CHAPTER-II
RESERVATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EDUCATIONAL CONDITION OF SCHEDULED CASTE IN KARNATAKA

The term "reservation" has been doing the rounds within the Indian media circuit of late owing to the government decision to implement 27% quota for the OBCs in the educational institutions of higher learning. Time has come to study the significance of the matter and see its consequences on the country in future. Reservation in India is a form of affirmative action designed to improve the well-being of backward and under-represented communities defined primarily by their 'caste' (quota-system based on 'gender', 'or religion') it's a phenomenon that commenced with the coming into force of the India constitution (the constitution initially provided reservation to Christians, with the proviso that it would automatically reduce gradually with the efflux of time)-however, lately perforation treatment on regional basis has either been non—statutorily introduced in the educational institutes (e.g. Eligibility conditions for candidates from outside the state are 5% higher than that for the locals, as per local rules prescribed by certain universities) or is being advocated in both jobs and lowly professions like auto—rickshaw—drivers.

These are laws (both constitutional and statutory )or merely local rules / regulations/practices (not derived from any act passed by the parliament or state—legislature )wherein a certain percentage of available vacancies in
educational institutes and government jobs are set aside for people from backward communities and others scheduled castes (SC), scheduled tribes (ST) and other backward classes (OBC) are the primary beneficiaries of the reservation policies under the constitution – with the object of ensuring a level playing field (without defining the benchmark that determines which particular individual player has reached the said ‘level’; the supreme court’s recent concept of ‘creamy layer’ requires a case-by-case determination as to who has ceased to deserve protection of these laws).

When our country achieved independence, a large section of the society was leading a miserable life. They had been exploited for ages and the false beliefs in the society at that time further worsened their condition. The government of that day introduced the concept of reservation so that there would be equal progress of all section of the society. Over the years, the condition of the people of reserved categories has improved at a fast rate while that of the middle class, general or open category people remained more or less the same. After nearly 60 years of independence now general category people have started to feel that they are being subjugated and that the odds have been stacked against them. At a time like this the government’s decision to bring out legislation to implement a 27% quota for OBCs adds further fuel to the fire.

There is large number of failings in the reasons publicized by the government for implementing this decision. Firstly the government has rooted its decision in a survey conducted by the Britishers prior to independence, on
the percentage of the OBCs in the population the reserved category candidates occupy nearly 52% of the government jobs today. Then what is the immediate need to increase the quotas? Though the government would not agree to it, most people feel that this is just another way of wooing the voters.

The above stated move by the government brought out the students, resident doctors and even the faculty members of AIIMS and many another hospitals to protest against the government. None of us would hesitate to say that these doctors were inhuman and heartless to have neglected even the emergency services but isn’t it our government that is to be held responsible for a situation like this. Year after year, the governments of India have been enforcing their will on the people, making us ponder if ours is a democracy at all.

In a free and fair country the candidate who is the most worthy should get the opportunity irrespective of his caste, creed and religion when caste becomes the criteria for section, how can one expect to get what is honestly due to him. Government argues that it can balance the equation by increasing the number of seats in the educational institutions. But then it is the quality of education that suffers before we come to higher secondary stage none of us even talks of these quotas. Then the process of applying for the entrance exams for the professional courses starts to emerge. Governments are practicing the policy of “divide and rule” with our own people we hear this even during admission to under-graduate courses but is it correct to carry it into the post-graduation phase also?
Nowadays the value of professional education has plummeted with a large number of private institution entering into the stream. The number of engineers coming out every year is beyond the imagination. It is like pampering kids through school and junior college right into the professional education stream without requiring any effort from them at all. But do we need to do it even at the post-graduation level? When will a person learn to go all-out for something in life? How far can they go when they have been driven into the industry and have not learnt the art of survival to start with?

The decision has indeed drawn flak from many quarters. Getting reservation would be a good thing, but the advantage always lies with the “more privileged” section of these backward castes for instance. Most students from backward castes do not reveal the truth about their parents’ income and get the scholarships for education that they wouldn’t get normally. We must also consider what the future of the candidates who acquire education through reservation will be. At present, since the percentage of quotas is small, the employers don’t bother. If the government implements this decision, nearly 50% of the seats will be under reservation. The employers in future might start dividing candidates into reserved and unreserved categories. There are many merited students even from the OBCs and other reserved categories. Wouldn’t it hurt their sentiments if the employers start to look down at them as they have obtained their degrees through reservation?

It is right that some sections have been oppressed for decades, hindering their progress. But the government cannot reserves the process and repairs the
wrong done in decades with a single move. This decision has occurred mainly as a result of the hype the over the high salaries that 2T and graduates have been getting recently. These institutions are seen as places where people can get rich. The government wants to give opportunities to the backward castes to earn similar salaries. But this should not happen at the cost of the quality of education. There is no doubt that when the quality of education suffers, there won’t be such high salaries anyway.

There is one more thing we should look at. The involvement of the courts in various strike-related issues has just lead to the end of these strikes, but it hasn’t been able to provide justice to the protesters. The courts, which we look to for a fair solution to any issue, have only been leaning toward the government. Even in the case of the protest of resident doctors in Andhra Pradesh against increase in the quota for service candidates in the PG course seats, the protesters got nothing but an assurance from the government that the matter will be looked into. The courts in many other cases have been successful only in obtaining assurances and not in delivering justice to the people. This really questions the law which states that no strikes or protests must be staged on an issue when the matter is in judicial review. This law is in favor of the government and must be staged on an issue when the matter is in judicial review. This law is in favor of the government and must be looked into immediately.

There is a strong feeling these days that in the future there won’t be as single general category student going for higher education in India it looks like
the government wants to make it a reality too. It is alright as long as there is no limit on the number of general category students going abroad and banks keep providing huge loans, but there are many who cannot afford to take these loans at high interest rates. The solution to the overall problem cannot be obtained in a short period of time. Firstly, the government should have the latest statistics of different categories of people within the society at the present time since India has a large population, more institution which can impart high quality education to the students should be opened in various parts of India and the institutions that we have at present should be upgraded to meet the rising demands the government should also do something for economically backward people of the higher castes who have been left to strive for themselves. Let’s be positive and hope the government will consider all these factors and find a solution that is fair and just for all and not to impose its will on the people. Reservation is a means to increase representation of hitherto under-represented caste groups and thereby improve diversity on campus.

Seats in educational institutions and jobs are reserved based on a variety of criteria. The quota system sets aside a proportion of all possible positions for members of a specific group. Those not belonging to the designated community can compete only for the remaining positions, while members of the designated communities can compete for all positions (reserved and open) for example, when 2 out of 10 clerical positions in railways are reserved for ex-servicemen, those who have served in the army can complete both in the general category as well as in the specific quota.
Constitutional provision:

The basic approach was specified in articles 14, 15(1) 16(1) and 16(2)

**Article 14** guaranteed equality to all. “The state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.” That was the fundamental guarantee.

**Article 15(1)** made that guarantee specific in one particular. “The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, and place of birth or any of them”

**Article 15(2)** guaranteed equal access for everyone to public facilities like wells, restaurants etc.

**Article 15(3)** contained a provided. “Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any special provision for women and children. “Notice again: the only categories for which special provisions were envisaged on the basis of castes.

**Article 16(1)** made the fundamental guarantee of equality. “There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state.”

**Article 16(2)** did for governmental employment what article 15(1) did for a citizen’s living in general. “No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or officer under the state.”
Article 16(4) contained a provision nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward 5 class of citizen which, in the opinion of the state, not adequately represented in the services under the state”

Therefore to sum up what the constitutional framers provided we may say:

a) The fundamental guarantee in every provision was of equality, of non-discrimination.

b) caste was most consciously eschewed: the provision to article 15(1)spoke only of women and children; article 16(4)spoke only of ”any backward class of citizens”

c) (c)Where castes were mentioned, it was only to prohibit discrimination on grounds of caste.

d) where ’equality’ was made specific in article 16(1) in regard to employment under the state, for instance the expression that was used was ’equality of opportunity’, an expression that, has been buried deep under the rhetorical flourishes of progressives.

Reservations and judiciary

Lot of judgments regarding reservations have been modified subsequently by Indian parliament through constitutional amendments some judgments of Indian judiciary has been flouted by state and central
governments. Given below are the major judgments given by Indian courts and its implementation status [1][2]:

    In M Balaji v Mysore [3](1963) court has put 50% cap on reservations in almost all states except TamilNadu (69%. Under 9th schedule) and Rajasthan (68% quota including 14% for forward castes, post Gujarat violence 2008) has not exceeded 50% limit Tamil Nadu exceeded limit in 1980. Andhra Pradesh tried to exceed limit in 2005 which was again stalled by high court.

    In 1992, Supreme Court in Indiraswanky& ors v. Union of India [4] upheld implementation of separate reservation for other backward classes in central government job and this was judgment implemented. Its landmark case regarding Indian reservation policy, in this case SC held following decision:-

    Implementation of separate reservation for other backward classes in central government job; ordered to exclude creamy layer of backward classes from enjoying reservation facilities. All states except Tamil Nadu implemented. Recent reservation bill for providing reservation to other backward classes in educational institutions also has not excluded creamy layer in some states. (Still under the consideration of standing committee); ordered to restrict reservation within 50% limit. All states except Tamil Nadu followed; declared separate reservations for economically poor among forward castes as invalid. Judgment implemented. In Krishnan, J.P. & Ors. v/s State of Andhra Pradesh& Ors.[5], was it was held that right to establish educational institutions can neither be a trade or business nor can it be a profession within the meaning

**Positive aspect of reservation**

1. Reservations are a political necessity in India because vast influential section of voting population sees reservation as beneficial to themselves. All governments have supported maintaining and /or increasing reservation are legal and binding. As shown by Gujarat agitations (Rajasthan, 2007-2008), increasing reservation is also essential for peacekeeping in India.

2. Although reservation schemes do undermine the quality of education but still affirmative action schemes are in place in many countries including USA, south Africa, Malaysia, brazil etc, it was researched in Harvard university that affirmative action programmes are beneficial to the under–privileged. The studies said that blacks who enter elite institution with lower test scores and grades than those of whites achieve notable success after graduation they earn than their white classmates in civic and community activities.

3. Although reservation schemes do undermine the quality of education but still they are needed to provide social justice to the most marginalized and underprivileged is our duty and their human right. Reservation will really help these marginalized people to lead successful lives, thus
eliminating caste-based discrimination which is still widely prevalent in India especially in the rural areas. (About 60% of Indian population stays villages)

**Negative aspect of reservation**

1. Caste based reservation only perpetuates the notion of caste in society, rather than weakening it as a factor of social consideration as envisaged by the constitution. Reservation is tool to meet narrow political ends.

2. Allocating quotas is a form of discrimination which is contrary to right to equality.

3. The policy of reservation has never been subject to a widespread social or political audit. Before examined, and its benefits over a span of nearly 60 years have to be gauged

**Beneficiary groups of the Reservation System**

Enrolment in educational institutions and job placements are reserved based on a variety of criteria. The quota system sets aside a proportion of all possible positions for members of a specific group. Those not belonging to the designated communities can compete only for the remaining position while members of the designated communities can compete for all positions (reserved and open). For example, when 1out of 10 clerical positions in railways are reserved for ex-servicemen, those who have severed in the army can compete both in the general category as well as in the specific quota. This is not an anomaly, but a proof the some individual members of community (a
community that has been collectively classified as underprivileged’) do voluntarily confidently and honestly demonstrate that he/ she has indeed reached a ‘level playing field’. Seats are reserved for people under the following criteria:-

**Cast:**

In central government funded higher education institutions, 225% of available seats are reserved for scheduled caste (SC) and scheduled tribe (ST) students (15% for SCs, 75% for STs) this reservation percentage is followed even in parliament and all elections where a few constituencies are earmarked for those from certain communities (which keeps rotating as per the delimitation commission).

The exact percentages differ from state to state:. in Tamil Nadu, the percentage of reservation is 18% for SCs and 1% for STs, being based on local demographics. In northeast India, especially in Arunchal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Mizoram, reservation for ST in state government job is 80% and only 20% unreserved in the central universities of NEHU and Rajiv Gandhi University, 60% seats reserved for Students.

In Andhra Pradesh, 25% of educational institutes and government jobs for OBCs, 15% for SCs, 6% for STs and 4% for Muslims.. in west Bengal, 35% of educational institutes and 45% of government jobs for SC, ST, and OBC 25% sc, 12% st, and 19% muslim).
Gender:

In 1993, a constitutional amendment in India called for a random one third of village council leader, or Pradhan position in gram Panchayat to be reserved for women. The village council is responsible for the provision of village infrastructure- such as public buildings, water and roads – and for identifying government program beneficiaries. Although all decision in the village council are made by majority, the Pradhan is the only full-time member and exercises significant control over the final council decisions. Recent research on the quota system has revealed that it has changed perceptions of women’s abilities, improved women’s electoral chances, and raised aspirations and educational attainment for adolescent girls. There is a long –term plan to extend this reservation to parliament and legislative assemblies. For instance some law schools in India have a 30% reservation for females. Progressive political opinion in India is strongly in favor of providing preferential treatment to women in order to create a level playing field for all of its citizens. The women’s reservation bill was passed by the Rajya Sabha on 9 marches 2010 by a majority vote of 186 members in favor and against it will now be forwarded to the Lok Sabha, and if passed there, would be implemented.

Religion:

The Tamil Nadu government has allotted 3.5% of seats each to Muslims and Christians, thereby altering the OBC reservation to 23% from 30%(since it excludes persons belonging to other backward castes who are either Muslims
or Christians) Andhra Pradesh’s administration has introduced a law enabling 4% reservation for Muslims. (Contested in court) Kerala public service commission has a quota of 12% for Muslims. Religious minority status educational institutes also have 50% reservation for their particular religions. The central government has listed a number of Muslim communities as backward Muslims, making them eligible for reservation.

**Controversy:**

The government of India on 22 December 2011 made an announcement of the establishment of a sub-quota of 4.5 % for minorities within the existing 27% reservation meant for the other backward classes. The reasoning give is that those Muslim community it was alleged that the decision was announced as the election commission announced assembly elections in five states on 24 December 2011. The government would not have been able announce it due to the model code of conduct. On 12\(^{th}\) January 2012, election commission stayed implementation of this decision for violation of model code of conduct later, justice Sachar who headed Sachar committee (which was commissioned to prepare a report on the latest social, economic and educational condition of the Muslim community of India.) criticized the government decision saying, “such promises will not help the backward section of minorities. It is like befooling them. These people are making tall claims just to win elections”. He suggested that instead of making promises to give reservation, the government should focus on basic issues of improving administration and governance.
On 28 May 2012, Andhra Pradesh High Court quashed the sub-quota the court said that the sob- quota has been carved out only on religious lines and not on any other intelligible basis. The court criticized the decision saying “in fact, we must express our anguish at the rather casual manner in which the entire issue has been taken up by the central government.”

**Status as a domicile:**

With few exceptions, all jobs under certain state government are reserves for those who are domiciled within the jurisdiction of that government. For example, in Punjab engineering college (Chandigarh) 85% of seats were earlier reserved for Chandigarh domiciles- now it is 50% there are also some seats reserved for the Jammu and Kashmir ’migrants’ in every government- aided educational institute.

**Other some reservation is also made for:**

- Terrorist victims from kashmir, eg. In punjab
- Single girl-child (in punjab)
- Sons/daughters/granddaughters of freedom fighters
- Physically handicapped
- Sports personalities
- Non- resident indians (NRIs) have a small percentage of reserved seats in educational institution (note: NRI reservation were removed from 2T in 2003)
- Candidates sponsored by various organizations
✓ Those who have served in the armed forces (ex-serviceman quota – because the age of superannuation in the military service is much shorter than that in the civil posts; moreso, certain intakes are tenure-based, e.g. the contract for short-servicecommission in merely 8 years)

✓ Dependent of armed forces personnel killed in action

✓ Repatriates

✓ Reservation in special school of government undertakings/PSUs, for the children of their own employees (eg. Army Schools, PSU Schools, etc )

✓ Paid pathway reservation in places of worship (Eg, Tirumala Venkateswara temple, tiruthani murugan (Balaji) Temple)

✓ Seat reservation for senior citizen and physically handicapped in public (Bus) transport

**Government Funding Allowing Reservations in Colleges/Universities**

✓ There is a university grants commission (UGC) set up that provides financial assistance to universities for the establishment of special cells for SC/STs. Their purpose is to help universities implement the reservation policy in the student admissions and staff recruitment processes at teaching and non teaching levels. They also help the SC/ST categories integrate with the university community and remove the difficulties which they may have experienced SC/ST cells like these have been set up in 109 universities the UGC provides financial assistance to universities and affiliated colleges for implementation of the special cells.
It provides the universities with assistance worth "Rs.1,00,000/-per
annum for:

✓ Travelling allowances & dearness allowances for field work
✓ Data collection
✓ Analysis and evaluation of statistical data
✓ New computer and printer (once in a plan period)"

The UGC provides financial assistance only up to the end of the 10th
plan period ending on 31 March 2007. Work undertaken by the SC/ST cells is
reviewed at the end of 10th plan. The 10th plan is proposed to ensure that there
is an effective implementation of the reservation policy in admissions,
recruitment allotment of staff quarters, hostels etc. essentially, its goal is to
ensure that the SC/ST cells are established in the universities.

Suggestions:

1. Reservation decisions has to be taken based on objective basis
2. The number of seats should be increased in the prestigious higher
   education institutes (such as 2Ts).
3. Government should announce long term plan to phase out reservations.
   for abolition of caste system as initiated by Tamil Nadu.
5. This is because the basic defining characteristic of the caste system is
   endogamy. It has been suggested that providing reservations to children
born of inter-caste marriages will be a surer way of wreaking the caste system in society.

6. Reservation should be based on economic status instead of caste-based reservations (but the middle class who get salaries will suffer and all the landlords and business tycoons can enjoy the benefit)

7. People who are tax payers or children of tax payers should not be eligible for reservation this is will ensure that benefits reach poorest of the poor and India will achieve social justice the people opposed to this idea say that this will encourage people not to pay taxes and will be an injustice to those who pay taxes honestly.

8. Reservation on the collective salary of family that is salary of husband and wife, and incomes derived from all other sources like gifts or income from family property.

9. Second is benefit of the reservation for only first 2 children.

10. Creation of online database so every Indian will know who is which family is enjoying the benefits of reservation in education or job or women reservation, or any type of reservation which our intelligent political business houses introduce in India.

**Reservation and quota systems:**

Though the article. 15(1) of the constitution says that the “state shall not discriminate any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them”, it also provides for compensatory or protective discrimination in favour of certain section of the disadvantaged people. Article
15(4) of the constitution stipulates that notwithstanding the provision stated above, the state can make “special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or the scheduled castes and the scheduled. Scheduled castes () and tribes (STREAM) constitute approximately 22.5% of the country’s population accordingly, a pro-rata reservation of 22.5 %( SC 15% and ST 7.5%) has been made for them in educational institutions which come under the administrative control of the ministry of human resource development and other central ministries. Similar reservation, directly proportional to their population, have SC and ST students are also entitled to relaxation in respect of the upper age limit (generally 5 years) as well as concession of lower cut-off qualifying marks (5-10%).

Beside reservation for SC and ST candidate’s seats are also reserved for other categories of the backward community (OBC) in 1978, the second backward classes’ commission under the chairmanship of B.P Mandal (more well-known as the Mandal commission) was set up. The commission, which submitted its report in 1980, recommended the reservations run by the central as well as state governments for other backward communities (OBCs). It further recommended that those states which have already reserved more than 27% seats for OBC students would remaining affected by this recommendation. The government of India implemented the recommendations in 1990 leading to violent protests. The Supreme Court had earlier ruled that the total percentage of reservation should not exceed 50% of the seats. While giving its assent to the government order for implementation of the recommendations of the
Mandal commission report, the supreme court not only limited overall reservation to 50% but also inserted an economic exclusion clause under the name of "creamy layer" it later reiterated its decision of fixing the upper limit disallowing the governments of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka from increasing the quota beyond 50% however, reservation continues to be a controversial social and political issue and has resulted in many court ruled that foe admissions at the super –specialty level in medicine and engineering faculties, no special provisions like reservations for SCs, STs and BCs were permissible. Even among the quota for reservations, there are also sub-quotas for example in Andhra Pradesh, 15% of the seats in each course of study reserved for scheduled castes are in turn allotted, in proportion to their population, to four categories of SCs classified as A,B,,C and D. Similarly, 25% of the seats reserved for backward classes are allocated to four categories of BCs---labeled as A, b, c and d

The following table reflects the typical caste-based reservation profile:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SC and SC converts to Buddhism</th>
<th>15.0%</th>
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<tr>
<td>STs</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vimukta Jati</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nomadic tribes(NT1)</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nomadic tribes(NT2)</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nomadic tribes (NT3)</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBC</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50.0%</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Besides caste based reservations, there are also varieties of reservation and quota system, for example non-resident Indians (5%) women (30%), physically handicapped, migrants from J&k, NCC quota, sports, Anglo-Indian community, children of political sufferers, children of defense personnel, children of ex-servicemen of India nominees article 30(1) of the Indian constitution provides that "all minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to established by minority communities in a number of seats. According to a supreme court ruling in the case St. Stephen’s college v/s university of Delhi (AIR 1992 SC 1630) there have to be two categories for admissions in minority educational institutions viz., category 1-50% of the seats for candidates belonging to the minority community which has established the institution and category 2-50% of the seats for candidates for "communities other than the minority community” which owns the institution. In all states admissions are regulated through the state – level common entrance tests.

**Socio-economic and educational status of scheduled caste in Karnataka**

The history of categorizing some castes as Scheduled Castes commenced with the Government of India Act, 1935. This step, on the part of the then British Government, was meant to treat the most oppressed and exploited castes with a degree of special political dispensation. Most of these castes were known as ‘untouchable’ in the context of the Hindu social structure. Thus, the ‘Scheduled Caste’ category initially comprised castes that were isolated and disadvantaged by their ‘untouchability’, i.e. their low status
in the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy, which exposed them to an oppressive life, characterized by a blatant deprivation of opportunities. In Karnataka the Scheduled Castes (SCs) form a sizeable part of the state’s population. Not all SCs are former untouchables. Some of the castes and sub-castes, classified as ‘Scheduled Castes’ during the 1970s and 1980s, were non-untouchables who did, however, have a history of deprivation. Scheduled Castes are known by different names in different parts of the state and comprise many sub-castes and communities. At present, there are about 101 sub-castes that have been recognized as Scheduled Castes in Karnataka. The majority of these castes are small in number. While the Scheduled Castes are the largest single group in Karnataka, they are also the weakest in terms of political, economic, social and cultural resources. Human development, as a concept, will have little value or significance until the human development levels of disadvantaged people, particularly of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are raised to the levels of those of the dominant classes. Both the Central and the state government shave implemented policies directed at the socio-economic empowerment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Here in the status of the Scheduled Castes in Karnataka with a special focus on livelihoods, education and health; examine whether government policies have been effective in improving the human development indicators of the Scheduled Castes; and suggest future interventions to ensure that they enjoy equal rights and equal access to goods and services in society.
Overview:

The population of SCs in Karnataka has increased from 3.12 million in 1961 to 8.56 million in 2001, registering an increase of 174.3 per cent as compared to an increase of 158.5 per cent in the SC population at the national level. The share of the SC population in the total population, which was 13.22 per cent in 1961, declined to 13.14 in 1971, then increased to 15.07 per cent in 1981 and to 16.38 per cent in 1991, and thereafter, fell to 16.21 per cent in 2001. The share of the SC population to the total population of India in 2001 is about 16.26 per cent, which is almost equal to that of Karnataka. In terms of decadal growth, there was a quantum jump (45.33 per cent) in the SC population during 1971–81, followed by a 31.70 per cent increase in the next decade (1981–91). It fell to 16.21 per cent in the following decade, 1991–2001. The high growth recorded during 1971–81 and 1981–91 was not only due to increased fertility rates, but also because of the addition of new castes to the SC category.

District-wise distribution:

According to the 2001 Census, Bangalore Urban district has the highest SC population in the state (8, 51,047) followed by Gulbarga (7, 17,595) and Kolar (6, 71,692). Districts with the lowest SC population are Kodagu (67,422), Udupi (67,689) and Uttara Kannada (1, 01,896). In terms of the percentage of the SC population to the total population of a district however, Kolar (26.6 per cent) takes first place, followed by Chamarajnagar (24.6 per
cent) and Gulbarga (23.01 per cent). The lowest percentage is in Udupi, (6.1), followed by Dakshina Kannada (6.9) and Uttara Kannada (7.5)

**Rural and urban distribution**

The majority of the SC population resides in rural areas, but its share of the rural population has been declining from census to census. Out of an 8.56 million SC population (in 2001), about 75 per cent live in rural areas. The proportion of the rural SC population is lower than that of STs, but it is higher than the total population. The trends in rural and urban population for SCs from 1991 to 2001.

**Population by castes and sub-castes:**

The Scheduled Castes comprise 101 castes and sub-castes, the majority of whom were formerly classified as ‘untouchables’ and generally lived in a segregated area or separate colony on the outskirts of villages, a practice that is outlawed in the present day. The predominant castes among the SCs are Adi Karnataka, Holeyada, Chalavadi, Mahar, Mala, Madiga, Mang, Mochi, Adi Dravida, Samagara, Dhor, Banjara and Bhovi. The Adi Karnataka form the largest segment, (34.13 per cent) followed by Banjara (11.85 per cent), Bhovis (10.04 per cent) and Adi Dravidas (6.98 per cent). The spread of the SC population by caste/sub-caste is not uniform throughout the state. Some castes are clustered only in a few districts and are sparse in other districts. The Adi Dravidas are clustered in only three districts, namely, Bangalore Urban (37 per cent), Kolar (20 per cent) and Tumkur (10 per cent), accounting for two-thirds of the Adi Dravida population in the state. Again, about 90 per cent of the
Holaya, Holer and Holeyac population in the state is concentrated in four
districts of north Karnataka, i.e. Gulbarga (37 per cent), Bijapur (20 per cent),
Belgaum (20 per cent) and Bidar (17 per cent). District-wise distribution of
population according to the major Scheduled Castes based on the 1991 Census
for 20 districts. Available at the time of writing this Report). The caste-wise
population distribution provides useful inputs for strategies aimed at reducing
intra-caste disparities.

**Sex ratio:**

The sex ratio of the SC population (973) is better than that of the STs
(972) and much better than that of the total population (965). It is also higher
than the sex ratio of SCs at the all-India level (936). In the last decade, the sex
ratio of the SCs in the state has shown a marked improvement, increasing from
962 in 1991 to 973 in 2001, as compared to a lower increase in the sex ratio of
the total population from 960 to 965 in the same period. This trend assumes
considerable significance, especially when it is juxtaposed with the fact that the
literacy level of SCs, particularly women, is much lower than the general
population. It suggests that son preference is less vigorously pursued as a
desirable objective among the SCs and that they are less constrained by
patriarchal impulses. An unfortunate trend is the low urban sex ratio (961)
while the rural sex ratio is a high 977. Across districts, Udupi, Bagalkot,
Kodagu and Hassan have high female sex ratios and as many as 14 districts,
Belgaum, Bellary, Chikmaglur, Dakshina Kannada, Kolar, Koppal, Mandya,
Raichur, Shimoga and Uttara Kannada, have female sex ratios that are higher
than the state average (973). In 2004, the Department of Economics and Statistics (DES), Karnataka conducted a sample survey of 5000 SC and ST households across 374 villages with a high population concentration of SCs and 127 villages with a high population concentration of STs. The objective of the survey was an assessment of the human development status of SCs and STs in the state. The Sample Survey (DES: 2004A) found that the birth rate and death rates of the SC population are marginally higher than those of the general population. The infant mortality rate (IMR) of SCs is almost equal to that of STs and higher than the general population. Life expectancy at birth for SCs is almost equal to that of the STs But lower than that of the general population.

**Land, employment and income:**

In most parts of India, there is a correlation between economic status and the structural position of castes. The reason is that, historically, higher castes had better access to occupations, income and assets than lower castes. In Hindu society, occupation was one of the defining features of the caste hierarchy, with socially valued occupations bestowing high socio-economic status on caste members. In the modern context, there has been a loosening of the caste – occupation linkage. A dynamic occupational shift has not occurred however and high-end jobs continue to be the preserve of the ‘upper’ castes and, now, increasingly, high-income classes. Government policies have ensured that there has been a significant degree of occupational diversity among the SCs but a large percentage of the SC population, especially the ex-
untouchable castes among the Scheduled Castes, still constitutes a sizable chunk of the low income population with poor human development indicators.

In Karnataka, as in other parts of the country, the Scheduled Castes are largely concentrated in the rural parts of the state. Almost 75 per cent live in villages and depend upon agricultural labour or agriculture related activities for subsistence. Those who have migrated to cities have taken up occupations such as construction work, street sweeping and other manual labour, which again are not very remunerative. Only a few are engaged in trade and commerce. The reservation policy has ensured that many SCs entered government service and reached the higher echelons of the power structure, but they comprise only a fraction of their population in the state. The majority languishes in low-end jobs, on the fringe of the poverty line.

**Land ownership patterns:**

Scheduled Caste ownership of agricultural land is minimal and the majority of landholders have small and unviable holdings. Progressive policies such as the Karnataka Land Reforms Act 1961 and various administrative measures of the government under this Act and Rules have made it possible for many SC tenant cultivators to become owners of land. Under the land distribution scheme, out of the surplus land identified by the government, only 18,361 SC agricultural labour and marginal landholders were allotted about 69,893 acres of agricultural land in the 1990s. The 2001 Census reveals that out of a total 70.79 lakh operational holdings, 8.23 lakh (11.65 per cent) are owned by SCs. The total area cultivated by SCs is 10.71 Lakh hectares out of a total
operated area of 123.07 lakh hectare, accounting for 8.7 per cent. Since SCs comprise 16.21 per cent of the total population of the state, it is clear that their ownership of agricultural land holdings is not commensurate with their share of the population. The 2001 Agricultural Census, reported that 52 per cent of marginal (less than one hectare) and 30 per cent of small (1–2 hectare) operational holdings were held by SCs while non-SCs held about 45 per cent and 26 per cent of marginal and small holdings respectively. It is evident that the share of operational holdings decreases as the size of holdings increases for SCs as well as for all groups. An important feature is that the marginal and small operational holdings of the SCs which form about 82 per cent of total SC holdings account for a little more than half (53 per cent) of the total operated area belonging to SCs. As against this, 72 per cent of the marginal and small holdings of non-SCs and non-STs, account for about 32.4 per cent of the total operated area. The majority of SC cultivators own marginal and small holdings, which are not viable and drive them towards indebtedness and poverty. It could be argued that, for a majority of SC cultivator sowing agricultural land has become a symbol of security rather than a major source of income.

**Employment:**

Since data on employment in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors for the 2001 census is not yet available, the following analysis is based on the 1991 Census data. Scheduled Caste workers are heavily concentrated in low paying agricultural activities and other occupational positions. They are yet to create space for themselves in high-end occupations. This situation is
applicable not only to the SCs in Karnataka but also to the SCs of other states with only a difference of degree. Among the three major sectors — primary, secondary and tertiary-representing agriculture, manufacturing and services, the distribution of SC main workers in Karnataka was 78.83 per cent, 10.43 per cent and 10.74 per cent for each sector respectively. The distribution of non-SC main workers in the state, in these respective sectors, during the same year, was 64.91 per cent, 13.77 per cent and 21.32 per cent. The SCs are underrepresented in

The manufacturing and service sectors. The sample survey (DES: 2004A) provides fresh insights. The proportion of cultivators and landless agricultural laborers among SCs was 23.48 per cent and 49.87 per cent, whereas among non-SCs it was 36.69 per cent and 24.43 per cent in 1991. In 2001 about 20.54 per cent and 43.41 per cent of Scheduled Caste workers are reported to be cultivators and agricultural labour respectively. Only 2.53 per cent are accounted as household workers while 33.12 per cent are ‘other workers’. It is evident that there has been a decline in the proportion of cultivators by about 3 per cent and a decline in agricultural labour by about 6.5 per cent over the decade 1991-2001.

**Source of income:**

Scheduled Caste households are only 15.4 per cent of the total number of households reporting income from cultivation in rural Karnataka (NSS 55th round, 1999-2000). This is less than the proportion of the other backward
classes or OBCs (40.6 per cent) and other households (36.3 per cent). Scheduled Caste households that earned their income from fishing and other agricultural enterprises in rural areas constituted 14 per cent, which is also less than half of OBCs (40 per cent) and other households (38.6 per cent). Among the households engaged in non-agricultural enterprises, SC households constituted a mere 10.9 per cent which is not a happy situation, compared to the proportion of OBCs (47.5 per cent) and other households (38.8 per cent) engaged in non-agricultural work. Good sources of income for rural SC households are wages and salaried employment (26.8 per cent) and pensions (27 per cent) with the latter comprising the single largest source of income for SCs who are also the single largest group of beneficiaries. The term ‘pension’ includes many social security measures such as old age pensions, widow’s pension, and pension for the disabled and so on. Disparities also exist in urban Karnataka between SC households and others. While SC households in urban areas constitute only 7.4 per cent of households earning income from cultivation, OBCs and other households constitute 31 and 55.5 per cent respectively. The general population has more diversified sources of income than SCs. Across other southern states, the income of SCs in Kerala has more diverse sources. In Tamil Nadu (38.2 per cent) and Andhra Pradesh (33.3 per cent) the dependence on agriculture is higher than in Karnataka (29.4 per cent). In both states, however, wages/salaried employment were bigger sources of income than in Karnataka. In Tamil Nadu it was a high 35.7 per cent compared with 26.8 per cent in Karnataka. The analysis makes it clear that the SCs in Karnataka do not have
equal access to sources that yield high income and are clustered in low-paying professions.

The NCAER Report (1999) notes that rural Scheduled Caste households get 53.6 per cent of their income from agriculture and allied activities, 24 per cent from agricultural wages and 8.5 per cent from non-agricultural wages. At the national level, the pattern is different: SC households derive 37.7 per cent of their income from agriculture and allied activities and 19.7 per cent (13.1 per cent) from agricultural wages (non-agricultural wages). Hindu and Muslim households derive more income from agriculture and allied activities and less from agricultural wages and non-agricultural wages. The percentage of income (8.10 per cent) that SCs derive from salaried income is more or less equal to that of Hindus (8.60 per cent) though slightly less than that of Muslims (13.30 per cent). At the all-India level, 15.20 per cent of income is derived by SCs from salaried employment, which is slightly less than Hindus (16.40 per cent) and more than Muslims (14.70 per cent). Income from professional occupations is non-existent for SCs in Karnataka but the income of SC households (0.50 per cent) at the national level from this source is equal to that of Hindus (0.50 per cent) and Muslims (0.50 per cent). At the national level SC households derive 15.70 per cent of their income from the category ‘artisan and industrial work’ but the corresponding figure for Karnataka is a low 3.10 per cent. A comparison with other southern states shows that the percentage of households dependent on salaried employment is a high 20.30 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 10.70 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, as compared to 8.10 per cent in Karnataka.
However, a higher percentage of households in the other southern states depends on agricultural (and non-agricultural) wage for income: Tamil Nadu 39.70 (16.30) per cent, Andhra Pradesh: 39.70 (10.70) per cent, Kerala: 37.30 (32.90) per cent. From the perspective of income from all wages, the SCs in Karnataka derive less income than the SCs in other southern states: Karnataka SCs derive 29.6 per cent of their income from all wages compared with 45.8 per cent in Andhra Pradesh, 34.9 per cent in Tamil Nadu and 63.8 per cent in Kerala. Overall, SCs depend on the primary sector for their livelihood, whereas non-SCs derive their income from more diverse sources. If we look at the distribution pattern of SC households across different income groups and compare it with the pattern of other households, the inequities become very visible. At the all-India level, about 72 per cent of SC households and 70.50 per cent of ST households have an annual income of less than Rs.20,000. In Karnataka SC and ST households, which fall into the income group of Rs.20,000 to Rs.40,000 per annum, constitute 21.30 per cent and 19.50 per cent of all households respectively. Only 0.70 per cent of the SC households and 1.10 per cent of ST households have an income that is above Rs.86,000 per annum. Among Muslims, Christians and other minorities, this class of households constitutes two per cent, 4.60 per cent and 5.60 per cent respectively.

According to the NSS 55th round in 1999-2000, the monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) among SCs in rural Karnataka was Rs.419, which was much lower than the OBCs (Rs.507), others (Rs.560) and a little higher than STs (Rs.404). The average MPCE was Rs.500 for all rural groups in Karnataka.
The average MPCE of SCs at all-India (rural) was also Rs.419. In urban Karnataka the average MPCE of SCs was Rs.593 and for STs. It was Rs.634. The average MPCE of OBCs in urban Karnataka was Rs.829 and for others Rs.1, 044. For all groups in urban Karnataka the average MPCE was Rs.911. At all-India (urban) level the average MPCE among SCs was Rs.609 and for all groups it was Rs.855. This means that among all social groups, the MPCE of the SCs was the lowest in urban areas and the second lowest in the rural parts of the state.

**Literacy and education**

**Literacy:**

Education plays a crucial role in empowering the poor and the marginalized everywhere. Literacy and higher levels of educational attainment are associated with an improvement in demographic and health indicators. Access to education enables people to exercise their constitutional and legal rights in a judicious manner. Gender inequality has been known to decline as women’s access to education is enhanced. The liberating dimensions of education assume special significance in the context of people who have been denied access to learning and, through learning, economic mobility by oppressive socio-cultural ideologies. The Scheduled Castes in Karnataka have a long history of receiving strong support from the state, commencing with the benevolent policies of the princely state of Mysore where, in 1919 the Scheduled Castes (known as ‘Punchamas’) got admission in all schools despite
protests from the upper castes. By the 1920s a small but significant number of SCs had entered government service and statistics showed that there were 165 Dalits among a total of 4,234 employees in 1918 (about 3.8 per cent). After Independence and since its formation in 1956, Karnataka has pursued policies that have encouraged SCs to enter the education mainstream. Despite these proactive interventions, the performance of SCs is nowhere on par with the general population. The literacy rate of SCs has been consistently lower than that of the general population. The literacy rate among the Scheduled Castes was 27.62 per cent in 1981; it increased to 38.10 per cent in 1991 and further increased to 52.87 per cent in 2001. The literacy rate for the total population was 46.21 per cent (1981), 56.04 per cent (1991) and 66.64 per cent (2001). The gap between the literacy rate of the general population and the SC literacy rate is being bridged but not as rapidly as envisaged. The gap in 1981 was 19.59 percentage points, which fell to 17.98 in 1991 and declined further to 13.83 in 2001. Scheduled Caste literacy rates have been increasing at a faster pace: between 1981 and 1991 the SC literacy rate increased by 10.48 percentage points and by 14.77 in 1991-2001. The increase in literacy for the rest of the population was 9.83 per cent in 1981-1991 and 10.6 per cent in 1991-2001. The literacy rate of urban SCs in 2001 is 69.27 per cent, which is above the state average.

The female literacy rate among SCs in 1981 was 15.48 per cent, which increased to 26 per cent in 1991 and 41.72 per cent in 2001. The female literacy rate for total population in 2001 was 56.87 per cent (Table 9.10). The gap between the SC male and female literacy rates have rated about 23
percentage points (1981 and 1991) before declining marginally to 22 percentage points in 2001. The gap between the male and female literacy rates in the general population declined slightly from 22.92 in 1991 to 19.23 percentage points in 2001. The gap between the SC female literacy rate and the female literacy rate for all hovered at 18 percentage points (1981 and 1991) and then fell to 15.15 percentage points in 2001. The literacy rate of SC women is abysmally low in rural areas. The literacy level of SCs in Karnataka was higher than the all-India SC literacy level with reference to both female and general literacy in 1991. In 2001, the SC literacy rate was found to be lower than the all-India literacy rates for SC male, female and ‘all’, which is a matter of great concern.

**Education**

**Access:**

The gross enrolment ratio (GER) of the state (classes I to VIII) has increased from 92 in 1996-97 (KHDR 1999) to 99 in 2000-01. The GER for SCs was a high 104.57 in the same year. In fact there has been a great improvement in the GER of the SCs, which has overtaken the GER of the general population. Among districts, Udupi led with a GER of 323.27, followed by Shimoga (154.65) and Bangalore Urban (137). Districts with a low GER were Raichur (78.97), Bellary(84.87) and Koppal (87.89) all in Hyderabad Karnataka where SC literacy levels are very low.
Higher education:

At the tertiary level, more SC students enroll in degree classes in government colleges than in aided colleges. In 2003-04, SC students constituted 15.7 per cent and 8.8 per cent of all students enrolled in government and aided colleges respectively. State-run colleges provide access to higher education to precisely those social groups who have been excluded from higher education by social and cultural biases. Aided colleges far outnumber government colleges but their performance in the enrolment of SC students’ needs to improve. Performance-wise, in 2003-04, out of 17,163 students who enrolled, only 5,475 (31 per cent) completed their courses of study and graduated, as against the 43,007 (49.44 per cent) who graduated out of 86,961 enrolled general students. The attrition rate is very high for all social groups, which is a commentary on the quality of instruction and lack of infrastructure in government colleges, which is further attenuated by the low-income status of the majority of its users. In technical education, SC enrolment in the year 2002-03 was 6.8 per cent in degree courses and a low 0.8 per cent in diploma courses. This is a matter of concern because high-end jobs in the state tend to cluster in technology-driven sectors, and SCs are, therefore, under-represented here. The Sample Survey (DES: 2004A) reveals that the dropout rate in the SC population increases with levels of education. In the 51 per cent surveyed who were literates, the highest proportion had literacy level below primary followed by primary and higher primary. Over 45 per cent did not reach high school, confirming the poor levels of education among the SCs. There were just 0.22 per cent SC female graduates in the sample as against 1.47 per cent SC male graduates. A meager 0.04 per cent of SC females were post-graduate.