

DEVELOPMENT PARADOX AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SCs AND STs SINCE INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KARNATAKA

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Abstract

The social and economic empowerment of all weaker sections of the society is enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The Constitution of India compels both Central and State governments to bring all socially and economically deprived sections of society on the path of development. The governments are compelled to ensure equal rights, opportunities, access to services, benefits, and resources of the government to enable them to develop their potential and capacities as agents of social change for their upward economic and social mobility. The rights to equal opportunity and well-being through preferential treatment in educational and economic spheres in favour of the weaker sections of the people is embedded in the foundation of the Constitution. Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution ensures equitable opportunities for deprived social groups. Further, Article 46 states that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs)". Despite several Five Year Plans since Independence, and focus on the economic empowerment of SCs and STs, they continue to live in abject poverty, homelessness, unemployment, landlessness, poor health and education. In this regard, the Government of India, in the recent 12th Five Year Plan, has given special focus on 'faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth' that highlights the concerns for the poor, especially economically deprived sections of the society viz., the SCs and STs. In this backdrop, the present paper makes an attempt to assess the development status of SCs and STs in Karnataka since Independence, relying on various secondary sources of data on various socio-economic indicators.

Karnataka has achieved significant growth and development. The state has been successful in reducing poverty, providing employment, and improving human development indicators such as levels of literacy, education and health in the last 72 years of the development process. However, the share of development opportunities is evidently unequal, and it has put tremendous pressure on the government to bring all deprived sections of society, particularly SCs and STs, in the development process. They combined together constitute about 24 per cent of the total population of the state. Their social and economic conditions are nowhere comparable with that of the economically privileged and forward castes. Undoubtedly, the state has given preferential treatment by a wide variety of affirmative policy initiatives and programmes for the empowerment of these social groups. But evidence shows that economic and social gaps are widening between the deprived and highly privileged groups in recent years. The disgraceful socioeconomic condition of socially excluded sections of society, particularly the poorest among various social groups, is mainly attributed to the existence of social hierarchies based on caste, ethnicity and religion; this has caused market segmentation and limited access to public goods such as health, education and employment. The data shows that SCs and STs are among the most vulnerable sections of society, going by all the social, economic, educational and human development indices. Economic development under the new economic policy has been unleashing stiff competition, thereby causing a "development deficit" for these groups, given their social and economic background. The social and economic opportunities under liberalisation have not reached them, given the status of their asset bases and income levels in terms of land holding and levels of poverty relative to other groups of society. The unequal level playing field heralded by liberalisation has made them bear the brunt of unemployment and continued multidimensional poverty both at the state and national levels. The representation of these social groups in public and private jobs is absolutely low, given the low levels of access to higher education among them. The lack of entrepreneurship given their economic backwardness or dearth of capital is very high among these groups in comparison with forward castes. The levels of literacy and education continue to be very low and has resulted in their low

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participation rate in the employment market. Employment opportunities in the private sector are not fully accessible to many SCs and STs, owing to lack of skill development and orientation towards availability of jobs. Even today, many opportunities opened up by economic liberalisation are still a distant dream for the socially and economically deprived sections of society.

The deprivation is widespread among SCs and STs as per the analysis of the social, economic and educational status data. This shows that there is an urgent need to review and monitor affirmative policy initiatives in the context of available data and evidence and provide a road map for new policy initiatives to empower these downtrodden sections of society. Even though political emancipation for deprived social groups is bestowed by the Constitution through reserved constituencies, political participation in decision making by these social groups is absent, and their constituencies continue to be backward, which requires a big push in terms of broad-basing their economic opportunities. The constitutional obligation of the state is to ensure equitable opportunities to the depressed classes to overcome their social, economic and educational backwardness due to the inescapable discriminatory practices in society. Social justice and empowerment is needed through affirmative actions including provision of free and quality education, adequacy of representation in executive posts, distribution of economic assets in favour of them and promotion of entrepreneurship and skill development, making them employable in the private sector job markets. The developmental effectiveness of government policy must intend to make Karnataka free from hunger, poverty and unemployment, which certainly ensures social justice and empowerment of deprived sections of society. Therefore, the development process should help to reduce social and economic inequality and impart confidence and mutual respect among the social groups since they are seriously lagging with respect to most of the social, economic, educational, political and human development indicators.

Introduction

The Constitution of India compels both Central and State governments to bring all socially and economically deprived sections of society on par with privileged sections through a process of equitable development and empowerment. The empowerment of all social groups as enshrined in the Indian Constitution must be achieved with effective ways of ensuring equal rights, opportunities, access to services, benefits and resources of the government to enable them to develop their potential and capacities as agents of social change for their upward economic and social mobility. The constitutional rights for historically deprived sections of society have been well thought-out by the fathers of the Constitution and are consciously recognised, inalienable and unalterable. The rights to equal opportunity and well-being through preferential treatment in educational and economic spheres in favour of the weaker sections of the people is embedded in the foundation of the Constitution which cannot be abrogated until their social and economic upliftment is on par with the economically privileged social groups. Clause (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution ensures equitable opportunities for deprived social groups in various jobs and states that "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State." Further, Article 46: "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

The Indian government's goal after Independence was to establish a socialistic pattern of society through economic growth with self-reliance, social justice and alleviation of poverty, through the mechanism of a mixed economy where both public and private sectors co-exist. The 1990's economic globalisation led to a capitalistic form of economic growth and development. It is assumed that "economic liberalisation" leads to a "trickle down" effect and the welfare of the state. The role of the

government and government sector is reduced, and dominance of private sector is ensured with the growth of the informal sector. The developmental process under liberalisation is not a shared one which led to the adoption of a policy of inclusive growth in the 11th Five Year Plan (2007-12). In the 1980s there were small fluctuations in the economy, but today living conditions are fast improving but fluctuations in the economy are very frequent, causing impoverishment of basic livelihoods in the Agriculture, Industry and Service sectors.

A prerequisite for social justice is that the state needs to ensure fair and just relations between the individual and society by way of distribution of wealth, equitable opportunities and social privileges for the empowerment of weaker and disadvantaged sections of society. The development and empowerment of socially and economically deprived sections of society such as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), on par with economically privileged sections of society, demands a policy of inclusive development as enshrined in the Constitution. Equality of opportunities in development enables the government to secure justice (social, economic and political) to all its citizens. Apart from economic empowerment, social justice provides dignity for the individuals by protecting them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation, prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, abolishes the evil practices of untouchability, and promotes equality of opportunities in education. However, the social and economic fundamentals of Indian society are highly complex, and the reality is that among these broad social categories, there are more disadvantaged groups within than the category as a whole, and they deserve social, economic and political entitlement. Therefore, SCs and STs have a special status under the Constitution as they face the evils of caste discrimination and denial of basic rights to resources and are denied access to contemporary economic opportunities. Despite several Five Year Plans since Independence and focus on the economic empowerment of SCs and STs, they continue to live in abject poverty, homelessness, unemployment, landlessness, poor health and education.

In this backdrop, the present study makes an attempt to assess the development status of SCs and STs in Karnataka since Independence relying on various secondary sources of data on various socio-economic indicators. The paper is organised in the following way: It provides a detailed introduction about the development paradox under the new economic policy and deprivation among SCs and STs. Section I deals with a theoretical understanding about economic deprivation by the SCs and STs during the post-Independence period. Section II delineates the socio-economic status of SCs and STs in Karnataka. Section III provides a detailed assessment of the policies and offers policy recommendations for sharing the fruits of economic development by SCs and STs.

Section I

Theoretical Understanding about Economic Development of SCs and STs

The economic development of a country aims to maximise peoples' capacities, resources and opportunities. It directly depends on three important resources or capitals: Natural capital (Kn), Human capital (Kh) and Man-made capital (Km). When we calculate the Wealth of the Country $W = (Km + Kn + Kh)/POP$ we will get the per capita wealth or income. The natural resources or capital includes: The renewable and non-renewable resources like forests, water and land, common property resources

(grazing land, rivers), minerals and oils. Human resources or capitals are: The skills, knowledge, and experience possessed by an individual or population, viewed in terms of their value or cost to a country. Human capital is important because it is perceived to increase productivity and thus profitability. Man-made resources or capital are: Wealth, as in money or property, owned or accumulated by an individual, partnership, or corporation, used or available for use in the production of more wealth. This includes all physical infrastructure (buildings, roads, machinery etc.) used to produce goods and services. This includes the physical manifestation of information, techniques, and knowledge required to produce goods and services. All countries may not endow all the resources equally: Some countries are rich in natural capital, some countries are rich in human capital, and some countries in both man-made capital and human capital. Therefore, factor endowments are the land, labour, capital and resources that a country has access to, which will give it a comparative economic advantage over other countries. Keeping all the resources and people in mind, the planners in post-Independence India want to establish a socialistic pattern of society through economic growth with self-reliance, social justice and alleviation of poverty through the mechanism of a mixed economy where both public and private sectors co-exist.

Many economists tried to explain or unravel the causes for economic development of a country keeping in mind the resources, people and economic principles. Adam Smith in 1776 in his treatise *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* studied why some countries are rich and some others not. Dr B R Ambedkar argued that the caste system had reduced the mobility of labour and capital, which in turn impeded economic growth and development in India. Gunnar Myrdal in his book *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations* (1968) studied poverty in Asia and the problem of savings and investment. Ragnar Nurkse explains that the vicious circle of poverty. For a country: Low savings lead to low investment and capital deficiency and which leads to underdevelopment; for people: Low savings lead to low income and low productivity leads to underdevelopment. Amartya Sen's Capability Approach is a theoretical framework for evaluating human well-being and social arrangements with regard to development, quality of life and freedom (Development as Freedom). 'Poverty' is understood as deprivation in the capability to live a good life, and 'development' is understood as capability expansion. Gary Becker's 1957 book *The Economics of Discrimination* explained the rise of a "taste for discrimination" against a group. Becker developed the idea that some workers, employers or customers do not want to work with or come into contact with members of other racial groups or with women. The economic development of individuals, households, and society depend on the capacities and opportunities to acquire these three important resources or capitals: Natural capital, human capital and man-made capital. However, discrimination and societal processes cause deprivation or 'unfavourable exclusion', a graded caste inequality such as economic discrimination wherein some people are kept out of development, may be women/ SC/ST/OBC/disabled etc (Thorat and Madheswaran, 2018, Madheswaran and Smrutirekha Singhari, 2017).

This clearly shows that even though the Planning Commission was created for the formulation of five year plans and to strategize a planned approach to economic development of all sections of society, all the sectors and regions, developmental gains are unequally distributed among them. The thrust areas during the planning are as follows: The First Five year Plan (1951-56) aimed to overcome

the food crisis and a thrust was given to agricultural development. The Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) was aimed at rapid industrialisation. Later a "Plan Holiday" was implemented for the years 1966-69. The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) gave higher importance to education. The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74), for the first time, targeted poverty with the "Garibi Hatao" (remove poverty) along with nationalisation of banks, and Green Revolution and land reforms were carried out to help the marginalised society. The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) targeted employment generation, poverty reduction and justice. Later a Rolling Plan (1978-80) was introduced. The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) gave a thrust to modernisation of technology, control of population, and reduction of poverty and unemployment. The Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) focused on accelerating foodgrains production and agricultural productivity. The Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-92) aimed at a paradigm shift in economic reforms, LPG was introduced to accelerate growth and improve quality of life. The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) aimed at generating productive employment, achieving regional balance and self-reliance. Further, MGNREGA (then known as NREGA) was introduced to provide rural employment. The Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) had a target GDP growth rate of 8 per cent and aimed to ensure universal access to primary education. The Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) aimed at faster and more inclusive growth. The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) gave special focus to 'faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth' that highlights a concern for the poor, especially economically deprived sections of the society viz., the SCs and STs. The Five Year Plan based economic development process was halted with the establishment of The National Institution for Transforming India (NITI) Ayog by replacing the Planning Commission of India.

The paradigm shift in economic policies from a socialistic pattern of economic development to a capitalistic pattern of economic development has drastically changed the economy and society at large. The 1990s' economic liberalisation led to a capitalistic form of economic growth and development that radically transformed the economy that was based on the myth of the "trickle down" effect and welfare of the state. As a result, the role of the government and government sector is reduced, and the dominance of the private sector has prevailed with the growth of the informal sector. As a result, the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer. The economic inequality is well explained by Joseph Stiglitz and Thomas Piketty. Stiglitz observes inequality in wealth, health and opportunities. Stiglitz writes that "of the 1%, for the 1% and by the 1%" reflecting a disproportionate share of income by a few corporate giants. In India even though in the 1980s there were small fluctuations in the economy, a relatively high percentage of poor people were living with stable incomes. But today, living conditions are fast improving, but fluctuations in the economy are very frequent, causing impoverishment of the basic livelihoods of SCs and STs. This clearly shows that the government policies have failed to create a level playing field for SC/STs. The poverty alleviation programmes have failed to create assets or capitals for SCs and STs and they have become food assistance programmes. MGNREGA and land reforms and reservation in government employment to some extent succeeded in reducing income inequality. However, inequality in wealth, particularly privatising the profits and universalising the losses, has foiled the government's effort to achieve equitable growth. Further, inequality in health outcome is caused by environmental degradation and privatisation of public goods and free goods. An inequality in opportunities takes place replacing labourers with machines and

privatising public assets. This reflects the fact that the development programmes have not reached SCs and STs because of poor literacy and economic and social exclusion.

Development Status of SCs and STs in India

The liberalisation of the Indian economy has no doubt increased the growth rate in Karnataka's State Gross Domestic Product (SGDP). The economic growth is on average around 7 per cent for the last five years. But the state, not to speak of India, has not fared well with respect to social justice and empowerment. The low human development indices, high multidimensional poverty, unemployment, inequitable distribution of income and assets, poor health, nutrition, increase in the number of school drop-outs, inadequacy of basic amenities such as water, housing and sanitation have negatively affected the state's performance despite a high allocation of budget under SCP and TSP. There is no doubt that social and economic improvements have been made for the last seven decades, but more consolidated policy efforts towards affirmative action have failed to empower SCs and STs and bring them status equivalent to that of economically privileged sections of society since Independence. In order to support evidence, this study uses various development indicators to showcase the development status of India and particularly the SCs and STs. India (0.624) is ranked 131 and China 90 in the Human Development Index among 188 countries of the world (Table 1). India is plagued by multidimensional poverty with about 41.3 per cent of the population being multidimensionally poor and being deprived of the necessities of health, education and a minimum standard of living, whereas the multidimensional child poverty in the age group of 0-17 is 50 per cent (OPHI, 2017). As per the World Inequality Report 2018, India's economic inequality is historically very high. About 55 per cent of the national income is received by the top 10 per cent of the people and this is largely driven by economic liberalisation and unequal ownership of private capital. Further classification suggests that the top 1 per cent of the Indians share about 22 per cent of the income. This income inequality is the second highest in the world after the Middle East and is less even in the case of a capitalist country like the USA and also China with a share of 47 and 41 per cent respectively. India's richest 1 per cent own a huge 58 per cent of the country's wealth, which is higher than the global figure of about 50 per cent (WIR, 2018). It is argued that a certain degree of inequality is inevitable (Kuznets, 1955) during the process of economic development, but the main concern is that a degree of inequality (high and rising) is widening the gap between the haves and have-nots, which is ethically objectionable (Ravi Kanbur, 2016).

Table 1: Status and Socio-Economic Indicators of India at the International Level

Sl. No.	Indicator	Index Value	Rank
1	Human Development Index	0.624	131 st among 188 countries
2	Global Hunger Index	31.40	100 th among 119 countries
3	Global Slavery Index	51.35	4 th among 167 countries
4	Happiness Index	4.565	117 th among 158 countries
5	Multidimensional Poverty	0.191	41.3%
6	Multidimensional Child Poverty	NA	50%
7	Economic Inequality	55% of the National Income with 10 % of the people	
8	Child Labour	18.3 million	

Author's Compilation from various Reports

Further, hunger and inequality coexist, which cause a threat to food security, and hunger is high among the already vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. India ranks 100 in the Global Hunger Index of 119 countries and more than 21 per cent of children suffer from wasting as per the 2017 estimates of International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI, 2017). Modern slavery in terms of forced labour has continued in the states despite it being considered as an evil and corrupt practice. The vulnerability to enslavement in the form of bonded slavery, compelled prostitution, forced domestic work, coercive marriage, involuntary beggary and forced child labour is very high as in an absolute number of 18.3 million people and India ranked 4th in the world as per the Global Slavery Index, 2016 (GSI, 2016). The dismal health indices are the highest in Karnataka in comparison with other states of India and other countries, particularly the high infant mortality rate and the worsening daughter aversion or child sex ratio. The per capita health and educational expenditure is extremely low in the state. These indicators mock the democracy of Indian states that deprives social, economic and political empowerment. The World Social Science Report, 2016 by UNESCO states that “economic inequalities in income and wealth, social inequalities in health, education and access to welfare services, gender and racial inequalities, cultural and religious discrimination, barriers to political participation, all are main instances of inequalities, global in scope, often intertwined and influencing each other”. More shockingly, the study Global Wage Report 2016-17 of the International Labour Organisation shows that India’s huge gender wage disparity is the worst in the world and even though men and women do the same nature of jobs, men earn more than women (ILO, 2016). All these indicators succinctly indicate that developmental experiences in India are inclusive and have allowed only some people to escape from poverty, leaving many others behind (Stiglitz, J. E. 2012; Deaton, 2013; Piketty, 2013). This is largely reflected in the multi-dimensional inequality and poverty among deprived sections of society. The acute deprivation is transformed into unhappiness as India stands at 117 out of 158 countries with a Happiness Index of 4.565 with the highest being 7.587 (Switzerland) (World Happiness Report, 2015). All these indicators have made India a lower middle-income country (with GNI per capita of \$1,026–\$4,035) as per the World Development Indicators Report, 2017. All these evidences show that India’s economic development since Independence is inequitable and development opportunities are mainly denied to SCs and STs. This calls for development that should be equitable, just, affordable and inclusive of the deprived groups.

Why Economic Deprivation among SCs and STs

Socio-economic indicators usually shape society because they clearly describe the state of the economy or society and their typical economic behaviour. For example, the levels of educational attainments directly influence work conditions and wage differentials among various social groups. Opportunities (education, employment and investment on welfare programmes), efforts of government (implementation of welfare programmes) of the state and access by individuals (awareness and utilisation of welfare programmes) make a difference for the empowerment of social groups. This has been given in separate sections. The economic behaviour is completely shaped by technology, market structure, tastes and the social system where the standard model of economic behaviour is absent in India’s caste afflicted society. The caste system permeates the economy and causes division of labour

on a caste basis. Technology divides the society into those with highly skilled jobs, unskilled jobs and scavenging jobs which have an outcome on the final product or personal income. These types of distortions continue to happen in society due to the very nature of the caste structure or caste equilibrium just like marriages are done based on caste lines (Akerlof, 1976). The economy of the outcastes nowhere survives due to discriminative trade and division of labour where their fair share of economic power is lost and entirely enjoyed by the privileged. A neo-liberal policy is best suited for a highly privileged society that tends to see a growing income inequality due to the strong control of economic factors. Given the nature of the economy and typical economic behaviour under the influence of caste, the public policy of affirmative action intended to reduce inequality has failed miserably. The initiatives failed to increase the diversity of productive and developmental opportunities such as jobs, government contracts, entrepreneurships etc., which are means of amelioration or economic rewards of affirmative policy. The graded inequality is continued as a fundamental principle of the caste system even after 70 years of Independence (Bagade *et al*, 2016). Consequently, income distribution and resource allocation continued on the legacy of a caste structure that pushes the underprivileged to social and economic marginalisation, segregation and mismatch in society. All socio-economic indicators show that deprived sections of society are faring substantially poorer than privileged sections in all respects. The poor spend more on consumption as their earning is less and the rich save more. Educational backwardness is the root cause of caste discrimination and income inequality. Caste discrimination or social exclusion and restricted access to higher education continues among SC/STs. Low level of education attainment, poverty, unemployment, meagre occupations, low wages, financial distress and low esteem due to casteism continue to stigmatise the deprived and are directly responsible for the substantial differences in economic performance (Hnatkovska *et al*, 2012; Anderson, 2011). However, the dominant or privileged class continue to wield preponderant economic and political power. Even today, there is no significant Dalit business group in India. The economic landscape of India with faster economic growth is favourable for the rich and has inflicted backwardness and accentuated inequalities among the deprived classes.

The capitalists and forward castes have favourably exploited current practices of social discrimination and exclusion to their own benefits of maximising profits (Jayati Ghosh, 2016). Therefore, addressing horizontal inequalities is important to tackle vertical inequalities. The growth drivers for the empowerment of socially and economically deprived societies include allocation of a bigger budget for targeted poverty alleviation programmes, asset creation, promotion of education, employment and skill development, and social security.

Why SCs and STs Became Poorer under Liberalisation

Macroeconomic policies of the Indian government guide the state government policies and programmes for the welfare of the state. After India's Independence, the immediate urge for development was to establish a socialistic pattern of society through economic growth with self-reliance, social justice and alleviation of poverty through the mechanism of a mixed economy where both public and private sectors co-exist. However, in the 1990s, economic globalisation led to a capitalistic form of economic growth and development. It is assumed among the policy makers that "economic liberalisation" leads to

a “trickle down” effect and welfare of the state. The major impact of a liberal economic policy is that the role of the government and government sector is reduced, and the dominance of the private sector prevails with the growth of the informal sector. Further, deepening private capital has resulted in accumulation of wealth and caused inequality in income. After 25 years of experience, it is strongly observed that the developmental process under liberalisation is not a shared one. What needs to be noted is that in the 1980s, living conditions were stable and there were small fluctuations in the economy, but today, living conditions are fast improving but fluctuations in the economy are very frequently causing the impoverishment of basic livelihoods in the agriculture, industry and service sectors. Development policies under economic liberalisation have already resulted in income inequality, limited development opportunities and inaccessibility to resources which created economic dualism where privileged people are reinforced and at the same time, the excluded are further excluded in the absence of a trickle-down effect.

The economic deprivation among SCs and STs has aggravated after the downsizing of government’s role in economic development after the privatisation of the Indian economy. As a result, the chronic nature of inequality and exclusion are continued due to a lack of institutional support as candidly admitted in the 11th Five Year Plan on Inclusive Growth (GOI, 2008). It is widely observed that the fruits of economic growth are not widely distributed to benefit in terms of income and employment and they are not adequately shared by disadvantaged groups and weaker sections of society. Further, the economic policy of privatisation has increased the sharp inequality in society where resources of the poor such as common property resources are appropriated and production methods have undergone changes, causing millions of rural people to lose their traditional jobs and livelihoods based on the rural economy, causing large scale rural-urban migration and leading to people living in ghettos. Fundamental factors or causes which inflict abject poverty and lead to growing inequality among the poor are inflation in food prices, climate change led natural disasters, growing unemployment, sectoral imbalances, regional disparities, social inequity, rural-urban divide and impoverishment of small scale industries to mention a few. The capacity to participate in the developmental process, particularly to empower themselves in social, economic and educational status, remain pathetic, leading to their poverty. A majority of SCs depend on wage income as their livelihood whereas most of the tribal population even today depends on forest resources to eke out their livelihoods. SCs and STs face both absolute and relative poverty both in rural and urban areas of the state. Due to absolute poverty, they lack the necessary means to meet basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter and access to drinking water. Relative poverty is very high among the deprived groups when compared to the social and economic status of privileged society. Their social and economic status has not changed despite the several welfare measures implemented by the government. SCs and STs are economically backward or very poor, concentrated in low-skill occupations, mainly agriculture and forest products collection, and largely settled in rural areas. Their social and economic backwardness can be directly attributed to educational disparities, unemployment, multidimensional poverty, landlessness, homelessness, poor health and sanitation, low representation in government and private jobs, lack of entrepreneurship etc. The upper castes or high-income groups have better access to ownership of assets, occupations and income. However, poor occupational diversity is the root cause of poverty among SCs and STs. The

existence of caste is a cause for frequent atrocities against them. The deprived groups largely occupy blue-collar jobs as compared to the white-collar jobs occupied by their privileged counterparts (Hnatkovska *et al*, 2012).

In this context, the historical observations made by Dr. B R Ambedkar are very pertinent even 68 years after his speech, because the social and economic structures of our society are remaining intact as the horizontal inequalities - group inequalities in a wide range of political, economic and cultural dimensions - continue to prevail and systematically deny opportunities for the deprived sections of society. This tells the parched tale about the political representation of SC/STs in the parliament and state assemblies that shows their incapability to take decisions on the empowerment of deprived sections of society. This clearly shows that capitalists or privileged sections of society have been playing a major role in decision making and formulation of policies. Therefore, Dr. B R Ambedkar's *Observations on the Indian Constitution* is relevant even today. Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution, observed in his speech to the last constituent assembly on the adoption of Indian Constitution that "*On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognising the principle of 'one man one vote' and 'one vote one value'. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of 'one man one value'. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up*". (Ambedkar, 1949). The preamble of the United Nations also calls for "promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". This clearly implies that levels of living must reflect generally accepted aims for social and economic policy of the government in areas such as health, nutrition, housing, employment, education etc. Therefore, a humanistic approach to development implies acceptable minimum living conditions (Nielsen, 2011).

This reality calls for identifying the factors responsible for their social and economic deprivation among SCs and STs in Karnataka. Various socio-economic indicators have been used in the following sections to illustrate the social and economic deprivation of SC/STs and also disparity in these indicators when compared to privileged sections of society.

Section II

Affirmative Actions and Development Status of SCs and STs in Karnataka

Karnataka is rich in natural resources and diversity of population. People here are inherently hard working, contented and peace-loving and favour an equitable and just society. The state has a revolutionary bent when it comes to providing social justice and empowerment of deprived society based on the noble principles of Buddha, Basava and Dr B R Ambedkar. The ideals of Buddha to establish a just and equal society through the amelioration of deprived society and removal of discrimination and inequality is well accepted by the visionary political leaders of Karnataka. Further,

Lord Basavanna's philosophy of equal opportunities for all and universal brotherhood resonates in the developmental policy of the state. Dr. B R Ambedkar's ideals of emancipation of the downtrodden with a just society and natural flow and exchange of ideas are reflected in the development policy of the state. The ethos of the Mysore Maharaja viz., Krishna Raja Wadiyar IV for creating an equitable society through the establishment of educational institutions and employment through industrialisation and development of the state is continued in the development policy of the state. Poet laureate Kuvempu's assertion of a "universal path" and "welfare of all" is well adopted by the state. Visionary political leaders like Devaraja Urs brought social reforms in the state by uplifting the poor. The policy of decentralised governance by Ramakrishna Hegde to take political powers to the grassroot level has heralded societal changes.

As a result, Karnataka is one of the fastest growing states in India with an average SGDP growth of 7.64 per cent, whereas India's average GDP growth is at 6.84 during 2012-17 as per the Economic Survey of Karnataka, 2016-17. The per capita income of the state is Rs 1,59,893 which is higher than the national average per capita income of Rs. 1,03,007 during 2016-17 (GoK, 2017). The per capita development expenditure is Rs 15,169 when compared with the national average of Rs 12,451. Karnataka's economy is on a strong footing with the robust growth of service and industrial sectors with emphasis on the technology-led economic growth of information technology, biotechnology, engineering, electronics, automotive, textiles, agriculture and food-processing sectors. The state has endeavoured with innovative development strategies and decentralisation of power to achieve balanced economic growth along with equity as emphasised in the 11th FYP of Government India, which is increasingly considered as "Karnataka Model of Economic Development".

Despite stunning achievements on the macro economic front, the socio-economic status of a large section of society remains woeful and the challenge needs to be addressed on a priority basis to have faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth, particularly in rural Karnataka. Despite the protective policy of discrimination in removing the disabilities suffered in 70 years of India's Independence, many social groups in the state are even today economically disadvantaged and socially marginalised. A shared prosperity is elusive under globalisation as unskilled workers like artisans have lost their jobs in rural areas. With the introduction of technology-driven production, manufacturing jobs are reduced, and despite a productivity increase, higher real wages are not realised, job and wage discrimination are common among skilled and unskilled labourers, and the earning gap between men and women and among social groups is widened. Therefore, the state has yet to keep up with the development status of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Gujarat, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh. Development effectiveness in terms of inclusive growth or social and economic empowerment of the deprived sections has to be realised with good governance, effective implementation of welfare programmes, timely monitoring and evaluation. The government of Karnataka has taken several positive policy measures to uplift deprived sections of society. Among them, social sector development has received favourable budgetary support from the government in recent years. There is a separate budget for the SC and ST Sub Plan for their economic upliftment.

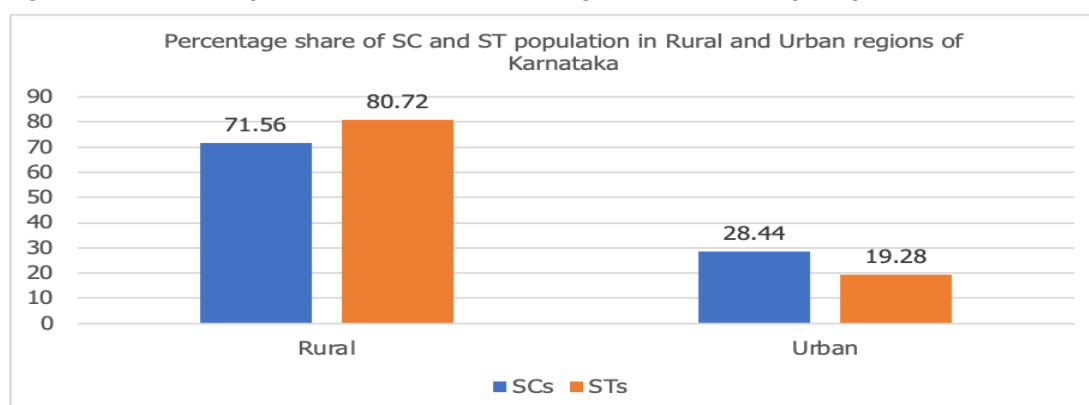
However, the major concern is shortfall of effective implementation of the social and economic welfare programmes for achieving the developmental needs of weaker sections of society. Even though

universal welfare programmes are fashioned as family and beneficiary-oriented development programmes, their social and economic stigma continues with high levels of poverty, unemployment, landlessness, lack of quality and affordable education, gender inequality, poor access to productive resources etc. The schemes of the government, particularly those in the recent past for educational, economic and social empowerment are certainly devised with good objectives. However, the implementation is the problem. The major challenges for faster and more inclusive development are the poor governance in effective implementation of the welfare programmes, timely monitoring, evaluation of programmes, identification of gaps and their timely rectification. Further, even though substantial improvements have taken place for the empowerment of all social groups, caste-based social and economic exclusion and isolation continues even today.

SC and ST Population in Karnataka

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes comprise a sizeable section of the population of Karnataka. As per the 2011 census, the population of the state is 6.10 crore of which the rural population is 62 per cent and urban population is 38 per cent. The Schedule Castes account for 1.04 crore or 17.15 per cent of the total population. About 72 per cent of the SC population reside in rural areas and the remaining 28 per cent in urban areas (Figure 1). The Scheduled Tribes population is 42 lakh which is 6.95 per cent of the total population. Of the total STs, 81 per cent reside in rural areas and the remaining 19 per cent in urban areas. The percentage of SC and ST women to the total population is 24.10 per cent which is marginally lower than the all-India level (25.20 per cent) but it is significantly higher than neighbouring southern states like Andhra Pradesh (23.40 per cent), Tamil Nadu (21.10 per cent) and Kerala (10.60 per cent). The data clearly shows that a majority of the SC/ST population are still in rural areas as per the 2011 census. Therefore, polity strategies towards the empowerment of SC/STs should focus on rural areas.

Figure 1: SC and ST Population in Rural and Urban Regions of Karnataka (2011)



Source: Census, 2011

District-wise Population of SC/STs in Karnataka

The population of SC/STs is more than the state average in 19 districts (Table 2). A higher presence of the SC population is found in Kolar, Chamarajanagar, Chikkaballapura, Bengaluru Rural, Ramanagara,

Mysuru, Hassan and Chikkamagaluru in the southern part of the state and Kalaburagi, Bidar, Vijayapura, Raichur, Ballari, Chitradurga, Davanagere and Yadgiri districts of north Karnataka. Similarly, the Scheduled Tribes population is highly concentrated in Raichur, Ballari, Chitradurga, Koppal, Davanagere districts of north Karnataka and Mysuru, Chamarajanagara, Kodagu, Dakshina Kannada, Udupi and Chikkamagaluru of south Karnataka. The SC/STs of North Karnataka, particularly Kalaburagi region, are more backward when compared to those in other regions of the state. The SC population of Kalaburagi region i.e., 6 districts, comes to 24 per cent of the total SC population (24.75 lakh) and the ST population is 34 per cent (14.28 lakh) of the total ST population. Therefore, a higher budget allocation for social and economic empowerment in these districts will reduce the economic disparity among the regions.

Table 2: District-wise SC and ST Population in Karnataka

Sl. No.	District	Total population	SC Total	SC (%)	ST Total	ST (%)
1	Bagalkot	18,89,752	3,19,149	16.89	97,203	5.14
2	Bengaluru	96,21,551	11,98,385	12.46	1,90,239	1.98
3	Bengaluru Rural	9,90,923	2,13,700	21.57	52,903	5.34
4	Belagavi	47,79,661	5,77,418	12.08	2,97,198	6.22
5	Ballari	24,52,595	5,17,409	21.10	4,51,406	18.41
6	Bidar	17,03,300	3,99,785	23.47	2,35,822	13.85
7	Vijayapura	21,77,331	4,42,773	20.34	39,314	1.81
8	Chamarajanagar	10,20,791	2,59,445	25.42	1,20,219	11.78
9	Chikkaballapura	12,55,104	3,12,565	24.90	1,56,487	12.47
10	Chikkamagaluru	11,37,961	2,53,651	22.29	44,970	3.95
11	Chitradurga	16,59,456	3,89,117	23.45	3,02,554	18.23
12	Dakshina Kannada	20,89,649	1,48,178	7.09	82,268	3.94
13	Davanagere	19,45,497	3,92,595	20.18	2,33,112	11.98
14	Dharwad	18,47,023	1,77,855	9.63	87,548	4.74
15	Gadag	10,64,570	1,74,196	16.36	61,654	5.79
16	Kalaburagi	25,66,326	6,48,782	25.28	65,259	2.54
17	Hassan	17,76,421	3,45,031	19.42	32,329	1.82
18	Haveri	15,97,668	2,19,976	13.77	1,41,380	8.85
19	Kodagu	5,54,519	73,584	13.27	58,054	10.47
20	Kolar	15,36,401	4,65,867	30.32	78,875	5.13
21	Koppal	13,89,920	2,58,608	18.61	1,64,271	11.82
22	Mandya	18,05,769	2,65,294	14.69	22,402	1.24
23	Mysuru	30,01,127	5,36,643	17.88	3,34,547	11.15
24	Raichur	19,28,812	4,00,933	20.79	3,67,071	19.03
25	Ramanagara	10,82,636	2,03,819	18.83	22,946	2.12
26	Shivamogga	17,52,753	3,08,158	17.58	65,412	3.73
27	Tumakuru	26,78,980	5,06,901	18.92	2,09,559	7.82
28	Udupi	11,77,361	75,429	6.41	52,897	4.49
29	Uttara Kannada	14,37,169	1,16,431	8.10	34,239	2.38
30	Yadgir	11,74,271	2,73,315	23.28	1,46,849	12.51
	KARNATAKA	6,10,95,297	1,04,74,992	17.15	42,48,987	6.95

Source: Directorate of Economic Survey, Karnataka 2016-17 and Census 2011

Socio-Economic Indicators and Economic Development of SCs and STs

The various development indicators, to substantiate the above argument, show that SCs and STs have failed to catch up with the privileged sections of the society. Important indicators have been selected for comparing and benchmarking the socio-economic status of the SCs and STs in comparison with other categories within Karnataka and also the overall position of deprived sections with southern states and India is carried out (Table 3). The literacy rate is low among the deprived sections when compared to the overall population within Karnataka and also when compared to the southern states. However, literacy among the deprived sections is relatively better when compared to the all-India level. Poverty among the deprived groups is very high within the state, when compared to southern states and the all-India level. The total percentage of SC population living in slums is 28 per cent when compared to southern states except Tamil Nadu and all-India figures. The sex ratio among all categories in the state is low when compared to southern states. These indicators show that social and economic deprivation among SCs and STs is very high. The population living in slums is about 28 per cent belonging to SCs, which clearly indicates their social and economic deprivation, whereas the all-India SC population is 20 per cent to the total slum population.

Table 3: Benchmarking Status of Socio-economic Indicators among Social Groups of Karnataka with Southern States of India

Indicators	Social Groups	Karnataka	Andhra Pradesh	Tamil Nadu	Kerala	All India
Literacy rate (%)	SC	65.3	62.3	73.3	88.7	66.1
	ST	62.1	49.2	54.3	75.8	59
	Women	68.1	59.1	73.14	92.1	65.46
	Transgenders	58.82	53.33	57.78	NA	56.07
	Overall	75.36	67.02	80.09	94	74.04
Operational Land Holdings (%)	SC	11.67	11.06	10.75	7.79	12.36
	ST	6.04	8.04	0.91	1.39	8.68
	Others	82.29	80.9	88.33	90.82	78.96
Poverty (%)*	SC	33.2	12.7	19	16	29.4
	ST	31.5	23.1	25.8	39.4	43
	Hindus	20.6	9.3	12.4	9.8	21.9
	Muslims	26.9	8.3	3.3	6.8	25.4
	All Groups	21.2	9.3	11.7	8.1	21.9
Sex ratio for 1000 Population	SC	990	1008	1004	1057	945
	ST	990	993	981	1035	990
	Overall	973	993	996	1084	943
Old Age Dependency Rate (%)		14.8	15.4	15.8	19.6	14.2
SC to the Total Slum Population (%)		28	14	32	10.9	20.4

Source: Author's compilation from Census, 2011 and Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, NSSO, 68th round, 2011-12. *- Based on Tendulkar Methodology, GoI, Planning Commission, 2014.

The unemployment rate, work participation, the labour force participation rate among the SCs, STs, and BCs, is high when compared to the General Category and State average (Table 4). This implies

that these social groups are still engaged in agriculture and the high unemployment among them calls for affirmative policy for their economic empowerment.

Table 4: Labour Force Participation Rate for Persons Aged 15 Years and Above (PS+SS) *

Details		All India				Karnataka			
		WPR	LFPR	UR	Proportion of Unemployment	WPR	LFPR	UR	Proportion of Unemployment
SCs	Male	75.5	77.7	2.9	2.3	75.8	76.9	1.4	1.1
	Female	30.3	31.8	4.8	1.5	42.3	42.7	0.9	0.4
	All	53.7	55.6	3.4	1.9	59.1	59.9	1.3	0.8
STs	Male	77.6	79.3	2.2	1.7	77.9	78.8	1.2	0.9
	Female	41.2	42.5	2.9	1.2	36.1	37.1	2.7	1
	All	60	61.5	2.4	1.5	56.8	57.8	1.6	1
BCs	Male	73.4	75.8	3.1	2.4	77.7	78.8	1.4	1.1
	Female	25.6	27.3	6.2	1.7	31.3	31.9	2	0.6
	All	50.4	52.5	3.9	2	55.2	56	1.6	0.9
General	Male	70.5	72.7	3	2.2	75.3	75.9	0.8	0.6
	Female	18.4	20.1	8	1.6	30.6	31.2	2	0.6
	All	45.5	47.4	4	1.9	53.7	54.3	1.1	0.6
Overall	Male	73.3	75.5	3	2.2	76.6	77.5	1.2	0.9
	Female	25.8	27.4	5.8	1.6	33.3	33.9	1.8	0.6
	All	50.5	52.4	3.7	1.9	55.5	56.2	1.4	0.8

DES, 2016-17, Karnataka *(PS+SS): Principal Status and Subsidiary Status –Usual Status

Poverty estimates based on Tendulkar methodology show that the state is reeling under poverty as 21 per cent of the people are below the poverty line when compared to southern states. The poverty and deprivation are highest in the case of different social and economic groups shown above (Table 5). However, the multidimensional poverty is 50 per cent in the state.

Table 5: State-wise Number (lakhs) of People Below Poverty Line (BPL) in India 2011-2012

States/UTs	Rural			Urban			Combined	
	Number of Persons	%	Poverty line in Rs.	No of Persons	%	Poverty line in Rs.	Number of persons	% of persons
Andaman Islands	0.04	1.57	-	0.00	0.00	-	0.04	1.00
Andhra Pradesh	61.80	10.96	860	16.98	5.81	1009	78.78	9.20
Arunachal Pradesh	4.25	38.93	930	0.66	20.33	1060	4.91	34.67
Assam	92.06	33.89	828	9.21	20.49	1008	101.27	31.98
Bihar	320.40	34.06	778	37.75	31.23	923	358.15	33.74
Chandigarh	0.004	1.64	-	2.34	22.31	-	2.35	21.81
Chhattisgarh	88.90	44.61	738	15.22	24.75	849	104.11	39.93
Dadra and Nagar	1.15	62.59	-	0.28	15.38	-	1.43	39.31
Daman and Diu	0.00	0.00	-	0.26	12.62	-	0.26	9.86
Delhi	0.50	12.92	1145	16.46	9.84	1134	16.96	9.91
Goa	0.37	6.81	1090	0.38	4.09	1134	0.75	5.09
Gujarat	75.35	21.54	932	26.88	10.14	1152	102.23	16.63
Haryana	19.42	11.64	1015	9.41	10.28	1169	28.83	11.16
Himachal Pradesh	5.29	8.48	913	0.30	4.33	1064	5.59	8.06
Jammu & Kashmir	10.73	11.54	891	2.53	7.20	988	13.27	10.35
Jharkhand	104.09	40.84	748	20.24	24.83	974	124.33	36.96
Karnataka	92.80	24.53	902	36.96	15.25	1089	129.76	20.91
Kerala	15.48	9.14	1018	8.46	4.97	987	23.95	7.05
Lakshadweep	0.00	0.00	-	0.02	3.44	-	0.02	2.77
Madhya Pradesh	190.95	35.74	771	43.10	21.00	897	234.06	31.65
Maharashtra	150.56	24.22	967	47.36	9.12	1126	197.92	17.35
Manipur	7.45	38.80	1118	2.78	32.59	1170	10.22	36.89
Meghalaya	3.04	12.53	888	0.57	9.26	1154	3.61	11.87
Mizoram	1.91	35.43	1066	0.37	6.36	1155	2.27	20.40
Nagaland	2.76	19.93	1270	1.00	16.48	1302	3.76	18.88
Odisha	126.14	35.69	695	12.39	17.29	861	138.53	32.59
Puducherry	0.69	17.06	1301	0.55	6.30	1309	1.24	9.69
Punjab	13.35	7.66	1054	9.82	9.24	1155	23.18	8.26
Rajasthan	84.19	16.05	905	18.73	10.69	1002	102.92	14.71
Sikkim	0.45	9.85	930	0.06	3.66	1226	0.51	8.19
Tamil Nadu	59.23	15.83	880	23.40	6.54	937	82.63	11.28
Tripura	4.49	16.53	798	0.75	7.42	920	5.24	14.05
Uttar Pradesh	479.35	30.40	768	118.84	26.06	941	598.19	29.43
Uttarakhand	8.25	11.62	880	3.35	10.48	1082	11.60	11.26
West Bengal	141.14	22.52	783	43.83	14.66	981	184.98	19.98
India	2166.58	25.70	816	531.25	13.70	1000	2697.83	21.92

Source: (Based on Tendulkar Methodology) GoI, Planning Commission, 2014

Educational Backwardness among SC/STs

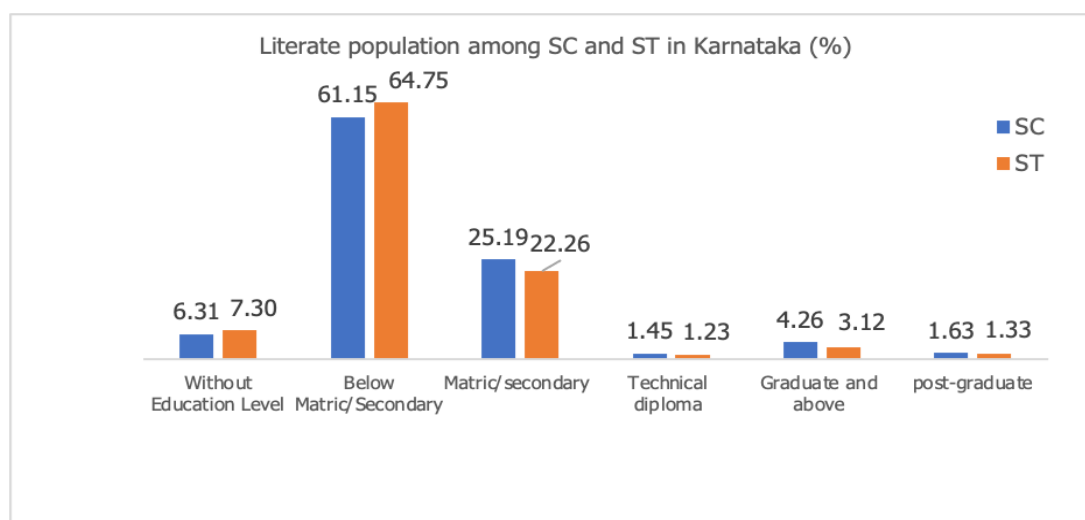
Literacy Rate

The literacy percentage of SCs is 67 per cent and STs is 62.05 per cent as against the state's total literacy of 75.36 per cent. The literacy of Scheduled Caste women is 58 per cent and Scheduled Tribe women is 53 per cent as against the total women's literacy of 68.08 per cent. The literacy percentage of SCs in rural areas is 60 per cent and STs is 59 per cent as against the total rural literacy of 68.07 per cent. The general literacy level between SC/STs and others shows a gap of 10 per cent, but in higher education, the gap is much higher. The existing disparities in educational attainment, leaving aside the quality of education, deny the principles of equity and social justice among these deprived groups. The discrepancies in education should be reduced with strategic intervention through the establishment of an adequate number of educational institutions and hostels for SC/STs, particularly in the backward regions of north Karnataka.

Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education

Educational backwardness and inequality, especially in higher education among the SCs and STs, are high when compared to others (Figure 2 and Table 6). The gap in educational attainment between SC/STs and others continues to be high and convergence is yet to take place among birth cohorts (Census, 2011). Among the total literate population of SC/STs, about 4.26 per cent and 3.12 per cent respectively have completed graduation and about 1.63 and 1.33 per cent respectively have completed post graduation, which is dismally low when compared to 8 per cent of Others. The deficiency in higher education among these groups is denying them opportunities to elevate themselves to the level of forward castes. There are many vacant positions and backlog positions in higher education institutions and universities like IITs/IIMs/IISc etc., due to non-availability of students belonging to the stream of science and technology. The deprivation of higher education is attributed to economic backwardness and poor-quality education in public institutions when compared to private institutions.

Figure 2: Literate Population among SC/STs in Karnataka (Percentage)



Source: Census 2011

Table 6: Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education (18 to 23 years)

States	All categories			SC			ST		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Andhra Pradesh	31.8	23.4	27.6	25.9	20.4	23.1	25.6	16.6	21
Karnataka	25.2	22.8	24	17.1	13.7	15.4	14.4	11	12.7
Kerala	19.3	26.9	23.1	12.3	22.7	17.5	11.4	13.2	12.3
Tamil Nadu	41.1	35.2	38.2	28.7	25.6	27.1	34.2	27.9	31
All India	21.6	18.9	20.4	15.4	13.5	14.5	12.4	9.2	10.8

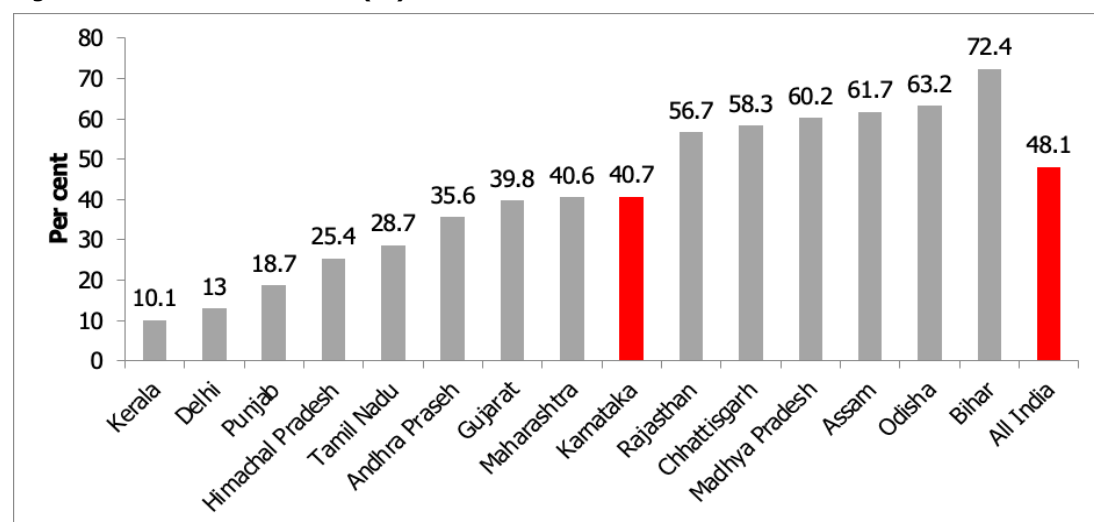
Source: Government of India, 2013

Economic Backwardness among SC/STs

Multidimensional Poverty

The Multidimensional Poverty Index measures the multiple socio-economic deprivation of health, education and standard of living among the households and individuals. Karnataka has achieved sustained economic growth in the recent past. However, inequality in economic, social and health care utilisation is widening among various social groups (Figure 3). In India, about 48.1 per cent of the population was estimated as multidimensional poor during 2011–2012. Among the Indian states, multidimensional poverty was the highest in Bihar (72.4 per cent) followed by Odisha (63.2 per cent) and Jharkhand (62.2 per cent). Karnataka has the highest multidimensional poverty among the southern states and relatively lower multidimensional poverty (40.7 per cent) than the national average, while Kerala recorded the lowest rate (10.1 per cent). The poverty estimates are based on per capita consumption expenditure at Rs 22.40 per day poverty line for rural areas and Rs 28.60 for urban areas.

Figure 3: Multidimensional Poor (%) in Karnataka and India



Source: Dehury and Mohanty, 2017

Table 7: General Poverty of Social Groups in Selected States in India

SI No	Status	SCs	STs	All Categories
		2011-12	2011-12	2011-12
1	Andhra Pradesh	12.7	23.1	9.3
2	Assam	28.6	32.4	32.5
3	Bihar	51	55.6	34.1
4	Chhattisgarh	46.7	51.1	40.2
5	Delhi	19	0	10.1
6	Gujarat	18.4	35.9	17
7	Haryana	24.1	9	11.2
8	Himachal Pradesh	15.9	9.2	8
9	Jammu & Kashmir	18.7	15.3	10.6
10	Jharkhand	40.4	49.7	37.5
11	Karnataka	33.2	31.5	21.2
12	Kerala	16	39.4	8.1
13	Madhya Pradesh	39.6	53.4	32
14	Maharashtra	19.7	54.4	17.3
15	Orissa	39	62.5	32.9
16	Punjab	15.6	6.2	8.2
17	Rajasthan	18.7	40.3	14.8
18	Tamil Nadu	19	25.8	11.7
19	Uttar Pradesh	40.9	25.6	29.5
20	Uttarakhand	14.9	13.5	11.4
21	West Bengal	21.5	49.4	20.4
	India	29.4	43	22

Source: Arvind Panagariya and Vishal et al, 2013

The poverty and economic inequality is highest among SCs and STs (Table 7). The gap between poverty among SCs at 33.2 per cent and STs at 31.5 per cent against Others 21.2 per cent among other states clearly demands their economic empowerment. Removing of multi-dimensional poverty for their overall well-being requires attainment of education, employment, health care, nutritional level and amenities like electricity, water supply, sanitation, housing, etc apart from guaranteeing civil rights and protection against atrocities or crimes.

Land holdings

A productive asset like land is the main source for leading a dignified livelihood. However, this has been denied to many consciously as the social order is inequitable and skewed in favour of the privileged classes of society. This has been the source of social and economic inequality, and as a result, SC/STs continue to live in acute poverty and deprivation as they depend on menial jobs like agricultural labour, manual scavenging, clearing the dead cattle, burying dead humans, etc.

In Karnataka, about 62 per cent of the people are residing in rural areas and their main source of income is agriculture. A majority of the SC/STs depend on agriculture and work as agricultural labourers. Further, these jobs are seasonal, and these menial jobs fetch very low wages or income

which hardly support their livelihood. This situation has led to a vicious cycle of poverty and hand-to-mouth existence.

Table 8: Percentage share of different social groups in number of operational holdings and area operated byholdings as per Agriculture Census 2015-16

Social Group	% share in operational holdings	Share of Population (2011)	% area operated
Scheduled Castes	11.91 %	16.6 %	8.61 %
Scheduled Tribes	8.72 %	8.6 %	11.40 %
Institutional	0.18 %	-	0.79%
Others	79.19 %	74.8	79.03 %

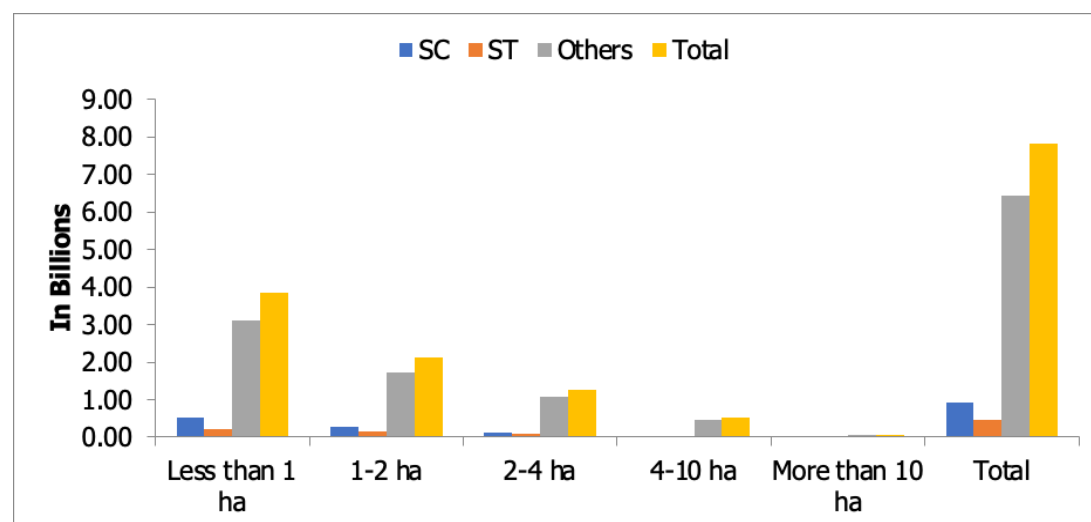
Source: Government of Karnataka (2019), Agricultural Census, 2015-16 Part II

Most of the forest based tribals are engaged in traditional occupations like honey tapping, selling of minor forest produce, cobbling, basket/rope making etc., to eke out their livelihood.

The status of land holding by SC/STs is 11.91 per cent and 8.72 per cent respectively whereas the other farmers are holding 79.19 per cent of cultivable area (Table 8).

The status of SC/STs in land holding is much lower than their population. The average land holding of SCs is 1.18 hectares and STs is 1.49 hectares, whereas in the case of others it is 1.55 hectares (Figure 4). The very meagre land holding by the SC/STs is the root cause of their economic backwardness. Further, about 76.44 per cent of the farmers have land holdings of less than two hectares, and the socially marginalised classes of SCs, STs and BCs are majorly constituted in this group.

Figure 4: Land Holdings by SC/STs



Source: DES, 2016-17

Employment Opportunities

The employment opportunities are confined largely to government jobs for SC/STs under the constitutional provision. After liberalisation, the role of the government in the market or economy is relegated to the role of supervision. Consequently, the representation of SC/STs in the government and its agencies/undertakings has come down drastically. Even though many job opportunities are available in the private sector, the representation of deprived communities is dismal as there is no reservation in the private sector. Further, the number of jobs in the organised sector are coming down. The representation of SC/STs is found very poor in the field of advanced and specialised scientific and technical institutions like space and atomic energy under the government. Further, the government is resorting to outsourcing of many government services to private agencies which denies opportunities to the deprived social groups. The NSSO 2012 data shows that about 61.50 and 48.80 per cent of SC/STs are wage labourers in agriculture when compared to 22.80 per cent of others (Table 9). The percentage of female agricultural labourers among SC/STs is also much higher, both in total agricultural workers and marginal agricultural workers.

Table 9: Type of Occupations among Different Social Groups in Karnataka (in percentage)

Social Groups	Self-employed in Agriculture	Self-employed in Non-Agriculture	Wage Labour in Agriculture	Wage Labour in Non-Agriculture	Others
SCs	13.30	7.60	61.50	11.60	6.00
STs	20.70	10.10	48.80	6.50	13.90
BCs	32.00	16.10	34.70	9.50	7.80
Others	37.20	17.30	22.80	10.40	12.30
All	28.6	14.20	38.30	9.90	9.00

Source: NSSO, 2012

Therefore, most of the SC/STs are engaged in unskilled/semi-skilled jobs and manual labour as daily wage workers. Even today, a substantial percentage of SCs/STs/BCs are engaged as landless agriculture labour in the rural areas, more so the women of SC/STs. The un-employment among SC/STs at any point of time is higher than in other communities, both in rural and urban areas.

Low Representation of SCs and STs in Industry and Trade

The SC/STs have been deprived of owning/holding any income generating economic asset for ages due to historical reasons. Since they do not have basic assets like agricultural land and other economic assets/property, compounded with their lack of entrepreneurial skills, their representation in industry and trade today is dismal. It is a fact that most the industrialists and traders are from forward communities and the representation of SC/STs in industry and trade is negligible in Karnataka. An indicator for this is the land allotted by the Karnataka Industrial Area Development Board (KIADB). A total extent of 31,281 acres of industrial land has been allotted to 18,666 industrial units by the Board. Of this, the land allotted to SC/STs is 476.37 acres for 1,003 units which comes to 1.52 per cent of the area and 5.37 per cent of the units respectively. It clearly indicates that the SC/STs do not possess

permanent income generating assets and activities and are completely excluded from high-profile jobs in trade and commerce.

Inadequacy of Representation in Karnataka Civil Services

Table 10: Representation of SC and STs in Karnataka Civil Services in 2016

SI NO	Departments	Total No of Sanctioned Posts	Total No of Filled Posts	Percentage of Total TSP	Percentage of SCs out of 15% reservation	Percentage of STs out of 3 per cent reservation
1	Education	3,24,165	2,45,382	75.70	9.31	2.36
2	Home	115,663	85,632	74.04	13.97	3.72
3	Health	83,551	58,684	70.24	8.91	2.96
4	Revenue	32,250	23,792	73.77	13.62	3.62
5	Judicial	21,898	14,556	66.47	11.53	3.36
6	Finance	21,573	12,370	57.34	10.40	2.84
7	Animal Husbandry	19,600	11,367	57.99	9.35	3.12
8	Water Resources	15,010	9,715	64.72	12.29	3.33
9	Forest	10,413	7,492	71.95	13.26	7.72
10	Horticulture	10,027	6,363	63.46	12.95	3.70
11	Social Welfare	14,972	6,317	42.19	13.12	2.42
12	Agriculture	8,252	5,376	65.15	10.87	3.09
13	Labour	10,215	5,167	50.58	8.45	2.01
14	Transport	2,669	1,635	61.26	11.17	2.92
15	BCM	13,328	4,607	34.57	8.68	2.45
16	PWD	5,869	4,499	76.66	15.15	3.19
17	DPAR	7,355	4,465	60.71	11.71	2.73
18	Woman & Child	6,638	3,921	59.07	11.92	3.28
19	Cooperation	7,548	3,540	46.90	8.93	2.48
20	RDPR	3,593	2,717	75.62	14.78	4.76
21	Industries & Commerce	2,698	1,335	49.48	9.23	2.74
22	Food & Civil Supplies	2,075	1,215	58.55	11.81	3.23
23	Planning	1,986	1,201	60.47	11.73	2.72
24	Kannada & Culture	1,202	649	53.99	11.23	4.66
25	Youth Services	1,040	600	57.69	12.88	3.17
26	Urban Development	852	487	57.16	9.98	3.05
27	Energy	415	256	61.69	12.29	2.17
28	Minor Irrigation	251	83	33.07	3.98	3.19
29	Tourism	304	70	23.03	6.58	2.96
30	Parliamentary Affairs	90	56	62.22	15.56	5.56
31	IT/ BT	91	25	27.47	12.09	6.59
	Total	7,45,593	5,23,574	70.22	10.65	2.92

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, 2016

Educational backwardness has a direct implication on inadequacy of representation in various cadres of Karnataka Civil Services. The data for the 31 departments shows that historically, SCs and STs' representation is low in the state Civil Services despite the provision of reservation in recruitment. The reservation in recruitment was fixed long back at 15 per cent for SCs and 3 per cent for STs and it continues despite the increase in the population to 17.15 per cent of SC & 6.95 per cent of ST as per the 2011 census. This clearly implies that educational backwardness among SC/STs is directly attributed to the low level of representation in Civil Services (Table 10).

Representation of SC/ST Faculty in IIMs and IITs

The representation of SCs and STs in premier Indian technical and professional educational institutions like IIMs is blatantly low (Joshi and Malghan, 2017). Technical institutions like IIMs currently suffer from a grave social diversity deficit, especially in the composition of their faculty. Out of the total faculty members recruited (236) across six institutes, there are only two faculty members (0.85 per cent representation) from the Scheduled Castes (SC), five (2.12 per cent representation) from Backward Classes (BCs) and no faculty members belonging to Scheduled Tribes (ST) (Table 11). This clearly shows the discrimination in an elite labour market and inequitable access to a reasonable quality of education. It is a known fact that employment in government is one of the important aspects for reducing the inequalities in society. Had there been no reservations for SC and ST in government jobs, the gap between others and SC/STs would have widened further. The Constitution of India reposes the responsibility on state and central governments to promote the educational and economic interests of SC/STs and other weaker sections. Further, it is found that graduates belonging to Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes get significantly lower wages (19 per cent) than those in the general category (Sujoy Chakravarty and E Somanathan, 2008).

Table 11: Faculty Diversity in Technical Institutions in India

Sl. No.	Institutions	SCs	STs	BCs	Others	Total
1	IIM, Indore (1996)	0	0	0	92	92
2	IIM, Kozhikode (1996)	1	0	2	60	63
3	IIM, Rohtak (2009)	1	0	0	17	18
4	IIM, Raipur (2010)	0	0	1	13	14
5	IIM, Ranchi (2010)	0	0	2	16	18
6	IIM, Kashipur (2011)	0	0	0	31	31
	Total	2 (0.85)	0 (0.00)	5 (2.12)	229 (97.03)	236 (100)

Source: Siddharth Joshi and Deepak Malghan, 2017. Year of establishment in brackets

Basic Amenities

Housing and Sanitation Status of SC/STs

The SCs and STs face a high level of deprivation in terms of access to basic amenities in Karnataka as per the various Human Development reports. In Karnataka, about 37.3 per cent of households had access to improved drinking water, sanitation and cooking fuel. The SC/STs are not able to build permanent houses for a decent living. Poor financial conditions make them depend on government

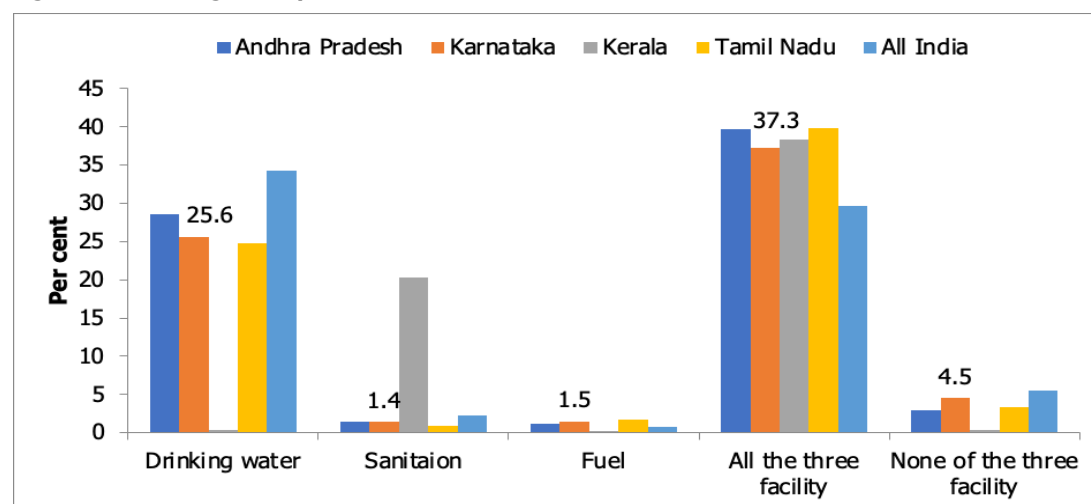
schemes for house building under which financial assistance is limited. Even in urban areas, the condition of the SC/STs is deplorable. Besides, it is also noticed in many cases that the Scheduled Caste employees are forcibly evicted from rented houses just because of their caste. Even today, they find it difficult to get houses for rent in urban areas. These facts clearly indicate the social and economic backwardness of SC/STs (Table 12 and Figure 5).

Table 12: Condition of Households Belonging to Different Social Groups in Karnataka (percentage)

T/R/U	Category	Good	Liveable	Dilapidated	Total
Rural	SC	8.73	9.19	1.28	19.2
	ST	4.14	4.26	0.64	9.04
	Others	38.87	29.51	3.38	71.75
	Total	51.74	42.97	5.3	100
Urban	SC	7.31	4.05	0.5	11.85
	ST	2.69	1.4	0.16	4.25
	Others	62.4	20.23	1.27	83.9
	Total	72.4	25.67	1.93	100
Total	SC	8.16	7.12	0.96	16.24
	ST	3.56	3.11	0.45	7.11
	Others	48.36	25.77	2.53	76.65
	Total	60.07	35.99	3.94	100

Source: Census 2011

Figure 5: Percentage of Population with Basic Amenities in Southern States of India



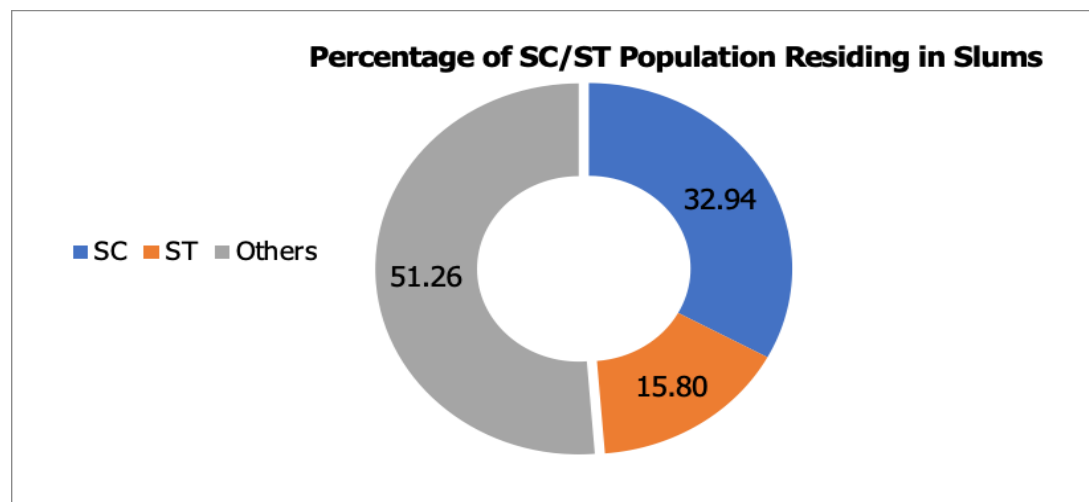
Slum Population

The push and pull factors of migration from rural to urban areas for earning a livelihood are forcing the SC/STs to migrate to urban areas seeking wage employment in private and un-organised sectors, particularly in the field of construction and for engaging in sanitary works in urban and local bodies. They have no other option except to settle down in ghettos or slums where there are no basic facilities. The economic and social dualism is ubiquitous in urban areas.

In Karnataka, the total slum population is 32.91 lakh, out of which the SC population is 9.22 lakh and ST population is 1.72 lakh. In terms of percentage, the population of SC/STs together is 34 per cent. As in 2015, the total slum population of the state is 35.33 lakh out of which the SC population 11.64 lakh and ST population 5.58 lakh, which comes to 49 per cent of the total slum population (Figure 6).

There are 2,804 slums identified by the Karnataka Slum Development Board, and the number of households in the slums are reported to be 7,46,206 with a population of 35,36,038 during 2014-15. Out of the total slum population in the state, Scheduled Caste people are the major community who are living in the slums (32.94 per cent) as against the all-India level SC population residing in slums (20.39 per cent). Further, 15.80 per cent of the Scheduled Tribe people were also living in slums, which is significantly higher than the all-India level (3.38 per cent) (Table 13).

Figure 6: SC and ST Population Living in Slums



The slum population of SCs and STs is high in Bengaluru city and both account for 58.85 per cent in all the assembly constituencies. The economic migration from rural to urban areas for earning a livelihood is forcing the SC/STs to live in makeshift houses like refugees without access to basic facilities of housing, drinking water, toilets etc. The migrated workers seek wage employment in private or unorganised sectors, particularly in the field of construction and sanitary works in the urban areas. These unorganised workers are forced to settle down in slums without any other options.

Table 13: Number of Slums in Bengaluru City and Percentage of Population of SC/STs

S. No.	Constituency	No of Slums	SC	%	ST	%	Others	%	Total Slum population
1	Gandhinagar	24	6,186	63.91	1,754	18.12	1,739	17.97	9,679
2	Chikkapete	10	6,233	55.68	1,305	11.66	3,656	32.66	11,194
3	Binnypete	15	4,173	34.81	3,052	25.46	4,763	39.73	11,988
4	Chamarajpete	30	12,846	36.54	3,504	9.97	18,805	53.49	35,155
5	Shanthinagar	10	2,657	65.36	143	3.52	1,265	31.12	4,065
6	Basavanagudi	13	2,531	29.41	645	7.49	5,430	63.10	8,606
7	Yelahanka	25	7,274	29.22	5,028	20.20	12,591	50.58	24,893
8	Jayamahal	26	4,349	24.29	3,200	17.87	10,354	57.83	17,903
9	Malleswaram	28	14,807	43.47	9,279	27.24	9,978	29.29	34,064
10	Bharathinagar	26	4,808	38.52	2,345	18.79	5,330	42.70	12,483
11	Shivajinagar	6	0	0.00	0	0.00	455	100.00	455
12	Jayanagar	50	22,558	40.60	4,492	8.09	28,507	51.31	55,557
13	Rajajinagar	19	7,421	45.22	4,706	28.67	4,285	26.11	16,412
14	Varthur	37	15,417	43.43	7,235	20.38	12,849	36.19	35,501
15	Uttarahalli	62	42,851	46.70	16,778	18.29	32,127	35.01	91,756
	7-CMCs	155	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	Total	536	1,54,111	41.68	63,466	17.17	1,52,134	41.15	3,69,711

Source: Karnataka Slum Development Board, 2016

Atrocities on SC/STs

Atrocities and exploitation are continuing against SC/STs. Therefore, the government introduced the SC/STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Act in the year 1989 for various offences committed against SC/STs. The reason for the introduction of this comprehensive and punitive piece of legislation was that the existing laws like the Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955 and the normal provisions of Indian Penal Code have been found to be inadequate to check and deter crimes committed against SC/STs by non-SC/STs.

It was decided to impose stringent measures and to provide higher punishment for committing such atrocities. The bill introduced in the Lok Sabha stated that despite various measures to improve the socio-economic conditions of SC/STs, they remain vulnerable. And when they try to assert their rights because of the awareness created through the spread of education, vested interests try to cow them down and terrorise them by committing atrocities against them. The rate of crimes against SC/STs in Karnataka is 24 and 11.5 per cent out of the total rate of crimes in India (Table 14).

Table 14: Atrocities against SC/STs in Karnataka

Sl. No.	Year	Murder	Rape	Grievous hurt	Other atrocities	No. of cases registered
1	2010	34	50	83	1,466	1,633
2	2011	48	51	92	1,601	1,792
3	2012	44	77	87	1,554	1,762
4	2013	44	116	103	1,662	1,950
5	2014	36	91	78	1,745	1,950
6	2015	69	171	135	1,662	2,037
7	2016	78	164	101	1,569	1,912

The above data shows that the number of cases of atrocities being registered are on the increase every year, including cases of murder, rape and grievous hurt. It may not be out of place to add that several cases go unregistered. The SCs are also subjected to bonded labour and child labour, prevented from temple entry, denied hair cutting, school entry, hotel entry, locality entry, access to water sources, and also prevented from using common burial grounds. Inter-caste marriages and inter-dining between SC/STs and others is a distant dream in Indian society including Karnataka. 'Honour' killings are also happening, particularly when a SC/ST woman/man marries a member of another community. The SC/STs are still suffering from the stigma of casteism, illiteracy, ignorance, superstitions and other social evils. However, the government is taking various measures to root out the social inequality and restore social equity and equality through various initiatives and schemes.

Municipal Workers (Pourakarmika)

Table 15: Municipal Workers Engaged in Safai Activities in Bengaluru

Sl. No.	Zones	No. of Wards	No. of Safai Karmacharis
1	Yelahanka	11	2,064 (6.26)
2	Mahadevapura	17	3,842 (11.65)
3	Dasarahalli	8	1,024 (3.11)
4	Rajarajeshwari Nagar	14	2,309 (7.00)
5	Bommanahalli	16	3,084 (9.35)
6	South	44	6,942 (21.06)
7	West	44	6,930 (21.02)
8	East	44	6,775 (20.55)
	Total	198	32,970

Source: Bruhat Bengaluru Mahanagara Palike, 2017. Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage to the total number of Safai Karmacharis.

Municipal workers or Safai Karmacharis play an important role in cleaning and maintaining the hygiene throughout the country. In Bengaluru city alone, there are 32,970 Safai Karmacharis engaged in cleaning and disposal of waste and garbage from the city (Table 15). Despite their importance in the disposal of garbage and waste, they are excluded from the mainstream as Safai Karmacharis are discriminated against by society due to their profession. Apart from this, they suffer from health issues and lack of basic amenities such as housing while disposing of the city waste. The state government has taken several measures for their upliftment by providing basic infrastructure, education to their children in residential schools, health facilities etc.

Manual Scavengers

Scheduled Castes are engaged in manual scavenging as a caste-based occupation. Particularly, some sub-castes of Dalits are compelled to do manual cleaning, carrying and disposing of or handling human excreta from dry latrines and sewers. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act of 1993 banned the practice of manual scavenging. Despite this constitutional ban for the last two decades, it is widely prevalent in the state as per the Socio-economic Caste Census,

2011. In Karnataka, there are 15,375 manual scavengers (Annexure). However, this data has been inconsistent with other sources of data which estimate there are 776 scavengers in both rural and urban areas.

Therefore, the state government should take steps to end manual scavenging by providing underground drainage lines in urban areas and completely ban manual scavenging in rural areas. SC community members engaged in manual scavenging must be rehabilitated, economically compensated, extended free education and provided alternative employment and basic facilities like housing on priority.

Banjara/Lambani Thandas

Certain Dalit communities like Banjaras/Lambanis who are living in Thandas or settlements are socially and economically most backward among the Dalit groups in society. As per the data available from Karnataka Thanda Development Corporation Limited, there are 19.08 lakh people who are living in 3,361 Thandas in the state and an average of 568 people are living in each Thanda. However, there are 12.67 lakh as per the estimates of Census 2011. A majority of Banjaras/ Lambanis are settled in north Karnataka districts of Kalaburagi (14.20 per cent), Vijayapura (13.77 per cent), Yadgiri (8.71 per cent), Ballari (8.28 per cent) and the central district of Davanagere (8.03 per cent) (Annexure). The Thanda habitants lack basic facilities like housing, drinking water, electricity and sanitation. Poverty and unemployment among them is very high and there is a need for their socio-economic empowerment with special budgetary grants and welfare programmes.

Karnataka Government Policy towards Empowerment of SC/STs

The government of Karnataka has taken several affirmative actions for the social and economic empowerment of SC/STs through favourable budgetary support and has considered their welfare as being of the highest priority. The Social Welfare Department has undertaken several welfare programmes for their upliftment. The main welfare programmes are in the domain of education, health, housing, sanitation, allocation of land etc. The Karnataka Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan (SCSP) and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) (Planning, Allocation and Utilisation of Financial Resources) Act, 2013 is effectively implemented since 2014. The funds are exclusively allocated for the welfare of SC/STs as per their respective population. Dr. B R Ambedkar Development Corporation is established for implementing various programmes for SCs. Further, for the benefit of STs, Maharshi Valmiki Scheduled Tribes Development Corporation is established by the state government.

The state planned grant for SCSP and TSP during the period 2008-2009 and 2017-18 has been Rs 1,15,235 crore or 18.70 per cent of the total planned grant of Rs 6,15,946 crore. On an average, 86 per cent of the allocated amount has been used for the various welfare programmes under SCSP and TSP. The planned grant for SCSP and TSP has been increased two times under the regime of the current government. However, proper implementation and utilisation is the main concern. The government has provided comprehensive development of villages having a population of 50 per cent or more of SC/ST communities by clubbing the welfare schemes of various departments under the Chief Minister's Model Village programme. A special grant of Rs 200 crore has been earmarked in the 2017-18

Budget for the development of highly vulnerable social groups like Jenukuruba, Koraga, Soliga, Kadukuruba, Erava, Gowdalu, Hasaluru, Iruliga, Siddi, Malekudiya, Hakki-Pikki, Thoda, Meda and other tribal communities.

Table 16. Budget Allocation and Expenditure for SCSP/TSP during 2008-09 to 2017-18 years (Rs in Crores)

Year	State Planned grant	Allocation			Expenditure			%	Balance Amount
		SCSP	TSP	Total	SCSP	TSP	Total		
2008-09	26188	3232.44	1263.89	4496.33	2575.68	988.76	3564.44	79	931.89
2009-10	29500	2916.59	1114.00	4030.59	2457.46	916.15	3373.61	84	656.98
2010-11	31050	3268.00	1344.18	4612.18	2926.00	1116.61	4042.61	88	569.57
2011-12	38070	4633.38	1867.00	6500.38	3931.56	1470.98	5402.54	83	1097.84
2012-13	42030	5125.00	2075.60	7200.60	4198.51	1679.79	5878.30	82	1322.30
2013-14	48685	6135.57	2480.74	8616.31	5253.31	1939.77	7193.08	83	1423.23
2014-15	65600	11518.99	4315.18	15834.17	10163.93	3834.41	13998.34	88	1835.83
2015-16	72596	11773.54	4582.72	16356.26	11259.48	4344.90	15604.38	95	751.88
2016-17	75665	14253.26	5631.67	19884.93	12998.37	5102.30	18100.67	91	1784.26
2017-18	186561	19711.51	7992.03	27703.54	Ongoing			-	-
Total	615946	82568.28	32667.01	115235.3	53188.62	20404.91	73593.53	-	10373.78

Source: Social Welfare Department, 2017

Research evidence shows that quotas for SCs at the state assembly constituency level have not yielded any change in development (Jensenus, 2015). This implies that additional allocation of budget is needed for these reserved constituencies for the overall development of the SC/STs. Preferential treatment in terms of allocation of additional budget for the SC/ST constituencies will help to reduce the social and economic disparity. Further, awareness among the SC/STs about the welfare programmes, access and utilisation is still lacking due to their educational backwardness.

Major Issues and Challenges

Even though constitutional safeguards and affirmative action programmes have helped to achieve political justice and equality, social and economic deprivation continues among SCs and STs. The main factors responsible for their continued deprivation include issues like benefits of the government being cornered by the forward castes, limited opportunities for education and skill development to enter into professional jobs, biased recruitment process, reduction of job opportunities in government sector after free market economic policy, limited opportunities in private sector, reservation opposition citing merit and efficiency, and failure to fill up the backlog positions.

- Gross enrolment ratio in schools is relatively low among SC/STs compared to others.
- School dropout rate among SC/STs is relatively higher compared to others.
- Higher educational backwardness among SC/STs compared to others.
- Multidimensional poverty is relatively high among SC/STs in comparison with others.

- Inadequacy in representation in Group A and Group B jobs.
- Landless agricultural labourers in SCs and STs are comparatively more than among others.
- Average land holding of SC/STs is less than that of others.
- Ownership of income generating assets is quite meagre compared to others.
- Inadequate access to entrepreneurship and skill development by SC/STs.
- Inadequacy of representation in service and industrial sectors.
- High unemployment rate among SC/STs in comparison to others.
- Inadequacy of representation of SC/STs in various cadres of Karnataka Civil Services.
- Need for adequate provision of infrastructure facilities like housing, water, electricity and sanitation is still felt.
- Practicing of casteism is continuing in rural areas.
- Poor representation of SC/STs in legislative councils, Rajya Sabha, high courts and Supreme Court.
- Atrocities on SC/STs, particularly SC and ST women and children, are on the increase despite enforcement of law and establishment of Directorate of Civil Rights Enforcement Cell.

Section III

Critical Analysis of Development of SCs and STs

There is no doubt that many welfare programmes have been undertaken by the government. However, adequate levels of participation, transparency and effective monitoring are lacking. The creation of databanks on the welfare programmes and access to beneficiaries is highly useful for monitoring their social and economic well-being before and after the implementation of government programmes. The continued social and economic deprivation and exclusion on the one hand and the inadequacy of democratic government to guarantee social justice and empowerment on the other calls for good governance and transparency and timely implementation of welfare schemes. The introduction of Karnataka Sakala Services Act, 2011 is highly commendable for the timely delivery of government services. SCSP/TSP Council is a good move in this direction for the evaluation of programmes for every three years to know their impact on the socio-economic status of deprived sections of society. Other departments should also create such mechanisms. Governance, transparency and accountability should be the hallmark of administration for timely delivery of services. In this regard, the State Databank and Equal Opportunity Commission should be established to monitor and effectively implement the programmes. Various welfare programmes should be brought under the Diversity Index (considering their educational, social and economic status) to ensure equal opportunity. Social and economic empowerment is directly linked to the level of access to education for benefitting from emerging economic opportunities. Timely implementation of the target-oriented welfare programmes will ensure equal rights, access to benefits and resources. Empowerment or broadbasing of deprived sections of society requires an increasing number of socially disadvantaged groups to enter with equal rights the mainstream of social, political and economic activities and continuously derive advantages of social and economic benefits of the state as other advantaged groups already in the mainstream (Nadkarni, 1997). Therefore, there is an urgent need to adopt the policy of social justice to secure the deprived sections equal rights and opportunities and provide them access to economic resources and welfare benefits.

Empowerment will enable them to develop their potential and capacities to participate in the development process to reap the benefits of economic growth. Social, economic and political empowerment creates an enabling environment to exercise their constitutional rights, enjoy privileges, and lead a dignified life with confidence. Further, removing economic and social disparities, elimination of caste-based discrimination and exploitation ensures their involvement in the process of planning and effective implementation of developmental goals, which will bring them on par with the rest of society. Affirmative actions in terms of social justice and social, economic and political empowerment act as an enabling strategy to realise an equitable society. Accomplishment of social justice requires building human capabilities to eliminate all types of caste, religious and gender-based discrimination in a combination of legislative policy, affirmative action, awareness creation, and change in the mindset of the people. Social empowerment demands removing historical inequalities among disadvantaged and marginalised sections of society by prioritising education for heralding social change in the true sense of autonomy and self-confidence. Economic empowerment improves the capacity of disadvantaged groups to participate, contribute and benefit from the growth process which values their contribution to the economic development of broader society and negotiates for a fairer distribution of the benefits of growth, especially the share of income, employment and economic resources. Political empowerment requires the development of inclusive political institutions where the interest of marginalised society is meaningfully represented with the ability to take decisions. Therefore, a 'big push' through a higher allocation of budgetary funds for poverty alleviation and employment generation and rural development is required for income generation. Programmes for the promotion of self-employment and skill development, training youths for facing competitive examinations like staff selection, civil services and banking examinations ensure their employability in the private and government sectors. Industrial programmes like the establishment of small, medium and large industries in rural areas and special economic zones will create more jobs. Agricultural development through land and cattle distribution in favour of deprived sections will enhance their capacities and opportunities.

Strategic Focus Areas

A growing body of evidence proves that there is a strong relationship between empowerment and good governance and economic growth with a human face. The development approach must identify the priority areas for social and economic empowerment of deprived sections of society. The government should give a high priority for investment in jobs and poverty alleviation. Further, social sector development can be realised by empowering the deprived sections of society by investing in their assets. Social and economic deprivation curtails the freedom of choice and action by the disadvantaged social groups of the SCs and STs. Their freedom is curtailed mainly due to their incapacities and powerlessness in relation to the state and markets. Therefore, their empowerment requires expansion of assets and capabilities to participate, negotiate, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives (World Bank, 2002).

Therefore, removal of formal (state and market) and informal (social exclusion, exploitative relation and corruption) institutional barriers are needed to improve the decision-making towards their well-being. Institutions can give the power which will better equip the deprived sections to take

advantage of developmental opportunities, gain access to services, understand and exercise their rights, and make the government responsive to their needs. Information on developmental policies, employment market, availability of bank loans, welfare programmes, basic services and technologies plays an important role for their empowerment.

Access to information also helps their participation to avail opportunities open to them and for decision making, to set priority for their developmental needs, influence budget provision, and delivery of basic services. The availability of information is crucial to hold the government accountable for its performance towards their empowerment.

The inequality among social groups needs to be reduced by enabling economic opportunities and affirmative actions which will enable them to create a level playing field. Affirmative actions include quality education, training and skill development which will create the capacity of employability in the job markets. Affirmative actions include broadbasing the opportunities in all sectors of the economy, particularly where the representation of deprived sections is very low.

A knowledge-driven economy divides society on the basis of skill development and employability. Policy responses should be oriented towards the promotion of innovation and upskilling of the workforce, ensuring education with the skills to respond to the changing job market. Therefore, multi-pronged transformative approaches are required to address the root causes of poverty and unemployment among socially and economically deprived sections of society.

Advances in information and communication technology define the way people live, work and interact. Lack of access to the digital world of internet, laptops and mobile phones excludes many deprived members of society and creates profound consequences of inequality in rural areas. Due to this inability, they cannot fully engage and participate in the digital economies or societies to shape their lives. Tackling digital inequalities, all the basic services of internet, electricity and laptops should be available for hands-on use.

Transformation in the relationship between the state and citizens with measures to build confidence on enhancing the welfare of the people by reducing poverty and creating more employment opportunities (efforts to tackle exclusion) helps in building inclusive forms of citizenship. Deprived people suffer from psychological problems imposed by the circumstances of relative impoverishment of the group which manifests in people's perception that they are likely to be trapped permanently in poverty. The relative impoverishment of the group impedes individuals' efficiency. The deprived groups often find it difficult to access state services.

Natural resources determine the patterns of rural lives and their sustainability should be ensured involving agricultural land, water, forest, fish and non-timber forest produce. Further, climate change impoverishes poor people further and exacerbates economic inequalities between the haves and have-nots. Further, the dominance of the market or corporates over natural resources creates more social, economic and environmental unsustainability.

Positive policy interventions, effective implementation, transparency and result-orientated programmes will drive the social sector on the path of efficient, equitable and sustainable development. The detailed evidences in the previous sections on the social, economic and political indicators prove

that deprived communities had fewer opportunities to reap the benefits of development. The relative deprivation of underprivileged vis-à-vis privileged society is continued.

Therefore, equality of opportunities to deprived sections of society according to their individual capacities, talents and merits will help them transform themselves with equality of outcome in terms of income, wealth, employment and learning achievement.

Reducing inequality is a key to eradicating extreme poverty and fostering the transformation of society towards fairness and social justice. Poverty anywhere in the world is a threat to prosperity and economic and political power are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small number of people, denying opportunities to a large number.

Social groups continue to face multidimensional poverty as benefits of development have not reached them, which has resulted in a developmental deficit. The deprivation is encompassing all dimensions including educational, social and economic. But there is no mechanism to evaluate the welfare programmes. Therefore, there is a need for monitoring and transparency in the implementation of these programmes. Further, there is a need to evaluate the extent of the development benefit which accrues to different social groups.

Therefore, economically disadvantaged and socially marginalised sections of society urgently need to be brought on the path and process of development to empower them on par with the socially and economically privileged sections of society; otherwise, the inequity will increase further.

Policy initiatives must be prioritised to improve economic capabilities and productive endowments of SCs and STs. This must be done by adopting the approach of social justice to ensure equal rights, access to benefits and resources and empowerment to enable them to develop their potential and capacities as agents of social change, through the process of planned development.

Social justice thrives with equality before the law, prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, gender or place of birth, equality of opportunity in matters of employment and other socio-economic rights. Empowerment necessitates that government policies should empower people to maximise their capacities, resources and opportunities with respect to the following:

- **Social empowerment can be achieved** through quality education to disadvantaged sections of society.
- **Economic empowerment can be realised through sustained** employment and income generation activities and alleviating poverty by creating equality of opportunity in production and consumption.
- **Social justice can be addressed** through effective implementation of the existing legislations and other measures for protecting the disadvantaged groups from atrocities, exploitation, discrimination and social disabilities. This calls for the establishment of strong institutions to achieve long-term peace and justice.
- **Political empowerment needs** translating political power for ensuring equal sharing of economic power and prosperity for disadvantaged groups.

Key Goals and Targets

The government needs to pursue the following key goals to ensure social justice and empowerment of SCs and STs.

Enhance Assets and Capabilities of Deprived Social Groups

The enhancement of assets and capabilities will empower the deprived sections of society. The assets include material assets (physical and financial) like land, housing, livestock, savings and jewelry which help them to withstand shocks and expand choices and building human capabilities such as education, good health, life enhancing skills, access to information, participation in decision making etc. Many welfare programmes have been implemented by the state government. However, there is a gap between awareness and accessibility of such programmes. Therefore, a single mobile app for all the government welfare schemes with scroll-down options has to be developed for reducing the gap between government programmes/schemes, level of awareness, accessibility and implementation. Also needed is an Aadhaar-linked database on social, economic and educational status of people for the effective implementation of the welfare programmes for easy monitoring and avoidance of duplication of beneficiaries. Various welfare programmes need to be amalgamated into social security and economic/welfare schemes to best suit the needs of the economically vulnerable groups in different regions of the state.

Economic Justice by Ensuring Equity or Reducing Inequity

Economic justice is treated as an element of social justice. Economic inequity has unquestionably grown against the basic principles and practices of trickle-down under the market economy. Economic inequity is more prevalent and pervasive with the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few capitalists of forward castes. Therefore, a fair and compassionate distribution of the fruits of economic growth is perverted, and the state's effort to pursue equality, justice and freedom by ensuring the existence of opportunities for meaningful work and employment and the dispensation of fair rewards for productive activities of individuals fails. In this situation, the government needs to take the following measures to check economic inequality.

- Ensure equity in the distribution of income.
- Ensure equity in the distribution of assets.
- Ensure equity in the distribution of opportunities for work and remunerated employment.
- Ensure equity in the distribution of access to knowledge.
- Ensure equity in the distribution of health services, social security and the provision of a safe environment.
- Ensure equity in the distribution of opportunities for civic and political participation.

The realisation of economic justice requires a big push in investment for social development with a budget allocation. It is required to make growth pro-poor with a diversion of resources for economic empowerment. The income inequality has affected a large number of people and narrowing the income differences requires preferential treatment for the deprived social groups. Already, excessive

inequality has affected social mobility, and can lead to social segregation and gradually lead to social breakdown. Therefore, tax restructuring for the corporate sector to reduce income inequality will absorb revenues for investment for economic empowerment of deprived sections of society.

Create Employment Opportunities

The existence of large scale or worsening unemployment and underemployment in various sectors such as agriculture, industry and service has affected many educated persons among the deprived sections of society. The establishment of small-scale industries at village level, medium-scale industries at taluk level and major industries at district quarters with government support will absorb unemployed youths in the job market. Small-scale industries should source inputs from agriculture and natural resources and they should be based on local knowledge or skills. Private industries should be encouraged and spread across regions of the state for equitable distribution of employment opportunities. An enabling environment including reservation in jobs and capacity building will help empower deprived members of society both in the short and long term. A range of policies to address poverty and horizontal inequality is needed to target the deprived group in a variety of ways by giving preference to enhance their capabilities in employment, education and political representation.

Poverty Alleviation

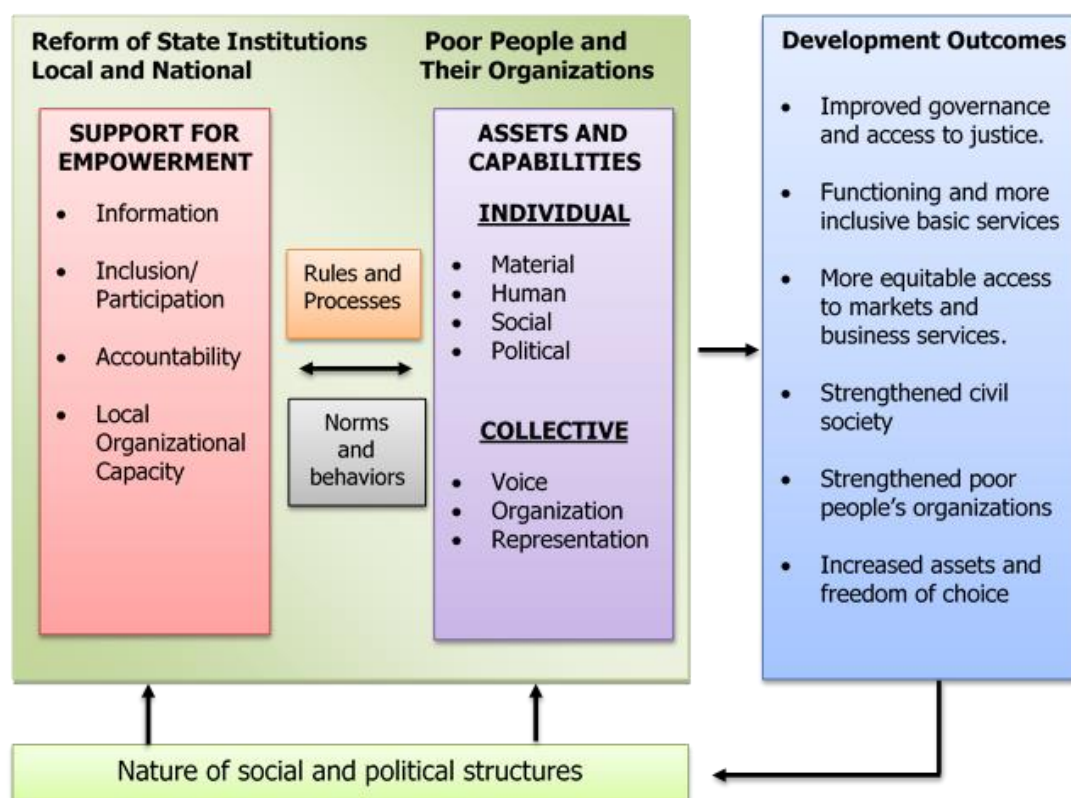
Extreme or absolute poverty is experienced by deprived social groups, and as per the data, multidimensional poverty is high among them. Their income is barely sufficient for their survival and the very existence of extreme poverty constitutes an injustice. Further, deprived sections of society experience dire poverty and are deprived of many of the fundamental rights. Hunger is the manifestation of absolute poverty among them. The ramifications of poverty include discrimination, poor health, vulnerability, insecurity, and a lack of personal and professional development opportunities. These challenges can be overcome by breaking the vicious circle of poverty with the allocation of a substantially high investment or budget in employment generation. The rich and corporates have to pay the cost of poverty by sharing their portion of profits either through CSR or through providing employment. Poverty alleviation is not possible without sustainable development where conservation and enhancement of the natural resource base acts as a resilient defence against droughts and poverty. Conservation of forests, biodiversity, water resources, land and common property resources is important to alleviate poverty in rural areas. A poverty alleviation fund may be created with donations of the public for the empowerment of targeted social groups such as Devadasis, Gollarahatti hamlets, Lambani hamlets and tribal settlements.

Enhance Institutional Capacity to Implement Welfare Programmes

Institutional capacity is measured in terms of good governance and is increasingly recognised as a crucial prerequisite for developmental effectiveness. Good governance promotes empowerment with the effective implementation of government programmes targeted for the welfare of the deprived sections of society for a given period. Corruption is the root cause of poor governance and it breeds inefficiency and the failure of government's effort to empower people. Accountability has to be strictly imposed at

various levels for the failure in implementing government programmes effectively. Further, there is a need to strengthen the demand side of governance through creating awareness about welfare programmes to help boost people's participation to access and avail welfare programmes. Therefore, access to information, participation and accountability serve in the effective implementation of government schemes. The following figure provides the framework or mechanism for social justice and empowerment. Reform of the institutions can be achieved in favour of empowerment of people by providing information on development programmes, encouraging peoples' participation in development programmes, making the institutions accountable to achieve specific targets and organise people in a democratic process to make them aware of developmental aspirations. These institutional reforms help and support the local communities to access resources and build assets and capabilities. The developmental outcomes of the reforms are effective in the transformation of lives with access to justice, services and increased access to assets and providing freedom of choice.

Figure 15: Social Justice and Empowerment Framework



Conclusion

The development paradox under the new economic policies of 1991 is based on the myth of "Trickle down" effect and welfare of the state which has failed the developmental aspirations of the downtrodden. As a result, the role of government and government sector is reduced, and dominance of the private sector prevails with the growth of the informal sector. As a result the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer. Even though the Government of Karnataka has taken several

affirmative policies to meet the constitutional obligation of equality in social and economic life among the historically disadvantaged and economically weaker sections of society, the stark reality is that social and economic inequality is highly prevalent even after the adoption of the Indian Constitution 67 years ago. The socio-economic outcomes have been far from satisfactory, given the disparities among the social groups. The state government, to meet all constitutional obligations of equal rights to social and economic groups, has embarked upon many developmental programmes as instruments of public policy. In this regard, the protective discrimination policy of the state is implemented by establishing a Social Welfare Department and development corporations for SCs and STs. The institutions heralded the developmental policy of the state through implementing several multi-pronged and multifaceted welfare programmes. Several economic policies and developmental programmes have been implemented with a human face to achieve inclusive growth. The state used more funds for development expenditure which has increased 13.30 per cent due to the achievement of a revenue surplus in recent years (2015-16). As a result, the per capita development expenditure of the state has increased to Rs 15,169 in 2016-17 whereas the all-India average expenditure is Rs 12,451. The per capita income of the state at current prices is Rs 1,59,893 and the same at the national level is Rs 1,03,007 during 2016-17. This shows that developmental expenditures have a positive impact on income generation in terms of per capital income. However, the unequal distribution of income remains the main challenge. The state and district plan size has been increased for many developmental programmes in the state in recent times. The incidence of poverty, unemployment, and economic deprivation is higher than the state average among disadvantaged social groups, which is mainly reinforced by illiteracy and lack of educational and employment opportunities and access to economic resources among them.

The social and economic disparities among these social groups vary among regions and sectors, given the nature of the new economic policy. Social groups have remained underprivileged with poor socioeconomic conditions and they face material hardships, prejudice and poverty. The underprivileged SC and STs are deprived of all the resources for economic emancipation - natural, human and man-made - and are not given equal access to them and as a result, they are incapacitated to maximise their capacities, resources and opportunities. The first and foremost issue is failure of governments in the conceptualisation of development for SC/ST with equitable access to resources, opportunities and developing their capacities as strong human capital in a caste-ridden system. The poor governance prevailing in the system, rampant corruption and lack of honest efforts and intentions are the main cause for eroding the resources earmarked for the development of SC/STs. There is a lack of political will among SC and ST politicians, administrators, academicians, Dalit organisations, students and SC/STs in general about countering the deprivation of their rights and opportunities. Due to issues like vote bank politics, divisive politics, rampant corruption and pilferage of resources meant for SC and STs, economic development with a human approach is missing. Therefore, both Nehru and Ambedkar advocated state ownership of key industries to drive rapid industrial growth without closing the avenues for private enterprise in the country. Dr B R Ambedkar advocated an economic democracy which is a socio-economic philosophy with equitable distribution of wealth and it proposes a shift in decision-making power from capitalists to the broader public.

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