approach is further reflected in the explanation of the scheme. For example, it is declared that the objective of this scheme is no less than “removing their educational deficiency.” Here, one brings an effectively laden concept – “deficiency” – to account for the situation in which the students live. While there is no doubt noble intentions behind the scheme, the laden terminology may create an approach that could be at odds with a different objective - “Generating self confidence” among the students. In any case, the aim is to improve the likelihood for these students to succeed.

The states are free to choose the schools that could be the target for this scheme. However, although the background document that explains this scheme is fairly general, it includes a note – unlike several other documents – that the state government will be reporting about the schools that are selected. This is in any case reasonable considered the fact that this is a scheme that is fully funded by the central government and does not rely on state resources.

The scheme covers 1045 students, which is not a particularly high number considered that this is an all-India scheme. Financially, the “package” for each student per year involves 15000 rupees divided between support for the individual student (8000 rupees) and honorarium (7000 rupees) to “Principal, Experts and other incidental charges.”

There are no details regarding the budget for this scheme, (and although one could multiply 1045 students with 15000 rupees). However, the important point for this report is to clarify whether this scheme has been used by any of the south Indian states in question.

5.13 **Central Sector Scheme of Free Coaching for SC and OBC Students**

This scheme aims at improving “the skills and capabilities of the weaker sections.” Although the scheme appears to have a longer history, it was effectively implemented and gained its present name in 2007. This scheme should be seen in combination with the scheme for Coaching and Allied Assistance for Weaker Sections” described above.

This scheme is large in terms of expenditures. It is fully funded by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, and it is “intended to have an outlay of Rs. 40.00 Crores during the 11th Five Year Plan” (2007-12) and “will be implemented through the reputed coaching institutions/centers” both in the public and private sectors, such as the State governments/UT Administrations, … including the Deemed Universities in the private sector etc.”


The objective is to provide “qualitative coaching for Group A and B examinations” conducted by Union Public Service Commission, the State Selection Commission, “the various Railway Recruitment Boards,” the State Public Service Commissions, Officers’ Grade

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103 This is a slightly odd specification, since one should assume that every scheme funded by the central government requires reports from the state governments. This shows, however, a general phenomenon in this study of scheme: each document for the scheme appear to be written in completely different context and without following any predefined model.


105 While the adjective “reputed” is often used to describe the organisations that are to be used in implementing schemes, this sentence adds to the prestige adding a capital D in the word “Deemed.”

106 I assume that Group A and B refer to the system of categories in the Indian public administration where Group A is the top category and D is the lowest category.
examinations conducted by Banks, Insurance Companies and Public Sector Undertakings.” However, the scheme does also support job-oriented courses to attain jobs “in the private sector like IT, Bio-technology etc.”

The total “family income ceiling” has been raised from 1 to 2 lakh per annum.

For this all-Indian scheme, 4 Crores of rupees were spent in 2003-04 among 7030 beneficiaries across India, 4,93 crores in 2004-05 for 11905 beneficiaries; the expenditures dropped to 2,53 crores in 2005-6, although it increased to 3,92 crores in 2007-08 and was being spent among 5,190 students.

There are two lists attached with this scheme that indicates how these schemes are being used in various states, including the south Indian states. The two lists include 1) a list of proposals approved by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment during 2010-11\textsuperscript{107} and 2) a list of organisations that obtained funds from this scheme during 2011-12.\textsuperscript{108}

There are organizations in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in the list of approved proposals during 2010-11. The Andhra Pradesh Study Circle in Hyderabad should arrange various courses in Hyderabad (Ambedkar Bhavan, Banjara Hills) and Vishakhapatnam and Vijayawada. The Electronic Corporation of India in Hyderabad was, as far as I understand, approved to arrange courses computer courses for altogether 2000 students. As far as I understand, these courses seem to have attracted students from 12 states, including Karnataka and Tamil Nadu (and it is unclear whether these courses were conducted in Hyderabad or in the 12 states). Then, the National Small Industries Corporation in New Delhi was being granted support to organise a centre for technical services in Chennai, Tamil Nadu.\textsuperscript{109} This is worth noting, since it reflects the relevance of organisations and their relevance in the schemes rather than their geographical origin.

The Electronics Corporation of India in Hyderabad was also granted support in 2011-12 to conducted courses in seven states – outside Andhra Pradesh. The “Central Institute of Plastics Engineering and Technology” in Chennai was also granted support, although it is not stated what amount they received.

Overall, this scheme seems to target individuals who may be trained by institutions in other states, which may the relevant expertise to provide “Free Coaching.”

\subsection*{5.14 National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation (NSFDC)\textsuperscript{110}}

The NSFDC is an organisation under the Ministry for Social Justice and Empowerment and it is not specifically a scheme.\textsuperscript{111} It is listed among the schemes, being an organised “programme.”\textsuperscript{112} The NSFDC was organised in 1989 under “the Companies Act, 1956” to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{107} Government of India "List of proposals approved by the Ministry under the Scheme of ‘Free Coaching for SC & OBC Students’ during 2010-11" Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment http://socialjustice.nic.in/pdf/proposals2010-11.pdf
  \item \textsuperscript{108} Government of India "List of Organizations to which funds released during 2011-12 under "Central Sector Scheme of Free Coaching for SC and OBC Students"" Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment http://socialjustice.nic.in/pdf/freecoach-fr1112.pdf
  \item \textsuperscript{109} Government of India, "List of proposals approved by the Ministry under the Scheme of ‘Free Coaching for SC & OBC Students’ during 2010-11."
  \item \textsuperscript{110} Government of India "National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation (NSFDC)" Scheduled Caste Welfare Department Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment http://socialjustice.nic.in/nsfdc.php
  \item \textsuperscript{111} For the official website, see http://nsfdc.nic.in/
  \item \textsuperscript{112} The title of the website is “Schemes/Programmes.” See, http://socialjustice.nic.in/schemespro1.php
\end{itemize}

Dag Erik Berg, 2012
finance “income generating activities” for SCs who live “below double the poverty line.” It is a company fully owned by the Government of India. It is a more specialised administrative unit with an additional capacity to address the problem of Scheduled Castes, “below double the poverty line.” In addressing poverty among the SCs, one may consider this approach as a class based approach among the castes listed as Scheduled Castes. The NSFDC should be an “apex institution for financing, facilitating and mobilizing funds from other sources and promoting the economic development activities.” This is expressed in the vision: “Fighting Poverty through Entrepreneurship,” and its mandate is to finance self-employment projects and provide “skill-training grants to unemployed SC persons living below Double the Poverty Line.” It will be clear in chapter six that the NSCFDC plays an important role at the regional level, being a main actor in several schemes for the SCs in the states.

5.15 National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) This corporation – the NSKFDC – was established in 1997 under Companies Act, 1956, as an “Apex Institution for all round socio-economic upliftment of the Safai Karamcharis/Scavengers. The target group is manual scavengers and Safai Karamcharis, “which means persons engaged in or employed for any sanitation work and their dependents.” The approach of this Corporation does also resemble a class based discourse, but the target group is defined in terms of their occupation – manual scavenging. This is stratification based on caste. Occupation is a sufficient criterion and there is no need to use income to determine the target group.

There are four types of schemes – term loan, education loan, micro credit finance, “Mahila samridhi Yojana” and skill training. There is “equity share” being released and money is being disbursed. In 2008-9, there were 45 crores in equity share and 145, 33 crores were disbursed among 37041 beneficiaries. The number of beneficiaries has decreased while the money being spent seems to have increased.

5.16 Scheme of Assistance to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (SCDCs) This scheme was created in 1978-79 as a central sponsored scheme to support “Scheduled Castes Development Corporations” in states with a significant Scheduled Caste population. The scheme involves collaboration between the central government and state governments with a ratio of 49:51. The result has become that there are a total of 27 administrative units to facilitate this State-level corporation. These corporations are “nodal agencies in the States.” They will provide loans, subsidies and training for self-employment etc.

113 See their website, http://www.nsfdc.nic.in/index.asp
114 There is evidence of its role in schemes in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu (see below).
116 Government of India, "Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Assistance to State Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (SCDCs)."
117 Ibid.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

It seems as if some of the corporations in the states include other groups than Scheduled Castes as their target, which would reflect flexibility for the states to design their institutions for implementing welfare policies and development.

In Andhra Pradesh, the relevant organisation is the “A.P. Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation,” which was created in 1974, prior to the centrally sponsored scheme. In Karnataka state, the relevant corporation is the “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation Ltd.” In Tamil Nadu, the relevant corporation is the Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing & Development Corporation, also known as TAHDCO. The latter organisation is known for a number of schemes, whereas there is less published information about the schemes in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka state.

These Corporations have several tasks, such as identification of eligible families, motivation to “undertake economic development schemes,” different kinds of sponsorship. In fact, the SCDSs seem to draw on financial resources and policies evolving from the 1) Scheme of Special Central Assistance and 2) Special Component Plan. Moreover, the fact that the SCDCs are characterised as “nodal agencies” is useful to highlight the way in which their role in facilitating development among the Scheduled Castes make them collaborate with a number of organisations. This means that the “SCDCs tie up with local banks” to facilitate loans. They also tie up with other government organisations such as the National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) and National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC). No doubt, the SCDCs are at the centre for facilitating an enterprising approach to gain ground among Scheduled Castes through credit, loans etc. In addition, the SCDCs also have schemes for employment as well as agriculture, irrigation and small scale industries.

The Scheme of Assistance to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations at the central level released 12,17 Crores rupees and with an expected 700,000 beneficiaries.

5.17 Supporting Project of All India Nature of SCs (research and training) 120

This scheme includes assistance to “reputed Social Science Research Agencies and Universities” for “purposeful studies” and for seminars and workshops “preferably on the socio-economic programmes undertaken by Government bodies.” Altogether 27 lakhs rupees were spend on “18 studies.”

5.18 National Commission for Safai Karamcharis 121

The commission was established in 1994 for a three years period, in response to a provision of the National Commission for Safai Karamcharis Act, 1993. The commission is led by a group four people, including a chairman. The mandate has been extended several times. The commission should coordinate and oversee the development policies for the manual scavengers, and they should be consulted by any agency dealing with this group of people. The commission deals with grievances and issues in the implementation of schemes and programmes for Safai Karamcharis. The commission has published several reports, although they are not published online and it is not clear to me what this commission does.

120 Government of India "Supporting Project of All India Nature of SCs (Research & Training)" Scheduled Caste Welfare 2012: http://socialjustice.nic.in/supporting.php
Summary

The above list comprised different type of schemes, and there is not sufficient data to indicate the time that these schemes have been created. It is clear that there is a clear majority of schemes that deals with education. This includes both infrastructural capacity, such as the creation of hostels for girls and boys. But it is worth noting that some of the schemes target individual candidates who could obtain scholarship to study. This includes both studies overseas for only a few candidates across the country, but it also includes “free coaching” for between 5-7000 students across India to obtain positions in top government positions. The information in the Scheme for Free Coaching (section 3, 13) suggests that the scheme is being implemented and used by 5-11,000 each year. I do not know if this scheme is more effectively implemented than the other schemes. But the fact that there are several thousand individuals across India benefitting from the scheme suggests that it is a more or less effective scheme. This may in turn support the assumption that middle class individuals are more able to make use of the scheme than illiterate people in the countryside. Yet, the schemes are developed in different ways, depending on the target group. The only scheme in the list above that is not all-Indian is the pilot scheme called Pradhan Mantri Adarsh Gram Yojana (section 3, 3). This scheme is modelled on the sub plan, and it is being implemented in 100 villages in Tamil Nadu. (It is not implemented in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka.) There is not sufficient data to determine a pattern in the history of schemes, or its proliferation, but the provisional findings indicates that the important periods seems to be end of 1970s, early 1990s and the new millennium.

A key scheme is in any case the Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (section 3, 16). The SCDSs appear to be the most central scheme to make comparisons across regional states. There appear to be considerable differences between the SCDSs in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. The main challenge is the uneven availability of information regarding these Development Corporations. TAHDCO in Tamil Nadu has far more information published on their website about their schemes than its counterparts in Karnataka (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation Ltd.) and Andhra Pradesh (A.P. Scheduled Castes Cooperative Finance Corporation). I will provide a quick outline of these institutions below, although I will first analyse the conceptions and ideas at stake in the list of schemes outlined in this chapter.

GOVERNANCE AND DISCOURSE:
A TECHNICAL WEB, NODAL POINTS AND TRENDS

While noting that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment is referred to as a “nodal ministry” in the approach to schemes and development for the Scheduled Castes, I would in this chapter like to put some discursive characteristics more briefly into focus. That is, I want to highlight the terminology, concept and ideas that tend to characterise the approach represented in the schemes outlined in the previous chapter. Attention to discourse is important in order to make more visible the way in which development schemes are conceptualised. One may, as such, clarify the assumptions that the bureaucracy use when defining the target group, as object, addressee and particular needs. Also, it is important to note the extent to which the documents uploaded on the site for “Schemes/Programmes” at

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122 It should be useful to clarify when each scheme was created and, in so doing, map the pattern, but this task would require other types of material and more research.

123 See appendix 8, 1.
the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment appear to be a mixed bundle of different schemes with their given singularities.

In attempting to make discursive characteristics more visible, however, one needs to distinguish between government as technology and government as discourse. This distinction is somewhat artificial from a Foucaultian viewpoint, since the terms “techné” and “discourse” tend to overlap in Foucault’s writings. That is, the term discourse, where power is at play in configurations of knowledge and truth, overlaps with the Greek term “techné,” which he defines as “rules and practices that allow an action to achieve its ends.”

It should be important to emphasise that techné is not simply a fixed and rigid phenomenon in the way that one may often tend to think of a formal (“Weberian”) bureaucracy. Rather, techné represents a more flexible dimension that engulfs the subject, which, as such, creates the powerful effects in shaping everyday practices and notions of the self. It is no doubt important to emphasise that the particular schemes and development policies overall may constitute a type of governmentality where techné/discourse creates particular identities and practices in different localities.

Yet, Foucault’s own terminology is not particularly practical in this context. Rather, one may emphasise that there are two dimensions in field under investigation. There is first what seems to be an inflexible, concrete and non-discursive, technical network; secondly, the domain obviously involves assumptions, discourses and ideas. Thus, first of all, one needs to emphasise how the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment and its list of schemes constitute a concrete, technical web of development policies. While being a very mixed bundle of initiatives, it is important to note the extent to which the many singular schemes constitute a technical network with rules, directions of use and particular targets. The schemes embody a bureaucratic “intentionality” based on a target group in the overall population of Scheduled Castes. One may map the schemes as a technical web where the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment is a “nodal ministry.” But it is a nodal ministry in a purely bureaucratic sense. It differs from what is referred to in discourse theory as a “nodal point,” which fixes meaning in a given field (in a more ideological sense than in Foucault’s work).

A nodal point in discourse theory signifies an ideological operation. While Laclau and Mouffe discussed nodal point as a concrete expression of hegemony, Žižek developed these remarks by emphasising that a certain dimension – a concept or symbol – may “quilt” the meaning in the given field. Such a nodal point reflects an ideological structure, which should be conceptually distinguished from the technical fact that the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment is a “nodal ministry.” To sum up: there is a conceptual difference between the nodal ministry and the nodal point, one being bureaucratic-technical, the other is decisive for an ideology operation.

While keeping the conceptual distinctions in mind, I wish to simply point out some basic observations in the schemes above. The previous chapter concluded by noting the emphasis on education. In the categorisation of schemes in appendix 8.1, one can see that at least ten

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125 For fuller discussion, see Ben Golder and Peter Fitzpatrick, *Foucault’s law* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009).
126 While this is my own distinction and based on the particular case under study, I am certainly inspired by the contribution of Golder and Fitzpatrick; their analysis of Foucault’s law has no doubt been illuminating in dealing with law, bureaucracy and discourse. *Ibid.*
schemes provided by the Scheduled Caste Welfare Department in the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment were designed to provide education for the Scheduled Castes in some way or the other. The initiatives included infrastructure such as hostels for boys and girls, coaching and overseas scholarship for graduate degrees. In addition to the educational schemes, there is a scheme for research and three corporations (organisations) created for development policies in different domains, the NSFDC, the NSKFDC and the nodal ministries for development initiatives in the States, the SCDCs. Finally, there is the pilot project under the Special Component Plan (section 4,3).

The educatin schemes do in any case represent a clear basis to indicate some discursive characteristics. First of all, the fact that education figures prominently in the list of schemes corresponds well with the significance that education has in the public discourse overall. Education is no doubt a dominant value in India’s modernity like in modernity in general. As far as the schemes are concerned, it should be kept in mind that the documents representing these schemes are not written in the same format. They are framed in rather different ways; each scheme has its own singularity and point of origin.

However, the schemes regarding education seem to converge well with the title of scheme described in section 4,12, the “Upgradation of merit of SC/ST students.” Like all schemes, the underpinning assumption is that social inequalities should be addressed and that Scheduled Castes should move from an underprivileged stratum to a higher stratum. While there is hardly any dissent about the need for improving the level of education among Scheduled Castes, the title – “Upgradation of merit of SC/ST” – has already passed a judgement: Dalits do not have sufficient merit. In fact, the scheme is substantiated with a terminology that is reminiscent of economistic thinking. It is stated that a main aim is that of “[r]emoving their educational deficit.”

Here, the standard of modern institution and formal knowledge seems to work as a value judgement where Dalits are devalued in the process of addressing their needs in the contemporary situation. What is foregrounded is merit and ability to deliver in modern educational institutions. But the Dalit situation, I suggest, has an implicit (background) assumption linking up with their traditional status as untouchables in the old caste system. Even if the relevance of traditional caste status is difficult to identify, it may operate implicitly in the context of an approach that should “upgrade” their skills. This involves two types of exclusions: inequalities in terms of stratification may be added to traditional, ritual status of caste. Hierarchy might therefore structure the understandings in this scheme (quilt the meaning). And hierarchical distinctions may be elicited in view of the objective to “[r]emove[their] educational deficit.”

The scheme “upgradation of merit of SC/ST students” is perhaps the scheme that has the most condescending terminology in the list of schemes provided by the Scheduled Caste Welfare Department. Some other schemes are framed with less resonance to the fact that Dalits occupy the lower strata in the society. For instance, the “Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship” (section 4,2) is designed “to increase opportunities to Scheduled Castes for

128 Government of India, "Upgradation of merit of SC/ST students."

pursuing higher education."\textsuperscript{130} The idea seems fairly optimistic: one may create equal opportunities effectively in a larger context with many individual positions and opportunities. Indeed, this appears to be the case when the background is to “equip them to effectively take advantage of the growing opportunities at the national and international level in the context of the new economic order.” The latter expression – “the new economic order” – seems to be the decisive ideological framework that conditions the rhetoric and approach of this scheme. However, one may find a rather different approach in the scheme for building hostels for girls and boys (section 4.4). One may recall that this scheme was already in operation during the Third Five Year Plan. It constituted a distinct approach that seeks to address the particular needs for girls to be accommodated safely – “in close vicinity (as far as possible within a radius of 200 meters) of the educational institution.”\textsuperscript{131} To give this sense of ontological security seems essential for type of risk that girls (and their moral status) might be exposed to when leaving their families and parents. Boys were included in this scheme from 1989-90 and onwards.

Among the schemes and programmes, one may find that several dealing with manual scavengers. The National Safai Karamcharies Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) is the “Apex Institution for all round socio-economic upliftment of Safai Karamcharis/Scavengers,” and it might have several schemes beyond what this study has been able to detail. But it is striking that it is among the four schemes/programmes for manual scavengers, three of them are reminiscent of a neoliberal idea of social development through self-government of individual actors. For example, the self-employment scheme created in 2007, with “time-bound” assistance and loans (section 4.14), seem to correspond well with the two corporations of finance and development created in 1989 (the NSFDC, see section 4.14) and in 1997 (the NSKFDC, see section 4.15). The fourth scheme for manual scavengers is for people in “unclean occupation,” which was created in 1977-78 (section 4.6).\textsuperscript{132} This scheme, which applies to people irrespective or religion, provides scholarship for children of manual scavengers, tanners or flayers. The scheme addresses children, whereas the other three schemes and corporations seek to facilitate a development where manual scavengers should be able to move to a new occupation. One may perhaps find a common determination among the three “neoliberal schemes” in the vision that is expressed for NSFDC: “Fighting poverty through Entrepreneurship.”\textsuperscript{133}

To sum up: I have in this chapter tried to sketch some ideas that seem to structure schemes and development corporations at the central level. There are certainly more revealing details to be unpacked, but I have indicated differences, singularities and trends. It seems to be a discursive shift from the 1990s, away from more socially concerned schemes to self-employment and possibilities to join a larger market and economy through a cultivation of skills, entrepreneurship and loans. The schemes on education do in any case represent an enduringly prominent, albeit diverse, dimension.

\textsuperscript{130} Government of India, "Central Sector Scheme of 'Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship' for Providing Scholarships to Scheduled Caste Students to Pursue Programmes in Higher Education such as M.Phil and Ph.D. (Effective from 01-04-2010)."

\textsuperscript{131} Government of India, "Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana."

\textsuperscript{132} Government of India, "Subject: Changes in the centrally sponsored scheme of Pre-Matric Scholarship to children of those engaged in ‘unclean’ occupations. Reference: The Ministry’s letter of even number dated 21.01.2009."

\textsuperscript{133} Government of India, "National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation [NSFDC]."
7 REGIONAL STATES’ WELFARE DEPARTMENTS AND THE SC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

I will in this final chapter do the main task of sketching the ground for a comparison of the schemes and institutions relevant for the development policies for the Scheduled Castes. In making this clarification, I am already creating a serious limitation, because the Scheduled Castes may also be targeted by approaches that do not start by identifying their caste. For example, agricultural schemes might be for landless labourers and people below the poverty line, whereas the Scheduled Caste Welfare Departments offer schemes that are “identity-labelled.” In this study, I cannot fully clarify and compare the differences between “identity-labelled” schemes and schemes that are “not-identity-labelled.” It is my assumption that there is a difference between identity and non-identity labelled approaches in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. My conjecture (or “hypothesis”) is that the identity-labelled schemes are more prominent in Tamil Nadu than in Andhra Pradesh and that the schemes tend to have a more generic character in the latter case.

However, the new Bill created by the State assembly of Andhra Pradesh 2 December 2012 to implement the Special Component Plan in the budget allocations in the state could make a considerable change in foregrounding the SC/ST identity. By implementing the SCP, a fourth of the state’s annual budget should be specifically earmarked for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the state.134

7.1 Andhra Pradesh

The relevant state department for the Scheduled Castes is called “Social Welfare Department.”135 Overall, the Social Welfare Department should provide education for the Scheduled castes, assist in the socio-economic development, ensure welfare protection and implement programmes of social defence such as homes for orphan children and rehabilitation of Jogins (transgender). The Social Welfare Department is divided between a ministry for Social Welfare and Ministry of State for Tribal Welfare,136 and it is the Social Welfare Department that deals with the Scheduled Castes in the state of Andhra Pradesh. According to Census of 2001, there were more than 12 million Scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh or 16 per cent of the total population in the state.137

7.1.1 Organisations and sub-units

The Ministry of Social Welfare has the following four related organisations with the SCs as a specific target:

The first organization is the Andhra Pradesh Social Welfare Residential Educational Institutions Society (APSWREIS) should ensure that children in rural areas are provided “quality education.” The APSWREIS was established in a government order of 2 January 1987. The majority of the children in rural areas (75 per cent) should be children of Scheduled Castes, while 12 percent should be “for SC converted Christians.” It has stated six objectives. The organisation seems to have updated its objective. The Society should 1) ensure reservation for SC students in it is and Polytechnics; 2) handle administrative and

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134 "Andhra Pradesh Assembly creates history."
137 Cf “Objective” www.indg.in/social-sector/ssi/social-welfare-department-andhra-pradesh
financial matters for these institutions; 3) provide free education to students through residential schools; 4) offer textbooks, notebooks, stationary etc. to students; 5) construct and maintain residential complexes with hostels; 6) impart computer education in residential schools. The society has the administrative responsibility for twenty-eight schools in the state.

The second organization is the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation was established in 1974 to implement programmes for economic development of Scheduled Castes families. There are four main objectives stated. It should 1) provide financial assistance to scheduled Castes families for the creation of income generating assets, 2) it should offer training programmes and develop skills that should lead to self-employment; 3) empower women self-help groups and make women financially independent and 4) provide financial assistance to support financial schemes. It is the AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation that has become the organisation that has the role as a nodal agency under the Centrally Sponsored Scheme for the SCDCs (section 4,16). As such, it should mobilise finances and economic development for the SCs under poverty line. What is noteworthy, however, is that the AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation was created four years prior to the Centrally Sponsored Scheme for the Scheduled Castes Development Corporations. In other words, the development in Andhra Pradesh predated the creation of the SCDC scheme at the central level.

The third organization is the AP Study Circle, which coaches candidates among SCs, STs and BCs for civil service examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission. The fourth organization is the Commissionerate of Social Welfare. While it was established to contribute to educational, social and economic development among the SCs, it is also responsible for their welfare and protection.

7.1.2 Schemes for SCs in AP: SC-labelled and non-identity labelled

My attempts to map the schemes for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh have not yielded much result. There is very little information about the schemes available under these four organisations. The lack of information on schemes for the SCs is clearly difficult to understand. Broadly, Andhra Pradesh has had a reputation for creating many schemes, especially during Chandrababu Naidu’s populist and neoliberal rule until 2004. To explain the problem of data and information, I may offer two preliminary conjectures; one regarding state domination and information and the other regarding the potential (ir)relevance of identity labelled schemes.

On the one hand, the lack of information might reflect the way in which information is politics and a means to control state resources. More critically, one may argue that the lack of information on scheme represent a form of explanation by avoiding that its target group should know about the particular state resources that they are entitled to utilise. This exploitation can be deliberate or unconscious; alternatively, it may be a problem of the way in

139 See www.aponline.gov.in/apportal/departments/departments.asp?dep=29&org=281&category=Introduction
which the schemes are produced with fragmented documents and an ineffective flow of information in the bureaucracy. The government of Andhra Pradesh has carefully listed contact persons for using the Right to Information Act, as if using this Act will prompt the government to produce data. Also, the lack of information could possibly reflect the fact that the schemes might not be easy to translate into an approach that the bureaucratic organisation may carry out. Such an interpretation would be in agreement with existing assumptions in organisation theory, which is that organisations work most effectively through routines and that innovations are rare. Schemes may thus be difficult to implement if they cut across established routines, and insignificant schemes might not gain sufficient attention to mobilise the state bureaucracy. At any rate, neither my search on the internet, nor repeated requests at the Social Welfare Department in Hyderabad by colleagues have yielded convincing results.\textsuperscript{142} It should suggest that the lack of information on schemes reflects a systematic limitation in the implementation and even knowledge about the schemes that exists for welfare and development.\textsuperscript{143}

On the other hand, the lack of information on schemes might reflect a problem with the search for identity-labelled schemes. For example, there appears to be a considerable emphasis on the rural schemes in the state. And it is worth noting that the Government of Andhra Pradesh seems to highlight its focus on rural development. Here, MGNREGA, that is, the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act appears to be part of a larger approach to rural development. In 2011, the Government of Andhra Pradesh launched “an ambitious scheme” that should provide irrigation to 10 lakh acres of land in three years (which must be 2011-2014) to six hundred thousand families (“six lakh SC and ST families”).\textsuperscript{144} The scheme — “Indira Jala Prabha” is developed in collaboration with MGNREGS as well as the National Bank for Rural and Agricultural Development (NABARD).\textsuperscript{145}

The ‘Indira Jala Prabha’ is created as a scheme under the Department for Rural Development. On the website,\textsuperscript{146} it is declared to be the “flagship programme of Govt. of Andhra Pradesh” where NABARD and MGNREGS are institutions that should “consolidate the gains made in the Land Development Project.” There are two important points to note here. First, while there is hardly any information about the schemes existing under the Ministry of Social Welfare, there is a special website created for this particular scheme. Second, the level of information given to this scheme seems to be consistent with the overall trend in the politics of Andhra Pradesh where rural development and water problems have loomed large. It is therefore noteworthy that the scheme triggered some protests by other

\textsuperscript{142} During the research for this study, colleagues at Osmania University have made a number of requests to individual members of the bureaucracy, although they were unable to obtain any lists. They did not use the Right of Information Act.

\textsuperscript{143} If the Special Component Plan had been put into practice and published, this could of course have created a very different situation.

\textsuperscript{144} \textit{IBN Live} “‘Indira Jala Prabha’ irrigation scheme launched in AP,” 2 October 2011 . Note that the information is from the newspaper report. I have not yet been able to find the information being presented on the official site.

\textsuperscript{145} \url{http://www.nabard.org/index.asp} . The bank was created by the Central Government in 1979 and has its head quarter in Mumbai. It should facilitate development projects in rural areas. Although I assume that its loans and interest rates are decided by the authorities and not simply by the market, I cannot see how much the loans are subsidised. While assuming that its loans are subsidised, the NABARD seems to be a bank with a considerable emphasis on monitoring rural developments, as well.

\textsuperscript{146} \url{http://nrega.ap.gov.in/IPP/Home.jsp}
groups than the SCs and STs when it was announced October 2011.\textsuperscript{147} Although one may suggest that there are political reasons for publishing information about schemes on rural development and irrigation than the other welfare schemes, the information that I have been able to collect is not sufficient to substantiate such a proposition.

In my desk-study, I have identified two main sources for schemes in Andhra online. The first is the list of schemes that the AP government has published on its “AP online” website.\textsuperscript{148} This list includes no schemes directly targeting, nor mentioning the Scheduled Castes. There are eleven schemes/initiatives, a couple of self-help groups, schemes for tribal welfare, maternal health, rural health and initiatives for women empowerment. However, the list includes url-links to new and more generic schemes provided by the Department of Rural Development, such as National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme and the Social Audit system.\textsuperscript{149}

The second online source is the website <india.gov.in> run by the National Portal of India. Using this source has been crucial to identify three schemes of relevance to Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. The schemes are 1) Seed Village Scheme,\textsuperscript{150} 2) Micro Credit Self Help Groups\textsuperscript{151} and 3) Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya.\textsuperscript{152} The latter is sponsored by the central government under the Ministry of Education: the KGBV scheme began August 2004 to create residential schools for girls from SC, ST, OBC and minorities “in difficult areas.”\textsuperscript{153} The KGBV seems to have become changed somewhat (or perhaps gained more significance) during the Eleventh Five Year Plan.\textsuperscript{154} But the two other schemes, the Seed Village Scheme and the Micro Credit Self Help Groups are created by the state government in Andhra Pradesh, notably by the Department of Agriculture\textsuperscript{155} and Andhra Pradesh State Minorities Finance Corporation Ltd.\textsuperscript{156} In short, the National Portal of India is a useful website to find SC specific schemes. One might find more information if one had time to search for schemes under every department and ministry in the state, but such a search requires time. Also, there

\textsuperscript{147} The Hindu "Azad launches Indira Jala Prabha programme,"3 October 2011
\textsuperscript{148} Government of Andhra Pradesh, "Schemes and Programmes,"
http://www.aponline.gov.in/apportal/HomePageLinks/schemes.htm#file2
\textsuperscript{151} india.gov.in, "Micro Credit to Self Help Groups: Andhra Pradesh," The National Portal of India, http://www.india.gov.in/govt/viewscheme.php?schemeid=1800 This scheme basically targets Minorities, but the scheme is also for SCs.
\textsuperscript{156} See Government of Andhra Pradesh, "Andhra Pradesh State Minorities Finance Corporation Ltd.," The National Portal of India, india.gov.in, http://www.india.gov.in/outerwin.php?id=http://www.apsmfc.com/loan-micro-credit.html. This corporation, the APSMFC seems to have several possibilities for loans and economic assistance. The website also includes budgets and useful information about self help groups, primarily for minorities.
is a limitation to the identity-labelled search. For example, if one searches for details, schemes or development policies targeting scheduled castes in another sector, such as housing, it is difficult to find any information. The Housing Department in AP does not have any details specifically for the SCs.

To sum up: the distinction between SC-labelled and non-identity-labelled schemes appears to be an important methodological topic in the context of Andhra Pradesh. While there are obvious limitations in retrieving data, there are certainly schemes known for the public and popular movements. In her article about gender and land rights, Bina Agarwal describes how women groups in Andhra Pradesh sought to take advantage of a scheme provided by the SCDC of AP. This was a scheme created to help women buy agricultural land. Yet, I have not come across this scheme, nor is it published on by the SCDC. Rather, it is stated on the website for the AP Scheduled Caste Co-operative Finance Corporation that the ministry monitors the implementation of schemes and that it has even developed software to monitor on a monthly basis. The url-link for further information has not been effective on this website during 2012. Overall, this should suggest that information about schemes appears irregular and that it is not systematically published. However, the agricultural land purchase scheme might that is just mentioned might be the “Land Purchase Scheme” that is offered by the National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (see the NSFDCC in section 4.14). Under this scheme, the AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation seems to identify individuals among the Scheduled Castes who could be provided loans and subsidies to buy a piece of agricultural land. As such, the source of the scheme seems to be the central government, that is, the NSFDCC, created in 1989; to repeat, their vision is to fight “poverty and Stigma through entrepreneurship. The NSFDCC do so by providing loan to Scheduled Castes living under the poverty line under many different type of schemes. But I am unable to map the extent to which these are implemented in Andhra Pradesh in spite of indications that the AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation is active.

7.2 Karnataka

There are eight million people enumerated as Scheduled Castes in Karnataka. And the Social Welfare Department in Karnataka, being the main focus also in this state, has a long history. In fact, I find it noteworthy that the Government of Karnataka uses its website in a manner that does not only seek to disseminate information more effectively than in Andhra Pradesh, but it also shows some pride about the history of its Social Welfare Department. The Department introduces its own history, first of all, by stating that the Government of Karnataka “formulated various programmes and schemes for the upliftment” of SCs and STs.

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157 The SCDC she refers to is likely to be the AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation.
160 From a “success story” in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh, one may find that a lady was given Rs. 32,000 as loan and Rs. 10,000 as subsidy. Government of India, "Success Stories," National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, http://www.nsfdc.nic.in/list_of_stories.asp?page=3.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

from 1956 and onwards.\(^\text{162}\) Its policy approach seems proactive; the Government of Karnataka sought to implement development policies in view of the constitutional goal. It should be useful to put this institutional history (and the history of the schemes) into a comparative perspective. The same department was referred to as “Depressed Classes Department” before it gained its current name in 1956. While this department had the responsibility for Backward Classes and Minorities as well as Tribals earlier, the Scheduled Castes is its only responsibility today.

Moreover, the Social Welfare Department highlights schemes and the Special Component Plan in ways that are of some interest for interstate comparisons. The Department projects itself as a playing a comparatively proactive role in the approach to welfare for Scheduled Castes. It is no doubt noteworthy that the official point of view is that “Karnataka is known to be one of the pioneer States in the implementation of Special Component Plan for the Integrated Development of Scheduled Castes.”\(^\text{163}\)

\subsection{Organisations, structure and sub-units}

Although the website for the Social Welfare Department appears proactive and determined to carry out the constitutional mandate for the Scheduled Castes, there is relatively less information on the same website about the various sub-units under the Social Welfare Department. In the context of Andhra Pradesh, I noted four sub-organsisations, each having its special mandate (section 6.2). The Social Welfare Department in Karnataka does also mention some sub-units, albeit very briefly, in their clarification of the “organisation structure.” The Department is headed by the Commissioner of Social Welfare, who seems to have been responsible, including other things, for the Sadashiva Commission.\(^\text{164}\) There are in practice three organisations mentioned. First, is the Ambedkar Research Institute, established in 1994. This institute appears to be relevant for developing policy suggestions.\(^\text{165}\) Overall, it seems to combine bureaucratic evaluation of schemes and their performance with sociological and ethnographic research into the social status of castes and sub-castes. There is, second, a pre-examination training centre located in Bangalore to prepare students for examinations for entry to the Indian Civil Service. This unit might compare to the AP Study Circle (section 6.2). The third organisation is the Directorate of Social Welfare. The Directorate is presented almost in the same way as the Department of Social Welfare.\(^\text{166}\) The Department and Directorate seem to have some overlapping functions, but the majority of the schemes and policies appear to be administered from the Directorate. The Directorate of Social Welfare has various sub-units.\(^\text{167}\) There are sub-sections for 1) educational schemes, 2) employment

\begin{itemize}
  \item I do not know of a counterpart to this organization in Andhra Pradesh, where the evaluation of schemes seems to be conducted by the AP Scheduled Caste Co-operative Finance Corporation and not by an organization designated for research. The existence of this department appears interesting in explaining the more scientific approach of the Sadashiva Commission report, which again differs from the approach to sub-categorisation in Andhra Pradesh.
  \item While the two different names and websites might lead to confusions about their, I choose to understand the Directorate in the same manner as in Scandinavian public administration: a Directorate is more based on expertise, while the Department (or Ministry) gives overall rules and directions.
\end{itemize}
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

and training section (which monitors the Special Component Plan) and 3) the Co-ordination Section, which has the responsibility for general Acts and rules; this latter section is the government unit that pay compensation to atrocity victims.\(^\text{168}\)

It has in any case become clear from the examination of the central schemes (chapter 4) that the relevant Scheduled Caste Development Corporation in Karnataka is known as “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation Ltd.”\(^\text{169}\) It is also clear that this corporation is significant, since all centrally sponsored SCDCs should be the nodal ministries in the approach to development in the regional states.

What is noteworthy is that the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation is similar to the SCDCs in both Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in having been created before the creation of the central scheme. The Central Scheme was created in 1978, whereas its counterpart in Karnataka was created in 1975. It was created in 1974 in both Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. By comparison, the SCDC in Mahararastra was created in 1978, whereas the (successful) SCDCs in Punjab and Kerala were created in 1971 and 1972 respectively. In short, the three south Indian states tend to reflect a trend, and the creation of these organisations might reflect a discursive shift at the time, perhaps ahead of several other states, if not Punjab and Kerala. Although this institutional history does not specifically clarify the relevant schemes and policies in the contemporary period, the development should be a question for research. In Karnataka, it seems to have been created as the Karnataka Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development Corporation by the Dr. Devaraj Urs government. And the Corporation’s main task is to make the Scheduled Castes “economically independent.”\(^\text{170}\) This economic model of “upliftment” is no doubt a central concern that structures the approach to development today.

7.2.2 Schemes, policies and the Special Component Plan in Karnataka

While I succeeded in finding three schemes of Andhra Pradesh on the National Portal of India website <india.gov.in>, the same source is less successful when I search for SC-labelled schemes in Karnataka.\(^\text{171}\) But the Government of Karnataka provides more information about it schemes on its own websites. No doubt, it is interesting to note that the Department of Social Welfare seem to have a role in the context of the SC/ST (PoA) Act, 1989 and that this piece of legislation under India’s Criminal Code is considered as a centrally sponsored scheme. But, in government practice, it seems as if the Co-ordination Section under the Directorate for Social Welfare handles issues, such as compensation, emerging in the context of the ST/ST (PoA) Act, 1989. The Act is otherwise a piece of legislation under India’s Criminal Code. Moreover, the Department of Social Welfare handles some unspecified

\(^{168}\) Ibid.


\(^{171}\) I had two hit on Karnataka on <india.gov.in>. One was the distribution of uniforms, school bags and text books under the Vidya Vikasa Scheme, although this seems to be a generic scheme that includes members of all castes. The other scheme was “Bella Belaku.” While this is for the most Backward Classes, it might be a flexible target since the intention is to help people who live in “unhygienic conditions without basic amenities.” Of course, it is a possibility that the scheme might not apply to SCs at all. In fact, it is worth noting that, according to the Planning Commission, the Scheduled Caste population in Karnataka (and other states) “seems better placed than the non-SCs” in terms access to safe drinking water, Government of India “Karnataka Human Development Report 2005. Investing in Human Development” PlanningCommission http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/stateplan/sdr_pdf/shdr_kar05.pdf, p. 223
responsibilities for eradication of untouchability and for providing financial assistance to couples that marry across castes. Overall, these legal provisions constitute a different approach than social welfare qua development.

However, it is stated by the Department of Social Welfare that while there are both schemes that are sponsored by the central government and the state government, “the majority of the schemes are funded and implemented by the State Government alone.” A closer examination of the existing schemes could certainly have identified this pattern and, as such, improved the possibility to compare the implementation and existing schemes. In any case, it seems clear from the previous section that the schemes for the Scheduled Castes in Karnataka is mainly provided by the Directorate for Social Welfare and the Dr. B.R Ambedkar Development Corporation. The Directorate of Social Welfare has educational schemes as well as number of scholarships to ensure that Scheduled Castes children could attain and complete their education. They do also offer some employment and training schemes. (See appendix 8,2).

One may recall that the Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Development Corporation is the organisation in Karnataka that is the nodal agency for development schemes under the Centrally Sponsored Scheme for support to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations in the states. Unlike its counterpart in Andhra Pradesh, the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation in Karnataka has an effective website with information, including a designated site for a “Welcome” and a list of schemes. The Corporation is fully owned by the Government of Karnataka, which in the state budget of 2010-11 allocated a significant amount of Rs. 85,90 Crores for its different schemes. In addition, the Corporation also facilitates loans to be obtained from central institutions such as the NSCFDC and NSKFDC (section 4,14 and 4,15). While I have listed the schemes of this corporation in the appendix, I wish to underline some of the schemes that involve the central government. Schemes such as “Direct Loan Scheme,” the “Land purchase Scheme” and the “Micro-Credit Schemes” do all operate in convergence with the schemes and underpinning approach at the central institutions just mentioned. In the context of the “Micro Credit Scheme-II,” for example, the “assistance will be provided for beneficiary to start petty economic activities.” This rule reflects the neoliberal slogan of “Fighting Poverty through Entrepreneurship” that is the stated vision of the National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (see section 4,14). Under this scheme, groups of minimum 10 members will be eligible for a loan up to Rs. 40,000 from the NSCFDC and Rs. 10,000 subsidy from the SCDC in Karnataka. Eligibility is more specific in the context of the Land Purchase Scheme, however. This scheme targets SC women in particular, who are “landless agricultural labourers.” The scheme includes fifty percent loan (from NSCFDC) and fifty percent subsidy. The scheme is a good example of an

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173 Government of Karnataka, "Introduction".
178 Government of India, "National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation [NSFDC]."
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

identity-labelled scheme, since the applicant must provide a caste certificate along with an “Agricultural labourer certificate,” and other documents.\(^{179}\)

However, even though the two schemes just mentioned are provided in cooperation with the National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation in New Delhi, I cannot see that the similarly neoliberal “Self-Employment Scheme” involves this organisation as such. There is little information about the background to the Self Employment Scheme.\(^{180}\) My guess is that this scheme is either part of the centrally sponsored approach of the SCDCs, or it may be an inference made by the regional corporation in the context of the neoliberal approach of these development schemes.

Having drawn attention to the ways in which the schemes in Karnataka involves Ministries and Corporations at the central level in India’s federal structure, it certainly appears to be the case that some of the schemes are created independently at the regional level. For instance, the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation Ltd offers some schemes for individual irrigation borewell and open well, which appear region specific.

But the study of schemes in Karnataka seems to have some basis for not being confined to the singularities of the individual schemes. The Social Welfare Department in Karnataka proudly declares that the state is at the forefront in its implementation of the Special Component Plan. This corresponds well with findings of the Caste out of Development team that the public officers from Karnataka were more articulate and systematic than other south Indian states such as Tamil Nadu in their statements about the Special Component Plan. A further study of its implementation is in any case beyond the scope for this report.

7.3 Tamil Nadu

There were near six million Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu, according to Census of India 2001. The Scheduled Castes constitute nineteen percent (and the Scheduled Tribes one percent) of the total population in the state. The name of the social welfare department in Tamil Nadu reflects the regional discourse: it is called the “Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department.”\(^{181}\) The Social Welfare Department in Karnataka has the responsibility for Scheduled Castes only. In Tamil Nadu, tribal welfare is accommodated within the same department that has the responsibility for the Scheduled Castes, although they are divided on a lower level. At any rate, the Adi-Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department offers fairly effective information about its mission and activities. The Tamil Nadu government does also highlight its many schemes by making them easily available on the official website. In fact, the schemes are so willingly listed and published that it is difficult to identify the institutional background for the schemes. The list appear virtually as an idiosyncratic bundle of particular schemes without an institutional whole. Here, the detailed exposition above may enable to clarify the context for the schemes and approach to development. In any case, the flagship for Scheduled Caste development, the Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation (TAHDCO) constitutes a central object for this study. It is, to repeat, the SCDC in the state and thus the nodal agency for development schemes.


181 The term “Adi-Dravidar” means the original inhabitants of the land; it corresponds to the claim embedded in Tamil identity that the Dalits were Dravidians and, as such, the original inhabitants of land of Tamil Nadu before the Aryan invasion from north India.

Dag Erik Berg, 2012
7.3.1 Organisations and sub-units in Tamil Nadu

There are three sub-units under the Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department. While the Department has the overall responsibility for both Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, there is a differentiation between the organisations that addresses these groups on subordinate level. The Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department has two “directorates” under its responsibility. There is one directorate for tribals and another for Scheduled Castes. These are known as “Adi Dravidar Welfare Directorate” and “Tribal Welfare Directorate.” To repeat: in public administration in general, a directorate is an organisation that is more based on knowledge and technical expertise than a Department or Ministry. The latter organisations are meant to provide general rules and directions, being led by political leaders. There is hardly any information about what the way in which the two Directorates organised. Nor do I find information about their involvement in the schemes in the more transparent manner that the Government of Karnataka publishes on its website.

However, the third sub-unit under the Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department is TAHDCO – Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation. It has already been noted that this corporation was established in 1974 and that it is the SCDC in Tamil Nadu. While I cannot find much information about the directorates, the TAHDCO offers a very useful website – comparable to its counterpart in Karnataka. From their own perspective, TAHDCO is an organisation that has tried to address the contextual concerns by decentralising its activities. The practical effect is that District Collectors assume the main responsibility for carrying out TACDHO’s work. The organisation therefore seems to use “District Action Plan” as a basis for developing schemes and initiatives “in accordance with local needs, local potential and availability of resources.” Devolution of power has been a main topic during the neoliberal regime in general, but future comparative research might clarify the extent to which the development schemes are decentralised and changed at the level of the District. There are in any case a number of activities under TAHDCO, which certainly includes some of the national schemes that has been mentioned above.

Even though TAHDCO was created in 1974, there is no study or information available about its institutional development. It is clear that the Government of Tamil Nadu and the Central government share the capital for the corporation with a ration 51:49. It is also clear that TAHDCO was registered under the Companies Act, 1956 at the time it was created. But it is not clear, for instance, if the corporation had its present name in 1974. It is, for instance, of some comparative interest to clarify why the term “housing” is included in the name of Tamil Nadu’s SCDC. The institutional development is unclear, although it is stated that “the activities of the Corporation was extended to enable it to undertake a wide spectrum of economic development schemes for income generation, skill development training for Scheduled caste and Scheduled Tribes in the State.” What is clear, however, is that TAHDCO facilitates and implements a number of schemes by the central government. It offers schemes created by the National Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (NSCFDC – see section 4,14) and the National Safai Karamcharies Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC – section 4,15). One may recall that the NSCFDC was created in 1989 and that its vision is to “Fighting Poverty through Entrepreneurship.” This

184 Ibid.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

model of individual independence and the idea of ending poverty through the cultivation of skills seems also to be a discourse at play in TADHCO.

7.3.2 Schemes, development and Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing & Development Corporation

It has been stated above that there appears to be no main difficulties in finding lists of schemes in Tamil Nadu. The Government of Tamil Nadu appears to be a comparatively good institution to study schemes, especially when relying on the internet as a source. No doubt, the decentralisation of TAHDCO’s services and schemes described above should indicate that it might be difficult to create an exhaustive map of schemes for the Scheduled Castes at the level of the state. But the Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department publishes two important url-links that are useful sources regarding schemes in the state of Tamil Nadu. While TAHDCO is one of the sources, the Government publishes a list of schemes with the title “Citizen’s Charter.” The name itself is significant. There is no equivalent in the two other south Indian states. The name tends to converge with juridical definitions of rights, and it allows for significant theoretical discussions regarding the definition of citizenship in the context of the bureaucratic-developmental state. In practice, the “Citizen’s Charter” is an enumeration of schemes in very specific ways. It prioritises the enumeration and provisions for individuals; as such, it emphasises the relationship between an individual citizen and the office that should be the relevant addressee for the particular scheme. In the first category of schemes, for example, the first “scheme” is the scholarship called “Postmatric Scholarship (Beyond Standard).” It describes the nature of schemes, eligibility and the correct public office to be contacted. The document twenty-three categories of schemes, under which there might be between one and five schemes. The Citizen’s Charter 2011-2012 Adi Dravidar Welfare has much information about schemes and eligibility, but I do not aim to duplicate this list in this report. But it should be worthwhile to provide some evidence about its logic, and the first scheme – the scholarship – is presented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Scheme</th>
<th>Nature of the Scheme</th>
<th>Eligibility condition</th>
<th>Whom to be contacted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Postmatric Scholarship (Beyond Standard)</td>
<td>All compulsory payable fees, Exam fees and maintenance charges payable to schools and colleges are sanctioned as Scholarship. <strong>Day Scholars:</strong> Rs. 230/- to Rs. 550/- per month <strong>Hostellers:</strong></td>
<td>Adi Dravidar/ Tribal Boys/Girls Students studying in Standards 11(^{th}) and above Annual income For Adi Dravidar / Tribal Students Rs. 2,00,000/- per</td>
<td>Headmaster / College Principal/ District Adi Dravidar Welfare Officer. (For the students studying in other States; Personal Assistant to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

185 Unlike the url-link on the AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation, these links have been active and unchanging during 2012 (at least, in the period I have worked on this report, that is, March-August 2012).
187 It is striking, for instance, that while reservation is only for Scheduled Castes who are Hindus by law, some schemes can also be for “SC converted,” that is, Dalit Christians. This flexibility is very significant, indeed.
188 For details, see Government of Tamil Nadu, “Citizen Charter 2012-2013 Adi Dravidar Welfare.”
189 The table is from the Citizen Charter, cf. Ibid., p. 1
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Caste Out of Development project

Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rs. 380/- - Rs. 1200/- per month</th>
<th>annum of all categories will be taken into account</th>
<th>Commissioner of Adi Dravidar welfare Chennai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The “Citizen Charter” thus provides quite precise information about the individual schemes, directed to citizens. Here, it would certainly require more research and ethnography to analyse them individually, discursively and to understand their institutional context. Yet, these data are not meant to provide an understanding of the logics in the public administration overall. Rather, TAHDCO uses the same idea; the corporation has their own Citizen’s Charter and declares: “The importance of this charter is to educate the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes about the details of schemes implemented by TAHDCO and to know the officers to be approached for assistance.”

The second source for schemes on the Government of Tamil Nadu website is precisely Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation. This institution is decisive for comparing development policies across the three states, and TAHDCO seems to be an effective organisation in disseminating information about its mission, schemes and activities. The Citizen Charter does include this scheme, although I have used TAHDCO’s own website for the list in the appendix. Some of TAHDCO’s schemes appear to be designed by the state government (as I do not find counterparts in the other states). This includes their “Special Economic Projects,” which is “focused on uplifting a specific group of SC/STs poor families in a specific area, by identifying a specific viable income generating economic activity.” The remaining schemes compare to the other states, such as the Land Purchasing Scheme for women who do not possess land. This process of “upliftment” does in any case pervade every scheme, including, notably, the integration of the SCs in the economy. It is overall difficult to trace the historicity of the schemes, although it is certainly my general impression that there has been a more systematical and expansion of schemes in the approach to development for Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu.

8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this examination of development policies for the Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, I have in practice dealt with development in at least three different ways. That is, the term development gains a specific meaning depending on the legal and institutional context. First of all, the fundamental aim for the Scheduled Castes in the Constitution of India is to create social justice by granting equality of opportunity. This aim is in practice discussed as a matter of reservation. While Article 16 in the Constitution grants equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, the practical effect is that Scheduled Castes are granted “reservation.” This topic revolves around Article 16 of the Constitution and is central to the public discourse regarding the way in which the Scheduled Castes should be “uplifted.” In this context, development is addressed in a discourse that produces notions of identity, poverty and discussions about access to positions in the state on the basis of caste. While this first approach to “development” is contextualised among the fundamental principles in the Constitution of India, the two other approaches to development are quite

190 Government of Tamil Nadu, “Citizen’s Charter”.

191 According to the NSCFDC’s website, the TAHDCO was not an award winner among the SCDCs in 2009-10. The best SCDC in the country in that period was Punjab, followed by Kerala and Delhi. Government of India, “Rating of SCAs and Performance Awards (2009-2010) ” National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation, http://www.nsfdc.nic.in/uniquepage.asp?ID_PK=60.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

Dag Erik Berg, 2012

Caste Out of Development project

different and more a matter of “welfare” policies. The second approach to development deals with “schemes” and policy initiatives directed specifically for the Scheduled Castes. These schemes must be contextualised in the context of the several organisations at the regional and all-Indian level. These schemes are “identity-labelled.” One has a third approach to development when there are schemes that are not specifically SC-labelled.

More broadly, I have in this report mapped the historical, constitutional and organisational conditions for a study that should compare Dalit activism and the public policies in the three south Indian states, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. The Scheduled Caste category is decisive in any study of Dalits, law and public policy. As such, the report has shed light on the policies for the Scheduled Caste by engaging with historical and synchronic dimensions. The historical dimension is important in order to emphasise that the Scheduled Castes category was created as a homogenous list. The contemporary debates about the creation of new categories within this category reflect an old history. Thus, the synchronic dimension is characterised by choices made in the constitutional history. However, the significant fact for the Scheduled Castes is that this category is so specifically integrated into the constitutional framework that it has direct consequences for the freedom that regional states have in making any new policies. Sub-categorisation is a significant topic in this regard. The Supreme Court ruled in 2004 that Government of Andhra Pradesh did not have the formal authority to create new quotas within the Scheduled Caste quota in their states. In theory, therefore, the central government, the Parliament and the Supreme Court can prevent the policies at the regional level. The developments in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka shed light on 1) the different approaches to sub-categorisation in these states and 2) the leeway for manoeuvring in the federal system. It is partly in conjunction with this that the regional policies should also be seen in the context of India’s formal political system.

Indeed, the combination of a federal system with a clear unitary government in India’s political system appears crucial for studying the Scheduled Castes policies in the three southern states. It would be very difficult, for instance, to develop a comparative framework by starting with the particular schemes, such as in Tamil Nadu. In other words, it would be difficult proceeding from the end to the beginning of this report, that is, to move from Tamil Nadu to the fundamental constitutional and organisational context. Doing so would still require that one spells out the formal framework to compare policies, discourses and practices across states. Indeed, the legal and bureaucratic conditions create a context for studying schemes and identify the ways in which they may be compared across states. No doubt, Tamil Nadu has an impressive list of schemes, but they are fragmented and the relevance of the institutions, the state, is unclear. The schemes are listed to help individual citizens, not for organisational research. Also, the term “scheme” sometimes seems to have gained a life on its own. The term is of course most often used to address poverty alleviation and ameliorative activities for social and economic “upliftment.” But the term “scheme” is sometime also used to include, for instance, the SC/ST (PoA) Act, 1989. This flexibility is noteworthy, and the discussion above suggests that there are institutional-bureaucratic reasons for conceptualising a piece of criminal law as a matter of “development.”

The main lesson in this study was in any case that the Scheduled Castes Development Corporations are crucial “apex institutions” for facilitating and implementing schemes in the states. The SCDCs seems central to the scheme discourse and the idea of development for the Scheduled Castes in the different states. The SCDCs in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu should therefore be useful starting points for any comparative analysis of particular development initiatives in these states. Indeed, such a study may fill a gap in the scholarly literature on comparing across Indian states by focussing on institutions and government policies. It may supplement Harriss’ discussions on state power and domination.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

and Varshney’s ideas about caste politics by emphasising the institutional dimension. Conceptually, moreover, the study of development policies and schemes makes federalism, a key topic in political science, decisive for comparing institutions, policies and schemes at the regional level. The comparison across states as well as specifying the regional and discursive characteristics can, first of all, be improved by making the federal dynamic and state-centre-relations explicit. Secondly, the possibility for interstate comparisons appears greatly improved if one may use these institutions, contextualised in the federal arrangement, as points of departure for studying the particular approaches and experiences to development in the three south Indian states. Although there are considerable difficulties in access to data, Andhra Pradesh being the most obvious case, the SCDCs are a place to start.

Even though the SCDCs can be linked to the Ministry of Social Welfare and Empowerment in New Delhi, it is important to underscore that there are other institutions and approach relevant at the central level. The first institution is the Planning Commission. Their five year plans should not doubt is useful to clarify the development of the schemes. Their relevance may be relevant to discuss the history of development policies. But this history can also be useful to specify questions for research regarding the responses and implementation in the three southern states. The second institution is more easily identified: the National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation offers schemes that appear to be implemented in each state. The Land Purchase Scheme for women is a case in point.

However, the three SCDCs are all authorised and incorporated under India’s Companies Act, 1956. These organisations are “corporations,” that is, institutional bodies that are both 1) public bureaucracies with obligations towards citizens and 2) bureaucracies in a capitalist economy. They are state organisations, embedded in the market economy, both juridically and discursively. While this fact may appear trivial on its own, it may be used to shed more light on the idea of empowering individuals among Dalits to become independent actors in a modern capitalist economy.

Finally, it should be important to underscore that “schemes” represent an approach to inequality. This is an important point given that caste cannot be reduced to inequalities alone.

In practice, schemes can be seen as a practical-bureaucratic version of class. They target an identifiable stratum. This is the case, for instance, when the eligible persons are targeted in terms of landlessness (Land Purchase Scheme), or when the applicants’ family cannot have an annual income above a specified amount (Rs. 20,000 per annum in the context of Self Employment Scheme in Karnataka). In short, this is a stratification approach in the context of the Scheduled Castes and, as such, addresses a stratum among an identified group, whether they are SC-identity-labelled or not.
APPENDIX: A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW OF SCHEMES

I have made every effort to state specific references to sources that I have used throughout the report in order for the study to be replicable and, as such, to provide a basis for further research into schemes and development activities. In this appendix, I have also listed some main findings on schemes more specifically. It has certainly been beyond the capacity of this study to clarify the significance of the schemes measured in terms of budget allocations; such data are difficult to trace. The tables that follow are meant to provide a framework for categorising schemes and for tracing more information about development initiatives. Of course, the appendix is also meant to be an additional overview to help assess some of the discussion in the report.192

9.1 Central level: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment – Schemes and Programmes for Scheduled Caste Welfare

Scheme: Scheme of Grant-in-aid to Voluntary and other Organizations Working for Scheduled Castes
   Covers: Education and income-generating activities (development)
   Source: socialjustice.nic.in/ngosch1.php

Scheme: Central Sector Scheme Of 'Rajiv Gandhi National Fellowship' For Providing Scholarships To Scheduled Caste Students To Pursue Programmes In Higher Education Such As M.Phil. And Ph.D.
   Covers: Education
   Source: socialjustice.nic.in/Rajiv.php

Scheme: Pradhan Mantri Adarsh Gram Yojana (PMAGY)
   Covers: Special Component Plan
   Created: 2009-10
   Source: socialjustice.nic.in/pmagy.php

Scheme: Babu Jagjivan Ram Chhatrawas Yojana: The Centrally Sponsored Scheme of Hostels for SC Girls and Boys
   Covers: Education
   Created: 2008/1961
   Source: http://socialjustice.nic.in/babu.php

Scheme: Post Matric Scholarships for Scheduled Castes /Scheduled Tribes Students
   Covers: Education
   Source: socialjustice.nic.in/pmsscd.php

Scheme: Pre-Matric Scholarships to the Children of those Engaged in 'Unclean' Occupations i.e. Scavenging, Tanning and Flaying Applicable with Effect From 1-7-2011.
   Covers: Education
   Created: 1977-8
   Source: socialjustice.nic.in/prematscd.php

Scheme: Central Sector Scholarship of Top Class Education For SC students
   Covers: Education

192 All url-links listed in this appendix were valid in August 2012.
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

Scheme: Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers
Covers: Education / development
Created: 2007
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/scavengers.php

Scheme: Special Central Assistance to Scheduled Castes Sub Plan
Covers: Extra financial support
Created: Perhaps created in the early 1990s
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/scatoscp.php

Scheme: Central Sector Scheme of National Overseas Scholarship for SC etc. candidates for Selection Year 2010-2011 (Plan).
Covers: Higher education
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/nos1011.php

Scheme: Educational Development Programme for Scheduled Castes Girls
Covers: Education
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/eduscd.php

Scheme: Upgradation Of Merit Of Sc/St Students
Covers: Education
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/merit.php

Scheme: Central Sector Scheme of Free Coaching for SC and OBC Students
Covers: Education (social mobility)
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/freecoach.php

Scheme: National Scheduled Castes Finance & Development Corporation (NSFDC)
Covers: Development
Created: 1989
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/nscfdc.php

Scheme: National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC)
Covers: Development
Created: 1997
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/nskfdc.php

Scheme: Scheme of Assistance to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations (SCDCs)
Covers: Nodal ministries at the regional for development
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/scdc.php

Scheme: Supporting Project of All India Nature of SCs (Research & Training)
Covers: Research
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/supporting.php

Scheme: National Commission for Safai Karamcharis
Created: 1994
Source: socialjustice.nic.in/safai.php
9.2 Andhra Pradesh

9.2.1 Schemes for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh: various sources.\textsuperscript{193}

\textbf{Scheme:} Seed Village Scheme
\textit{Source:} \url{www.india.gov.in/govt/viewscheme.php?schemeid=1801}

\textbf{Scheme:} Micro Credit Self Help Groups
\textit{Responsible ministry:} State government: Minorities Welfare in AP
\textit{Who is entitled:} This is basically for Minorities, but the scheme is also targeting SCs
\textit{Source:} \url{www.india.gov.in/govt/viewscheme.php?schemeid=1880}

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya
\textit{Source:} \url{www.india.gov.in/govt/viewscheme.php?schemeid=1900} with more background at: \url{www.indg.in/primary-education/women-and-education/revised_guide_lines_kgbvs.pdf}

\textbf{Scheme:} PMRY, Rajiv Yuva Shakti Schemes
\textit{Covers:} Agriculture – weavers, individual and cooperative. Loans
\textit{Source:} From AP’s CM’s budget speech 2009, \url{india.gov.in/allimpfrms/alldocs/8639.pdf}

9.2.2 AP Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation

Unlike THADCO in Tamil Nadu and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Development Corporation in Karnataka, the A P Scheduled Castes Co-operative Finance Corporation does not list their schemes on their internet site.\textsuperscript{194}

9.3 Karnataka

9.3.1 Schemes provided by the Department/Directorate of Social Welfare

\textbf{Scheme:} Nursery-Cum-Women-Welfare Centres
\textit{Covers:} Education
\textit{Source:} \url{sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes1.htm}

\textbf{Scheme:} Residential schools
\textit{Covers:} Education
\textit{Source:} \url{sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes3.htm}

\textbf{Scheme:} Navodaya and Moraji Desai Residential Schools
\textit{Covers:} Education
\textit{Source:} \url{sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes4.htm}

\textbf{Scheme:} Admission of Scheduled Caste students to Ramakrishna Ashrama School, Mysore etc.
\textit{Covers:} Education
\textit{Source:} \url{sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes2.htm}

\textbf{Scheme:} Pre-matric hostels
\textit{Covers:} Education
\textit{Source:} \url{sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes5.htm}

\textsuperscript{193} Based on findings on National Portal of India.

\textsuperscript{194} \url{http://www.aponline.gov.in/apportal/departments/departments.asp?dep=29&org=194&category=about}
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

Scheme: Post-Matric Hostels
Covered: Education
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes7.htm

Scheme: Grant-In-Aid Hostels
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes6.htm

Scheme: Incentive Scholarships From I To IV Std. Students.
Covered: Scholarship
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes8.htm

Scheme: Incentive Scholarships To High School Going Girls.
Covered: Education/Scholarship
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes20.htm

Scheme: Pre-Matric Scholarships
Covered: Education/Scholarship
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes9.htm

Scheme: Merit Scholarships
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes10.htm

Scheme: Post-Matric Scholarships (Goi)
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes11.htm

Scheme: Pre-Matric Scholarships To The Children Of Those Parents Who Are Engaged In Un-Clean Occupation
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes12.htm

Scheme: State Post-Matric Scholarship
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes13.htm

Scheme: Prize Money To Meritorious Students
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes15.htm

Scheme: Cash Prize For Rank Holders
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes16.htm

Scheme: Financial Assistance To SC, M.Phil And PhD Students In Karnataka
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes17.htm

Scheme: Book Bank Schemes
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes18.htm

Scheme: Extra Study Tour Charges
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes19.htm

Scheme: Financial Assistance To The SC Students Who Are Selected By The Foreign Universities For Higher Education
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/edn_files/ednSchemes21.htm

Scheme: Navachetana
Covered: Employment and training
Source: sw.kar.nic.in/emptrng_files/empNtrng-navachetana.htm
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

9.3.2 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Development Corporation

Scheme: Self Employment Scheme
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Self_Employment_Scheme.aspx

Scheme: Isb Scheme
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/I_S_B_Scheme.aspx

Scheme: Direct Loan Scheme
Created: 1992-93
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Direct_Loan_Scheme.aspx

Scheme: Training
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Training_Programme.aspx

Scheme: Land Purchase Scheme
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Lan_Purchase_Scheme.aspx

Scheme: Individual Irrigation Borewell
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/individual_Irrigation_Borewell.aspx

Scheme: Community / Lift Irrigation Scheme
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Community_Lift_Irrigation.aspx

Scheme: Open Well
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Open_wells.aspx

Scheme: Micro Credit Scheme-I
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Micro_Credit_1.aspx

Scheme: Micro Credit Scheme-Ii
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Micro_Credit_2.aspx

Scheme: Micro Finance(Small Loan) Scheme
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Micro_Finance.aspx

Scheme: Mahila Samvrudhi Yojana
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Mahila_Samrudhi.aspx

Scheme: Safai Karmachari Rehabilitation Programme
Source: samajakalyana.org/sccorpstatic/Safai_Karmachari_Rehabilitation_Programme.aspx
Towards a framework for interstate analysis of policies for the Caste Out of Development project Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu

9.4 Tamil Nadu

9.4.1 THADCO – Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation

**Scheme:** Land Purchase Scheme  
*Covers:* SC/ST women below poverty line  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/landpurchase.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/landpurchase.html)

**Scheme:** Financial assistance for individual beneficiaries for projects upto Rs.7.5 lacs  
*Covers:* SC/ST individuals for starting any viable income generating economic activity  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/landpurchase.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/landpurchase.html)

**Scheme:** Self Help Group Schemes  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/selfhelpgroups.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/selfhelpgroups.html)

**Scheme:** Collector's Discretionary Fund Scheme  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/collector.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/collector.html)

**Scheme:** Self Employment Programme for Youth (SEPY)  
*Covers:* Selected group of educated youth in the age-group 18-35  
*Provides:* Financial assistance to self-employment, for projects with a maximum Rs 7,5 Lacs – here 30% and maximum 25,000 is subsidy from TAHDCO, promoters contribute 5 per cent and the remaining is arranged from a loan from banks.  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/sepy.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/sepy.html)

**Scheme:** TAHDCO Special Economic Projects  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/specialeconomic.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/specialeconomic.html)

9.4.2 THADCO’s training programmes

**Scheme:** Free Vocational Training Programmes for SC/ST Youth  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/training.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/training.html)

**Scheme:** Employability Enhancement Training Programmes of TAHDCO  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/employ.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/employ.html)

**Scheme:** Training Courses Organized in Government of India Agencies By TAHDCO  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/trainingGIA.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/trainingGIA.html)

9.4.3 National Schemes facilitated by TAHDCO

**Scheme:** National Scheduled Caste Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC)  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSFDC.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSFDC.html)

**Scheme:** National Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSTFDC)  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSTFDC.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSTFDC.html)

**Scheme:** National Safai Karamcharis Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC)  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSKFDC.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSKFDC.html)

**Scheme:** National Scheme for Liberation and Rehabilitation of Scavengers (NSLRS)  
*Source:* [www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSLRS.html](http://www.tahdco.tn.gov.in/NSLRS.html)
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56 / 60
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