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## **Genesis of Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan in Andhra Pradesh**

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#### **Abstract**

*The empowerment of Dalits has been top priority of the Indian State and it had initiated many policies from the time of independence. To bring in accelerated empowerment, it introduced Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCSP) and the States in India are directed to take necessary steps for its effective implementation. Consequently, the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh had passed the historic Andhra Pradesh SC/ST Sub-Plan (Planning allocation and utilization of financial resources) Act, 2013 on 02nd December 2012<sup>1</sup>. With the passage of this Bill, Andhra Pradesh became the first State to pass such legislation giving it statutory status paving the way for allocation of funds to these sections in proportion to their population. This law is to facilitate comprehensive development of Dalit's by ensuring social security, provide them protection, equality and also bridge the gap between Dalit and other sections of society.*

*The first part of this paper discuss about the scheduled castes and their status in India. And it also explains the role of Planning commission for the development of the SC's.*

*Second part of the paper discuss about the role of different organizations and political parties, how do they pressure the government to pass such historical legislation in Andhra Pradesh.*

- 1. Empowerment*
  - 2. Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan*
  - 3. Planning Commission*
  - 4. Prevention of Atrocities*
  - 5. Untouchability*
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**Introduction:** *The empowerment of Dalit's has been top priority of the Indian State and it had initiated many policies from the time of independence. To bring in accelerated empowerment, it introduced Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCSP) and the States in India are directed to take necessary steps for its effective implementation. Consequently, the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh had passed the historic Andhra Pradesh SC/ST Sub-Plan (Planning allocation and utilization of financial resources) Act, 2013 on 02nd*

December 2012<sup>1</sup>. With the passage of this Bill, Andhra Pradesh became the first State to pass such legislation giving it statutory status paving the way for allocation of funds to these sections in proportion to their population. This law is to facilitate comprehensive development of Dalit's by ensuring social security, provide them protection, equality and also bridge the gap between Dalit and other sections of society.

**Five Year Plans and Scheduled Castes:** Soon after Independence, Government of India initiated plans for the development of socially backward and economically poor of the nation. Towards this end, it initiated the First Five Year Plan.

During First Five Year Plan (1951-56) the strategy<sup>2</sup> followed was removal of untouchability and improving the living conditions of SCs by way of better health, education, and economic life for total integration of these groups with the rest of the country. However, as the Government had included the SCs and STs in overall development Plans meant for the entire nation including the Backward Classes, it was noticed that not significant progress was made among the SC and ST population.

In the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) development programmes for SCs have been formulated with the object of improving their social status and providing them full educational and economic opportunities. In 1955, untouchability was abolished and any practice of it had been made a cognizable offence.

During Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) development programmes for SCs were implemented to supplement benefits from programmes of agriculture, cooperation, irrigation, small industries, communications, education, health, housing, rural water supply and others.

In the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) programmes for the welfare of backward classes including SCs were proposed for full integration with the development plans of the district. State Governments were supported for providing house-sites to SCs and other weaker sections and conferring proprietary rights on homestead land occupied by them.

The Fifth five year Plan (1974-78) raised the outlays considerably for educational incentives, subsidized housing, and various agricultural programmes and to Finance and Development Corporations. The 20-Point Economic Programme was announced by the Prime Minister in 1975 and priority was accorded for the implementation of the various schemes under Programme for the development of SCs.

Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) was the first plan which gave due emphasis for the development of SCs in terms of Special Component Plan for providing comprehensive development with a due share of benefits in physical and financial terms from the various programmes of every sector. The other strategies adopted in this Plan were Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Special Component Plan (SCP), establishment of Scheduled Castes Development Corporations in the States (SCDC) through cluster and saturation approach in a Block, District and State.

During Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) the thrust was on (a) economic development of SCs for raising their income to cross the poverty-line; (b) Basti-oriented schemes for the improvement of the working and living conditions (c) liberation of scavenging and employment of the sanitation workers; (d) educational and skill development; (e) promotion of occupational mobility of the SCs and (e) special attention to SC women and children. National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) was to extend loans-cum-subsidies to various income-generation activities and the enactment of the Prevention of Atrocities (POA) Act, 1989 for the welfare of SCs and STs, were the other important strategies of this plan.

In the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) high priority was given to remove Untouchability, suppression of rights, put an end to usurious money lending, land alienation, nonpayment of minimum wages etc. Elimination of scavenging and rehabilitation of scavengers and provision of scholarships to children of parents engaged in unclean occupations were emphasized. National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) were set up for employment generation and financing Safai Karmacharies with a major thrust to benefit women folk. Voluntary Organizations were promoted and assisted to play a partnership role in the designing and implementation of programmes especially of training and mobilizing community resources.

The Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) emphasized 'SCs Participation' in the Panchayati Raj Institutions, in pursuance of the Constitutional 73rd and 74th Amendments. The strategies adopted was Social Empowerment, Economic Empowerment, Social Justice, and to accelerate the socio-economic status of the SCs.

The Tenth Plan (2002-07) continued the three strategies of Ninth Plan; Social Empowerment - through strengthening the existing educational development schemes and starting new higher education schemes, Economic Empowerment- through employment-cum-income generation activities and Social Justice- through elimination of all types of discrimination so as to improve the socio-economic conditions and bring SCs on par with the rest of the society. At present, 27 States/ U.Ts having sizeable SC population are implementing Special Component Plan (SCP). However, the implementation of SCP is not uniform in all States/UTs.

The socio-economic deprivation and disadvantages suffered by SCs and STs despite the implementation of these Plans led to the decision to adopt measures to close the enormous gap and reduce the development deficit between these two communities and the rest of the Indian population.

This need was explicitly recognized in the Constitution of India in 1949, which mandated special protection and provision for SC and ST development. Towards this end, the Government of India introduced the Policy of the Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP) in 1974-75 and later in 1979-80 in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period it introduced Special Component Plan (SCP), now called Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCSP). This umbrella strategy purports to direct Plan resources across Central Ministries of Government of India,(GOI) and

Departments in the States in proportion to the SC/ST population at the national level (16.2% and 8.2% respectively, as per 2001 Census ), and similarly at the State level. The SCSP/TSP, therefore, are considered to be key instruments to fulfill the objectives of inclusive growth in India and bridge the development gap between SCs, STs and others.

**Special Component Plan (SCP) for SCs and its failure:** The first five year plans hoped the financial rewards an outcome of investments in horticulture, watering system, training, wellbeing, industry and different divisions would in course of time stream down to the SCs. As it had limited impact, the 6th Five Year arrangement was proposed with a mix of (i) The Special Component Plan (SCP) (ii) The Special Central Assistance (SCA) to Special Component Plan (SCP) and (iii) The Scheduled Castes Development Corporations in the States (SCDCs). The Special Component Plan (now known as Scheduled Caste Sub Plan) was intended to channelise the stream of advantages for the advancement of SCs in physical and monetary terms.

These arrangements were conceived to help poor SC families through composite wage producing projects and include all the major related gatherings amongst SCs, for example, horticultural workers, little and peripheral agriculturists, tenant farmers, anglers, sweepers and scroungers, urban un-sorted out labourers. The crucial elements of SCP are the same as in the TSP aside from that its execution must be directed as SCs are spread everywhere throughout the nation and have no regional specificity. The technique of SCP since is gone for: (an) Economic improvement through recipient situated projects for raising their wage and making resources; (b) Basti arranged plans for foundation advancement through procurement of drinking water supply, house-locales, lodging and so forth (c) Educational and Social improvement exercises like foundation of grade schools, wellbeing focuses, professional focuses, group lobbies, ladies work place and so forth. At present, 27 States/U.Ts having sizeable SC populace are actualizing SCP.

Implementation of SCP has not been consistent in all States and Union Territories. Distinctive States have embraced diverse components. The State and Union Territories practice their alternatives as "Distinguishable" and 'Non-Divisible' parts from the programmes. Viable evaluation is made just from the "Distinguishable" part plots.

**Table No- 1**  
**Details of Budget allotted and spent under Special Component Plan**

Financial Year	Total plan Budget	Due as per SCSP	SCSP Allocation % in the total Plan	Amount due to SCSP
2007-08	1,58,491	25,675.5	12,637.7 (7.8%)	13,307.8 (8.4%)
2008-09	1,83,528	29,731.5	14,727 (8%)	15,004.5 (8.2%)
2009-10	2,33,386	37,808.5	15,905.7 (6.8%)	21,902.9 (9.4%)
2010-11	2,84,284	46,054.0	23,153.2 (8.1%)	22,900.8 (8.1%)
2011-12	3,27,396	53,038.2	29,917.5 (9.1%)	23,120.7 (7.1%)
Total	11,87,085	1,92,307.7	96,071.1 (8.1%)	96,236.7 (8.1%)

Source: Union Budget 2007-08, 2013-14<sup>3</sup>

Analysis of the 11<sup>th</sup> five year plan shows that out of the total plan budget of Rs.11, 87,085 Crores for the plan period, only an average of 96,071.1(8.1%) was disbursed for programmes under the SCSP. The above table reveals Rs. 96,236 (8.1per cent) granted to SCP was grossly misused.

The Planning Commission, in its 10th five year plan (2002-07) Midterm review report observes that only about 50% of the allocated funds were being utilized. Ministries/Departments and State Governments do not come up with relevant and innovative schemes, and they are reluctant to use funds for SC/ST development. These funds, on the contrary, are used for other purposes, resulting in funds not reaching SC/ST for their direct development. It is also seen that SCSP/TSP funds get used for various miscellaneous expenses like distributing Diwali sweets, Goshala maintenance, jail improvements etc. This is clear evidence that Central Government has diverted or misused the funds which have been allotted for the development of Scheduled Caste people.

**Table No- 2**  
**Funds allotted for SCs but diverted to various Schemes in Andhra Pradesh**

Sl. No.	Different schemes	Rupees in Crores
1	Jalayagnam{ Irrigation }	2,430.00
2	Outer Ring Road	107.00
3	Cleaning of Hussain Sagar Lake	91.00
4	Metro Rail Project	81.00
5	Beautification of Towns	397.00
6	District Roads	396.00
7	Village Roads	67.00
8	Arogyasree Scheme	225.00
9	Public Health	20.00
10	Yuva Kiranalu	25.00
	Total	3,839.00

*Andhra Pradesh Cabinet Sub-Committee Report on Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan<sup>4</sup>*

The above table shows the diversion of funds allotted under SCSP are diverted to other government organized programmes like cleaning Hussain Sagar, Metro Rail Project, outer ring road and Arogyasri scheme etc. The diverted amount is as much as Rs3, 839.00 crores! This, despite the fact, that Government has always allotted funds to these programmes separately in the budget. The diversion of funds by State Government undoubtedly deprives the Dalits of education, health and basic facilities in their colonies and finally keeping them impoverished.

**Kvps Struggle on Sub Plans:** KVPS began a movement for proper implementation of Sub Plan in 2003. Its campaign of dharnas, memorandums to floor leaders of various political

parties etc., forced the then TDP government headed by Chandra Babu Naidu to agree for a discussion in the state assembly. But there was no action from the government.

Just before the state assembly elections in 2004, KVPS<sup>5</sup> invited all political parties to a state level convention held in Hyderabad on February 2, 2004. The then leader of opposition, Congress leader Y S Rajashekar Reddy participated and assured to implement the provisions of the Sub-Plan if his party came to power. Similar conventions were held in all districts, up to constituency level. But after coming to power in elections, Y S Rajashekar Reddy did not deliver on his promise. After petitioning the CM, Ministers and every MLA in the assembly about the need for proper implementation of Sub Plan, the KVPS undertook a major agitation in 2007.

**Indefinite Hunger Strike by KVPS:** On the eve of budget session of State Assembly, 25 leaders of KVPS, one from each district, along with KVPS Vice -President and CPI (M) State Secretary B V Raghavulu, sat on an indefinite hunger strike from February 23-27, 2007. The main demands included allotment of funds for SC, ST Sub Plans in proportion to their population and creation of a Nodal Agency to oversee proper implementation. The agitation received tremendous solidarity from various SC, ST organizations, mass organizations, intellectuals, NGOs, Women Organizations etc. In all 380 organizations supported the agitation.

Relay hunger strikes were held in all districts in solidarity with this agitation. Top leaders of all political parties and their floor leaders in assembly visited the hunger strike camps and expressed solidarity. KVPS submitted memorandums to Speaker of Assembly, Chief Minister, Ministers and all MLAs urging them to discuss the issue in the Assembly and concede the demands of the agitation.

As the government did not respond to the agitation, a call of Chalo Assembly was given on February 27, 2007. Thousands of Dalits, tribals and other sections of people from across the state participated in the march.

**Formation of Nodal Agency:** At the same time MLAs of all political parties, including some from the ruling Congress, stalled the proceedings of the Assembly on this issue. The government finally announced in the Assembly of its decision to allot funds to Sub Plans in proportion to the population and also announced the formation of Nodal Agencies and an Apex Committee headed by Chief Minister to oversee the implementation of the Sub Plans. It also formed a Committee of MLAs and IAS officers to visit and study implementation of Sub-Plans in Maharashtra and Kerala.

**Demand for Special Legislation:** A struggle was launched demanding enactment of special legislation for implementation of Sub Plans, a special package for development of living places of dalits and tribals etc. This time it was a united struggle with KVPS, AP Girijana Sangham and AP Agricultural Workers Union spearheading it. The struggle comprised of intensive month long surveys on conditions of Dalits and tribals in their living places; formulating development plans for these places; round table conferences with Dalit,

tribal and other mass organizations; organizing dharnas at Mandal and district levels etc. A Chalo Assembly was held on March 19, 2011 during the budget session of the assembly.

**Cycle Yatras:** Cycle Yatras were organized in 407 mandals in 14 districts. In the district of Khammam, Cycle Yatras were organized for 75 days and the district stood first in the state. In the districts of East and West Godavari Cycle Yatras were carried on for 15 days and the Yatras covered the important parts of the districts. In Nalgonda district 4 yatras were held for 8 days. Mahaboobnagar yatras, in Guntur, yatras, and Adilabad districts Yatras were organized, while 3 in Krishna. In some districts division and constituency wise yatras were organized. All these yatras mostly covered the Dalit and ST colonies. In the agency areas the Girijana Sangh organized Yatras separately. In Bhadrachalam Division former MLA Rajayya led the cycle yatra for 14 days.

Surveys, seminars, and Cycle Yatras were helped to create an atmosphere, to discuss the SC, ST issues among the political parties, people's organization and institutions.

**Role of political parties on SCSP:** The role of Political Parties in democracy is of paramount importance. They not only try to capture political power by contesting elections but are also supposed to articulate the interests of the masses. Political Parties support or oppose an issue based on their ideological leanings. However, all Political Parties are engaged and committed to eradication of social evils and poverty. The last part of this paper tries to through light on the role played by both ruling party and other opposition political parties in demanding enactment of special legislation for the implementation of Sub Plans.

**Congress Party:** Seven political parties participated in protest programmes comprising Dharnas and seventy two hour hunger strike organized by United Action Committee on Scheduled Castes Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan. The protest is against the diversion of funds meant for the welfare of SC's and ST's. The following is an account of the participation of political parties.

The Congress Party which came to power by now, showed very little interest in the Sub-Plan. It never participated in the movement for the demand for special legislation for SCSP. The ruling Congress Dalit MLA's never uttered a word within the party or in the State Legislature.

During the second phase of struggle (2011) the movement was intensified, where all the civil society organizations had come together in the name of Joint Action Committee (JAC). The Government took every possible measure at its disposal to disturb the hunger strike taken up by the JAC. Finally the Congress bowing to the demands of JAC sent its Dalit MLAs to express their solidarity and shared the dais with JAC.

**CPI (M):** The left party took up the cause of the implementation of SCSP seriously and towards this end the CPI (M) State Secretary B V Raghavulu along with CPI (M) State Secretariat members Veeraiah, Nagaiah and Dr M Babu Rao undertook an indefinite hunger strike<sup>6</sup> to highlight the issue. The hunger strike continued for six days and it evoked similar outpouring of solidarity from SC, ST and other mass organizations, various other political

parties, floor leaders, intellectuals etc. The government tried to disrupt the hunger strike through midnight arrests but failed as the leaders continued the hunger strike in hospital.

The Assembly was rocked for two days on this issue. With 35,000 people marching to the Assembly at the call of mass organizations, the Chief Minister was forced to send a team of SC, ST Welfare Minister to the hospital to hold talks with the CPI (M) leaders. At the same time the Chief Minister announced in the Assembly the formation of a Committee of Intellectuals to come out with a blue print for Sub Plan implementation. He also announced a package of Rs 700 Crores for the development of roads and drainage facilities in Dalit and tribal living places. He also assured to appoint Chairman for State SC/ST Commission. The CPI (M) leaders withdrew the hunger strike in a public meeting that was addressed by Polit Bureau member Brinda Karat. However, these promises were once again not implemented.

**Telugu Desam Party (TDP):** TDP became an active participant in receiving the representations by different civil society organizations who had been working for the cause of SCSP. When the movement reached its peak, TDP sent its Dalit MLAs to share the dais, started accusing the Congress Party for its negligence and accusing Congress that it has no political will and interest in the empowerment of Dalits.

TDP representatives assured that if TDP came to power necessary mechanisms would be put in place for the proper implementation of SCSP. It submitted series of representations to the Speaker and demanded a special session to discuss the issues related to SCSP. It was active participant during the discussion too. It also raised the issues of distribution of funds based on categorization within the SCs i.e., A B C D.

**Other Political Parties:** Other Parties like TRS, CPI, Lok Satta, YSR Congress, and BJP have expressed their solidarity with the agitation and also actively took a part in the movement. These parties had rightly stated that the Congress Party and TDP should be held responsible for the failure of lack of allocation of funds, improper implementation and diversion of funds while the Congress Party and TDP blamed each other. All the opposition political parties were of the opinion that the Congress Party and TDP had no political desire for the empowerment of Dalit's.

It is sad commentary on the part of the Indian State that more than six decades after Independence the Dalit's continue to live a life bordering on the margins of penury and misery.

**Conclusion:** Historical struggles carried out by the people and various Dalit organizations (Center for the Dalit studies and Kula Vivaksha Vyathireka Porata Sangam), various Political Parties on the diversion of funds meant for the upliftment of SCs and STs finally paved the way for the government to pass the now historical legislation in Andhra Pradesh and in the process become the first state in the country to do so.



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