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Stabbed in the back? Mandated political representation and murders.

Victoire Girard*

June 2020

Abstract

This paper provides the first country-wide evidence that an affirmative action policy may induce a backlash. I exploit the timing of the implementation of caste-based electoral quotas across and within the states of India. The results show that the implementation of the electoral quotas coincides with an increase in the number of murders targeting members of the lower castes. The analysis of these administrative crime data is backed up by the complementary analysis of a nationally representative household survey. Households' answers reveal an increase in inter-caste tensions and discrimination during the operation of caste quotas. The results are consistent with a backlash against electoral quotas (due to sabotage or retaliation), and inconsistent with other interpretations (such as empowerment).

Keywords: sabotage; backlash; affirmative action; electoral quota; crime; caste
JEL: D72; D74; J15; K42; O12

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1 Introduction

The terrible thing about fairness is that while (almost) all of us love the principle, it is difficult to agree on how to achieve it. Take the example of affirmative action. While motivated by the concern for fairness, affirmative action is also controversial, and people outside its target can feel treated unfairly by it (Fryer and Loury 2005). In fact, a nascent experimental literature shows that affirmative action may induce a backlash (see for example Gangadharan et al., 2016). Such reactions mechanically undermine the benefits of the affirmative action policy for its beneficiaries. Do these experimental results translate in real world actions?

India offers an ideal quasi-natural experiment to investigate whether affirmative action may be plagued by a backlash. A constitutional amendment enacted in 1993 reserves a quota of seats in local elections for members of the lower castes, while caste still is a source of taste-based discrimination in the country (Banerjee and Gupta, 2015). Transposing to castes the identity theory of Akerlof and Kranton (2010), if one's caste identity affects one's utility function, the empowerment of members of the lower castes may come at a cost. Such a cost may trigger a will to limit the empowerment, including through violence. Whether such violence follows electoral quotas is a crucial question, as more than 100 countries have electoral quotas for women or other minority groups (Krook, 2009; Reynolds, 2005), and the visibility intrinsic to electoral quotas may exacerbate the risk of a backlash.

My identification strategy relies on the implementation timing of the electoral quotas both across and within states. As outlined in Iyer et al. (2012), states implemented the quotas at different years and, once implemented, these quotas rotate across local constituencies. To assess whether a backlash is taking place country-wide, I first make use of unique crime records. These crime records are exhaustive administrative data, which disclose the number of crimes targeting members of the so-called Scheduled Castes (henceforth SCs), who have historically been discriminated against.[1] Crimes targeting members of the SCs are only registered as such if the victim is a member of a SCs and the perpetrator is a member of a higher

[1] Members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (SCs and STs) are the social groups who suffer the most from caste-based discrimination. This paper focuses on SCs only, leaving aside STs, for two main reasons. First, SCs represent a bigger minority, forming 16 per cent of the Indian population in the 2001 Census against 8 per cent for STs. Second, the SCs have more frequent interaction with the majority: historically STs live in isolated autonomous villages while SCs belong to multi-caste villages. Still today, SCs represent a significant minority in 80% of the rural Indian villages in the nationally representative IHDS 2011, while ST are a significant minority only in 30% of the villages (significant minority meaning that the group represents 1% to 50% of a village population). I designate by 'higher caste' all non-SCST castes.

caste. Once the share of SC households is controlled for, the crime records provide an original quantitative measure of violence specifically directed at members of the SCs.[2]

Results document an increase in the number of murders targeting members of the lower castes after the implementation of caste quotas in local elections. These murders increase immediately, the first year of the quota's implementation. Caste quotas increase targeted murders by 30%, which means an average effect of about 200 murders of SCs each year although, reassuringly, the size of the effect may slowly decrease with time. Caste-based offences – symbolically loaded crimes – also increase with the electoral quotas, but the relationship is non-robust. Other crimes targeting members of the SCs are unaffected.

These results are consistent with an increase in targeted violence against members of the SCs. Quotas may increase the number of administrative crime records through two fundamentally different channels: crime perpetuation (consistent with a backlash) or crime reporting (consistent with empowerment). In such a context, where a backlash may take the form of police officers not recording some crimes, the literature considers the evolution of murders as the most trustworthy statistics (because a body is hard to hide, Aneja and Ritadhi, 2020, Bros and Couttenier 2015, Iyer et al. 2012). The murder of a member of the SCs may however also be concealed. A murder may most easily be concealed by recording it either as a suicide, or as a general murder (since the caste-based record only records crimes with SC victims and non-SCs perpetrators). It is thus essential to note that the SC quotas have no connection with the recording of murders in general, or suicides. These results are consistent with quotas triggering a strategic sabotage, or spiteful retaliation.[3] Ultimately, both actions result in a reduction of the benefit of the affirmative action, through murdering its beneficiaries to prevent any future empowerment (sabotage), or murdering its already empowered beneficiaries (retaliation).

[2] These crimes may specifically target the members of the SCs who act in an empowered manner. For press reports on murders, the most extreme form of caste-based violence, in different aspects of life, see 'Caste hatred in India - what it looks like', available from: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-43972841#. See Mathew 2003, Narula 1999, Purohit et al. 2002, or Sumathi and Sudarsen 2005 on caste murders in the political sphere, to prevent low caste members from running for election on reserved seats, or, when elected, from taking an active part in politics. For example, for Mathew (2003, p.156), 'There has been a sharp increase in violent manifestations of casteism in local communities ever since the local government system got strengthened through the Constitution amendments. Once the panchayati raj institutions were perceived by the upper castes as the tool for the lower castes to assert their rights as individuals living in a democratic polity the latter have become targets of caste-based discrimination and violence'. Such reports contrast with the easy implementation of other forms of affirmative action for SCs, which have an older legacy and a still debated effect (Jaffrelot 2002, Deshpande 2019).

[3] Sabotage is distinct from retaliation in that sabotage is strategic (Brown and Chowdhury, 2017), while retaliation is spiteful (Fallucci Quercia, 2016).

To document more precisely what is happening, I complement the administrative police record with evidence from a new household survey on inter-caste conflicts and the practice of untouchability. Members of the higher castes appear to declare more conflict overall, and more inter-caste conflicts, when there is an electoral SC quota in their village. More importantly, higher caste members declare shifts in their attitude to SCs: the practice of untouchability increases during the SC quotas in local elections. Last, households' trust in institutions has no significant relation to the implementation of the quota in their village.[4] These results are again consistent with an increase in violence against members of the SCs following the implementation of quotas.

Finally, the results suggest that it is the existence of the quota policy in itself, rather than the particulars of the quotas implementation or the type of policies implemented by SC leaders, that appear to be related to murders. I investigate two variations in the way quotas are implemented. First, electoral years, which could lead to heightened tensions, do not appear to be particularly prone to an increase in crimes. Second, the relationship between quotas and crimes holds independently of the implementation of exclusive special courts (which aim at providing a better judicial system to members of the lower castes). I then examine whether murders really come from SC quotas, rather than specific policies implemented by the SC leaders. It is difficult to causally disentangle these two, given the non-experimental nature of the data. We can still note three main sets of results consistent with the quotas themselves causing the increase in murders. First, the fact that murders already increase during the very first electoral year of quotas implementation, which is too early for a significant political change to already have taken place. Second, changes in the size of the quotas once quotas are in place – that is, changes in the number of seats reserved for members of the SCs, and the ultimate number of SC leaders being elected – do not affect crimes. Third, all results in the household data are tied to the SC quotas alone, while the (endogenous) elections of SC leaders have no relation to inter-caste tensions.

The main contribution of the paper is thus to provide, to the best of my knowledge, the first country-wide evidence consistent with violence triggered by an affirmative action policy. A

[4] If the coefficient was precisely estimated, members of the SC would declare to trust the police less during SC quotas (p-value at 13%). If trust in police decreases, it means that it is harder to report crimes during the SC quotas, contradicting an empowerment interpretation. Yet, there is ample room for improvement in the relationship between the police and members of the lower castes: in 2001 lower castes members were forbidden to enter police stations in 28% of the villages (Shah et al. 2006).

backlash effect is a possible side effect of the effort of the legislator to level the playing field. In the lab, quotas may either increase the effort (Calsamiglia, et al. 2013; Dato and Nieken 2014), trigger backlash (by peers, Leibbrandt et al. 2017), or retaliation (by members of the dominant group, Fallucchi and Quercia 2018), while in horse races, handicapping increases sabotage (Brown and Chowdhury 2017). The only artefactual field experiment I know of documents a backlash from members of the dominant group after the implementation of gender quotas (Gangadharan et al. 2016). Banerjee et al. (2018) introduce an important nuance: in their lab experiment, backlash happens after affirmative action only if the unprotected players discover that they have lost during the game because of the affirmative action. Such a publicity of the loss echoes the case of a high caste member losing an election due to an electoral caste quota. However, while carefully designed, the set of existing experiments reach diverging conclusions as to whether and when members of the minority group face violence due to affirmative action. My contribution is to investigate the question based on measures of violence actually taking place, which cover a country of more than a billion inhabitants.

The second main contribution of the paper is to underscore that the effects of an affirmative action policy depend on the acceptability of the criteria that determine who is targeted by the policy (as shown in the lab, Balafoutas et al. 2016). The empirical results provide an alarming counterpoint to the seminal findings of Iyer et al. (2012) on gender quotas.[5] The increase in rapes after gender quotas in Iyer et al. (2012) is consistent with an increase in crimes record, and thus empowerment. The increase in caste murders after caste quotas in the present paper is consistent with an increase in crime perpetration, and thus a backlash effect. Moreover, rape declarations by SC women, the only record specific to SC women, do not react to either quotas, hence SC women do not seem to have been empowered by either the gender or the caste quotas. Such differences in answers to a similar policy highlights the danger of the 'one-size-fits-all' logic in any effort to empower marginalized groups.

[5] In Iyer et al. (2012), the increase in crimes against women in India after gender quotas is consistent with a better access of women to justice. Indeed, the number of crimes that are prone to reporting bias (such as rape and kidnapping) increase after gender quotas, but the murders of women do not. They also report that caste quotas do not affect rapes against members of the lower castes. The later results are puzzling since SC women are frequent victims of crime and are targeted by both gender-based and caste-based electoral quotas. If both gender and caste quotas had an empowerment effect, shouldn't SC women be the ones with the strongest response? Intrigued by this puzzle, I focus on crimes targeting members of the SCs and extend the study sample by six states to cover India's 17 major states, and by six years till 2013. Taking in account this complete state sample leaves the identification strategy unchanged, but the number of murders against members of the SCs then appears to increase after the SC quotas. This result is essential: a precise estimation of the relation between the caste quotas and the caste murders is consistent with the gender and the caste quotas having had fundamentally different effects on crimes.

Third, the paper contributes to the literature on the impact of affirmative action in India. Electoral quotas overall improved the situation for minority members, be it through better access to public goods for their peers (Besley et al. 2004, Iyer et al. 2012), higher agency and aspirations of minority members (Beaman et al. 2012, Ghani et al. 2014), or reduced daily discrimination as performed by majority members (Chauchard 2014, Girard 2018). The present paper sheds light on an aspect so far little explored of the consequences of quotas, that takes place simultaneously to their tangible benefits: the risk of backlash.[6]

Last, my results extend a nascent literature showing that crimes targeting members of the lower castes can be interpreted as tools to perpetuate caste hierarchies. Indian castes are socially segregated, and violence happens quickly: a relative change in the wealth of members of the high and lower castes is enough to spark violence (Sharma 2015). The segregation is not only economic: water is a symbolically loaded good and as a result the type of water source used can trigger caste-based murders (Bros and Couttenier 2015). Interestingly, these murders may decrease when the endogenous electoral process – fundamentally different from, if not at the opposite of, imposed quotas – leads to some seats being won by parties representing members of the lower castes (Aneja and Ritadhi, 2020). In all cases, the evolution of crimes against members of the lower castes discloses information on the nature of inter-castes interactions rather than mirroring the evolution of other crimes.

In the next section, I present the background of this study and its data sources regarding castes, crime trends, and the reservation system. I present the state level analysis in section 3, and the household level analysis in section 4. The discussion over variations in the quotas implementation and SC leader policies appear in section 5, before the concluding.

2 Contextual elements and administrative data on castes, crime, and political quotas

2.1 Castes

The caste system has shaped the Indian social setting for more than 3,000 years. Three key features of the caste system are worth keeping in mind. First, castes at the individual level are

[6] Focusing on SC quotas in the state assembly of Uttar Pradesh, Jensenius (2017) concludes "although SC politicians still experience micro-aggressions, they are spared overt discrimination" (p. 162). The present paper asks what happens for the whole population during quotas in Panchayats – the political institution closest to the population.

hereditary, exclusive and virtually unchangeable. Second, castes are ordered on a social status ladder. Third, and closely linked to the second aspect, caste groups are segregated. These theoretical aspects still affect everyday life through business networks (Munshi 2011), spouse selection (Banerjee et al. 2013), or politics (Jaffrelot 2005).

Indian administrations record castes as four broad groups: scheduled castes (SC), scheduled tribes (ST), other backward castes (OBC) and other castes (OC). SC households, encompassing the backward castes who were known as the 'untouchables', still suffer from caste-based discrimination such as exclusion from public goods (Shah et al. 2006), the labor or credit markets (Ito 2009 and Kumar 2013, respectively), and spatial segregation (Deliège 2004).

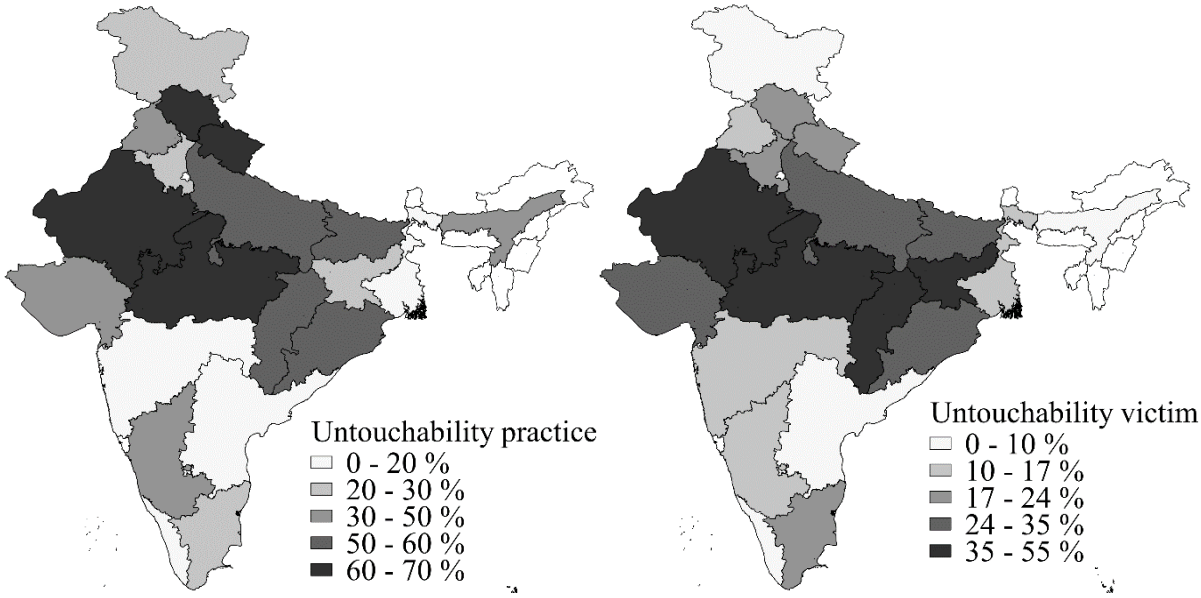
On average, SCs account for 16.6 per cent of the population. Among the 17 states in the sample, Gujarat has the smallest SCs representation (6.7 per cent of the state population in 2011, 7.4 in 1991) and Punjab the biggest (31.9 per cent of the state population in 2011, 28.3 per cent in 1991). Data on the share of SC households in each state come from three census waves (1991, 2001 and 2011), interpolated to yearly values.

Figure 1 shows how compelling castes are still nowadays, how victims are more reluctant than perpetrators when it comes to acknowledging discriminatory actions, and how these actions vary across states. Untouchability is a form of caste-based discrimination that specifically targets members of the SCs.[7] In 2011, 31% of the members of the higher castes surveyed in rural areas answered straightforwardly that they practice untouchability, and 25% members of the SCs acknowledged suffering some form of untouchability. The figures are high, all the more since untouchability has been constitutionally forbidden since 1949. Figures are significantly higher in states of the Hindi Belt.

The persistence of caste-based discrimination has motivated the Indian government to take many actions, including the specific recording of crimes and the affirmative action policy that I describe in the next two sub-sections.

[7] De facto, the IHDS asks only to the members of the SCs if they are victims of untouchability practices. The question of practicing untouchability is asked to members of all castes. The reported statistics correspond to responses from non-SCST members, to reflect the analysis of crime data.

Figure 1: Untouchability practice and victims



Source: author's calculation on IHDS 2011. Untouchability practice is the state average of the sum of answers to questions to TR4A and TR4B by members of the higher castes (the non SCST). Untouchability victim is the state average answer of SC households to question TR4C.

2.2 Crimes

The National Crime Records Bureau (henceforth NCRB) of the government of India maintains annual records of crimes under different headings. Of interest for this paper are the crimes against the SCs, which are further subdivided into special and local law crimes, murder, rape, physical assault or bodily harm, kidnapping, robbery, arson, dacoity and others. Like Sharma (2015), I separate special and local law crimes (henceforth special crimes) from other crimes, which are recorded under the standard headings as Indian penal code crimes (henceforth penal code crimes).

Special crimes represent offenses related to the persistence of caste-based practices that are outlawed today, and/or the intentional humiliation of lower castes. These crimes are subject to specific registration and procedure under the Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955, further reinforced by the Prevention of Atrocities Act, 1989. Both acts provide stronger punishment for some – symbolically sensitive – offenses than what would be the penal code ruling, for example, if a higher caste member denies access to a water source to a low caste member (the complete list from 1989 is in the Appendix). The list includes offences that may be recorded either under 'special crimes' or under different headings in the Indian penal code, such as hurt,

robbery or even rape. Murders, unlike these other offences, always belong to the Indian penal code.

The NCRB provides crime data in its publication 'Crime in India'. It records First Information Reports, which correspond to complaints filled with the police. Yearly information on crimes against the SCs is available at the state level for the period 1992-2013 (Mayer, 2017). Crimes are recorded as such only if (i) the victim is from a SC and (ii) the perpetrator is from a higher caste (hence neither SC nor ST, however the statistics merges together crimes perpetrated by members of the OCs and the OBCs). Otherwise, the crime is recorded in the general crime category. For example, if one SC member murders another SC member, it will be logged under the general heading of murders rather than murder specifically against an SC.

Thus, if SC-related crimes by higher castes are a mere random subset of other crimes, it should be possible to explain the dynamics of these crimes by accounting for the changing number of general crimes and the ratio of SCs in a state population. However, this is not the case. In 1992, the NCRB recorded two special crimes per 100,000 SC population. 21 years later, the last year of my sample, the NCRB recorded seven special crimes per 100,000 SC. The absolute increase observed in special crimes could be good news if it were due to an increase in reporting, thus signaling stronger self-confidence among the victims and better access to the police. However, this increase might also indicate a backlash effect.[8]

The different evolution pattern of the number of murders and rapes allows a first discussion of the likelihood of a backlash *versus* a reporting effect. Murder is considered the least likely crime to suffer from reporting reluctance, if only because hiding a body is difficult. Conversely, rape is very likely to be affected by disclosure reluctance because it is easy to hide, and it is often humiliating for the victim to admit. Murder reports among non-SCs have steadily decreased since 1992 but have slightly increased among the SCs (Appendix Figure 3). In the meantime, rape reports have increased precipitately among the non-SCs, with less of an increase among the SCs (Appendix Figure 4). Looking at Figure 4, we may reflect that either disclosure reluctance may have followed a different pattern among the SC and non-SC

[8] The discrepancy between the intensification of crimes against members of the lower castes and the population share of these castes is evidence that some crimes specifically target members of the lower castes, leading Sharma (2015) to refer to these crimes as 'hate crimes'.

populations or that rape reallocated to special crimes. Looking at Figure 3, one may however worry that there has been a relative increase in the incidence of crime against the SCs.

On top of the special treatment in police statistics, members of the SCs benefit from affirmative action under a variety of schemes. In the present paper, I am interested in one of the most recent and visible of these schemes: political quotas in local elections.

2.3 Electoral quotas policy

In 1993, the 73rd amendment to the Constitution of India instigated local political councils called *panchayats*, elected bodies that have decision-making power over the construction and maintenance of local public goods, such as roads or water works, or designation of the households that are entitled to social programs. *Panchayats* are composed of a council of representatives and a head, elected either directly by the constituents, or indirectly by members of the council. *Panchayats* form a three-tier system: the largest entity is the district *panchayat*, which is divided into block *panchayats*, and then *gram panchayats*.

Table 1: Dates of Panchayati Raj implementation across states of India

Year of first election with reservation for SC	Number of states
1962	1
1981	1
1991	1
1992	1
1993	1
1994	1
1995	6
1996	1
2001	2
2006	1
2007	1
Total	17

The 1993 reform is important for this study because it implemented quotas as a tool for affirmative action. Seats of the head and/or council members are to be reserved to low caste members (SCs, STs and sometimes OBCs) and/or women. Seats are reserved for one term at a time and are rotated among the *panchayats*. The proportion of caste quotas varies within each state and is proportional to the weight of the caste in the state population. Similar mandated political representation was imposed on urban local bodies.

Although mandated by the constitution, the year political representation for lower castes was implemented in local councils varies among the states (Table 1). The date of implementation varies first because of differences in election dates: some states already had local councils, which were allowed to complete their term. Second, some of these states had pre-existing reservation policies (Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh), or slightly anticipated the ratification of the constitution (Kerala, for example). Other states faced delays due to issues with the implementation of the law (in Bihar, for example, a lawsuit challenged the reservation of seats for the intermediary status OBC, which were not stipulated by the constitution) or for budgetary problems in organizing elections (Assam). State fixed effects allow me to account for all state invariant characteristics, such as the presence of local governments before the amendment of the constitution. The data on *panchayats* originate from Iyer et al. (2012) and are cross-checked online with the state's electoral commissions.

2.4. Descriptive statistics on crimes around the implementation of SC quotas

Mean comparison tests on the year just before and just after the implementation of SC quotas show that the reporting of some crimes increases the very first year of the implementation of the SC quotas (Table 2). Special crimes and murders significantly increase after quotas. Total crimes also increase but the estimate is imprecise.

The most worrying part of Table 2 is the increase in murders, since murders are the most reliable crime statistics, and its increase is thus the hardest to attribute to empowerment. Indeed, SC quotas may affect crime records in different ways. SC quotas may induce police officers to perform better in front of SC victims, SC victims to report crimes more easily, and non-SC perpetrators to either commit fewer crimes (if they adjust to the change in police and SC members' behaviors) or commit more crimes (if SC quotas trigger a backlash). An increase in

Table 2: Mean comparison tests on the crimes committed around the moment of quotas

	year before SC quotas	Difference	year of the first SC quotas	P>|z|
Total	16.0		16.43	
	(6.0)		(5.75)	
Special crime	6.45	<	7.15	*
	(2.89)		(2.87)	
Penal code crime	9.56		9.28	
	(3.30)		(2.98)	
Murder	0.21	<	0.28	*
	(0.06)		(0.08)	
Rape	0.76		0.76	
	(0.21)		(0.17)	

The table displays means and standard errors (in parentheses) for each crime, each year, over the maximum sample of 13 States. P>|z| tells the p-values of the non-parametric sign-rank paired test that the difference between the year just before or just after the implementation of the SC quotas is zero. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *p<0.1.

crimes which declaration entails stigma, such as the special crimes, can thus be consistent with both an empowerment of the victims, or a backlash. Conversely, a reduction in these crimes may be consistent with either less crimes taking place or a backlash, if the backlash takes the form of police officers refusing to register complaints by members of the SCs (an unfortunately existing and documented practice, Minj, 2018; Kumar,2015; Deswal, 2013; Shah et al. 2006).

3 Empirical analysis of SC electoral quotas and SC crime reporting with State data

3.1. Empirical model

My aim is to examine the relationship between caste quotas and crimes targeting SC households. The baseline specification is the following:

$$C_{st} = \alpha_1 \, post\_quotas\_SC_{st} + \alpha_2' X_{st} + \delta_s + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{iv} \quad (1)$$

where C_{st} is the log of the number of crimes of type C committed against members of the SCs in state s during year t, per 100,000 members of the SCs. C can stand for five different crime categories. C first corresponds to all crimes, divisible into two categories, Special and Local Laws crimes (aimed at enforcing caste hierarchies) and Indian penal code crimes. Moreover, penal code crimes include two categories of particular interest: murder and rape.

post_quotas_SC$_{st}$ is a dummy equal to one in the years including and following the first election with political representation for SCs in state *s* in the *panchayat* elections. The coefficient of interest, α_1, conveys the effect of the affirmative action policy of mandated political representation for the SCs on their crime reporting. δ_s stands for state fixed effects and δ_t for year fixed effects. X_{st} is a vector of state varying controls. The baseline set includes the SC to non-SC share of the population and its square, literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, urbanization. I later introduce the size of the state police force (per 100,000 inhabitants), which may deter crime but is also endogenous; and the share of seats reserved to SCs in the state legislative assembly; as well as the vote share received by the Bahujan Samaj Party which historically supports members of the lower castes, in an effort to disentangle local politics from higher level representatives.[9] I later account for other controls such as differential increase in incomes across caste groups, and the probability of encounter between members of different castes around water sources (respectively Sharma 2015, Bros and Couttenier 2015).[10] The standard errors ε_{st} are cluster-robust with clustering by states (Iyer et al. 2012). Because the sample consists of 17 states, I also check the robustness of my results when I compute standard errors using the cluster bootstrap-t of Cameron et al. (2008). Appendix Table 9 provides descriptive statistics for the sample of the study, namely the 17 major states of India over the period 1992-2013.[11]

3.2. Crimes and quotas: State-level results

[9] All data coming from the Censuses of India for 1991, 2001 and 2011 are interpolated to annual values. Exceptions are the crime and police data provided by the NCRB, the real per capita GDP provided by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation and the electoral data provided by States Election Commissions, Ministry of Panchayati Raj or Ministry of Rural Development. Urbanization is the share of the state population living in towns.

[10] All data coming from the HDPI 1993, the IHDS 2005 and the IHDS 2012 (NCAER 1994, Desai et al. 2005 and Desai et al. 2015), are interpolated to annual values. The probability of encounters between members of different castes around water source comes from Bros and Couttenier (2015) with a focus on members of the SCs. It is the product of 4 shares: SCs in a state, SC households which have no drinking water on their premises, non-SCST households and non-SCST households which have no drinking water on their premises. Tube wells and taps are excluded from the definition of shared water sources, since they limit the risk of ritual pollution.

[11] The states included are the large states of India, which account for more than 90% of the crimes committed in each of the crime categories. These states are: Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. Like Iyer et al. (2012), I use the 1992 definition of the frontiers of the states throughout the analysis of state data, to maintain comparable units over time. Hence, I attribute crimes committed within the three new states created in 2001 to the states that they initially belong to: I reunite the data of Chhattisgarh with the data of Madhya Pradesh, that of Jharkhand and Bihar, and that of Uttarakhand with Uttar Pradesh. In two of these three cases, the *panchayat* elections in the new states took place a few years after the *panchayat* election taking place in the mother state, introducing measurement error in my estimates. For a visual overview, the data in Figure 1 cover the exact area that makes the sample of my study (although the data in Figure 1 span over 20 states, because they appear with the post 2001 state frontiers since the IHDS took place in 2011).

Table 3: SC crime declaration after the implementation of SC quotas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dep. Variable:	Total	Special crime	Penal code	Murder	Rape
Panel 1: parsimonious specification.					
post_quotas_SC	-0.231	0.769	-1.216	0.221**	-0.0599
	(0.380)	(0.525)	(1.059)	(0.103)	(0.153)
Observations	357	334	354	305	337
R-squared	0.881	0.714	0.581	0.855	0.906
Panel 2: baseline specification.					
post_quotas_SC	0.000821	1.357**	-0.749	0.274**	0.0552
	(0.321)	(0.566)	(0.728)	(0.0967)	(0.0992)
Observations	357	334	354	305	337
R-squared	0.890	0.766	0.601	0.859	0.916
Panel 3: Add to specification 2 state-specific trends					
post_quotas_SC	-0.103	0.0707	-0.763	0.205	-0.0116
	(0.220)	(0.395)	(0.768)	(0.124)	(0.131)
Observations	357	334	354	305	337
R-squared	0.943	0.899	0.716	0.866	0.929

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects. The parcimonious specification only controls for the SC to non-SCST share of the population and its square. The baseline set of controls corresponds to the literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, SC to non-SCST share of the population and its square, urbanization. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 3 documents an increase in murders targeting members of the SCs after the SC mandated political representation was enforced. The coefficient on murders is stable across all specifications, the most parsimonious, the baseline, and the inclusion of state-specific trends. Murders increase by 23 to 32% (although the inclusion of all 17 state-specific time trends increases the p-value to 12%). Other crimes (total crimes, penal code crimes, and rapes) do not appear to be robustly affected by political representation, although in the baseline specification special crimes increase after SC quotas.[12]

[12] Any pure effect of SC quotas on reports of Special crimes is likely to be difficult to pick up in Table 3 because the law became more stringent on special crimes in 1989, right before the crime data sample starts. Thus, the SC quota may have magnified the impact of the law change in empowering the SCs but the pure quota effect is hard to disentangle from any other source of empowerment trend following the law change. Moreover, the change in the Special crime definition may also have led to a reallocation of crimes: offences that were initially recorded under different heading of the penal code became recorded under the heading of Special crimes, which may explain why the total number of penal code crimes barely changes with political quotas. In particular, some rapes may have been reallocated to items 11 and 12 of the special crimes (listed in Appendix 13). Murders are the only crimes with such a clear definition that their recording was not affected by the 1989 re-definition of special crimes.

The results are robust to several further changes. First, the results are virtually unchanged when I vary controls (Appendix Table 11A and 11B). The relationship between political quotas and murders is orthogonal to each state's police strength or the share of SC seats in the state assembly (columns 3 and 4 of Table 11A), the vote share for the BSP which is a traditional support of the lower castes, changes in relative wealth between SC and non SCST households, and the probability of encounter around a shared water source (columns 1 to 3 of Table 11B).[13] Second, results remain the same, even if slightly less precise, when I compute standard errors using the cluster bootstrap-t advocated by Cameron et al. (2008) when the number of clusters is small (Appendix Table 12).[14] Third, the results are robust to the exclusion of any specific state (Appendix Figure 5).

3.3. Dynamic analysis

This section focuses on the dynamic effect of quotas on crime, as a function of the age of the quotas. To do so, Figure 2 reports the coefficients α_k, estimated from a modified version of the baseline equation (1). To estimate the dynamic relation between the age of the quotas and crimes, equation (2) includes a set of dummies that take value one for each age k of the quotas:

$$C_{st} = \sum_k (\alpha_k \, . \, age\_quotas\_SC_k) + \alpha_2' X_{st} + \delta_s + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{iv} \qquad (2)$$

where k tells the age of the quotas, and α_k tells the relation between the crime C and quotas that are k years old. For each State, $k=0$ the year the quotas were implemented in that State, k takes negative values before quotas, and positive values after them. For example, for $k=-3$, the dummy $age\_quotas\_SC_k$ takes value one for the states and years that are three years away from the first implementation of the quotas, such that α_{-3} tells the relation between Crimes and quotas that will be implemented three years later. Except for the introduction of dummies for the age of quotas, all estimations behind Figure 2 are like the baseline estimations (in panel b of Table 2). X_{st} is the baseline vector of state varying controls (SC to non-SC share of the population and its square, literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, urbanization), δ_s stands for state

[13] These additional controls have the expected relationship to crimes. The share of votes for the BSP has a negative relationship, if any, with crimes. Interestingly, if I interact this vote share with the post-reservation dummy, the interaction term has a significantly negative relationship to murders, attenuating the negative main effect of the post reservation dummy. Consistent with Sharma's findings on district data from 2001 to 2010, an increase in non SCST households' income translates into a significant decrease in overall and penal code crimes (Sharma, 2015). Consistent with the findings of Bros and Couttenier (2015) on district data from 2001 to 2011, an increase in the probability of encounter has a positive although imprecisely estimated relationship with the number of murders (and with the number of rapes).

[14] Critical values are drawn from a t-distribution to account for the small number of clusters, where the degree of freedom is equal to the number of clusters minus the number of regressors that do not vary within the clusters. I use 1000 replications.

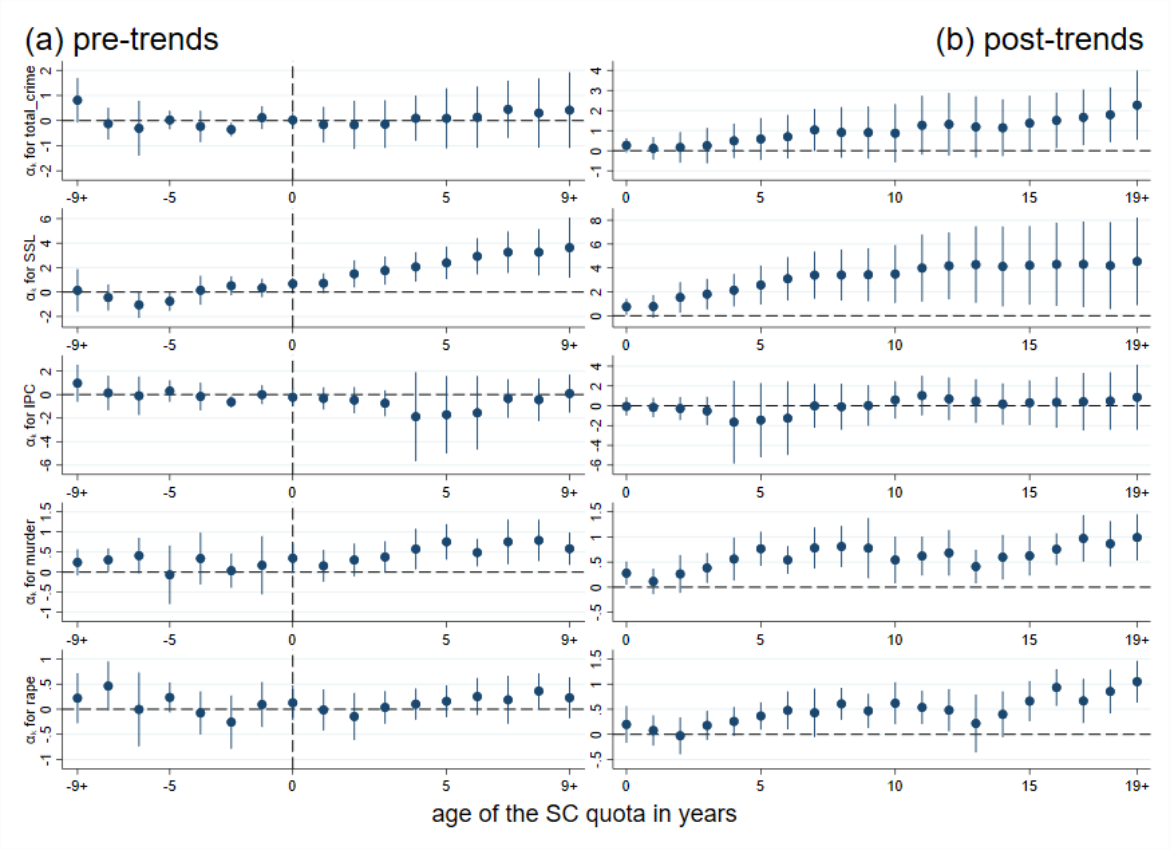
fixed effects, δ_t for year fixed effects, and the standard errors ε_{st} are cluster-robust with clustering by states (Iyer et al. 2012). For the hypothesis of absence of pre-trend to be verified, the α_k must be jointly equal to zero for all k below zero. Figure 2 Panel (a) tests for the existence of a pre-trend by excluding two data points that are far apart (following Borusyak and Jaravel 2017), here one and eight years before the implementation of quotas. Panel (b) then shows the dynamic effect of quotas.

Focusing on murders, Figures 2 brings new insights on how fast they react to quotas. Visually, in Figure 2 panel (a), α_k do not display a clear pre-trend for years before the quotas. Moreover, the joint test of the pre-quota dummies rejects their significance (F-test p-value at 0.14). Given this absence of a significant pre-trend, we can turn to panel (b), which shows the dynamic effect of quotas on murders.

Panel (b) in Figure 2 points out that murders already increase in the very first year of quota implementation. Furthermore, panel (b) shows a reasonably stable effect of quotas as they begin to age, justifying the use of the "canonical regression" for the baseline results in this paper: that regression shows the average effect of quotas on murders regardless of the age of the quota. To study the longer-term effects of quotas, I also check the effect of the number of years since the reform and its squared term as regressors in equation (1). The squared term is significantly negative, suggesting that the rise in the number of murders slows down over time. However, the magnitude of the squared term is small, such that the number of murders of members of the SCs would be expected to decline only 18 years after the implementation of the electoral quotas.

For other crimes – total, penal, special and rape – Figure 2 confirms what Table 2 was hinting at. Visually, none of these crimes appear to have a clear pre-trend. However, the F-test does not reject the existence of a pre-trend in panel (a) for any of these crimes (all p-values are below the 1% threshold). Looking at the estimates from both panels jointly, we can still note visual discrepancies before and after the implementation of the quotas, suggesting something may be at play, in particular for special crimes (Freyaldenhoven et al. 2019). However, since the F-test does not reject the presence of pre-trends, in the absence of a valid instrument that would allow to tease out the part played by the pre-trend and the part played by the quotas, and given the high sensitivity of the quotas coefficients in Table 2 when I control for a linear time trend (comparing Panels 2 and Panel 3 for all categories except murders), it is impossible to conclude on the statistical effect of the quotas on these crimes.

Figure 2: dynamic relation between quotas and crimes



Note: The dots in each graph display a visual representation of the coefficients α_k estimated from an ordinary least square specification described in equation (2). The bar around each dot tells its 95% confidence interval. Each estimation covers the complete sample of states. The y-axis of each graph tells the crime at stake, the x-axis tells the age of the quota, in years. The analysis follows Borusyak and Jaravel (2017): panel (a) shows the pre-trend analysis, and panel (b) shows the dynamic treatment effect.

3.4. Discussion of state level results: empowerment or backlash?

The increase in murders by 32% concurrently with mandated SC quotas is consistent with these quotas triggering a backlash. Three main aspects of the empirical results make them consistent with a backlash effect. First, the reliability of the murder count compared to other crimes is the reason why Iyer et al (2012) and Bros and Couttenier (2015) use murders as a benchmark: a body is hard to hide. Thus, an increase in reported murders is likely to correspond to an increase in actual murders. Second, this increase in murders is not accompanied by a robust increase in the report of stigma-associated crimes, such as special crimes or rape targeting members of the SCs (such an increase could correspond to both empowerment and sabotage). Third, I can further check that the increase in the number of murders of members of the SCs stems neither from a general increase in violence and conflicts during SC quotas (which would increase all-

population murders or rapes), nor from a re-allocation of murders of SC members by a higher caste that used to be recorded either in the general murder category or as suicides (which would reduce the figures for other murders or suicides). Indeed, suicide or general murders are the two categories where an SC murder could be most easily concealed. However, SC quotas have no relationship to suicides or to murders or to rapes in general (columns 1 to 3 of Appendix Table 13). The data are not perfect, in particular there is unfortunately no specific record of the number of SC accidental deaths or manslaughter (and one could certainly find other sources of mis-record for dead bodies). All I can note is that, based on the existing data, none of the results is consistent with an improvement in willingness to report or record crimes following SC quotas.

A backlash after quotas may be motivated by identity payoffs in the utility function (Akerlof and Kranton, 2010).[15] Caste is a significant aspect of social identity in India in general, where it still triggers taste-based discrimination (Banerjee and Gupta, 2015), and quotas aim at empowering members of the SCs. In this context, a member of the higher castes who sees a member of the SCs performing an action deemed not appropriate in terms of status may resort to violence to limit this empowerment. In support of this interpretation, there is no interview of all the murderers, but both academic papers, press articles and activists outline that SC murders target individuals who behave in a manner deemed unacceptable for their SC status – that is members of the SCs that are relatively empowered. Mirroring the fact that quotas trigger empowerment of all members of the SCs, the additional murders may target any of them. The existing literature backs up the interpretation of SC murders as a tool to target empowered members of the SCs. Mathew (2003), Narula (1999), Purohit et al. (2002), Sumathi and Sudarsen (2005) all wrote on the political dimension of these crimes, while press articles detail motives in daily life interaction.[16] Using the same country-wide data as the present paper, Bros and Couttenier (2015) also show that the reporting of murders of members of the SCs, given the availability of water sources, is consistent with the ongoing enforcement of untouchability

[15] The framework allows to formalize why one individual may choose an action that seems economically absurd at first sight but makes sense if considering the identity group norms and that these norms with craft the individual payoff. For example, Akerlof and Kranton (2010) outline that if there is a norm among a black identity group to not work productively for members of a white identity group, members of the black identity group will lose some economic payoff (the foregone wage) but will gain some identity payoff (through peers or themselves for doing what is deemed right in their value system). In the case of a murder motivated by an identity concern, the perpetrator may lose her freedom of movement (if she ends up going to jail), but gain some identity payoff (peers recognition or sense of warm glow).

[16] Narula (1999) for example reports that: "In the village of Melavalavu, Madurai district Tamil Nadu, following the election of a Dalit to the village council presidency, members of a higher-caste group murdered six Dalits in June 1997, including the elected council president, whom they beheaded". See footnote 4 for more examples.

(they exploit the fact that water is symbolically important in the Hindu religion). Thus, if one accepts to consider that the "success" or "output" of the murderer are about social status and symbolic capital of the identity group, the increase in murders following quotas may be interpreted as a direct backlash.

This backlash on quotas may take the form of either sabotage or retaliation. Strategic sabotage would worrespond to murdering the (potential) beneficiaries, to prevent future empowerement. Retaliation would correspond to a spitefull murdering of already empowered beneficiaries. The fact that murders increase as soon as the year of the first election with quotas, that is before the members of the SC leaders have been in position to exert any power, is consistent with some sabotage taking place. However, part of the increase in murders may also come from retaliation. Ultimately, both actions result in a clear and direct reduction of the benefit of the affirmative action, killing some of its beneficiaries.[17]

The links between quotas and crimes against members of the SCs display a fundamentally different pattern than the pattern that Iyer et al. (2012) document for crimes against women. Focusing on crimes against all Indian women, Iyer et al. (2012) document an increase in rapes and no change in murders after the implementation of gender quotas. Hence, they develop an argument showing that the increase in rape is consistent with quotas bringing empowerment to women, while the absence of results on women's murders is inconsistent with the occurrence of a backlash. Focusing on crimes against all members of the SCs, Table 3 results reverse those Iyer at al. (2012) document for women: Table 3 documents an increase in caste-based murders and no change in caste-based rape after caste quotas. Due to the sample extension, Table 3 results also differ from the results that Iyer and al. briefly report on caste quotas and crimes against members of the SCs. First, the link between special crimes and quotas appears to be non-robust to state trends. A link between special crimes and quotas would be the perfect mirror for castes of the empowerment effect they document for women since there is a stigma associated with reporting a special crime. Second, caste murders appear to be related to caste quotas in Table 3. This last difference in results comes from the sample definition. Indeed, Table 3 estimates for caste-based crimes rest on data of the 17 major states of India, while the

[17] An additional question, although fully testing it goes beyond the scope of the data available for this paper, is whether these murders have also a negative externality, on the empowerment of other members of the SCs. We can here note one suggestive result consistent with such a negative externality. Using the REDS 2006, the murders of members of the SC that took place during the electoral term before an election have a negative correlation with the elections of members of the SCs outside SC quotas. However, this correlation cannot be interpreted as causal, and the REDS sample is small, with only 42 observations at the state*panchayat term level, calling for further work on the question.

caste quotas results of Iyer et al. (2012) rest on a sample of 11 states that implemented caste quotas in 1995 or after.[18] The differences in empirical results are important because they are consistent with opposed interpretations in terms of empowerment *versus* backlash.

In the next section of the paper, I take advantage of detailed information provided by a recent household survey to disentangle further what is the most likely reason for the increase in murders after SC quotas.

4 Households' perspective on crimes and trust in institutions during quotas

4.1. Household data on conflicts, caste discrimination and trust

The Indian Human Development Survey (IHDS) compiled in 2011 provides an original complement to the police records since it discloses households' answers independently of any recording bias due to the reporting reluctance of the victims or inappropriate behavior of the police. Social norms may affect exchanges with interviewers, but this is fundamentally different source of bias than a record bias. The nationally representative sample of the IHDS encompasses more than 27,000 rural households spread over 1,381 villages in 271 districts and 31 states (Desai et al. 2015). The limit of the IHDS is that it provides only a cross section, collected quite late after the implementation of the SC quotas.

The main interest of the IHDS 2011 is to document both SC and higher caste households' perceptions on conflicts, caste-based discrimination, crime, and trust in institutions. Moreover, the village schedule of the survey tells us the share of each caste group in the village population, and whether the seat of the *Pradhan*, the head of the local council, is reserved through an SC quota. By local council I mean here the Gram Panchayat, the 3rd tier of the 3-tier *panchayat* system.

[18] I assess the consequence of excluding or including different states in Appendix Table 10. In column 1, I restrict the sample to the 11 states used by Iyer et al. (2012) to study caste quotas. In column 2, I restrict the sample to the 13 states which implemented SC quotas in 1993 or later, so that none of the state is treated by quotas during the first year when crime data is available. In column 3, I use all 17 states. The magnitude of the coefficient changes importantly between columns 1 and 2, but not between columns 2 and 3. Column 3 estimates are more precise than the column 2 estimates, but the magnitudes of the coefficients are barely affected. Such observations lend support to working with the full sample of 17 states. Note that on the samples with all 17 states, since four states implemented SC quotas in 1992 or before, and since the SC crime data start in 1992, these four states appear as "always treated" (however, since all the other states implemented quotas after 1992, the quota variable is not a linear function of states fixed effects). Importantly, including these four states neither affect the identification strategy, nor lead to statistically different magnitudes of estimates, however, it does reduce standard errors. Last, the extension of the sample by six years does not lead to any significant changes (column 4 of Appendix Table 10).

Table 4: State level correlation matrix for different measures of caste-based tensions

	Murder 92 - 2013	Special crime 92 – 2013	Untouchability Practice	Untouchability Victim
Murder 92 - 2013	1			
Special crime 92 - 2013	0.59 (0.01)	1		
Untouchability Practice	0.45 (0.05)	0.20 (0.41)	1	
Untouchability Victim	0.47 (0.04)	0.39 (0.10)	0.70 (0.00)	1

N=17. Spearman's rank correlations. p-value of each correlation in parentheses. Untouchability variables are the ones defined in Figure 1 but now taking the state-level averages for the 17 states.

While discrimination is notoriously difficult to measure, households' declarations on untouchability provide a good starting point. First, differences in average answers across villages are informative even if each individual answer is an imperfect measure of absolute discrimination (Bertrand and Duflo, 2016). Second, state-level averages built from the household data allow to bring a complementary viewpoint to the administrative data. In Table 4, murder records correlate significantly with households' declarations of both practicing or being victim of untouchability (in Spearman's rank correlations in Table 4, and in Pearson's pairwise correlations in Appendix Table 14). This double correlation is even more interesting that perpetrators' and victims' declarations correlate with each other only in Spearman's rank correlations (Table 4), while the Pearson's correlation is highly insignificant (appendix Table 14). The divergence between victim and perpetrator views is documented in a dedicated literature, from Duncan (1976) to Baumeister et al. (1990). Last, special crime records, that are meant to punish untouchability related offences, do not correlate as well as murders with the household level measures of caste-based tensions in Table 4, calling for a particularly cautious interpretation of the special crime statistics as a barometer of inter-caste tensions.

4.2. Empirical model

To document the relationship between caste quotas and household perceptions I estimate the following specification:

$$Y^c_{iv} = \beta^c_1 + \beta^c_2\, quota\_SC_v + \beta^c_3{}' X_i + \beta^c_4{}' X_v + \delta_d + \varepsilon_{iv} \qquad (3)$$

where Y^c_{iv} stands for several outcomes of interest for households i of castes c living in village v. c can designate two groups: either the SCs, or the non SCSTs, to compute the parameters of interest for each of these groups.

$quota\_SC_v$ is a dummy equal to one in villages where the head of the local political council is a member of the SCs elected on a caste quota. The coefficient of interest, β^c_2, tells the relationship between the presence of a local caste quota and Y^c_{iv} for households of caste c.

The main challenge in this specification is to identify β^c_2 since the rule of attribution of caste quotas is not publicly available for all states. β^c_2 cannot be perfectly identified in these circumstances. I rely on two aspects of the quota policy to interpret β^c_2 as being the closest possible to the true parameter. First, the attribution of caste quotas is exogenous to the main variables of interest. The attribution of caste quotas is a decision of each state administration. Hence, the fact that the local council of a given village has an SC leader during a given electoral term is not due to the villagers' actions, the political landscape, or the relation between castes in the village. Second, Equation (2) controls for the main determinant of the administration decisions. Indeed, administrations assign quotas either at random or based upon village characteristics. The share of SC households in one village relative to other villages in its area is the main assigning criterion that administrations use (when they do not assign quotas at random). This rule for assigning quotas allows Chauchard (2014), Dunning and Nilekani (2013), and Krishnan and Palaniswamy (2012), to use a regression discontinuity design to identify the impact of caste quotas within an area. The IHDS sample is not an exhaustive sample, and therefore I cannot rely on a regression discontinuity. However, I am able to control for the share of SC households in each village (in X_v) and to introduce district fixed effects (through δ_d).

X_i is a vector of household level controls. It includes information on the household caste, religion, the main source of income of the household (through 11 dummies corresponding to the main sectors of activity), the number of household members, the income per capita in the household and the age of the household head. X_v is a vector of village level controls. It accounts for the share of SC households in the population of the village and the square of this share, and

whether the head of the local political council is a woman elected after a gender quota.[19] δ_d are district fixed effects. The standard errors ε_{st} are cluster-robust to account for intra-village correlation in the answers since my variable of interest is recorded at the village level.

4.3. Results on conflicts, discrimination and quotas

The pattern in households' answers clearly supports the attribution of the increase in crimes to an increase in their incidence (backlash), rather than in their reporting (empowerment).

Table 5 shows that, according to members of the higher castes, conflicts, and caste conflicts in particular, are higher in villages where the council head is reserved to an SC (panel B, columns 1 and 2). However, conflicts in general do not need to be caste conflicts (column 1), and caste-conflicts may involve different caste groups than the SCs (column 2). I thus turn to two questions on untouchability, that is a form of caste-based discrimination that only targets members of the SCs. These questions are prone to less interpretation margins than questions on conflicts.

Table 5 main results are in columns 3 and 4. Higher caste members declare that they practice more untouchability during SC quotas (panel B, column 4). While the coefficient is imprecise, the share of members of the SCs who assert that they suffer more from untouchability during SC quotas is also of remarkably similar magnitude to the share of higher caste households that assert that they practice untouchability more (panel A, column 3).

Acknowledging that the IHDS 2011 took place long after quotas implementation strengthen the results, while taking in account SC leaders elected in a *Pradhan* seat outside SC quotas leave results unchanged. Appendix Table 15 shows that a control for the number of years since the implementation of the quotas in each state has a negative coefficient of small magnitude, including this control magnifies the size and increases the precision of the dummy on quota incidence. Quotas then appear to increase answers on untouchability by both members of the SCs and of the non SCSTs (Table 15 columns 3 and 4). Once again, the two coefficients have similar magnitudes (statistically indistinguishable).

[19] The IHDS data do not allow to keep track of cases when SC and gender quotas overlap: these cases may have been recorded either in the SC quota, or in the gender quota treatment, introducing measurement error in my estimate. However, such error will introduce an attenuation bias since it means that the control group may be contaminated by the treatment.

Table 5: Households' declarations on conflicts and SC quotas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Caste	Untouchability	
Dep. Variable:	Conflict	conflict	Victim	Practice
Panel A: SC households				
quota_SC	-0.0132	0.0210	0.0312	
	(0.0347)	(0.0479)	(0.0551)	
Observations	6,234	6,233	5,815	
R-squared	0.419	0.361	0.287	
Panel B: Non SC ST households				
quota_SC	0.0745*	0.0976**		0.0434*
	(0.0392)	(0.0397)		(0.0244)
Observations	17,071	17,065		17,075
R-squared	0.344	0.332		0.355

Standard errors clustered by villages in parentheses. All specifications include district fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (household caste, religion, the main source of income of the household, the number of household members, the income per capita in the household and the age of the household head, the share of SC households in the population of the village and the square of this share, and whether the head of the local political council is a woman elected after a gender quota). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

If SC members were complaining more about untouchability while members of the higher caste were declaring no change, we might be worried that victims became more sensitive to a given level of offences thanks to the affirmative action, and hence started to report more crimes. However, Table 5 and appendix Table 15 document the opposite pattern: the SC quotas have a more precise effect on the increase practice of untouchability by members of the non SCST. Given that victims and perpetrators views on violence often diverge,[20] it is also striking that in all these Tables the effect of SC quotas on untouchability declarations by members of the SCs and the non SCSTs have similar magnitudes.

4.4. Discussion of the household survey results

[20] Table 4 shows the absence of correlation of victims and perpetrators answers in the IHDS raw data. Duncan, 1976, or Baumeister et al., 1990 discuss this divergence in other contexts. Krumpal (2013) underlines the risk of social desirability bias in survey responses, a bias that is likely to affect claims of by victims and perpetrators differently. However, even if the survey questions on untouchability are not the ideal measures of absolute levels of discrimination, the magnitudes of their reaction to quotas may be informative about the impact of the quotas (Bertrand and Duflo 2016).

Further results obtained from IHDS data align with the results of the experimental literature on violence as a response to affirmative action (Banerjee et al. 2018; Brown and Chowdhury 2017; Leibbrandt et al. 2017; Fallucchi and Quercia 2018; Gangadharan et al. 2016).

Further evidence that the increase in crimes following SC quotas is unlikely to come from an improvement in the relationship to institutions is that SC quotas at the local level have no significant relationship with households' trust in institutions (Appendix Table 17). If the coefficient were more precisely estimated, the trust of members of the SCs in the police would decline when the local leader was elected on an SC quota (p-value at 13%). This result is again at the opposite of what Iyer et al. (2012) document for women: the quality of women interaction with the police improves during gender quotas. Last, I can show that caste quotas are not related to an increase in the general feeling of insecurity (Appendix Table 18).

These results feed the literature on inter-caste relationships in India showing that members of the higher castes are willing to resort to violence to improve their statutory condition (Fehr et al. 2008; Bros and Couttenier 2015; Sharma 2015). The results bring nuance in the findings that affirmative action may help reduce the intent of non-SC households to intimidate SC households and the prevalence of publicly observable caste-based discrimination (Chauchard 2014, Girard 2018). To be precise, results are consistent with differential evolutions of discrimination in the public and private sphere: Chauchard and Girard main results focus on the public sphere. However, in the private sphere, Chauchard finds no significant results on cooperation while Girard documents some increase in the labor market discrimination of members of the SCs. Taking all these results together suggests that a publicly observable and collectively enforced social norm may not follow the same evolution pattern as the actions performed in a more private setting such as a hiring decision or a crime scene.

5 SC quotas, their implementation, and SC politics.

This section investigates whether the increase in violence is tied to the implementation of SC quotas themselves, rather than the modalities of implementation of these quotas, or the potentially different policies put in place by elected SC leaders.

5.1. Quotas existence *versus* quotas implementation

Table 6: Crimes and quotas implementation

Dep. Variable: Murders	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
post_quotas_SC	0.250**	0.349**		0.224*
	(0.106)	(0.120)		(0.114)
election	-0.209			
	(0.471)			
post_quotas_SC	0.244			
*election	(0.466)			
post_quotas_SC		-0.108		
*special court		(0.102)		
post_quotas_SC			1.345*	0.339
* size quota			(0.664)	(0.812)
Observations	305	305	305	305
R-squared	0.859	0.859	0.858	0.859

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects. The parcimonious specification only controls for the SC to non-SCST share of the population and its square. The baseline set of controls corresponds to the literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, SC to non-SCST share of the population and its square, urbanization. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

To assess whether the modalities of implementation of SC quotas may mitigate the risk of violence I investigate two variations: the timing of the electoral process, and the existence of an improved judiciary service for members of the SCs.

First, could elections trigger an increase in crime, independent of a backlash effect against the SCs ? Table 6 documents that the link between crimes and SC quotas does not stem from the organization of elections by itself (column 1). I introduce a binary variable equal to one only during election years, and both this dummy variable and its interaction with the quota variable are insignificant.[21]

Second, what part does an improved judiciary system play? I investigate the existence of state heterogeneity in the relationship between mandated political representation and crimes, depending on whether a state has an exclusive special court. Exclusive special courts are a prime example of the special judiciary measures taken to improve access to justice for marginalized communities: crime-prone Indian districts have exclusive special courts to deal

[21] Although most elections in the sample take place during the post quota period some states did run elections before quotas implementation. These results are robust to alternative definitions of the electoral period (tables available upon request).

solely with atrocity cases.[22] The post-reservation period shows no heterogeneity in reporting crime between states with and without exclusive special courts (Table 6 column 3). Such a result is consistent with reports highlighting difficulties still exist for the SC members to have proper access to justice, notwithstanding the exclusive special courts (Centre for Study of Casteism, Communalism and Law 2004; Mangubhai and Singh 2014).[23]

5.2. SC quotas *versus* SC politicians

A key remaining question is whether the effect really comes from the quotas or is tied to the policies implemented by SC politicians. The SC quota is difficult to disentangle from the SC. The election of members of the SCs outside quotas are indeed likely to take place in specific places, because of historical caste-based status, present day discrimination, and because members of the SCs barely ever represent the majority in villages: their population share is below 50% of the village population in 80% of the villages of the IHDS 2011. Acknowledging the specificity of SC elections outside quotas, this subsection examines three sets of evidence that suggest that there may be a causal effect of the quotas on murders.

A first important aspect is the timing of the backlash compared to quotas implementation. Table 2 and Figure 2 panel b show that quotas have a significant effect on murders even during the very first year of the first election of their implementation. The year of election is young for a significant political change to already have taken place due to the SC leader election. Moreover, murders do not appear to follow the electoral cycle. Electoral years in general, beyond the first year of quota implementation, would see less murders if they were a function of the policies in place, but this is not what appears in Table 6 column 1. Similarly, the event study graphs should show a pattern following electoral cycles if SC leader policies were the issue, but this is not what appears in Figure 2 panel b.

[22] A virtuous interaction could ensue if, for example, the special courts were to function better after quotas had been implemented, or if the special courts could top up an empowerment effect of political quotas. Otherwise, a vicious interaction might arise if, for example, members of higher caste were more likely to practice sabotage in places where inter-caste relationships became tenser. To date, nine of the sample states have an exclusive special court in one district at least (namely Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himanchal Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh). I create a binary variable that takes the value one for states with exclusive special courts because the date of actual implementation of exclusive special courts is not, to the best of my knowledge, public knowledge in every state. This crude coding induces an attenuation bias for empirical results, and it does not allow me to compute the main effect of an exclusive special court (which is eliminated by state fixed effects).

[23] An amendment to the Prevention of Atrocities Act passed in 2015 aims, among other things, to improve the quality of service provided by the special courts. Its efficiency in facilitating the access to justice for the SCs shall be evaluated in a future work.

A second aspect is the absence of relation between the backlash and the size of the quotas. Results in Table 6 show that it is the existence of SC quotas only that is related to crimes. Indeed, the size of SC quotas is not significantly related to crimes once I account for the existence of the quotas (comparing results from Table 6 columns 3 and 4).[24] As a further check, I examine the effect of SC political representation beyond the *panchayat* level. The number of SCs in the state and national assemblies does not alter the reporting of crimes (while seats won by low caste parties may empower them Aneja and Ritadhi, 2020). Results on both the timing of the impact of the quotas, and the absence of effect of quotas' sizes, are consistent with murders reacting to SC quotas rather than the policies implemented by the SC leaders.

Last, the backlash in household answers appears only as a reaction to the SC quotas, and not during the election of SC leaders outside quotas. There is no national administrative record on the election of SC leaders outside SC quotas, but the IHDS survey data provides cross-sectional information for the year 2011. Focusing on Panchayats without SC quotas in the IHDS 2011, only 7% of the 1,237 Pradhans of the sample belong to a Scheduled Caste.[25] In appendix Table 16, these SC leaders elected outside SC quotas do not trigger any significant change in answers from members of either the SC or the non SCST in terms of conflict, caste conflict, or untouchability practice. Most importantly, these SC leaders do not appear to affect the practice of untouchability by members of the higher castes, the point estimate is extremely close from zero (column 4 of Table 16). While the elections of SC leaders outside SC quotas are endogenous, such that the results in appendix Table 16 cannot be interpreted causally, we can note that these results are consistent with the rest of the subsection. All results are consistent with the SC quotas themselves triggering the backlash, rather than a change of the individuals holding offices and the policies they implemented.

6 Conclusion

Affirmative action strives to improve the social status and economic achievements of certain minorities. However, the beneficiaries of affirmative action policies may, as a side effect of

[24] The 73rd amendment of the Constitution requires SC quotas to mirror the proportion of SCs in each state population. I use the share of SC in each state population at the last Census before an election to measure the proportion of Panchayat seats reserved to members of the SCs. Since there is one Census per decade, but the population share of SCs changes continuously, by controlling for the interpolated population share, I can identify the effect of increased SC representation due to the within-state variation resulting from the adjustment in quota size at each election following a Census. This strategy is similar in essence to that of Pande (2003) for the size of SC quotas in state elections.

[25] This rate of election of SC candidates is significantly smaller than the SC household share in these villages which is 23%.

these policies, be the victims of a backlash effect. Backlash after affirmative action has recently been documented in experimental settings (Banerjee et al. 2018; Brown and Chowdhury 2017; Leibbrandt et al. 2017; Fallucchi and Quercia 2018; Gangadharan et al. 2016). This paper is the first to test the question outside experiments, on nation-wide data.

In India, this paper shows that the national implementation of caste-based electoral quotas coincided with an increase in violence against members of the Scheduled Castes. Indeed, electoral quotas at the village and district levels increased the reporting of murders of members of the SCs. The interpretation of the increase in murders recorded by the administration that it was the result of a backlash linked to quotas is backed up by four main sets of results. First, results rule out a re-allocation of deaths recorded elsewhere – as general crimes or suicides – to SC murders. Second, there is no robust relation between quotas and crime categories that are prone to stigma (in particular the crimes registered under the heading of Special and Local Laws and the rapes of SC women, which should both increase in case of plaintiffs' empowerment). Third, data from a new and nationally representative household survey reveal an increase in caste-based discrimination during caste quotas implementation. Last, results suggest that the backlash does not react to the policies implemented by SC leaders, but rather to the existence of the SC quotas. An open question remains the relative share of sabotage and retaliation as motives for this backlash. The increase in murders as early as the very first year of the quotas implementation suggests that some sabotage may be taking place, but it does not rule out the concomitant occurrence of retaliation.

The perfect policy for empowering marginalized groups is yet to be crafted. Affirmative action is a powerful policy tool in some dimensions – such as the re-allocation of resources to villages where members of the lower castes live – and may help reduce some forms of discrimination. Focusing on Indian women, Iyer et al. (2012) document a positive effect of gender quotas on female empowerment as far as crime reporting is concerned. Focusing on members of the Scheduled Castes – and extending the study of Iyer et al. (2012) with respect to space, time, and data sources, the set of results presented in this article shows that the legislator has more difficulties to empower members of the SCs through the same channel. The transparent application of affirmative action policies may, paradoxically, make the identity demarcation that it is hoped to erase more salient and lead to a backlash. The question remains to be examined in other countries and settings such as quotas in education institutions or public employment.

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ONLINE APPENDIX, NOT FOR PUBLICATION

A.1. Figures

Figure 3: Murder reporting

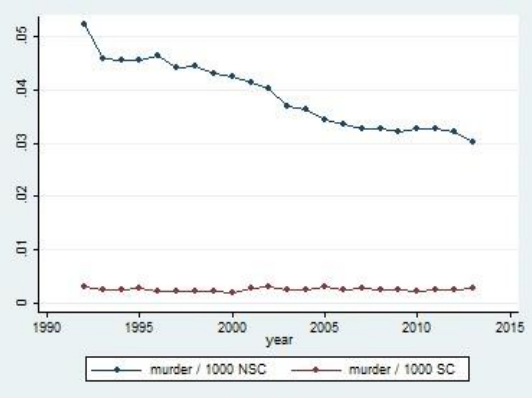


Figure 4: Rape reporting

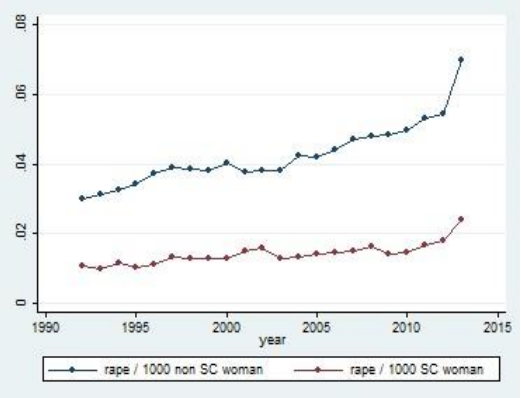
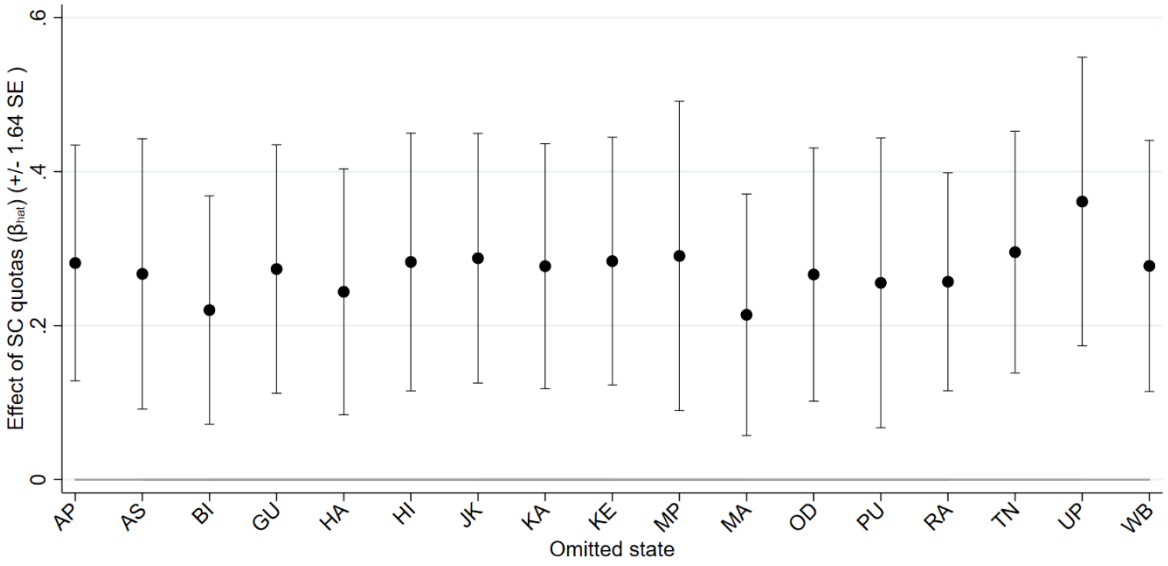


Figure 5: Stability of the coefficient of quotas on murders, when excluding states one by one



Note: Each dot tells the coefficients of the effect of quotas on murders estimated from an ordinary least square specification described in equation (1). The bar around each dot tells its 95% confidence interval. Each estimation covers a sample of 16 states, excluding the state referred to in the x-axis. The y-axis of each graph tells the crime at stake.

A.2. Tables

Table 9: Descriptive statistics

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Total	16.1	15.6	0	76.6
Special crimes	5.13	6.03	0	32.4
Penal code crimes	10.9	12.9	0	65.5
Murder	0.26	0.26	0	1.18
Rape	1.40	1.63	0	8.34
SCs to higher castes ratio	0.22	0.09	0.08	0.48
Rural population (%)	0.67	0.20	0.17	1
Literate population (%)	0.64	0.15	0.33	1
Farming population (%)	0.15	0.05	0	0.29
Per capita real GDP	2.27	1.10	0.42	6.15
Police strength	158	103	8.37	730
Share SC seats GE	0.15	0.07	0	0.31

Crime statistics (total crimes, special crimes, penal code crimes, murder and rape) and Police strength are expressed per 100,000 members of the SCs.

Table 10: Impact of sample definition on the link between quotas and murders

Sample:	(1) 11 states with 95 and later quotas Crimes in 92-2007	(2) Adding 2 states with 93 and later quotas	(3) Adding all states (17 major states)	(4) Adding all years (crimes until 2013)
Dep. Variable: Murder				
Panel A. Controlling only for SC share and its square				
post_quota_SC	0.234	0.229	0.255***	0.221**
	(0.155)	(0.139)	(0.0659)	(0.103)
Observations	146	161	225	305
R-squared	0.801	0.875	0.861	0.855
Panel B. Standard controls				
post_quota_SC	0.154	0.220	0.268***	0.274**
	(0.250)	(0.196)	(0.0916)	(0.0967)
Observations	146	161	225	305
R-squared	0.812	0.881	0.864	0.859
Panel C. Adding controls for the police strength				
post_quota_SC	0.158	0.238	0.285**	0.275**
	(0.229)	(0.192)	(0.0977)	(0.0972)
Observations	146	161	225	305
R-squared	0.815	0.883	0.865	0.859

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 11A: SC crime declaration and SC quotas, varying controls

Specification includes controls:	(1) SC to NSCST ratio	(2) SC to NSCST ratio baseline	(3) SC to NSCST ratio baseline police strength	(4) SC to NSCST ratio baseline police strength SC seat state
Panel A. Dependent variable: ln (Total/100,000SC)				
post_quota_SC	-0.231	0.000821	0.0211	0.0224
	(0.380)	(0.321)	(0.301)	(0.293)
Observations	357	357	357	357
R-squared	0.881	0.890	0.897	0.897
Panel B. Dependent variable: ln (Special crime/100,000SC)				
post_quota_SC	0.769	1.357**	1.358**	1.354**
	(0.525)	(0.566)	(0.566)	(0.530)
Observations	334	334	334	334
R-squared	0.714	0.766	0.767	0.774
Panel C. Dependent variable: ln (Penal code/100,000SC)				
post_quota_SC	-1.216	-0.749	-0.662	-0.671
	(1.059)	(0.728)	(0.515)	(0.525)
Observations	354	354	354	354
R-squared	0.581	0.601	0.649	0.651
Panel D. Dependent variable: ln (Murder/100,000SC)				
post_quota_SC	0.221**	0.274**	0.275**	0.275**
	(0.103)	(0.0967)	(0.0972)	(0.101)
Observations	305	305	305	305
R-squared	0.855	0.859	0.859	0.859
Panel E. Dependent variable: ln (Rape/100,000SC)				
post_quota_SC	-0.0599	0.0552	0.0628	0.0628
	(0.153)	(0.0992)	(0.0979)	(0.0984)
Observations	337	337	337	337
R-squared	0.906	0.916	0.917	0.917

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects and control for the ratio of SC households and its square. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 11B: SC crime declaration and SC quotas, varying controls

Specification adds to baseline controls:	(1) BSP vote share state assembly Elections	(2) ln (income SC) and ln(income NSCST)	(3) p(encounter) around a shared water source
Panel A. Dependent variable: ln(Total/100,000SC)			
post_quota_SC	0.0234	0.113	0.0896
	(0.318)	(0.294)	(0.227)
Observations	357	357	357
R-squared	0.901	0.907	0.911
Panel B. Dependent variable: ln(Special crime/100,000SC)			
post_quota_SC	1.360**	1.365**	1.323**
	(0.595)	(0.570)	(0.515)
Observations	334	334	334
R-squared	0.772	0.767	0.774
Panel C. Dependent variable: ln (Penal code/100,000SC)			
post_quota_SC	-0.661	-0.129	-0.583
	(0.532)	(0.318)	(0.497)
Observations	354	354	354
R-squared	0.650	0.783	0.658
Panel D. Dependent variable: ln(Murder/100,000SC)			
post_quota_SC	0.283***	0.265**	0.274**
	(0.0901)	(0.0954)	(0.0987)
Observations	305	305	305
R-squared	0.859	0.861	0.859
Panel E. Dependent variable: ln(Rape/100,000SC)			
post_quota_SC	0.0684	0.0728	0.0547
	(0.0944)	(0.0994)	(0.101)
Observations	337	337	337
R-squared	0.918	0.918	0.918

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, SC to non-SC share of the population and its square, urbanization). In each column, I add the control mentioned in the column heading. Most headings are self-explanatory. Footnote 10 describes the computation of p(encounter). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 12: Replication of the main table with standard errors drawn from a t distribution

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dep. Variable:	Total	Special crime	Penal code	Murder	Rape
post_quota_SC	0.000821	1.357**	-0.749	0.274**	0.0552
	(0.327)	(0.606)	(0.852)	(0.130)	(0.0913)
Observations	357	334	354	305	337
R-squared	0.890	0.766	0.601	0.859	0.916

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, SC to non-SC share of the population and its square, urbanization). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 13: Placebo: quotas and general suicides, murders or rapes
(those which are not recorded as a non-SC member targeting an SC member)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Dep. Variable:	Suicides	Other murders	Other rapes
post_quota_SC	0.101	-0.0347	0.0120
	(0.0880)	(0.0611)	(0.0900)
Observations	374	373	374
R-squared	0.954	0.844	0.907

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All specifications include state and year fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (literacy rates, real per capita GDP and its square, SC to non-SC share of the population and its square, urbanization). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 14: Conflicts, untouchability and time since SC quotas

	Murder 92 - 2013	Special crime 92 – 2013	Untouchability Practice	Untouchability Victim
Murder 92 - 2013	1			
Special crime 92 - 2013	0.37 (0.13)	1		
Untouchability Practice	0.47 (0.04)	0.21 (0.40)	1	
Untouchability Victim	0.57 (0.01)	0.31 (0.19)	0.15 (0.43)	1

N=17. Pearson's correlations. p-value of each simple correlation in parentheses. Untouchability variables are the ones defined in Figure 1 but now taking the state-level averages for the 17 states.

Table 15: Conflicts, untouchability and time since SC quotas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		caste	untouchability	
Dep. Variable:	conflict	conflict	victim	practice
Panel A: SC households				
quota SC	0.0467	0.204*	0.190*	
	(0.0761)	(0.117)	(0.101)	
quota SC * age quota	-0.00397	-0.0118**	-0.00955*	
	(0.00346)	(0.00543)	(0.00516)	
Observations	5,868	5,867	5,497	
R-squared	0.407	0.357	0.300	
Panel B: non SCST households				
quota SC	0.208***	0.230***		0.103**
	(0.0740)	(0.0740)		(0.0411)
quota SC * age quota	-0.00891***	-0.00897***		-0.00411***
	(0.00295)	(0.00294)		(0.00153)
Observations	15,736	15,730		15,740
R-squared	0.348	0.332		0.364

Standard errors clustered by villages in parentheses. All specifications include district fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (household caste, religion, main source of household income, number of household members, income per capita in the household and the age of the household head, the share of SC households in the population of the village and the square of this share, and whether the head of the local political council is a woman elected after a gender quota). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 16: Conflicts, untouchability and SC leaders with or without quotas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Caste	untouchability	
Dep. Variable:	conflict	Conflict	victim	practice
Panel A: SC households				
quotas SC	-0.0145	0.0214	0.0357	
	(0.0359)	(0.0496)	(0.0542)	
pradhan SC outside quotas	-0.00910	0.00271	0.0302	
	(0.0427)	(0.0491)	(0.0517)	
Observations	6,234	6,233	5,815	
R-squared	0.419	0.361	0.288	
Panel B: non SCST households				
quotas SC	0.0766*	0.0992**		0.0434*
	(0.0392)	(0.0399)		(0.0245)
pradhan SC outside quotas	0.0261	0.0201		0.000184
	(0.0285)	(0.0323)		(0.0238)
Observations	17,071	17,065		17,075
R-squared	0.344	0.332		0.355

Standard errors clustered by villages in parentheses. All specifications include district fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (household caste, religion, main source of household income, number of household members, income per capita in the household and the age of the household head, the share of SC households in the population of the village and the square of this share, and whether the head of the local political council is a woman elected after a gender quota). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 17: Households' trust in institutions and SC quotas

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dep. Variable:				
Trust in…	Politicians	Panchayat	Police	Justice
Panel A: SC households				
quota_SC	0.0274	-0.0112	-0.0440	0.0163
	(0.0423)	(0.0242)	(0.0288)	(0.0139)
Observations	6,222	6,222	6,220	6,207
R-squared	0.253	0.218	0.225	0.125
Panel B: Non SC ST households				
quota_SC	-0.0327	-0.0230	-0.00439	-0.00385
	(0.0290)	(0.0215)	(0.0171)	(0.00925)
Observations	17,063	17,048	17,051	17,010
R-squared	0.166	0.149	0.132	0.140

Standard errors clustered by villages in parentheses. All specifications include district fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (household caste, religion, the main source of income of the household, the number of household members, the income per capita in the household and the age of the household head, the share of SC households in the population of the village and the square of this share, and whether the head of the local political council is a woman elected after a gender quota). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

Table 18: Households victimization and SC quotas

Dep. variable:	(1) Theft	(2) Break-in	(3) Attack	(4) Eve teasing
Panel A: SC households sample				
quota_SC	0.00576	0.00852	0.00381	-0.0137
	(0.0101)	(0.00870)	(0.00719)	(0.0271)
Observations	6,234	6,234	6,234	6,232
R-squared	0.130	0.096	0.126	0.203
Panel B: Non-SC ST households sample				
quota_SC	-0.0162	-0.000783	0.00336	-0.00730
	(0.0114)	(0.00398)	(0.00976)	(0.0261)
Observations	17,080	17,079	17,079	17,063
R-squared	0.065	0.043	0.057	0.209

Standard errors clustered by villages in parentheses. All specifications include district fixed effects and the baseline set of controls (household caste, religion, main source of household income, number of household members, income per capita in the household and the age of the household head, the share of SC households in the population of the village and the square of this share, and whether the head of the local political council is a woman elected after a gender quota). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10.

A.3. Crimes included under the Special Local Laws (special crimes) against SCs

A.3.1 The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955

Sections 3 - 7A of the Act define the following as offenses if committed on the ground of 'untouchability': (1) Prevention from entering public worship places, using sacred water resources. (2) Denial of access to any shop, public restaurant, hotel, public entertainment, cremation ground etc. (3) Refusal of admission to any hospital, dispensary, educational institutions etc. (4) Refusal to sell goods and render services. (5) Molestation, causing injury, insult etc. (6) Compelling a person on the ground of untouchability to do any scavenging or sweeping or to remove any carcass etc.

A.3.2 The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989

Whoever, not being a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe: (1) Forces a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe to drink or eat any inedible or obnoxious substance; (2) Acts with intent to cause injury, insult or annoyance to any member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe by dumping excreta, waste matter, carcasses or any other obnoxious substance in his premises or neighborhood; (3) Forcibly removes clothes from the person of a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe or parades him naked or with painted face or body or commits any similar act which is derogatory to human dignity; (4) Wrongfully occupies or cultivates any land owned by, or allotted to, or notified by any competent authority to be allotted to, a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe or gets the land allotted to him transferred; (5) Wrongfully dispossesses a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe from his land or premises or interferes with the enjoyment of his rights over any land, premises or water; (6) Compels or entices a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe to do 'beggar' or other similar forms of forced or bonded labor other than any compulsory service for public purposes imposed by Government; (7) Forces or intimidates a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe not to vote or vote for a particular candidate or to vote in a manner other than that provided by law; (8) Institutes false, malicious or vexatious suit or criminal or other proceedings against a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe; (9) Gives any false or frivolous information to any public servant and thereby causes such public servant to use his lawful power to the injury or annoyance of a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe; (10) Intentionally insults or intimidates with intent to humiliate a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe; (11) Assaults or uses force to any woman belonging to a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe with intent to dishonor or outrage her modesty; (12) Being in a position to dominate the will of a woman belonging to a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe and uses that position to exploit her sexually to which she would not have otherwise agreed; (13) Corrupts or fouls the water of any spring, reservoir, or any other source ordinarily used by members of the Scheduled Caste or the Scheduled Tribe so as to render it less fit for the purpose for which it is ordinarily used; (14) Denies a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe any customary rite of passage to a place of public resort or obstructs such members so as to prevent him for using or having access to a place of public resort to which other members of public or any section thereof have a right to use or access to; (15) Forces or causes a member of a Scheduled Caste or a Scheduled Tribe to leave his house, village, or any other place of residence.