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GOVERNMENT OF GUJARAT

**REPORT OF THE  
SOCIALY  
&  
EDUCATIONALLY  
BACKWARD CLASS  
COMMISSION  
VOL. I**

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Planning and Administration  
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B. D. Joshi, Member-Secretary,

No. SEBC/76  
OFFICE OF THE SOCIALLY AND  
EDUCATIONALLY BACKWARD  
CLASS COMMISSION,  
Ahmedabad,-15  
Dated, 27th February 1976.

Dear Shri Chief Minister,

We, the Members of the Socially and Educationally Backward Class Commission, have great pleasure in presenting the accompanying Report to Government.

2. The appointment of the Commission was made on 8th August 1972 and the Secretary to the Commission was appointed on 20th December, 1972. The enquiry has taken a little over 3 years for reasons that will be obvious on a perusal of the Report and the bulk of the data and evidence gathered by the Commission. The Commission visited about 146 places and examined 2139 witnesses. It was possible to prepare the Report only after the tours were completed and after we were able to analyse relevant information from the replies of the questionnaires, written representations and oral evidence. The socio-economic household sample survey, which was undertaken on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee, took more time than expected, because of the late availability of the staff. But since the work that was entrusted to us, was of great public utility and importance, we felt that the enquiry must be thorough and comprehensive, if it was to serve a useful purpose and fulfil the long felt need of an authoritative and impartial source of information and guidance to Government on the question of backwardness in the State.

3. The manner in which the enquiry has been conducted, has been set out at length in the Chapter on 'Methodology'. An attempt has been made to formulate the concept of backwardness, which has been discussed in Chapter II. Several factors have to be taken into consideration in determining the backwardness of a class or a group; many of these factors were of a complex nature and we had to spend long hours of study and discussion before reaching a conclusion. We do realize the possibility and scope for another view in some marginal cases. We have, however, made our best effort to appreciate the material from all points of view. We have given in brief outline the dominant characteristics of classes, groups which we have included in the list of Other Backward Classes in Chapter IV.

4. The study of backwardness reveals the stupendous nature of the problem and the necessity of dealing with it on a long term basis. Mere extension of financial assistance and reservation of seats in educational institutions and public services for the Backward Classes will not afford a permanent solution of the problem.

More extensive and curative measures will be required to be taken. We have, therefore, recommended the creation of a Backward Class Board, which will study the effects of the measures suggested by us and suggest ways and means suitable to changing social environment. Much will also depend upon the way in which these measures are implemented, and it would be one of the functions of the Board to see that the decisions taken in pursuance of the Report are implemented properly and without delay.

5. The Report and recommendations are based on the unanimous decision of all the Members, each Member of the Commission having carefully applied his mind to every Chapter individually as well as collectively.

6. We are grateful to Government for giving us an opportunity of studying such a complicated problem of great interest and public utility and hope that Government will be pleased to take early steps to implement our recommendations.

Sincerely Yours,

Sd/- A. R. BAKSHI

Sd/- C. N. VAKIL

Sd/- TARA PATEL

Sd/- K. C. SAGAR

Sd/- B. D. JOSHI

Accompaniment :

Report of the Socially and Educationally Backward Class Commission in original in two volumes.

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## PROLOGUE

It is usual for economists, sociologists and politicians to talk of poverty. We saw poverty in all aspects; we have felt it and even lived it for sometime. Our effort at describing it is perhaps inadequate; one can know it fully only by experience.

The efforts to know poverty were not without hazards. Only one major instance, out of many, may illustrate this point. Travelling in North Gujarat to a place to be visited, the car with the staff of the Commission had a complete somersault. The Assistant Secretary rolled out like a football, but survived it like one. The Chairman had severe injuries on his dignified bald head; operation and hospitalization followed; work was delayed by 3 months; perhaps the Goddess or the Witch of Backwardness must have been satisfied with this revenge against interference in her domain; the Chairman could function thereafter with no sign of the accident. A similar accident had occurred before this in Saurashtra while leaving Porbander when the occupants miraculously escaped.

It is hoped that the reader of this Report could be relieved of his dullness and sadness by such tales, of which the Commission has plenty, and wait for that era of cheerfulness and health which may dawn out of its recommendations.

27th February, 1976.

C. N. VAKIL  
TARA PATEL

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## INTRODUCTION

### **Backwardness-Nature and importance of the problem :**

With the dawn of Independence, it was realised that freedom would be futile, if the fruits thereof were not made available equally to every citizen of India. The basic concept of democracy is brought out in the Preamble to the Constitution of India, which resolves to secure to all its citizens "Justice, social, economic and political"; and "equality of status and of opportunity". The aim, as reflected in the Preamble, is to bring about social and economic changes so as to correct the imbalance existing in the society. The Constitution also guarantees certain fundamental rights to citizens and includes specific provisions to safeguard the rights and interests of backward classes and for the protection of the weaker sections of the society. The disparity between the developed and the undeveloped, existence of social inequalities obstructing the process of social and cultural advancement, the persistence of obsolete social institutions-all these and many other symptoms of backwardness existing in the society in India necessitated the inclusion of provisions relating to the upliftment of such classes in the Constitution itself. The immensity of creative challenge raised by these problems was nowhere in sharper focus than in the field of social reconstruction. These inequalities in the society persisted since centuries and on Independence, it attracted the attention of the makers of the Constitution who decided that special provisions should be included in the Constitution for the protection of these classes.

2. Out of the then existing backward classes, the most prominent were the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The stigma of untouchability is the declared criterion for classifying Scheduled Castes. The Scheduled Tribe was constituted of those that were subjected to social ostracism and segregation from the general population. They were tribal communities distinctive in their pattern of life. The term 'Scheduled Caste' has been defined in article 366 (24) and the term 'Scheduled Tribe' has been defined in article 366 (25) of the Constitution. The interests of these two classes have been specifically referred to and protected in the Constitution.

3. There have been and are classes other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who are, and can be considered as backward at the social level. Such classes have been referred to also in the Constitution as 'Backward Classes' in articles 15(4), 16(4), 338(3) and 340(1). Article 46 of the Constitution enjoins upon the State Government to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and particularly of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 15 (4) enables the State to make special provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 16 (4) similarly provides an exception in respect of matters relating to reservation of appointments or posts in favour of backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State. These special

provisions in the Constitution for the protection of the backward classes proceed on the recognition of the social, educational and economic backwardness of these classes and the intense need to make special efforts for their welfare. The ultimate ideal is to make every citizen of India, belonging to whatever group, a member of a homogeneous nation without distinctions. It is in the context of these facts that the problem of backward classes is of vital importance for the social, political and economic advancement of the nation.

### **Backward Classes Commission, Government of India.**

4. The need for investigation into the problem of backwardness has been felt for many years. It may be mentioned that the President of India, in pursuance of article 340 of the Constitution, appointed the Backward Classes Commission in 1953. \*The terms of reference of this Commission, *inter alia* provided that the Commission should determine the criteria to be adopted in considering, whether any sections of the people in the territory of India, (in addition to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes specified by notifications issued under Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution) should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes and in accordance with such criteria, prepare a list of such classes and investigate the conditions of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour; and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken to remove such difficulties or to improve their conditions and, as to the grants that should be made for the purpose and the conditions subject to which such grants should be made.

5. The report of the Backward Classes Commission was submitted to the President on 30th March, 1955. This report was placed before both the Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1956 alongwith the President's memorandum explaining action taken on it†. The report disclosed considerable divergence of opinion amongst its members, but the majority recommended that the principal criterion for the determination of backwardness should be the low social position of a group in the traditional caste hierarchy of the Hindu society. On the basis of this they prepared a list of as many as 2399 communities, out of which 930 alone accounted for an estimated population of 115 millions. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes made up another 75 millions. The Government of India, therefore, after careful consideration, decided not to draw up an all India list of Backward Classes other than the existing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but suggested that the State Governments have the discretion to choose their own criterion for defining backwardness and that in their opinion it would be better to apply economic test than to go by caste.

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\*Report of the Backward Classes Commission, Government of India, Page 2.

†Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs letter No. 15/5/61—SCT—IV dated 14th August, 1961.



### **Commissions or Committees of similar nature in other States.**

#### **Starte Committee's Report on "Classification of Backward Classes" in Bombay Presidency.**

6. As regards the Bombay State, the then Government of Bombay had appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. O.H. B. Starte, I.C.S. by a Government Resolution dated 5th November, 1928 to inquire into educational, economical and social conditions of the depressed classes and of the aboriginal tribes in the Presidency and to recommend the measures for their uplift. That Committee submitted its Report in March 1930. In its Report the "Starte Committee" suggested the list of Backward Classes which was sub-divided into 3 categories:

- (a) "Depressed Classes" which should consist of untouchables only;
- (b) "Aboriginals and Hill Tribes" which should consist of castes a large proportion of which inhabit or did inhabit until recent times, in forest areas, and
- (c) "Other Backward Classes" which should include the wandering tribes who may not be aboriginals or live in forest areas but who need special care as being very backward.

It further recommended that it was not necessary to classify the Criminal Tribes separately but such of them as were untouchables should be classified as "Depressed Classes", such of them as live or did live, until recent times in forest areas should be shown as "Aboriginals or Hill Tribes" and the rest as "other Backward Classes".

The Government of Bombay in its Government Resolution General Department No. 9330 dated 29th May, 1933 approved the revised classification for all purposes including the grant of educational privileges, recruitment to Government service and representation on public bodies.

#### **The Backward Class Investigating Committee in Saurashtra.**

7. In 1953, the Government of Saurashtra under its Development and Planning Department (Backward Class Section) Resolution No. BCD-6-9-(A)-224 of 1953 dated 23rd February 1953 appointed a Committee called "the Backward Class Investigating Committee" under the Chairmanship of late Shri Parixital Majmudar to make an enquiry and prepare a list of backward classes of Saurashtra. \*The terms of reference of the above Committee were (i) to determine the criteria on the basis of which any particular class or section of people can be described as socially or

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\* Saurashtra Backward Class Investigating Committee's Report-Page 29.

educationally and economically backward, (ii) to recommend which of these classes should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, (iii) to prepare a list of such classes for the whole of Saurashtra setting out their approximate number and location areawise, (iv) to examine the condition and difficulties of such classes and to make specific recommendations as to steps which Saurashtra Government may take to remove those difficulties and improve their conditions". This Committee gave its Report in December, 1953 and prepared a list of Backward Classes dividing them into 3 categories:

- (i) Scheduled Castes,
- (ii) Scheduled Tribes,
- (iii) Other Backward Classes.

While preparing the list of other Backward Classes, the Committee divided this list in three categories viz., A, B and C as the Committee did not consider it proper to recommend a uniform pattern of assistance but suggested a graded pattern for each of the classes. The castes or groups in category 'A' of Other Backward Classes were considered more backward, the castes, in category 'B' less backward and the castes in category 'C' still less backward.

**Deshmukh Committee's Report on "Reservation for Backward Classes in the Services" in Maharashtra State.**

8. After bifurcation of the former Bombay State into Maharashtra and Gujarat, the Government of Maharashtra in Government Resolution, General Administration Department No. BCC-1061-J, dated 24th November, 1961 appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri B. D. Deshmukh to report on "Reservation for Backward Classes in the Services". This Committee submitted its Report to Government in January, 1964. The Committee made the following recommendations :

(i) the percentage of reservation for Backward Classes should be modified and linked to the percentage of population *i.e.* percentage of reservation in services in favour of different sections should correspond to the percentages of the population of this section in the State.

(ii) the grouping should be as follows :—

- (a) Scheduled Tribes including those living outside the Scheduled areas.
- (b) Scheduled Castes and Navbuddhas
- (c) De-notified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes
- (d) Other Backward Communities

(iii) The classification of the communities as backward should continue to be on the basis of castes and should not be on the basis of income.

(iv) Percentages of reservation should be fixed in two different ways *i.e.* (a) in terms of State level recruitment and (b) in terms of district-wise recruitment.

Shri R. D. Bhandare, a Member of the Committee who had submitted a separate minute generally agreed with the Committee but had recommended that the Navbuddhas should not be grouped with the Scheduled Castes but should have separate classification.

The above recommendations of the Committee were considered by the Government of Maharashtra and in its Government Resolution, General Administration Department No.BCC/1064-III-J, dated 9th April, 1965 that Government issued the following orders :

*(I) Composition of Backward Classes :*

(i) According to the existing orders Backward Classes comprise of the following sections :

- (a) Scheduled Castes,
- (b) Scheduled Tribes,
- (c) Other Backward Classes.

Government decided to revise the grouping of Backward Classes as follows :

- (i) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes converts to Buddhism.
- (ii) Scheduled Tribes including those living outside the specified areas.
- (iii) De-notified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes.
- (iv) Other Backward Classes.

*(II) Reservation of vacancies :*

In modification of the existing orders making reservation in favour of Backward Classes, Government fixed the following percentage of vacancies occurring in each of the various services under it which were to be filled in by direct recruitment for each of the sections of the Backward Classes *viz.*

(i) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes converts to Buddhism	..	13%
(ii) Scheduled Tribes including those living outside the specified areas	..	7%
(iii) De-notified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes	..	4%
(iv) Other Backward Communities	.. ..	10%

### **G.Kumara Pillai Commission for "Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions" in Kerala**

9. The State of Kerala appointed a Commission by a Government Resolution dated 8th July, 1964 under the Chairmanship of Shri G. Kumara Pillai for, "Reservation of seats in Educational Institutions" in Kerala. The Commission was enjoined upon to inquire into social and educational conditions of the people and to report on what sections of the people of the State of Kerala other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be treated as socially and educationally backward and therefore, deserving of special treatment by way of reservation of seats in educational institutions.

### **Nettur P. Damodaran Commission's Report on "Reservation for Backward Classes" in Kerala**

10. Later, the Kerala Government appointed another Commission under the Chairmanship of Shri Nettur P. Damodaran by Resolution dated 8th February, 1968. The terms of reference of this Commission were :

- (a) what were the main factors which lead to backwardness of citizens?
- (b) what should be the basis for classifying sections of people into backward and non-backward ?
- (c) what classes of citizens should be treated as backward for purpose of article 16 (4) of the Constitution, and which of such classes were not adequately represented in State services ?
- (d) what should be the quantum of reservation and the period for which it was to remain in force.

This Commission gave its Report in November, 1970.

11. There have also been similar Commissions in the States of Mysore (Karnataka), Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. We have not got full details of these Reports and therefore, we have not referred to them in detail.

### **The Commission for Gujarat State**

12. The above resume amply shows how different States have felt about the existence of social disabilities and their influence on the social structure of the country. The importance of the question was also felt in the State of Gujarat and in 1972 there was a movement in the Legislative Assembly of the State for the appointment of an independent Board for the protection of the interests of other Backward Classes. Ultimately the Government agreed in the Legislative Assembly on 1st August, 1972 to appoint a Commission and by a Resolution, Education and Labour Department, No. MBC-1572-67508-J, dated 8th

August, 1972 constituted the present Commission. The mind of the Government while appointing the Commission is reflected in the introductory paragraphs which precede the terms of reference. The text of the Government Resolution appointing the Commission is reproduced in Appendix I. The specific terms of reference are contained in paragraph 10 of the Resolution :

“(i) The Commission shall enquire into social, educational and other relevant conditions of the people, castes, races, tribes or parts of or groups within castes or races or tribes in the State and report what section/sections of them (other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be treated as socially, educationally and in any other way backward and, therefore, deserve of special treatment and grant of special concessions similar to those being granted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State in pursuance of provisions of the various Articles of the Constitution of India.

(ii) The Commission should also recommend what should be quantum and extent of such a concession and assistance to them and the period during which it should remain in force; and

(iii) any other recommendation germane to the main terms of reference as may be deemed necessary by the Commission.”

### Members of the Commission

13. The Members of the Commission, originally appointed were :—

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (i) Shri A. R. Bakshi, Retired High Court Judge and Chairman of the Law Commission.   | <i>Chairman</i>         |
| (ii) Prof. C. N. Vakil, Former Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Director, School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay University and former Vice-Chancellor of the South Gujarat University. | <i>Member</i>           |
| (iii) Dr. Taraben N. Patel, Prof. and Head of the Department of Sociology, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad.   | <i>Member</i>           |
| (iv) Director of Social Welfare, Gujarat State, Ahmeabad.   | <i>Member-Secretary</i> |

The Director of Social Welfare was a Member-Secretary by virtue of his post and consequently, that Membership changed from time to time with the change in the incumbency. On account of the frequent changes, different persons occupied that post for different periods. From the time the Commission was first constituted, there have been atleast five such changes and five different persons acted as Member-Secretary for five different periods as under :—

- (i) Shri Chandubhai P. Patel, IAS, Member-Secretary  
from 8-8-1972 to 22-8-1972

- (ii) Shri U. J. Kuruwa, Member-Secretary  
from 29-8-1972 to 21-12-1972
- (iii) Smt. S. K. Verma, IAS, Member-Secretary  
from 1-1-1973 to 13-11-1973
- (iv) Shri A. Prasad, IAS, Member-Secretary  
from 14-11-1973 to 30-5-1974
- (v) Shri U. J. Kuruwa, Member-Secretary  
from 31-5-1974 to 14-7-1975

Thereafter Shri K.C. Sagar, IAS, took over the charge of the post of Director of Social Welfare and became the Member-Secretary of the Commission by virtue of his post. On account of such changes, continuous and uniform contact with the work of the Commission could not be maintained by the Member-Secretary and hence Government was approached to appoint Shri B. D. Joshi, who was working as a Secretary of the Commission from the beginning, as Member-Secretary, who had attended every meeting and had recorded all evidence in his own hand along with the Chairman, and had supervised the socio-economic household sample survey and remained fully conversant with the data gathered by the Commission throughout the proceedings. Government, thereupon, appointed Shri B. D. Joshi as the Member-Secretary of the Commission with effect from 22nd August 1975 and the Director of Social Welfare was continued as a Member of the Commission *vide* Government Resolution, Education and Labour Department, No. *SEB-1375-C-3164-J*, dated the 22nd August, 1975.

#### **Administrative staff of the Commission**

14. The secretariat staff of the Commission was housed in Polytechnic Hostel Building, Old Sachivalaya, Ahmedabad-15 which place was allotted to the Commission in November 1972. Shri B. D. Joshi, B. A., who was formerly, Assistant Secretary to the Governor, was promoted and appointed as Secretary of the Commission on 20th December, 1972. Earlier, Shri K. S. Solanki, who was Assistant Director in Social Welfare Department, Gujarat State, was promoted and appointed as Assistant Secretary to the Commission with effect from 3rd November, 1972. The other staff of the Commission included one Section Officer, two Assistants, two Clerk-Typists, one Stenographer Gr. I (English), one Stenographer Gr. II (Gujarati) and two peons. As it was decided to write the Report in English, the post of Gujarati Stenographer Gr. II, was converted into that of English Stenographer Gr. II for which, Government permission was obtained.

#### **Survey Staff of the Commission**

15. Subsequently, when it was decided to undertake a State-wide socio-economic household sample survey of 12,000 households for corroborating the data, a separate Survey Cell was opened in the Commission. The

survey work was undertaken at three different centres under the supervision of three Honorary Technical Area Consultants. These Honorary Technical Area Consultants were Professors of Sociology or Economics, who had wide experience of research work. These centres were put in charge of Dr. I. P. Desai, Director of Regional Development Studies at Surat, Prof. D. B. Desai, Lecturer in Sociology, Gujarat University at Ahmedabad and Dr. V. H. Joshi, Reader in Economics, Saurashtra University at Rajkot. Subsequently, during the visit of the Commission to Kutch district, the Commission felt that a separate centre would be needed for the Kutch district as Investigators knowing Kutchi language would be essential for collecting data on questionnaire No. 5 from the villages in Kutch district. Dr. V. H. Joshi continued to work as Honorary Technical Area Consultant for Rajkot centre upto 20th December, 1974 and resigned the assignment as he was required to proceed as a visiting professor to Berlin. Shri R. G. Hathi, who was Assistant Project Officer in the Drought Prone Area Project (DPAP) Office at Rajkot, was appointed as Honorary Technical Area Consultant for Rajkot centre with effect from 21st Decembert, 1974, in addition to his own duties. Similarly, the Kutch centre was also put in charge of Shri V. N. Desai, District Statistical Officer, District Panchayat Bhuj. Both these Statistical Officers had experience of survey work as they were drawn from the cadre of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics. Their appointments were made in consultation with Shri P. B. Buch, Director of Bureau of Economics and Statistics, who is also a member of Expert Committee.

16. In order to carry out the sample survey of 12,000 households, the Commission, in its letter dated the 2nd February 1973 had proposed the creation of the following posts: 3 Honorary Technical Area Consultants, one each for Rajkot, Surat and Ahmedabad centre, two Research Officers (Class II), two Research Assistants, six Inspectors, two each for three centres, 24 Investigators, eight each for three centres, one Clerk-cum-Typist and one Peon. However, under Government Resolution, Education and Labour Department, No. SEB-1373-1274 (J), dated the 3rd April, 1973, Government sanctioned the following research staff :

- (i) 3 Honorary Technical Area Consultants on a fixed honorarium of Rs. 150/- p.m.
- (ii) 2 Research Officers (Class II),
- (iii) 2 Research Assistants,
- (iv) 3 Inspectors,
- (v) 12 Investigators,
- (vi) 1 Jr. Clerk-Typist, and
- (vii) 1 Peon.

17. As the staff sanctioned by Government was not sufficient to complete the survey work in time, a proposal for additional staff was sent to Government in September 1973 which was ultimately, sanctioned on 16th August 1974. The survey work was completed by 31st March 1975. There after, for the analysis of the data gathered during the survey, the following staff was sanctioned for coding and its analysis from 1st April, 1975 to 31st August 1975 :

- (i) 5 Inspectors, and
- (ii) 25 Investigators.

These Inspectors and Investigators were relieved on 31st August 1975. After the coding work of questionnaire No. 5 as well as the house-listing forms of all the urban and rural blocks was completed, the code-sheets and the schedules were sent to the Director, Government Computer Centre at Gandhinagar for punching as well as statistical analysis with the help of the computer. The Research Officers of the Commission as well as two Research Assistants were attending the Bureau for this purpose under the supervision of the Director, Government Computer Centre, Shri P. B. Buch.

18. The Commission started its work by holding its first meeting on 19th October 1972 wherein it was decided to constitute a Co-ordination Committee of experts and to collect relevant material on the subject of backwardness. Active work could, however, be started only after the appointment of a fullfledged Secretary to the Commission in December 1972. A detailed sketch of the working and methodology of the work of the Commission is given in Chapter III. It may, however, be mentioned here that the Commission after due deliberation, evolved seven questionnaires for the purpose of collecting data on certain special features of the problem. The Commission also visited as many as 146 places for the purpose of obtaining evidence and also launched a State-wide-socio-economic household sample survey. The questions that were adopted by the Commission while examining the witnesses at personal interviews were directed to elicit information on various aspects of social, economic and educational conditions of the groups which the respondents represented. In addition, a comprehensive field survey was conducted with a view to examining the educational level, social influences, habits, customs, occupations, social conditions, sources of income and other values and behaviour patterns and determinants of backwardness in a class or a group in the society.

19. A special staff of Investigators was employed to conduct the sample survey of 12,000 households, as decided in the second meeting of Experts on 22nd January 1973, covering the entire State. With a view to facilitate the investigation, this survey was conducted at three different centres viz., Ahmedabad, Rajkot and Surat under the supervision of three Honorary Technical Area Consultants, who were Professors in the field of either Sociology or Economics, and at a separate centre for Kutch district under the supervision of the District Statistical Officer, District Panchayat, Kutch.



20. It will be seen from above that the Commission has tried to adopt a comprehensive approach to assemble data relevant for the purpose of enquiring into and ascertaining the social, educational and other types of backwardness of castes, classes or groups of people in the State of Gujarat and has tried to make the enquiry as comprehensive as possible. The Commission has also examined certain aspects of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes with a view to deriving information regarding their social, educational, occupational and other conditions and the help that these classes have been receiving till now; therefore these two classes were also included amongst the groups selected for the sample survey.

### **Structure of the Report.**

21. Keeping in view the main object of the enquiry in the context of the terms of reference, the Report has been so planned as to give a connected view of the problem in all its aspects, and to devise both theoretical as well as practical approaches to the past as well as the present problem area, its nature and solution. Pursuant to this scheme, a general view about the nature and importance of the problem, some factors leading to the formation of this Commission's terms of reference and a brief description of its work have found their natural place in this Chapter of 'Introduction'. This is followed by the First Chapter relating to 'Historical Backward' which has reference to the existence and position of backward classes before and after the Constitution. Having thus laid sufficient preparatory material, the Second Chapter takes us to the very heart of the problem *viz.*, 'Concept of Backwardness' which includes factors to be considered and the test to be employed in the determination of backwardness-social, educational and any other. Chapter Three gives details about the 'Methodology' and the work of the Commission including methods used for data collection through questionnaires, oral evidence, survey and other sources. Chapter Four records the decisions as regards backwardness and the reasons for inclusion of certain groups and classes as backward. The next Chapter Five discusses the subject of amelioration of other backward classes and the proposed measures. This Chapter also includes suggestions on the problem of maintaining the continued efficacy of measures and their implementation. Chapter Six contains the 'Conclusions and Summary of Recommendations' of the Commission. These Six Chapters cover the main topic relevant to the enquiry, which, it is hoped will cover the entire problem area. Appendices which contain relevant, useful and statistical information are given in Volume II of the Report.

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## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### **Study of historical background.**

1.1 The Backward Classes in India present a problem of a complex nature in the socio-economic structure of the Indian society and no study of stratification would be complete without a brief understanding of the historical background of their conditions. As future lies in the present, the conditions of the present are rather moulded on the past. Any attempt towards a planned programme of social change, in order to be purposeful, must be preceded by a careful study, analysis and evaluation of its historical background which in many ways is likely to shed light on formation of the present structure in the society.

#### **Social stratification and hierarchy.**

1.2. Barring a few primitive communities, social stratification existed in almost all societies; India is not an exception to this universal phenomenon. Although stratification is a universal phenomenon, its manifestation varies sharply from society to society. In some societies, the gap between the strata may not be very acute, it may vary in degree, but not much in kind. Wherever a society is divided into different strata, social hierarchy prevails. The existence of social hierarchy is not a special phenomenon of this country. Social distinctions, stratification of society or inequality based on social distance, income, status, race, religion, ethnic groups, social prestige etc. are found in other civilizations also. Several factors contribute to the existence of such distinctions in a society and these factors are bound to vary from society to society. One of such factors, so far as Indian society is concerned, has been associated with the institution of caste, which has played a very important role in the formation and functioning of the Indian social structure and has worked as one of the most important criteria of social stratification. Although caste elements in some form is found in other social structures, its prevalence in India has been in its extreme form.

#### **The caste system in India.**

1.3. Many a times groups or sub-groups might have come into existence on account of several factors. With reference to the names of various sub-groups within the major groups, it has been observed that bases of distinctions lie in the various factors, such as territorial or jurisdictional separateness, mixed origin, occupational distinction, sectarian difference, dissimilarity of customs, usages, traditions, etc. There are several theories regarding the origin of the caste system. However, this is not the place for entering into a detailed discussion of these various theories. Whatever may be the origin of the institution of the caste system, it still persists in India. However, some of its characteristic

features have undergone rather a rapid change in the context of growing processes of industrialization, urbanization and modernization. There have been hierarchical groups in Indian society which followed an occupation and a pattern of living by heredity and evolved their own social customs regarding purity, pollution, taking of food, marriage, divorce etc. The result was the prevalence of a static social structure with a rigid concept of social hierarchy as time passed. This structure has deteriorated resulting into watertight divisions. Referring to caste \*Davis writes "If the Hindu social order could be summed up in a single phrase, it would be this: it is the most thorough going attempt known in human history to introduce inherited inequality as a guiding principle in social relationship."

### **Untouchable Class**

1.4. Such a rigid system of social stratification deteriorated into the notion, of untouchability, which brought into existence a caste of untouchables, whose very touch brought defilement and pollution. The Scheduled Caste people are generally isolated, especially in the rural areas, where they live on the outskirts of the villages and could not approach public places, such as wells, temples, schools, etc. There have been some theories about the origin of this class, but whatever the controversy in respect of its origin, it is clear that a certain section of the society came to be kept in social isolation.

### **Untouchability, the chief test for classifying Depressed Class; The Scheduled Caste.**

1.5 The term "Scheduled Caste" came into vogue particularly with the Government of India Act, 1935. Previously, they were known as 'Depressed Classes' or 'Excluded Castes' or 'Exterior Castes'. The Government of India Act, 1935 defined 'Scheduled Caste' as follows:

"The 'Scheduled Castes' means such castes, races and tribes corresponding to the classes of persons formerly known as the 'depressed classes' as His Majesty in Council may specify". The Indian Independence Act, 1947 defined the term as "The 'Scheduled Castes' means such castes, races or tribes or parts or groups within castes, races or tribes, being castes, races, tribes, parts or groups which appear to the Governor General to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as the 'Depressed Classes' as the Governor General may by order specify". The term 'Scheduled Castes' as defined in Article 366 (24), means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes as are deemed under Article 341 to be Scheduled Caste for the purpose of this Constitution. Under Article 341(1), "the President may with respect to any State or union territory and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts

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\*Davis Kingsley, "Human Society", page 377.

of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State or Union territory, as the case may be". Under Article 341 (2) Parliament may by law include in or exclude from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

1.6. According to the 1971 Census, the population of the Scheduled Caste was 7,99,95,896 in the whole of India. The population of Scheduled Caste in the State of Gujarat in 1971, was 18,25,432. Under Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution, seats are reserved for the Scheduled Caste in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabha in proportion to the population. This concession was initially for a period of 10 years on the commencement of the Constitution, but has been extended upto 25th January, 1980. The manner in which the State carries out its obligations for the reserved seats in public services in the case of inadequate representation and considers their claims consistent with the maintenance of efficiency in the administration, has been left outside the purview of obligatory consultation with the Public Service Commission\* *vide* article 320(4). Reservation for the Scheduled Caste is also made in recruitment as regards vacancies in public services. The welfare of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe is given special attention both by the Central and the State Governments and special programmes for their welfare have been undertaken in the successive 5 year plans and the amount of investment for the same has been increasing from Plan to Plan from 1951 onwards to 1974\*.

1.7. Since Independence, the eradication of untouchability has been a subject of national importance which is reflected in article 17 of the Constitution of India. "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'Untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law." Concessions have also been made in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes permitting the States to make legislation for making a special provision for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe-*vide* Article 15(4) and Article 16(4). Reference may also be made to Article 46, which provides that "The State shall promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

### **Scheduled Tribes**

1.8. Prior to the Constitution, the Scheduled Tribes were termed as "Aboriginals", "Adivasis" or "Hill Tribes". Upto 1919, they were included amongst backward classes under the heading "Depressed Class", but since

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\* India 1975, page 98, 101.

1919, the tribals have been given a separate nomenclature. Under the Constitution of India, the tribals are termed as Scheduled Tribes. This term is defined by Article 366 (25). "Scheduled Tribes means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of this Constitution". In consonance with Article 342 (1) of the Constitution of India, the President of India has issued lists specifying Scheduled Tribes.

### Common features of Scheduled Tribes

1.9. No uniform test has been evolved for classifying Scheduled Tribes, but the common features found in such tribes are :

- (i) tribal origin,
- (ii) primitive way of life, habitation in remote and less easily accessible areas,
- (iii) general backwardness in all respects\*.

According to the 1971 census, the population of Scheduled Tribes was 3,80,15,162. The population of Scheduled Tribes in 1971 in Gujarat was 37,34,422\*\*. Concessions similar to those applicable to Scheduled Castes such as representations in the Legislatures, reservations in the services etc. are also made available in the case of Scheduled Tribes.

### Denotified Communities

1.10. Mention here may be made of the Denotified tribes or communities. These communities were formerly known as criminal tribes. Prior to Independence, certain tribes and castes were classified as criminal tribes as the members of the denotified communities were considered as habitual criminals. It was believed that these classes were living mainly on proceeds of crimes and were habitually indulging in criminal activities. In Chapter 2 of the Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee 1939, it was stated that† "Whatever the origin of all these classes, it remains true that the basic reason for their continuance is as much economic as cultural and that either through life long habits or through the reluctance of organised Society to take them into its fold they persisted in the systematic commission of crimes". Of these criminal tribes some had no settled place of living but lived a wandering life throughout the year and others who had fixed places of residence took to a life of wandering during certain months of a season during which they supplemented their income by crimes. ††"From early in the 19th Century, however, attempt was made to deal with the

\* Report of the the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1951.

\*\* India 1975 page, 97 and 98.

† Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee 1939, p. 3.

†† *ibid*, p. 25.

members of predatory tribes within the provision of the common law. In this province" (Bombay) "some limited attempt was made under a local Act, Regulation XII of 1827 to control suspicious characters irrespective of caste or creed by restricting movement by night and enforcing a certain amount of surveillance by village Patels". \*In 1871, the Government of India passed the first Criminal Tribes Act. In this Act, the phrase 'Criminal Tribes' was first coined and the system of registration begun". The Report, further states "the Act of 1871 is thus notable in the initiation of the registration system, but it is far more noteworthy in its clear recognition that the problem at issue was basically an economic one. Under this Act, prior to the notification of a tribe by the Government of India, the Local Government is required to provide employment facilities in areas of restriction and to establish settlements. The onus laid on Local Governments in this direction as prerequisite to application of notification, proved too much a responsibility and little attempt was made to put the Act into operation."

### Objectives of the Criminal Tribes Act

1.11. In 1911 a new All India Criminal Tribes Act was passed replacing the Act of 1871. The main objective of the Criminal Tribes Act was to protect the rights of the society against anti-social influence. Its secondary aim was the reformation of the Criminal Tribes. The Criminal Tribes Act of 1911 laid down four distinctive and progressive steps:

- (i) notification,
- (ii) registration,
- (iii) restriction, and
- (iv) internment in settlements.

Another enquiry was made by the All India Jails Commission of 1919 where the emphasis was laid on the positive aspect of the work *i. e.* reformation of the tribes which was more important than the negative aspect *i. e.* protection of public safety. It was said that as the principal means of securing such reformation, emphasis should be laid on the necessity of providing adequate facilities in each settlement. Thereafter, an amendment to the All India Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1924. In its Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee 1939 it was recommended that all unnecessary distinctions should be removed and the rigour of the administration should be softened. On the other hand there must have been action taken on the social and economic side to provide the essentials by which these classes may get assimilated with society in general. In 1947, a Committee was constituted by the Government of Bombay to investigate into the problem of criminal tribes. The Committee urged the necessity for treating the criminal tribes on par with the other sections of the society. As a result, the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924, was repealed in 1949. Since then the Criminal Tribes were treated as backward classes and measures have been taken for their uplift on the basis which is applicable to other back-

\* Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee 1939, p. 26.

ward classes. The Criminal Tribes Act was repealed throughout India effective from 1952 by the enactment of the Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Act, 1952. The use of term "criminal tribe" has been discontinued and now the term "De-notified Tribes" is being used\*.

### **The Population of ex-criminal tribes**

1.12. The population of ex-criminal Tribes in India is about 35,00,000 including Nomadics and settled groups. The population of Criminal Tribes in Gujarat was estimated at about 3 lacs in 1971.

1.13. Lists of Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes were prepared by the State of Gujarat in 1963. These lists are appended in Appendix X. Facilities and assistance almost similar to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are made available to De-notified Tribes as well as Nomadic Tribes in the State of Gujarat except reservation of seats in Government services. It may be mentioned here that in the outgoing Native States, some of the States had published notifications declaring certain tribes as Criminal Tribes *e. g.* in the State of Rajkot, Cambay. . . Such notifications were published and are attached here in Appendix XI (A).

### **Nomades**

1.14. It has been said that it is almost impossible to trace the origin of Nomadism. The term "Nomades" is derived from the word "Nemo" which literally means 'to pasture'. Nomades were found in almost all parts of India and are known in different provinces by different names.

1.15. The basic cultural trait of almost all Nomades is their fondness for open-door wandering life and their inherent want of ambition. They have almost a wandering lust and they usually have no modern values of time, money or economy. They have an inherent dislike for change to new occupation, foods and modes of life. They usually combine and move as a family unit and they have few personal possessions.

1.16. In the former Bombay State as well as in the State of Saurashtra, the Nomadics were treated as Other Backward Classes, but after the abolition of the category of Other Backward Classes in 1959, they are treated on the same lines as De-notified Tribes and get similar advantages in the State of Gujarat. Their population in the State of Gujarat is about 4 lacs.

### **Other Backward Classes**

1.17. There has been no precise definition of the term 'Other Backward Classes'. As we have seen, the terms 'Scheduled Castes' and 'Scheduled Tribes' have been defined in the Constitution under article 366 (24) and (25), but the term 'Other Backward Class' has not been defined anywhere. This term was however, known to administrative departments and in its booklet issued by Bombay State on 'Privileges provided by the Bombay

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\* The Indian Constitution — A Case Study of Backward Classes by Ratna G. Revankar— p. 239.



State Government for Backward Classes', while referring to the functions of the Backward Class Department, it is stated that the main function of the department is to ameliorate the conditions of the Backward Classes so as to bring them in line with the other sections of the society as quickly as possible. The Backward Classes were classified into 3 sections viz., (1) Scheduled Castes (popularly known as Harijans) (2) Scheduled Tribes (popularly known as Adivasis) (3) Other Backward Classes *i.e.*, castes which were educationally, economically, socially and culturally considered as backward and grouped together in one section. A list of 'Other Backward Classes' was prepared and was annexed as Appendix B-III \*in the booklet. In 1959, however, the Government of Bombay reconsidered the entire position as regards 'Other Backward Classes' and issued a Government Resolution dated 18th May, 1959 whereby, the then existing classification of 'Other Backward Classes' was abolished. While issuing the Resolution, it was stated by that Government that "Consequent on the reorganisation of the Bombay State the question of unification of the different lists of Backward Classes in the different component units, was engaging the attention of Government for sometime past. Preparation of unified list of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe is not very difficult. Such communities are not many and the criteria for their classification are also well-known. Such, however, is not the case with the Other Backward Classes. The different units had their own criteria and their own lists. Moreover, there was no list of Other Backward Classes in the Vidarbha and Kutch regions. In the former Bombay region, only such communities were included in the list of the other Backward Classes as were approximately as backward socially and educationally as the Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe. Emphasis was thus laid on social and educational backwardness with the result that the economically backward classes like agriculturists and artisans were excluded from the list. In the Marathwada and Saurashtra regions, emphasis, on the other hand, was laid on economic basis. Moreover, these lists were prepared on the basis of castes. The population of other Backward Classes in these regions is also fairly large and their lists long. In the former Bombay region, the list comprises of 170 communities with a population of 39.18 lakhs. In Saurashtra, it consists of 78 communities with a population of 15.78 lakhs, while in Marathwada, there are 55 communities in the list with a population of 4.07 lakhs. The present population of other Backward Classes is thus 59.03 lakhs *i.e.*, merely 11.05 per cent of the total population and is much more than that of either the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes."

1.18. In Saurashtra there was a Committee appointed for enquiry into the question of Backward Classes in 1953 and a list of Other Backward Classes was prepared by that Government in 1953 which was in force till 1959.

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\* Privileges provided by Bombay State Government for Backward Classes—  
Appendix B—III, p. 89.

### Pre-Constitution and post-Constitution position

1.19. Briefly stated, so far as the Other Backward Classes are concerned, upto 1959 the list of Backward Classes referred to above, was in force in the State of Bombay including Gujarat excepting Saurashtra and Kutch areas. That list was withdrawn in 1959 and on the formation of the State of Gujarat as a separate State, there has been no change in the above position. The De-notified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes, however, who were previously included in the list of Other Backward Classes continued to get certain kinds of facilities even after 1959. In the State of Saurashtra, there was a list which was prepared by that State, but it was withdrawn in 1959, when the State of Bombay abolished the other Backward Classes.

1.20. Although the term Backward Class has been referred to in the Constitution, only two categories have been defined and notified viz., Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe. The rest of the other classes who may be backward have remained undefined.

1.21. The Government Resolution appointing the present Commission in para 4 of the Resolution has stated that "Besides the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes there are other categories of citizens or class or groups among them or parts thereof in the State who are also claiming to be educationally and socially backward and can be regarded as the weaker sections of the community. These people have approached the State Government to grant them the concessions as are being granted to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". In the same resolution, the State Government while referring to this demand, referred to the necessity to ascertain which group or class can be said to be backward. It states "The State Government feels that the demands made by them deserve consideration, but in order, however, to protect or grant of preferential treatment or concessions to any tribe, caste or section or group of people, it is necessary to ascertain whether they are socially, educationally and in other ways backward. It will have also to be assessed that their backwardness is comparable to the social and educational backwardness of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. With a view to making a discrimination in favour of any class of citizen other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the popular belief or general knowledge of the backwardness would not be an adequate criterion. A detailed inquiry about social handicaps etc. and education level of all these communities and/or tribes is, therefore necessary before considering grant of any concession to them similar to those being granted to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

1.22. Backwardness is a social evil and if unchecked affects national progress. There are no simple casues for its existence nor are there simple remedies for its cure. A systematic study of data may help us in formulating an approximate concept of backwardness and in suggesting remedial action.

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## CHAPTER II

### CONCEPT OF BACKWARDNESS

#### Difficulty of defining Backwardness

2.1. There are in all languages and almost all spheres of social philosophy, words which, though they have an acquired meaning, are not amenable to a precise definition. One may sometimes be tempted to doubt whether the words 'backwardness' and 'Backward Classes' do not belong to such a category. The problem of determining who, the 'Other Backward Classes' are and the fixation of a workable criterion for that purpose, may become one of the most complex as well as controversial topics for discussion. Amongst social scientists and constitutional experts, attempts have been made in the past to evolve a precise definition of the term, but it has eluded all attempts for limiting it by words of description. An attempt to explain the term was made by the framers of the First Five Year Plan. It was pointed out, "The term Backward Class is difficult to define. Backwardness is expressed in lack of opportunity for group and individual self-development, especially in economic life and in matters of health, housing and education. It is measured in terms of low levels of income, extent of illiteracy and the low standards of life demonstrated by living conditions".

2.2. The Supreme Court of India in the case of *Chitralakha v/s. State of Mysore*, observed that "laying down of criteria for ascertainment of social and educational backwardness of a class, is a complex problem, depending upon many circumstances which may vary from State to State and even from place to place in a State". The difficulty involved in the problem is heightened by the fact that the Constitution does not contain any definition of Backwardness. The complexity of the problem is reflected in para 7 of the Government Resolution appointing the present Commission. "The task of ascertaining the social and educational backwardness of any class of people is highly complex one, as, besides the caste, a number of factors such as income-level, nature of occupation, mode of life, habitation, proportion of literacy of educated persons etc. have to be taken into account. It might also be necessary to lay down criteria to serve as basis for comparing level with Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other sections in regard to relevant factors".

#### The criteria adopted by the Backward Classes Commission, 1953

2.3. It may be remembered that the President of India had appointed a "Backward Classes Commission" in January 1953 by virtue of the power conferred on him under article 340(1) of the Constitution. The Commission was required to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally

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\* First Five year plan—page 634.

\*\* A. I. R. 1964, Supreme Court, p. 1823.

backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they laboured and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their conditions. The Backward Classes Commission prepared a questionnaire for determination of the backwardness in which the social, economic, educational and caste aspects of the problem were dealt with. The Commission in its Report, attempted to lay down certain criteria of backwardness and while doing so it observed “\*The causes of the backwardness of a large section of the population are not very simple. A variety of causes-social, environmental, economic and political-have operated both openly and in a subtle form for centuries to create the present colossal problem of backwardness”. The Commission raised the question “Who, then are the backward people ? ” and on page 46 of the Report, it states, “evidently those who do not command adequate and sufficient representation in Government service, for, this carries with it power, prestige and influence; those who do not command a large amount of natural resources, such as, land, mines, forests, money, or industrial undertakings; those who live in insanitary surroundings and in ill-ventilated houses; those who are nomadic; those who live by begging and other unwholesome means; those who are agricultural labourers or those who practise unremunerative occupations without any means to enter better paying professions; and those who, on account of poverty, ignorance and other social disabilities are unable to educate themselves or produce sufficient leadership, are all backward. The communities, classes or social groups, who occupy an inferior social position in relation to the upper castes and who also answer the above description or at least major sections of such communities or classes as answer the above description, naturally come under the category of Other Backward Classes.” The criteria adopted by the Commission were :—

- (i) “\*low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society.
- (ii) lack of general educational advancement among the major section of a caste or community.
- (iii) inadequate or no representation in Government service.
- (iv) inadequate representation in the field of trade, commerce and industry.”

2.4. Having considered several criteria, which may be relevant in determining which classes were backward, the Commission decided ultimately to treat the status of a caste as an important factor and on that basis, prepared a list of backward communities. It would appear that the

\* Backward Classes Commission, Government of India Vol. I, page 40 & 46.

\*\* Backward Classes Commission, Government of India Vol. I, p. 46.

majority of the members of the Commission made the caste as a primary criterion and prepared a list of Backward Classes for the country as a whole comprising of about 2399 communities. The Central Government it seems, did not feel satisfied with the approach adopted by the Commission in determining as to who should be treated as backward classes under Article 15 (4). The view taken by the Central Government on a consideration of the Report has been summarised in the judgement of the Supreme Court in *M. R. Balaji V/S State of Mysore*,<sup>\*</sup> "The memorandum issued by the Government of India on the Report of the Commission points out that it cannot be denied that the caste system is the greatest hindrance in the way of our progress, towards an egalitarian society, and the recognition of the specified castes as backward may serve to maintain and even perpetuate the existing distinctions on the basis of castes. Besides, the memorandum goes on to add that some of the tests applied by the Commission were more or less of an individual character, and even if they were accepted, they would encompass a large majority of the country's population. If the entire community, says the memorandum, barring a few exceptions, has thus to be regarded as backward, the really needy would be swamped by the multitude and hardly receive any special attention or adequate assistance, nor would such dispensation fulfil the conditions laid down in Article 340 of the Constitution. The memorandum, therefore, emphasised that action on a systematic and elaborate basis can be proceeded with only after the necessary positive tests and criteria have been laid down for determining which classes or sections are really entitled to get special relief and assistance. To that end, further investigation was obviously indicated. Even so, instructions were issued by the Central Government to the State Governments requesting them to render every possible assistance and to give all reasonable facilities to the people who come within the category of Backward Classes in accordance with their existing lists and also to such others, who, in their opinion deserve to be considered as socially and educationally backward in the existing circumstances".

2.5. The above narrative amply shows the difficulties involved in evolving a positive and workable definition and criteria for determining backwardness. Possibly the circumstances contributing to backwardness vary from State to State and it was possible that the question was left to be decided by the States according to the conditions prevailing in each area. It was no doubt true that the circumstances as regards backwardness, would vary from State to State according to the local situation, geographical position and the impact of several other socio-cultural factors that might exist in that area. In order, therefore, to evolve a reasonably workable criterion, it would be necessary to bear in mind the social and other conditions of the people who are the inhabitants of the State and these will have to be taken into consideration while considering the remedies to be suggested for amelioration, because the consideration of

\* A. I. R. 1963, Supreme Court, p. 649.

the problem "who is backward ?" is only a step towards giving an opportunity and assistance to such persons to come out of backwardness and a call to march forward and breathe in a better atmosphere of social values and to remould social institutions, so that the backward communities can assimilate themselves with the entire bulk of the people.

### **Contents of the Concept of Backwardness**

#### **Conditions prevailing in the State to be considered**

2.6. The term Backward Classes occurs in the Constitution of India at several places viz., Articles 15 (4), 16 (4) and there is a reference to Article 29 (2) in Article 15 (4). In Article 338 (3) reference has been made to Backward Classes in the context of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which states that "in this article references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other backward classes, as the President may, on receipt of the report by a Commission appointed under clause (1) of Article 340, by orders specify and also to the Anglo-Indian community". Possibly, the question of determination of what are Other Backward Classes has been left to the administration having regard to the circumstances prevailing in each State.

2.7. In fixing the concept of backwardness, rigid approach to the question will not be helpful. It would be necessary to bear in mind that same or similar conditions of a class or community may not prevail uniformly in all States, that conditions may differ in different areas within the State, and that caste cannot form the sole basis for fixing the criteria and several other important factors and conditions would require consideration.

#### **The Concept of equality**

2.8. While discussing the concept of backwardness it is to be remembered that the beginning and development of a social condition or culture cannot be traced to a particular moment or time, because it must have taken roots perhaps hundreds of years ago. In ancient times in India, notions of equality of the human race were imbedded and emphasised in religious philosophies. Paradoxically, however, conditions based on 'higher' and 'lower' classes came to exist in India due to historical forces creating rigid social distinctions. Social hierarchy and traditional caste system became established with fixed patterns of living.

2.9. With the advent of independence in India, the idea of equality was reflected in the very preamble of the Constitution. The preamble proclaims in clear words, "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVERIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens; JUSTICE, social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation....." Thus equality is one of the

fundamented principles of our democratic institutions and it has been ensured in several Articles of the Constitution. Social justice, which is referred to in the preamble, demands the eradication of social inequalities and inequalities based on colour, caste, race, creed etc. The framers of the Constitution felt that in the establishment of a real democracy, the unequals, the weaker sections of society will require help for their advancement. Bound by tradition and living in poverty, having lost all sense of and impetus for reform and progress and suffering from inferiority complex, the unequal class had become so static that it would be difficult for them on their own and without any external help, to march with the other advanced sections of society. These were the Backward-retarded sections of society. This aspect of the concept will be useful not only in the determination of backwardness, but also in suggesting ways of amelioration.

### Main contents of the concept

2.10. The main contents of concept of backwardness, if we are to group them under appropriate headings are :—

- (i) social backwardness,
- (ii) educational backwardness,
- (iii) economic backwardness,
- (iv) caste,
- (v) other similar or relevant factors.

The words “socially and educationally backward classes” occur in Article 15(4). This expression, however, has not been defined in the Constitution. It can, however, generally be said that socially and educationally backward classes would include such classes, groups, communities whose social progress is retarded, who are illiterate or poorly educated and who on account of poverty, ignorance, lack of education and other social disabilities suffer from lack of adequate opportunities in the matter of self-development.

### Social Backwardness

2.11. It can be visualised that a number of factors contribute to social backwardness. Social backwardness is a condition of a section of the people and, therefore, it could mostly be descriptive in nature. In the general sense, “social” may mean “relating to society”, “growing or living in communities or societies” or “concerned with the mutual relations of man or classes of man”.

2.12. Article 15 (4) of the Constitution which refers to the term "socially and educationally backward" had come up for discussion in the Supreme Court of India. Clause (4) of Article 15 constitutes an exception to clause (1) which prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race or caste. This would mean that if a special provision was made by the State in favour of the members of these castes or tribes, the validity of such a provision could not be challenged on the ground that such a provision was discriminatory. The Supreme Court considered Article 15 (4) in the cases of\* *M. R. Balaji vs. State of Mysore* and\*\* *Chitralakha vs. State of Mysore*. In the case of *Balaji Vs. State of Mysore*, the question of the promotion of educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people as against the fundamental rights guaranteed under Article 15(1) and 29 (2) was for discussion. Articles 29 (2), 46 and 340 to 342 form a group of articles making special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens in the matter of educational institutions. The dispute was about the extent of such special provision and the criteria and the test to be applied for determining the backwardness of the class. The order that was challenged was based on the Report of the Committee *Viz.*, Nagan Gowda Committee. The Supreme Court held that the bracketing of socially and educationally backward classes with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the provisions of the article 15 (4) and the references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in article 338 (3) show that in the matter of backwardness, the socially and educationally backward classes, would be comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.† Concept of backwardness was not relative in the sense that any class who is backward in relation to the most advanced class of the society should be included in it and the test of the backwardness is "social and educational" *i.e.*, backwardness must be in both respects; social as well as educational. It was further held that article 15 (4) referred to backward classes and not to backward castes though caste may be a relevant factor in determining social backwardness. In the judgement of Balaji's case, it has been observed,†† "Let us take the question of social backwardness first. By what test should it be decided whether a particular class is socially backward or not? The group of citizens to whom Article 15 (4) applies are described as "classes of citizens" not as castes of citizens. A class, according to the dictionary meaning shows division of society according to status, rank or caste. In the Hindu social structure, caste unfortunately plays an important part in determining the status of the citizen. Though according to sociologists and vedic scholars, the caste system may have originally begun on occupational or functional basis, in course of time, it became rigid and inflexible. The history of the

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\* A. I. R. 1963, Supreme Court, p. 649.

\*\* A. I. R. 1964, ,, ,, p. 1823.

† Constitutional Law of India—H. M. Seervai, p. 264.

†† A. I. R. 1963, Supreme Court, p. 659.



growth of the caste system shows that its original functional and occupational basis was later overburdened with considerations of purity based on ritual concepts, and that led to its ramifications which introduced inflexibility and rigidity. This artificial growth inevitably tended to create a feeling of superiority and inferiority, and to foster narrow caste loyalties. Therefore, in dealing with the question as to whether any class of citizens is socially backward or not, it may not be irrelevant to consider the caste of the said group of citizens. In this connection it is, however, necessary to bear in mind that the special provision is contemplated for classes of citizens and not for individual citizens as such, and so, though the caste of the group of citizens may be relevant, its importance should not be exaggerated. If the classification of backward classes of citizens was based solely on the caste of the citizen, it may not always be logical and may perhaps contain the vice of perpetuating the castes themselves.

Besides, if the caste of the group of citizens was made the sole basis for determining the social backwardness of the said group, that test would inevitably break down in relation to many sections of Indian society which do not recognise castes in the conventional sense known to Hindu society. How is one going to decide whether Muslims, Christians or Jains, or even Lingayats are socially backward or not? The test of castes would be inapplicable to those groups, but that would hardly justify the exclusion of these groups *in toto* from the operation of Article 15 (4). It is not unlikely that in some States some Muslims or Christians or Jains forming groups may be socially backward. That is why we think that though castes in relation to Hindus may be a relevant factor to consider in determining the social backwardness of groups or classes of citizens, it cannot be made the sole or the dominant test in that behalf. Social backwardness is on the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a very large extent. The classes of citizens who are deplorably poor automatically become socially backward. They do not enjoy a status in society and have, therefore, to be content to take a backward seat. It is true that social backwardness which results from poverty is likely to be aggravated by considerations of caste to which the poor citizens may belong, but that only shows the relevance of both caste and poverty in determining the backwardness of citizens”.

2.13. Chitralakha's case explains Balaji's case by saying that though the caste was a relevant test for determining the social backwardness, it was not obligatory to apply that test and the determination of social backwardness was not void merely because it ignored caste, if such determination was based on other relevant criteria. The relevant observation in that case is “ \*Two principles stand out prominently from the said observations, namely :—

- (i) the caste of a group of citizens may be a relevant circumstance in ascertaining their social backwardness; and
- (ii) though it is a relevant factor to determine the social backwardness of a class of citizens, it cannot be the sole or dominant test in that behalf.

The observations extracted in the judgement of the High Court appear to be in conflict with the observations of this Court. While this Court said that caste is only a relevant circumstance and that it cannot be the dominant test in ascertaining the backwardness of a class of citizens, the High Court said that it was an important basis in determining the class of backward Hindus and that the Government should have adopted caste as one of the tests. As the said observations made by the High Court may lead to some confusion in the mind of the authority concerned who may be entrusted with the duty of prescribing the rules for ascertaining the backwardness of classes of citizens within the meaning of Article 15(4) of the Constitution, we would hasten to make it clear that caste is only a relevant circumstance in ascertaining the backwardness of a class and there is nothing in the judgement of this Court which precludes the authority concerned from determining the social backwardness of a group of citizens if it can do so without reference to caste. While this Court has not excluded caste from ascertaining the backwardness of a class of citizens it has not made it one of the compelling circumstances affording a basis for the ascertainment of backwardness of a class. To put it differently, the authority concerned may take caste into consideration in ascertaining the backwardness of a group of persons; but, if it does not, its order will not be bad on that account, if it can ascertain the backwardness of a group of persons on the basis of other relevant criteria."

The question what relevance the caste factor can be given is further considered in the same judgement as follows :—

"The Constitution of India promises justice, social, economic and political; and equality of status and of opportunity, among others. Under article 46 one of the articles in Part IV headed 'Directive Principles of State Policy', "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation", Under Article 341, "the President may with respect to any State or Union territory, and where it is a State after consultation with the Governor thereof, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Castes in relation to that State or Union territory, as the case may be."

"Under Article 342, in the same manner, the President may specify the tribes or tribal communities as Scheduled Tribes. Article 15 (4) says: 'Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally Backward Classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes'."

"These provisions form a group of Articles which have relevance in making of a special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally Backward Classes of citizens in the matter of admissions to colleges".

“These provisions recognize the factual existence of backward classes in our country brought about by historical reasons and make a sincere attempt to promote the welfare of the weaker sections thereof. They shall be so construed as to effectuate the said policy but not to give weightage to progressive sections of our society under the false colour of caste to which they happen to belong. The important factor to be noticed in Article 15 (4) is that it does not speak of castes, but only speaks of classes. If the makers of the Constitution intended to take castes also as units of social and educational backwardness, they would have said so as they have said in the case of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Though it may be suggested that the wider expression “classes” is used in clause (4) of Article 15 as there are communities without castes, if the intention was to equate classes with castes, nothing prevented the makers of the Constitution to use the expression “Backward Classes or castes”. The juxtaposition of the expression “Backward Classes” and “Scheduled Castes” in Article 15(4) also leads to a reasonable inference that the expression “classes” is not synonymous with castes. It may be that for ascertaining whether a particular citizen or a group of citizens belong to a backward class or not, his or their caste may have some relevance, but it cannot be either the sole or the dominant criterion for ascertaining the class to which he or they belong”.

#### **Factors leading to Social Backwardness.**

##### **Conventional mode of life.**

2.14. Social backwardness may be due to defective social organization, degenerated or static unprogressive social systems, bigoted adherence to out-dated customs, traditional modes of life, occupation and other modes of social behaviour. A group or a community for instance may be habituated to nomadic life following pursuits which involve frequent changes of abode, with the result that the members of such a group or community are hardly subject to the continuous impact of civilization. As for instance, reference may be made to the Vanzaras. Their usual traditional occupation is to transport grains and other goods from one place to another on bullocks and other animals and they usually camp outside a village for a few days with their families in temporarily erected huts, made of bamboo-poles with hardly a cloth or jute covering. As they wander from place to place, their needs have necessarily to be very small. Their children can have no opportunity for education on account of want of permanent home at one place. On account of their wandering habits, they have evolved for themselves a peculiar mode of unprogressive living, which is fixed into a static pattern, with the result that social backwardness is imprinted upon that group or community. On account of improvements in the means of transport in modern times, transport of goods by beasts of burden is fast disappearing. The effect is bound to be disastrous and even the occupation by which this community could barely sustain itself has greatly suffered. But yet members of the community have not been able to leave their wandering habits which have become saturated in their very blood from birth.

Besides there is no alternative or allied occupation which they are likely to follow. In the Report of the Backward Classes Commission, it has been stated regarding the wandering communities that “ \*there are a large number of small communities who eke out a precarious existence in the country side. They have no fixed place of residence and they move from place to place in search of food or employment. They often rear pigs and poultry, hunt wild animals to satisfy their hunger, and collect forest produce to make a living. They live in thatched sheds or gunny tents and move in groups. They believe in witchcraft. Because of the insecurity of their life, some of these communities are given to crime. It should be the special responsibility of Government to give them a settled life”. The Commission has come across several other such communities living the same drab life.

### **Illiteracy**

2.15. Illiteracy is a great contributory factor to social backwardness. On account of non-availability of educational opportunities and adverse mental attitude of the community towards education of children, it adheres to the same type of life and unremunerative conventional occupation. This starts a vicious circle and tends towards perpetuating social backwardness.

### **Poverty**

2.16. It is also true that the economic factor also plays an important role in the backwardness of the community. Due to poverty of parents, it becomes necessary that a child in the family, who is hardly in his teens and even before that age should work to add to the small income of the family. Thus the economic factor makes the child leave the school at the primary stage in order to earn his bread. In Balaji's case, already quoted, it has been aptly observed “ \*\*Social backwardness is on the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a very large extent. The classes of citizens who are deplorably poor automatically become socially backward. They do not enjoy a status in society and have, therefore, to be content to take a backward seat”.

2.17. No less is the contribution of the caste system to social backwardness. In Hindu society it has become a part of the social organisation which as a result of stratification has deprived many communities of its social status. We propose to deal with the aspect of caste system separately and, therefore, do not discuss the details of the question here at length.

### **Occupational factors**

2.18. Reference may also be made to certain groups or communities which have hereditary occupations and adherence to group occupational tendencies. They resort to the same antediluvian methods of conducting their occupation,

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\* Backward Classes Commission, Government of India. Vol. I, p. 96.

\*\* A.I.R. 1963, Supreme Court, p. 649.

hardly having any scope for introducing new or improved methods in their work. Consequently, there is no improvement in the tools and techniques of their work nor in their quantum of earning. The members of the group swarm in the same occupation, irrespective of its capacity to provide sufficient means of livelihood. The Rabaris or Bharwads e.g. carry on the occupation of rearing cattle and selling milk, but they never think of introducing modern methods of cattle rearing, milching and dairy farming. They continue to carry on their occupation in a traditional manner and live the same drab life as was followed and lived by their ancestors in the same out-dated manner. Another instance is that of the Saranias who earn their livelihood by sharpening knives from which they can hardly make out a bare living. They roam from village to village and from street to street inviting customers for their trade and thus follow the traditional occupation not because it is remunerative, but because it is handed over to them from generation to generation. They use the same tools that were used by their forefathers and hardly think of introducing any improved method, which is more efficient and remunerative than the one followed by them. Similarly, they are enclosed in the same cloistered life with their old fashioned customs which like their tools are handed over to them by their forefathers. These circumstances also raise an acute economic problem for them because their traditional occupation yields to them only a below poverty level income. Thus a vicious circle starts from poverty to lack of education and ultimately to social backwardness.

2.19. The Supreme Court, in Balaji's case, referred to this aspect of the matter in the following words : "The occupations of citizens may also contribute to make classes of citizens socially backward. There are some occupations which are treated as inferior according to conventional beliefs and classes of citizens who follow these occupations are apt to become socially backward". In this connection a reference may also be made to the community of Mochis and Dabgars. The persons belonging to this community have usually to handle hides of dead animals and the community is being treated on and has occupied a lower rung in the ladder of hierarchical society. In the evidence it has been disclosed that, these communities of Mochis and Dabgars are not allowed to take food with most of the other remaining communities, some of whom can themselves be considered as backward.

### **Representation in public services**

2.20. As has been seen above, on account of want of education or other factors leading to backwardness, the backward communities have very poor representation in public services, which in India is prized as one of the important occupations for earning. On account of want of cultural background and adequate environment, these communities are deprived of the opportunities for advancement and can hardly compete with other advanced communities in obtaining white-collared or higher jobs.

\* A.I.R. 1963, Supreme Court, p. 649.

## Social Status

2.21. For reasons now difficult to explore but known to exist for a long time, some occupations have acquired a lower social status in society. One of the reasons for this might possibly be the nature of the occupation followed by the particular community. We have already given the instances of Mochis and Dabgars and in addition, it would be relevant here to refer to the occupations of Butchers and Khatkis. These communities have been given a lower status in society and this has almost become a permanent feature of social status irrespective of the fact whether a member born in such a family follows the occupations or not at the given time. It is one of the traits of social backwardness that it clings hard and fast to the class or community and it requires great effort to disentangle that community from its low social position. Another case which may be cited is that of the community of Valand. This community follows the profession of shaving and hair-cutting but whatever the reasons, the Valand has come to acquire a low social status in society. It may be that this occupation is considered to be an unclean profession and, therefore, has a lower status. In the village, his position is many a times deplorable. He is to shave and cut the hair of all the male members in a family, to render service on occasions and festivals such as marriages, deaths etc. and in return he gets a meagre remuneration sometimes not in cash but in kind.

### Environmental factors—

#### Mode of living, customs and beliefs

2.22 In addition to the above determinants of social backwardness, there are several others which relate to living conditions and habits of a class or community. Their slum-like abodes devoid of even minimum sanitary facilities, their unsatisfactory physical conditions and environment, inflexible social customs relating to marriage, divorce etc. and their religious beliefs mainly consisting of external ceremonies based on superstition leading to blind faith in charms, witchcraft or various types of occult practices— all these cumulatively result in social backwardness. Such traditional mode of life with a rigid adherence to customs, when followed by a group or community from generation to generation generates social backwardness, which is inconsistent with modern civilized notions and which retards progress towards civilized life. The questions that were asked by the Commission from witnesses were directed mainly to elicit data relating to these factors and social habits of a community, which indicate the extent of cultural development in the individual as also the group life of a community. These habits, customs and modes take hold of the members of the group in such a way that they almost become unconscious of their having fallen into them, and a positive educative effort would be necessary to assimilate them in civilized society.

### Educational Backwardness

2.23. As already stated, one of the determinants of social backwardness is illiteracy. In this connection reference may again be made to Article 15 (4) which refers to the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. Generally speaking, the percentage of literacy in India is low when we compare with the literacy standards in other advanced countries. Educational backwardness could be measured by the percentage of literacy prevailing in a community or a group and while considering the literacy level of a particular group or community, Indian as well as local conditions as regards the literacy level, have also to be borne in mind. Evidence indicates that on the whole the literacy level is low among castes, communities and groups having social backwardness or lower status in society.

2.24. The progress of literacy in the country as a whole from 1911 to 1971 is given below :—

<i>* Year</i>	<i>Percentage of literacy.</i>
1911	5.9
1921	7.2
1931	8.0
1941	NA (Not Available)
1951	16.6
1961	24.0
1971	29.46

The literacy rate in India has gone up from 16.6 percent in 1951 to 29.46 percent in 1971. Primary education is now free in all the States. There were about 8.26 crores students in schools in 1972, as against 2.35 crores in 1950-51. At the university stage the number of students increased more than 8 times, and that of colleges more than 5 times.\*\*

In the State of Gujarat, the percentage of literacy in 1961 was 30.45 and in 1971 it was 35.79. So far as the Scheduled Castes are concerned, the percentage of literacy in 1961 was 22.46 and 27.74 in 1971. As regards the Scheduled Tribes, the literacy percentage among them in Gujarat in 1961 was 11.69 and 14.12 in 1971. In Gujarat, in the Backward Classes, the literacy percentage would be much lower than the average percentage

\* The Indian Constitution—A Case Study of Backward Classes by Ratna G. Revankar p. 216.

\*\* "India 1975" p. 47.

of the literacy of the whole State and may be slightly higher than that of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. However, the educational level of educationally backward classes should normally be considered to be almost comparable with that prevailing among Scheduled castes. It may be noted that the percentage of education in Scheduled Tribes is lower than in the Scheduled Castes. The percentage of secondary and higher education in Backward Classes is, however, very poor.

2.25. Various reasons can be attributed to poor literacy amongst the Backward Classes. The main reasons may be summed up as under:—

- (i) Traditional occupation which does not require any kind of special education.
- (ii) Traditional apathy for education on account of social environment.
- (iii) Acquisition of occupational skill from generation to generation.
- (iv) Poverty and need for contribution by children to the earning capacity of the family.
- (v) Nature of occupation.
- (vi) Illiteracy of parents.

2.26. In the field of education, the Nomadic and the De-notified communities deserve a special mention. In these communities, even primary education seems to be totally absent. This may be due to the fact that they have no fixed abode and consequently they suffer from handicaps and maladjustments which is a peculiar problem in these communities. As regards the Other Backward Classes the educational level at the primary stage, though not totally absent, is found to be low in comparison with those classes, who are better situated in society and very low at the secondary and higher stages. The neglect of the problem of backwardness in education would jeopardise the social and cultural progress of the country as a whole, and as time passes make the question of amelioration more difficult of solution.

2.27. The next question is what standard should be adopted for the determination of educational backwardness. Generally speaking the facts that may be considered for this purpose are :—

1. General level of literacy in the State.
2. Level and percentage of literacy in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State.



3. Level and percentage of literacy in the particular class/caste/group under consideration.

4. Level of education as regards secondary and higher education in the particular class/caste/group under consideration.

5. Position as regards literacy and education amongst females in the particular class/caste/group under consideration.

Having regard to these facts and giving due consideration to several variables, it appears that a reasonable and workable measure for the determination of educational backwardness would be from 25% to 30% as regards literacy level with due regard to the low level of secondary and higher education in the particular class where a little higher percentage of literacy is shown.

### The Caste system

2.28. The caste system has been an unique feature of Indian social structure. Originally Indian society was divided into four principal Varnas viz., Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra, which indicated natural divisions then existing in the society. These four Varnas were devised according to the needs of the society, and in general, there were flexibility and mobility in occupational pursuit as well as other matters. In short, the structure of society was not very rigid in the beginning.

In course of time, the caste system emerged; this was altogether a different system with a variety of new characteristic features. Gradually this system was divided into several sub-divisions and sub-castes with special patterns regulating modes of living, religious rites and economic and social life of the people. The Indian Caste system has thus become a historical factor which has resulted in social exclusiveness, hierarchy and social stratification. The notion of Caste hierarchy has become so deep-rooted that it has almost become a natural phenomenon in the society and a child born in a Caste usually grows in its shadow and develops the "Caste personality", imbibing most of the attitudes, habits, and values, and peculiarities of the caste. The Caste has thus become a type of an organisation depending upon the fact of belonging to it by birth in that caste, and thus leading to undynamic and unprogressive set-up in the society.

2.29. But caste alone cannot determine backwardness. It would be an error to assess a group in a society as backward on the sole criterion of Caste. At best it may be one of the factors partly responsible for the existence of social hierarchy and in that way related to social, educational and economic backwardness of the people. The Caste may be a relevant factor in the determination of backwardness but that factor should never be over emphasized. In this connection reference may be made to the observations of the Supreme Court quoted in para 2.12 above.

2.30. After all, backwardness is a result or an effect of several causes. It is a relative term which is the result of rigid customs, traditions, class conventions etc. The caste has not altogether disappeared from the social arena and we cannot say from the data before us that it is merely a survival without any hold on the people and has become totally irrelevant. Subba Rao J. has made the following relevant observation in the case of *Chitrallekha Vs. State of Mysore\**.

“We do not intend to lay down any inflexible rule for the Government to follow. The laying down of criteria for ascertainment of social and educational backwardness of a class is a complex problem depending upon many circumstances which may vary from State to State and even from place to place in a State. But what we intend to emphasize is that under no circumstance a “class” can be equated to a “caste” though the caste of an individual or a group of individuals may be considered along with other relevant factors in putting him in a particular class. We would also like to make it clear that if in a given situation caste is excluded in ascertaining a class within the meaning of Article 15 (4) of the Constitution, it does not vitiate the classification if it satisfied other tests”.

2.31. The dangers of adopting a Caste criterion are also obvious. The criterion, for example, will fail and will not apply in the case of Muslims. Backwardness, ignorance, illiteracy and such other social depressants may stick to a group for sometime, but it is likely that changes may occur and may disappear altogether in course of time. Synonymous caste names exist both among high and the low castes, and it is possible that a particular group might not have retained its original name. New structure with old caste names may have come into existence due to several factors such as inter-caste marriages, conversion, change of permanent habitation and geographical and occupational changes. Mirs, for example, amongst Muslims have no caste. Their traditional occupation is singing; but along with it they also resort to a mode of asking monetary assistance which is almost akin to begging. Now this mode of life has kept them back from education and improved methods of living and has continued their poverty from generation to generation. Although, therefore, they have no caste, they retain characteristics of backwardness. We may take another example from Hindu Society. The Bawas, originally belong to a class whose forefathers renounced the world and had become worshippers in Hindu temples. They were drawn from various communities in the first instance, but gradually it so happened that on account of similarity of their occupation they formed certain common characteristics and almost became a caste by themselves known as Bawas. The occupation of worship in temples could not accommodate all the members of their group, and it became necessary for

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\* A. I. R. 1964, Supreme Court p. 1834.

them to ask for alms. It appears that this occupation ultimately deteriorated into the occupation of begging. This was accompanied by poverty and want of education but at the same time it conferred upon the group a caste status with the usual restrictions against inter-caste marriage and other religious and social customs. The Bawas thus emerged as a separate social group and formed themselves into a separate caste. Moreover, social, educational and economic set up in a society is a dynamic factor and it is possible that new groups not based on castes may have come into existence with the passage of time.

2.32. From the constitutional point of view discrimination based on the grounds of caste, race, religion etc. is against the spirit of the Constitution and contrary to the principles enunciated in Articles 14, 15, & 16. The term "caste" is nowhere found in the Articles specified for the purpose of special concessions to backward classes and 'caste' cannot be equated with 'class'. Therefore, in dealing with the question of backwardness, although it may not be irrelevant to consider the caste of a group and although the caste of the group may be a relevant factor, its importance in the consideration of backwardness should never be exaggerated.

### **Backwardness in other ways**

2.33 Although there is a specific reference on social backwardness in Article 15(4), the Constitution does not contain any definition of that term. Social backwardness is a wide term and can include various aspects of social life. A number of factors might contribute to social backwardness. Backwardness depending upon causes relating to occupational, geographical and such other factors may also contribute to social backwardness. The same occupation may come to be treated in society as inferior according to conventional belief and the groups of citizens who resort to these occupations are in course of time apt to become socially backward. Some groups, do not get into touch with civilized life and retain their old customary mode of living inherited by them from their ancestors. By the fact of their following a particular mode of living inconsistent with advanced notions in society they can be considered as backward. There are certain groups, for example, who have no idea of even minimum sanitary requirements. We have come across some Vadi families who had never changed their clothes and had never taken a bath in a year, except when they were drenched by rain. There was no wonder that such insanitary life would be accompanied by dirty habits and low living leading to backwardness.

2.34. Sometimes occupational or economic conditions may also lead to social backwardness. Weak economic condition of a group demands that a child, when it hardly comes of age, should start working to help the family to sustain a living. This prevents the child, from being educated and forces him to turn to the occupation, which does not require much education or training and which is already over crowded and less remunerative. The

result is that the weak economic fabric of the family is perpetuated alongwith illitercy and age-old family customs and habits. Such a mode of life prevents them from assimilating themselves with the civilized world and the group thus remains socially backward. The economic condition of a group or a class necessarily affects educational and social conditions, and hence during the course of our inquiry, when collecting data about social and educational backwardness, various questions were asked about economic conditions also. It is however, to be borne in mind that the backwardness from the economic point of view must be such as should be the prevailing condition of the group or class and not personal or individual, because it is then that the economic aspect will have relevance alongwith the social and educational aspect.

2.35. The ultimate resulting condition of backwardness gets so much mixed up with the original causes, that it becomes difficult to trace them as independent causes for the existence of backwardness. Therefore, all factors which prevent or retard progress must be taken into consideration because ultimately these factors have led to the social and educational backwardness of that group.

2.36. On the whole it appears that backwardness cannot be measured by any one single factor, because backwardness is a relative term and it could be due to number of complex factors such as social, educational, economic, cultural, environmental, conventional etc. A compreshensive approach in which all aspects of social life are utilised may possibly indicate a reasonably correct solution.

### Means test

2.37. A question may perhaps be asked why assistance should be extended to those who, though belonging to a backward class, have adequate financial resources to educate their children. Such a situation if it arises, can be removed by adopting the means test, which will ensure against any such inequitable results. This question is more relevant to the practical side of the matter, and hence will be referred to in some detail when suggesting means for amelioration.

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## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Introduction**

1. The Indian Constitution aims at justice, social, economic and political, and through its provisions, tries to safeguard the interests of the weaker sections of the society which, having regard to the social conditions in India, require special consideration and treatment. Those sections of the people to whom opportunities for educational and social advancement were not available and as a consequence remained backward, required to be assisted so that each member of the society gets equal opportunities and is able to place himself on the same footing in all respects with others. Social justice is an important ingredient of a Welfare State. Transformation of the prevailing social order is, therefore, necessary; but, the question is how such a change could be brought about. The process of equalisation by elimination and/or amelioration of the conditions of backwardness is, no doubt, beset with many difficulties. One of the complex problems is determination of the backwardness of a class or section of the people, who would require assistance for its upliftment. The machinery and the methods employed for such determination are, therefore, as important as the determination of the concept of backwardness itself. From the very initial stages, the Commission has taken particular care to devise the methodology to be employed for the enquiry. In the first place, the nature of the social phenomenon under investigation had to be thoroughly understood. The how's and why's of a social phenomenon bring to the forefront a variety of factors, such as the nature, causes and effects of social behaviour in the background of its historical evolution, environmental set up, and several other factors that have been responsible for empirical and causative symptoms of a particular situation. The approach, therefore, has to be multi-faceted and critical with a view to ascertaining the basic as well as the precipitating factors.

3.2. The broad terms of reference of the Commission are mentioned in paragraph 12 of the Chapter on 'Introduction'. The Commission has attempted to approach the problem of empirically identifying the socially and educationally backward castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of the people in the State in a variety of ways. While a detailed narration of the different approaches is given in this Chapter, it should be pointed out, right in the beginning, that the Commission's major objective in devising these approaches was to maximise the overall advantages that may accrue and minimize the overall limitations that are, in a way, inherent in the nature of the different approaches followed. The Commission is of the opinion that the different approaches are somewhat complementary to one another. It is, however, difficult for the Commission to indicate the primacy of any one approach over the others. The Commission very humbly believes that while it has taken due care

to examine and assess the facts emerging from its efforts and approaches in the various directions, it would be presumptuous on its part to claim that it has evolved some universal principles in support of its recommendations.

### **Various methodological approaches**

3.3. The major methodological approaches of the Commission may be described as under:—

(i) A study of the secondary sources (published as well as other) of data.

(ii) Representations made by the social workers and/or leaders/representatives of castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of people.

(iii) Information and opinions obtained from district-level officials.

(iv) Opinions of the social scientists regarding the empirical criteria for determining educational and social backwardness as well as the quantitative method to be followed for arriving at a composite index.

(v) Opinions of Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assembly, social workers and other knowledgeable persons.

(vi) Data regarding enrolment of pupils belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward castes/communities in the primary, secondary and higher institutions of learning.

(vii) Oral evidence taken by the Commission and site visits to the different parts of the State.

(viii) A State-wide socio-economic household sample survey.

3.4. During its initial meetings, the Commission though it necessary to examine the various constitutional and legal issues arising out of the major problem of recommending any caste/class/group/section/community of people as socially and educationally backward, the necessity for recommending a practical procedure for executing such recommendations as may be accepted by the Government, and the necessity of comparing the level of educational and social backwardness of such caste/class/group/section/community of people with that of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State. It was felt by the Commission that it should also enlist the co-operation of a team of social scientists in carrying out the necessary examination and study of the comprehensive data that may be available or that may be planned to be collected for the specific purpose of the Commission.

## Advisory Committee

3.5. During the first meeting of the Commission held on the 19th October, 1972, it was decided to appoint an Advisory Committee consisting of experts with a view to advising the Commission regarding the methodology to be adopted in executing the work of the Commission. The experts were drawn from different fields which could be considered relevant for the work of the Commission. This Advisory Committee included Professors, who besides their academic qualifications, were connected with research work in the fields of economics, sociology, statistics etc. This Advisory Committee in its first meeting held on 7th December, 1972, made the following recommendations amongst others :—

- (i) collection of data relating to De-notified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes,
- (ii) collection of data relating to Other Backward Classes and the advantages that were available to them,
- (iii) information about various schemes and advantages and assistance available to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
- (iv) population statistics available from the different Census Reports
- (v) formulation of questionnaires for different purposes,
- (vi) design of a State-wide household sample survey and its execution.

## Sub-Committee of Experts

3.6. A very useful suggestion to carry out a State-wide socio-economic household sample survey was made by the Expert Committee and, as a result, the Commission forwarded a proposal for this purpose to the Government in the first week of February 1973. The Commission appointed an Expert Committee of the following members under the Chairmanship of one of its members, Dr. Taraben N. Patel :—

- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| (i) Dr. Taraben N. Patel,   | <i>Chairman</i> |
| (ii) Dr. I. P. Desai, Director, Centre for Regional Development Studies, Surat,                         | <i>Member</i>   |
| (iii) Dr. Vimal P. Shah, Reader in Sociology, Gujarat University,                                       | <i>Member</i>   |
| (iv) Prof. D. B. Desai, Lecturer in Sociology, Gujarat University,                                      | <i>Member</i>   |
| (v) Shri P. B. Buch, Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Ahmedabad                            | <i>Member</i>   |
| (vi) Shri Chandubhai P. Patel, ex-Director of Social Welfare and ex-Member Secretary of the Commission. | <i>Member.</i>  |

For the purpose of working out the details of the proposed survey, an Advisory Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. Vimal P. Shah and Shri P. B. Buch, was also formed to help the Honorary Technical Area Consultants. The following three Honorary Technical Area Consultants were appointed for the purpose of carrying out the household sample survey work in three regions of the State :

- (i) Dr. I. P. Desai at Surat,
- (ii) Prof. D. B. Desai at Ahmedabad, and
- (iii) Dr. V. H. Joshi at Rajkot.

Subsequently, Shri V. N. Desai, District Statistical Officer, was appointed as an Honorary Technical Area Consultant for the Kutch District in addition to his own duties.

3.7. The Commission, with the help of the Expert Committee devised the above mentioned broad approaches for carrying out its terms of reference. It should however be mentioned that while the Expert Committee has been mainly responsible for preparing the various data collection devices (questionnaires), designing the State-wide socio-economic household sample survey, training the field workers, preparing a coding manual, computerization of the data and their computer analysis, the Expert Committee worked under the continuous direct guidance of one of the members of the Commission, consulted the Commission on all major aspects of their work and arrived at decisions only after concurrence of the Commission was obtained thereon. Under the circumstances, several joint meetings of the Commission as well as the Expert Committee members were also held. It should be clearly stated that although the Commission had obtained the necessary help and assistance of the Expert Committee members and others, the Commission takes full responsibility for devising the various methodological approaches followed by the Commission. Although these approaches have been described in a particular sequence in this Chapter, the Commission had devised these approaches more or less in a simultaneous manner.

#### **Study of the secondary sources (published as well as other) of data :**

3.8. The Commission obtained reports of similar Commissions and Committees concerning Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as well as other backward classes in other States. The Commission also referred to the annual reports of the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Similarly, the Commission examined the data available in the Census reports and monographs. The Commission was also able to trace some published monographs on different castes and communities residing in different parts of Gujarat. As mentioned earlier, the Commission also examined the constitutional provisions, judgements of the High Courts, and the Supreme Court concerning the various issues related to its terms of reference. A detailed bibliography of the material used by the Commission in developing its approach to the problem is given in Appendix XXXIX.



**Representations made by the social workers and/or leaders of castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of people.**

3.9. Announcements in the regional and English language newspapers as well as by the All India Radio were made regarding the appointment of the Commission, and all concerned persons or groups were invited to make written and/or oral presentation before the Commission regarding the castes/classes/groups/sections/ communities of people who should be considered educationally and socially backward.

### **Questionnaire No. 2.**

Since the written representations made by some of the castes/communities/organisations were in a haphazard manner, the Commission thought it desirable to prepare a detailed Questionnaire seeking information from the various castes/communities/organizations. A copy of the Questionnaire No. 2, prepared by the Commission for this purpose, is given in Appendix III. This was sent to all those who had earlier sent their representations to the Commission for being considered as educationally and socially backward. It will be seen from the questionnaire that it tries to seek a variety of data on the historical background, areawise population in different parts of Gujarat, occupations, habitation, literacy, education, income, social customs and other relevant information regarding educational, social, economic and other conditions of the community. This questionnaire provided a good deal of guidance to social workers as well the caste/community leaders/representatives who were interested in presenting their cases in an orderly manner before the Commission. In all, the Commission received 1581 representations from various castes/communities/groups in Gujarat, of which 227 were in the format of the questionnaire prepared by the Commission. A list of the caste/communities/groups that have submitted written representations and/or appeared before the Commission is given in Appendix XII.

3.10. Although, the Commission benefited considerably by preparing a structured questionnaire to be filled in by caste/community leaders/representatives the Commission was very much aware of the fact that the information sought in such a questionnaire could be supplied by well informed and/or motivated persons. Further, the Commission had no way of judging the reliability and validity of the information supplied in such a questionnaire by the caste/community organisations. We may, in this connection, mention the fact that the Commission was much impressed and helped by the efforts made by some caste and community organisations in collecting and supplying the Commission, to the extent possible, accurate, reliable and valid information in reply to the questionnaire.

## **Information and opinion obtained from the District level officials.**

### **Questionnaire No. 1**

3.11. It was understood that certain District Panchayats were granting certain special assistance to the members of the backward classes, other than the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, residing in their areas. With a view to finding out the information about such backward classes, the Commission prepared a Questionnaire for district-level officials to obtain information regarding the castes/communities that were considered backward for the purpose of special assistance by District Panchayats, the castes and communities which might have approached them with a request for special assistance but whose requests were not accepted by the District Panchayats and the reasons for doing so, and their opinions regarding the castes/communities that should be considered socially and educationally backward. This questionnaire was also accompanied by a detailed questionnaire seeking caste/community-wise information from these district level officials regarding their population, habitation, educational level compared with that of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, hereditary occupations and other major occupations. A copy of this questionnaire No.1 is given in Appendix II. The Commission sent 37 questionnaires to District officials and was successful in obtaining information from 13 District officials.

3.12. While it was a good idea to find out from District Panchayats the information regarding the special assistance that they might have provided to certain castes/communities, one must, however, remember that many a times the decisions of such local bodies are based on subjective feelings and impressions. In addition, there is a possibility of the influence of local and district-level power politics and considerations in extending special facilities or rejecting requests for such special assistance.

**Opinions of social scientists regarding the empirical criteria for determining educational and social backwardness as well as the quantitative method to be followed for arriving at a composite index.**

### **Questionnaire No. 3.**

3.13. The most complex problem that the Commission faced was to determine empirical criteria for judging the level of educational and social backwardness of the various castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of people compared with that of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State. Further, it was felt by the Commission that although it would be relatively easy for social scientists to suggest several criteria for determining educational and social backwardness of any caste/community, there still remains rather a crucial question regarding the quantitative method to be followed for weighing the different criteria of educational and social backwardness

and arriving at a composite score indicating the level of educational and social backwardness of a given caste/community. In order to get suggestions and guidance from social scientists not only in the State of Gujarat but also from all over the country, the Commission prepared a Questionnaire seeking views, guidance and specific suggestions regarding the criteria as well as methodology for determining the educational and social backwardness of a given caste/community. A copy of this Questionnaire No. 3 is given as Appendix IV.

3.14. The Commission sent this questionnaire to 46 social scientists all over the country. However, the Commission received rather a poor response from social scientists as only 13 social scientists responded. Even this information was, by and large, of a very general nature and did not provide any specific guidance to the Commission. Under such circumstances, the Commission thought it fit to rely mainly on the knowledge and guidance of the Expert Committee members appointed by it. However, it must be mentioned that the Commission organised a seminar of social scientists from Gujarat to discuss the design of the State-wide socio-economic household sample survey suggested by the Expert Committee, and thus widened the scope of the expert guidance that the Commission could obtain from social scientists.

### **Opinions of the MPs, MLAs, social workers and other knowledgeable persons**

#### **Questionnaire No. 4**

3.15. The Commission was aware of the fact that there are several Members of Parliament, Members of the Legislative Assembly, social workers and other knowledgeable persons who work in their various capacities, in different fields of social work, to help and ameliorate the conditions of the socially, educationally, and otherwise backward castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of people. With a view to benefiting from their first hand experience, the Commission prepared a detailed questionnaire for such informants so as to elicit information regarding the castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of people whom they would consider socially and educationally backward and related information and reasons for considering them as backward. A copy of the Questionnaire No. 4 is given as Appendix V.

3.16. The Commission sent this Questionnaire to 338 Members of Parliaments, Members of Legislative Assembly, social workers and other knowledgeable persons in the State. However, the Commission received response to this Questionnaire from only 46 persons. It must be added here that the Commission, many a times, found it difficult to assess the reliability and validity of information supplied in reply to this questionnaire, largely because the information supplied tended to be of a general nature.

**Data regarding enrolment of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward class/communities in the primary, secondary and higher institutions of learning.**

**Questionnaires No. 6 & 7**

3.17. One of the Commission's concerns was to obtain statistics regarding the enrolment of students from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Class/communities in the primary, secondary and higher institutions of learning. The Commission, therefore, prepared two questionnaires seeking information regarding the number of students enrolled at the different levels of education in all educational institutions in the State. Questionnaire No. 6 relates to primary and secondary education and Questionnaire No. 7 to higher education. Copies of both these questionnaires are given as Appendices VII & VIII.

3.18 The Commission sent these Questionnaires to 21805 primary schools, 2487 secondary schools and high schools and 371 colleges and universities in the State. The Commission received, after several reminders, replies from only 11577 primary schools, 1682 secondary and high schools, and 180 colleges and universities. While the Commission did examine the data obtained in this regard, it must be mentioned that the coverage of the data was rather fragmentary and therefore, the Commission has not presented any summary of these data. However, the Commission has, to the extent possible, utilized this data in arriving at its recommendations.

3.19. The collection of data through personal interviews and direct evidence of the members of castes, classes and groups was considered as an important method to obtain first-hand idea of the problem. \*Gordon Allport has asserted the importance of this method by saying, " If we want to know how people feel, what they experience and what they remember; what their emotions and motives are like and the reasons for acting as they do; why not ask them ? " The Commission, after a careful consideration of the various aspects of social, educational and other type of backwardness, tried to standardise the questions to be asked to witnesses who were to appear before them. But the questions were always kept flexible and were adjusted to the requirements of each individual case. They were not asked as leading or suggestive questions, but were asked in a manner as would bring out the characteristics that were typical of the group and yet provided a full scope for variation. The questions embrace all fields of life and activities of a group or a class. The main points on which information was elicited by the questions were :

- (1) population of the group or class-urban and rural,
- (2) condition and location of habitation and residence,
- (3) nature of settlement *i. e.* nomadic or stationary,
- (4) restrictions regarding taking food and water from and with other groups,

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\*Taken from 'Scientific Social Surveys & Research' by Pauline V. Young, P. 205.

- (5) restrictions regarding marriages with other communities,
- (6) child betrothals and child marriages,
- (7) levirate,
- (8) widow-remarriage,
- (9) divorce,
- (10) bride-price,
- (11) bride-groom price,
- (12) expenditure at the time of or after marriage and death ceremonies
- (13) social organization,
- (14) educational level-primary, secondary and higher,
- (15) sanitation and health,
- (16) religious beliefs,
- (17) drug and liquor addiction,
- (18) occupation,
- (19) income,
- (20) indebtedness, and
- (21) social status.

3.20. It will be seen that the questions were intended to bring out information which could supply details as regards the social and economic condition, their habitation, mode of life, customs, occupations, financial conditions, properties and possessions, and social status. Care was taken to see that no exaggeration, over-zealous statements or biased opinions were introduced in the evidence and the witnesses were induced to give evidence in a natural manner with minimum bias and maximum reliability. The approach to the concerned witnesses was first facilitated by widely advertising the visits of the Commission in a particular district by publishing the programme of the Commission not only in the leading newspapers of the State, but also in local papers of the district. The Collectors, the District Development Officers, other Government and Panchayat Officers and Social Welfare Officers were informed of the visit and the programme in the district, and the Members of Legislative Assembly and Members of Parliament of the district and those who had sent representations were also individually informed of the programme of the Commission in the district. The local bodies (Municipalities and the Panchayats) of the district were also informed. The programmes

were also announced through the medium of All India Radio in the local news. On account of the wide and extensive publicity of the tour programme, the Commission could gather a fair amount of data, both quantitative and qualitative, at the time of each of its visits in every district. Those who had offered themselves as witnesses included representatives of several castes, communities, groups and sections of society, social workers, leaders and other officials and non-official persons, such as Collectors, District Development Officers, Presidents of District and Taluka Panchayats, Municipal Corporators, who were extensively acquainted with all kinds of people in that district. There were some on the spot demands for the supply of questionnaires, which were also complied with. The tours of the Commission were divided district-wise and the Commission visited all the nineteen districts of the State and most of the taluka places. A list containing the Districts and Taluka places where meetings were held for the purpose of collection of evidence is given as Appendix XVI. Out of these 19 were district headquarters, 96 taluka headquarters, 12 other towns/cities and 19 villages. The total number of witnesses examined was 2139. Additional meeting of the Commission and meetings of Advisory Committee and Expert Committee were also held, details of which are contained in Appendix IX.

3.21. It will be seen from above that an important source of information of the Commission was the personal evidence which the Commission obtained from the various caste/community leaders/representatives and others during its visits to the various parts of the State. As explained above, the Commission devised a fairly sound procedure in informing the local people, social workers, Government and other officials at the local level about the purpose, date and time of the Commission's visits to the various places, and special efforts were made by the Commission's staff, who reached the respective places to be visited by the Commission in advance by one or two days in contacting and organizing their personal evidence before the Commission. In many ways, it must be admitted, the Commission does not have any other means to judge the reliability of the information supplied by the witnesses. However, the Commission had tried to test the authenticity of the information supplied by the various groups or communities with the local leaders or Panchayat office-bearers or local government officers, who were likely to be more familiar with them because of their day-to-day contact with them. On the other hand, the Commission had prepared a broad guide-line to structure the process of eliciting information from the persons who reported personally to the Commission. The Commission had maintained detailed notes of the information obtained during such evidences.

### **Visits to Tribal areas.**

#### **Local inspection of sites**

3.22. The tribal areas of the Panchmahals, Dangs and Sabarkantha Districts were specially included in the itinerary of the Commission with a view to enabling the Commission to appreciate the characteristics of the Scheduled Tribes residing in these areas.

3.23. Besides recording evidence through examination of witnesses, local inspection and site visits were also made, wherever it was felt necessary. Such local inspection enabled the Commission to have an on-the-spot perspective of the locality, condition of houses, habitation, sanitation, household goods and other necessities and routine of daily life of the people. Such inspections were made at 20 places.

#### **State-wide socio-economic household sample survey**

3.24. The Commission carried out a State-wide socio-economic household sample survey covering 6449 households. The major objective of the State-wide household survey was to obtain detailed information with the help of trained interviewers, regarding the various aspects of social and educational development/backwardness of people in the different parts of the State. The questionnaire canvassed in the household survey is given as Appendix VI (B).

3.25. The Commission spent a good deal of time and resources in conducting the sample survey. The work of conducting the household survey passed through rough weather, and the data obtained did not fully satisfy even the experts who were responsible for helping the Commission in designing and conducting the survey. Unfortunately, the financial resources of the Commission were not adequate to suit the recommendations of the expert group for conducting the socio-economic sample survey in the manner they had designed it from the beginning.

#### **Sampling plan of the State-wide socio-economic household sample survey**

3.26. In devising an adequate sampling plan for the State-wide socio-economic sample survey, it was necessary to ensure an adequate representation of :

- (i) Scheduled Castes,
- (ii) Scheduled Tribes,
- (iii) other backward classes that were known on the basis of the available secondary data,
- (iv) different religious groups, and
- (v) a cross-section of the population of the remaining categories of people.

For this purpose, the Expert Committee devised a two-phase sampling-cum-survey operation. While the first-phase sampling-cum-survey operation was aimed at collecting data from the above mentioned five categories of people, the second phase sampling-cum-survey operation comprised of a purposive sampling plan so as to augment the frequency of observations on castes/classes/groups/sections/communities of people that might not be adequately covered in the first-phase sampling-cum-survey operation. By

design, the second-phase sampling-cum-survey operation rested on a preliminary examination of the frequency distribution of the responding households in the first-phase sampling-cum-survey operation. However, the first-phase sampling-cum-survey operation consumed, on account of factors beyond the control of the Commission's staff, a longer duration of time than anticipated. On account of the urgency of the analysis and utilization of the data collected in the first-phase sampling-cum-survey operation for the completion and submission of the Commission's Report to the Government, it was decided to drop the second-phase sampling-cum-survey operation. This decision, of course, meant that it would not be possible for the Commission to estimate various characteristics of the sampled castes/classes/groups/sections/communities. The details regarding the the sampling plan are given in Appendix XIX. It may be mentioned that this type of complex and elaborate sampling procedure was discussed and finalized at a joint meeting of the Commission, the Expert Committee and some sampling experts.

#### **Data collection instrument Questionnaire No. 5**

3.27. A detailed data-collection instrument (Questionnaire No. 5) was devised, pre-tested, modified, and finalized for this purpose. Questionnaire No. 5 is given in Appendix VI (B). It could be observed from this questionnaire that data were obtained from the responding house-holds regarding their caste/class/group/section/community, religion, details regarding the number of members in the family, that is, their age, sex, marital status, level of education, occupation, whether they were presently studying or not and if not reasons for it, and if yes, the level upto which they want to study, etc. The questionnaire also provided for recording information-regarding income, expenditure, indebtedness, residence, agricultural land, social customs and beliefs, habitation, their opinion as to whether they should be considered backward and if so, reasons for it, and whether other people consider or believe them to be backward or not.

#### **Four regions of data collection operation**

3.28. As mentioned earlier, for the purpose of conducting the State-wide socio-economic household sample survey, the State was divided into four regions, and the data-collection operation in each of these region-was carried out under the direct supervision of an Honorary Technical Area Consultant. Arrangements were made at the Commission's headquarters in Ahmedabad to sample the required number of urban blocks and villages, copy of the tracings of their boundaries and supply them to the Honorary Technical Area Consultants. However, wherever possible, such tracings were also obtained from the regional offices of the Census organization.



### **Coding of data at Ahmedabad**

3.29. Once the work regarding data-collection was completed, all original questionnaires were collected at Ahmedabad. An elaborate coding plan was worked out, and the entire coding operation was conducted at Ahmedabad under the direct supervision of Shri D. B. Desai, Honorary Technical Area Consultant for the Ahmedabad region and the two Research Officers of the Commission Shri S.D.R. Malik and Shri B.D. Mehta. In all, 30 coders were employed for this purpose. All coders were first given a general training in coding. This was followed by an item-by-item discussion of the questionnaire and the related instructions for coding were given. All coders worked together around a big table, and care was taken to reach uniform decisions regarding information and items that could not be pre-included in the code-book. Such a procedure ensured a uniform pattern of coding not only of the close-end questions but also of the open-end questions.

### **Computerization and analysis of the data**

3.30. Considering the need of the Commission, the Expert Committee worked out a detailed plan for computerization and analysis of the data. This plan was discussed and finalised at a joint meeting of the Commission and the Expert Committee. It may be mentioned, in this connection, that one of the most pertinent questions in analysing the data was whether caste or some other characteristic of the population should be used as a criterion variable. While it would be possible to think of occupation, education, income and such other characteristics for this purpose, it was felt that the data should be analysed by using a stable criterion variable. Consequently, caste was selected for this purpose. The data available from the household sample survey have been, therefore, analysed and presented according to caste as an independent variable. The Commission has examined the sample survey data presented in the following tables :—

1. Demographic data and education levels by caste/group.
2. Highest education achieved by a member and level of education for male/female in households by caste/group.
3. Population distribution of child marriage and reasons for leaving school by caste/group.
4. Distribution of households by caste/group for social customs (existence of social customs).
5. Distribution of households by caste/group for social customs (custom exists and should be changed).

6. Distribution of households by caste/group for social customs (custom exists and should not be changed).
7. Distribution of households by caste/group for social customs (custom does not exist and should be introduced).
8. Distribution of households by caste/group for social customs (custom does not exist and should not be introduced).
9. Distribution of households by caste/group for source of income and economic data.
10. Distribution of household by caste/group for economic status and expenditure data.
11. Distribution of households by caste/group for type of residence, utensils and articles of daily use.
12. Distribution of households by caste/group for data on life style.
13. Distribution of households according to opinions on education and marriage.
14. Distribution of households by caste for reasons for backwardness of caste/group.
15. Distribution of households by caste/group according to ownership of land.
16. Number of households by caste/group owning less than 99 heads of livestock and total number of livestock owned by categories of livestock and number of households reporting 99 or more heads of livestock.

We have also analysed and utilised the information available in the house-lists. The following tables have been prepared from the information available in the house-lists.

1. Distribution of households by caste/group according to highest level of education attained by any member in the household.
2. Distribution of households by caste/group according to occupation of head of household, percentage of households in first four ranks according to number of households in various occupation groups.

These tables are given as appendices XX to XXXVII.

#### **Caution to be exercised for interpretation of the household sample survey data**

3.31. It may be mentioned that while we have thought it adequate to present the frequency distribution of the various characteristics, by caste, in most of the above mentioned tables, we have presented percentage

distribution of selected characteristics. Here again, it should be noted that the percentages of respondents in a caste category, if the total number of observations in that category falls below 20, cannot be considered stable. We should further add that care needs to be taken in interpreting the data regarding income and expenditure. Since the data for the sample survey were collected over a period of 19 months during which wide fluctuations in prices of commodities have been noticed, it would be rather misleading to interpret these data without making an adequate adjustment in the reported data collected at different time-intervals and in different parts of the State. Since such an exercise would require a complicated statistical procedure, which could not be completed and tested for its stability in a limited period of time, the only alternative available to the Commission is to present the available data in a simple, unadjusted manner, and caution the readers of this report to keep in mind their limitations while interpreting the same. Such an academically purist note of caution should not, however, be interpreted as suggestive of the futility of the presented data. These data do provide a very useful source of information regarding the various characteristics of the sampled population and its various categories, and therefore, the Commission has been able to use the data presented in the abovementioned tables, as a corroborative evidence to the data available from other sources.

3.32. It must be pointed out that, given the special advantages and limitations of each of these above mentioned approaches, the Commission has tried its best to obtain a wide variety of relevant information and to weigh the information so obtained through different approaches and has fully exercised its judgment before making the recommendations contained in this Report.

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## CHAPTER IV

### DETERMINATION OF BACKWARDNESS

#### **Preliminary :**

Having discussed the concept and test of backwardness and the methodology employed in its determination in the previous Chapter, we now turn to the practical question of finding out the classes and groups, which can be considered backward within the scope of the terms of reference of this Commission.

4.2 At the outset, it may be mentioned that there are certain difficulties in the work of the investigator who has to apply the techniques and principles in determining backwardness of a class or a group of people in a society. Firstly, this field is relatively new and it presumes knowledge of several disciplines such as education, economics, sociology, etc. Secondly, there is paucity of quantified data in many areas in the field and thirdly, the means as well as the standard of living have been undergoing changes during the last decade and more particularly in the last few years. Further, on the one hand, there may be a tendency to exaggerate their backwardness on the part of some respondents, on the other there is a possibility of reluctance to give information shown by certain groups. These latter did not get together as respondents, and if they did appear, they had scanty information about themselves. Attempts in some cases had to be made to trace and locate certain groups, who never cared to present themselves before the Commission or to supply adequate information on their own. Additional and review tours had, therefore, to be arranged for collecting adequate information, wherever it was thought necessary to do so. Due weight has also been given to geographical factors and the differences that are likely to exist in the customs and habits of one and the same community living in different areas. Relevant data has been collected through various sources such as recording of evidence and house visits, inspection of localities and information derived from the replies to the questionnaires and the study of existing literature. We were also assisted in making our decisions by the results of the sample survey.

#### **The decisions :**

4.3 After duly taking into consideration all relevant material available to the Commission, we came to certain decisions regarding backwardness of certain castes/classes/groups and tried to weigh all the available information so that each may be given full justice. We have also tried to give a brief narrative of the dominant characteristics of those castes/classes/groups who are considered as backward in this Chapter. In respect of those, who have not been so included, we did not find adequate evidence to consider them as

backward. The decisions recorded in this Chapter have been taken unanimously by the Members of the Commission. The following castes/classes/groups are considered as socially and educationally backward within the scope of the terms of reference of the Commission.

1. Agri	आग्नी
2. Ahir, Ayar-Boricha	आहीर, आयर, बोरीचा
3. Bafan (Muslim)	बाफण
4. Barot, Vahivancha, Charan Gadhvi	बारोट, वहीवेंचा, चारण गढवी
5. Bavcha	बावचा
6. Bavri	बावरी
7. Bawa:—Atit Bawa, Goswami, Vairagi Bawa, Gosai, Dashnam Goswami., Ramanandi, Puri Bharti, Kapdi, Nath Bawa, Bharathari, Margi, Gangajalia.	बावा :—अतीत बावा, गोस्वामी, वैरागी बावा, गोसांई, दशनाम गोस्वामी, रामानंदी, पुरी, भारती, कापडी, नाथबाबा, भरथरी, मार्गी, गंगाजलीआ ।
8. Bhalia	भालीआ
9. Bhamta	भामटा
10. Bharwad	भरवाड
11. Bhils of Rajkot division of the old Saurashtra State	भूतपूर्व सौराष्ट्र राज्यके राजकोट विभागके भील
12. Bhoi	भोई
13. Charan Gadhvi	चारण—गढवी
14. Chhara, Adodia, Sansi	छारा, आडोडीआ, सांसी
15. Chunara	चुनारा
16. Chuvalia Koli	चुवालीआ कोली

17. Dabgar	डबगर
18. Divecha Koli	दिवेचा कोली
19. Dafer (Hindu and Muslim)	डफेर
20. Dhobi	धोबी
21. Fakir (Muslim)	फकीर
22. Gadhai (Muslim)	गघई
23. Gadalia or Gadi Luharia.	गाडलीआ, गाडी लुहारीआ
24. Galiara (Muslim)	गलीआरा
25. Ganchi (Muslim)	घांची
26. Ghedia Koli	घेडीआ कोली
27. Gola-Rana	गोला-राणा
28. Hingora (Muslim)	हिंगोरा
29. Julaya, Garana (Muslim)	जुलाया, गराणा
30. Jat (Muslim)	जत
31. Kaikadi	कैकाडी
32. Kambadia Bhagat	कांबडीआ भगत
33. Kangasia	कांगसीआ
34. Khatki or Kasaai	खाटकी, कसाई
35. Khatik	खटीक
36. Khant	खांट
37. Kharwa-Bhadela	खारवा-भाडेला
38. Khristi, Gujarati-Christian (Converts from Scheduled Castes only)	ख्रिस्ती, गुजराती, क्रिश्चियन
39. Koli, Idaria Koli, Kharwa-Koli, Rathwa-Koli, Baria-Koli, Dhebaria-Koli.	कोली-इडरीआ कोली, खारवा कोली, राठवा कोली, बारीआ कोली, डेबरीआ कोली

40. Labana	लबाना
41. Lodha	लोधा
42. Mir. Dhadhi, Langha (Muslim)	मीर, ढाढी लंघा
43. Machhi (Hindu), Kharwa, Khalas, Dhimar, Dhivar, Bitna, Tandel, Mangela, Khalasi, Sarang.	माछी-खारवा, खलास, ढीमर, ढीवर, बितना, टंडेल, मांगेला, खलासी, सारंग
44. Madari, Nath, Bharathari	मदारी, नाथ, भरथरी
45. Majothi Kumbhar, Darban or Darban Majothi (Muslim)	माजोठी कुंभार, दरबान, दरबान माजोठी
46. Makrani (Muslim)	मकराणी
47. Matwa or Matwa-Kureshi (Muslim), Gavli (Hindu).	मतवा, मतवा कुरेशी गवली
48. Me	मे
49. Mena	मेणा
50. Mer	मेर
51. Miyana (Muslim)	मियाणा
52. Mochi	मोची
53. Nat, Nat-Bajania, Bajigar	नट, नट-बजाणीआ, बाजीगर
54. Od	ओड
55. Padhar	पढार
56. Padmashali-Pattushali	पद्मशाली-पट्टशाली
57. Pinjara (Muslim)	पिजारा
58. Rabari, Bhopa-Kodiator	रबारी, भोपा, कोडीआतार

59. Rathodia	राठोडीआ
60. Raval-Ravalia, Jati or Raval Yogi	रावल, रावलीआ, जती, रावल-योगी
61. Salat (excluding Sompura Salat), Salat Ghera	सलाट, सलाटघेरा
62. Sandhi (Muslim)	संधी
63. Sarania	सराणीआ
64. Sargara	सरगरा
65. Shrawan, Sarwan	श्रवण, सरवण
66. Shikligar	शिकलीगर
67. Siddi	सिद्दी
68. Sipai (Muslim) Patni Jamat or Turk Jamat	सिपाई, पटनी जमात, तुर्क जमात
69. Talpada Koli	तलपदा कोली
70. Tankar	तनकर
71. Targala, Bhavaiya	तरगाला, भवैआ
72. Thakarda, Thakore, Patanwadia, Dharala, Baria	ठाकरडा, ठाकोर, पाटणवाडीआ, धाराला, बारीआ
73. Theba (Muslim)	ठेबा
74. Vadi	वादी
75. Vahivancha Charan Gadhvi of Harijan Vankar and Chamar	हरीजन वणकर और चमार के वहीवंचा चारण गढवी
76. Valand, Nayi and Babar (Hindu); Hajam, Khalipha (Muslim)	वालंद, नायी, बाबर, हजाम, खलीफा
77. Vankar-Sadhhu	वणकर साधु



78. Vansfoda, Vansfodia or Vanza	वांसफोडा, वांसफोडीया, वांझा
79. Vanzara	वणजारा
80. Waghari	वाघरी
81. Wagher (Hindu and Muslim)	वाघेर
82. Wandhara	वाढारा

### *Agri*

The Agris are originally from the Maharashtra region but have settled in Gujarat in Pardi, Valsad and Umargaon areas. Their population is about 15,000 in Gujarat.

2. They stay in small houses and their main profession is agriculture, agricultural and household labour. Their annual income is about Rs. 600 to Rs. 700/- per family. Out of their population there are 2 clerks, 7 teachers and 4 peons.

3. They usually take their bath every week and have no spare clothes to change. They believe in exorcists and magical remedies and their beliefs are based on superstition. They get their girls married at about 13 to 14 years, and there is a custom to serve liquor on marriage occasions. Almost the whole community is used to consume liquor including the womenfolk.

4. The percentage of literacy is about twenty and the level of the secondary and higher education is very low. The economic condition and living conditions of this community are very poor and they are both socially and educationally backward.

### *Ahir or Ayar*

The Ahirs is a large community, chiefly spread over in Junagadh, Jamnagar and Porbander areas. They stay in mud houses with local tiled roofs and the concentration of the community is mainly in villages. Their main occupation is agriculture and agricultural labour and their monthly income is about Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per family. Most of them are indebted.

2. There is a custom of performing marriages in the community at one time and the incidence of child marriages is high. Their beliefs are based on superstition and in case of illness, they resort to charms of exorcists and also employ the method of cauterisation. They usually take bath at intervals of a month and change their clothes only then,

3. The percentage of literacy in this community is low that is about eight to ten and the percentage of secondary and higher education is much lower, that is, about one to two. The percentage of female education is negligible.

4. It appears that there have been several chapter cases in Ahirs or Ayars. It would appear that there has been a tendency to commit crimes in this community and it seems that it has not decreased in the last five years. The number of Ahirs or Ayars who were arrested for offences of murder with the exception of one year went on increasing in the last five years\*.

5. The Ahirs or Ayars were included in the list of the Other Backward Classes in the ex-Saurashtra State.

#### *Bafan*

Bafan is a small Muslim community of 500 persons which is concentrated only in Nagiari village in Kutch. They stay in huts and small kuchcha houses in that village. Their main occupation is agricultural labour and cattle breeding, and their monthly income ranges from Rs. 200/- to Rs. 300/- per family. It has been found that the percentage of commission of criminal offences in this community is high and many of them are involved in cases of thefts and robbery. This community is included in the list of De-notified Tribes in Gujarat.

2. They take bath and change clothes once in a week and their beliefs are based on superstition.

3. The percentage of literacy in this community is about eight and there is no secondary and higher education.

#### *Barot (Vahivancha Charan Gadhvi)*

Vahivanchas are a community similar in many respects to Charan Gadhvis. The Barots are also called Vahivanchas because one of their main professions is to keep record of the genealogy of their clients. They are also called Vahivancha Charan Gadhvis.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Arrests for offences of murder	13	14	11	26	28
Arrests for offences of physical injuries	52	80	61	116	140
Arrests for offences against property	18	43	19	66	70
Arrests for offences of prohibition	6	7	5	8	12

2. The Vahivanchas are distributed all over the State. They reside in mud houses with roofs of local tiles. The males amongst the Vahivancha Barots go out of their villages for the purpose of mendicancy, which is one of their main occupations besides the maintenance of family records of their clients. They maintain these records in the script known to them only. On account of the nature of their occupation they ask monetary assistance from their clients and their status is considered to be low. This is because they have not been able to adopt any more remunerative profession and in order to augment their income they have to beg for monetary help from their clients. As a consequence most of the families live in the same traditional style and their monthly income is about Rs. 125/- per family. Some of them have also taken to miscellaneous labour.

3. Vahivanchas are usually worshippers of goddesses and many of their beliefs are based on superstition. A small percentage of this community is addicted to opium.

4. The script in which the Vahivanchas write is a special script which is used for the purpose of maintaining family records and many of the males in this community know how to read and write this particular script, but on the whole the educational level of this community is low. The percentage of secondary and higher education is also low.

#### *Bavcha*

The Bavchas in Saurashtra are the same Bavcha community which is considered as Scheduled Tribe in Gujarat region. The Bavcha community in Amreli District, which was a part of the former Baroda State, is however, considered as Scheduled Tribe. But the Bavchas who stay in other parts of Saurashtra which did not belong to the Baroda State and those who live in Kutch are not considered as Scheduled Tribe. There are about 184 households in Saurashtra out of which 50 are in Amreli.

2. The Bavchas stay in mud houses covered with roofs of tins or leaves or of local tiles. They have a peculiar custom of marriage. The male and female would select one another and would elope for sometime. If the parents of both the spouses are agreeable, they would offer liquor as a sign of consent to that match. Thereafter they would return and the marriage is celebrated. Such a practice exists in some of the sections of the Scheduled Tribes in Gujarat.

3. The main occupation of Bavchas is cutting fire wood. Their monthly income ranges from about Rs. 75/- to Rs. 100/- per family. The community is ignorant and backward; they believe in evil spirits and there are exorcists in the community. Their daily habits are dirty. They do not take bath regularly. Some of them take their bath once in a month and wash and change their clothes at long intervals. A large majority in this community including women take liquor. There is practically no literacy in this community.

4. Their case for inclusion in the Schedule Tribes requires to be re-considered by Government but till they are recognised as such, they should be included in the list of socially and educationally backward classes.

### *Bavri or Baori*

The Bavris in Gujarat, mostly hail from Marwar and is known as a criminal community. They usually move about for carrying on their activities and stay in temporarily erected small huts. There is no limit to the field of their operation, but they are found in Ahmedabad, Godhra, Kalol, Jamnagar and Amreli areas. In the caste hierarchy, they stand in line with Waghari.

2. The main occupation of Bavris is commission of thefts. They were notified as Criminal Tribes since early times and some of the States in Saurashtra had issued notifications about their criminal activities. The Rajkot State had issued such a notification in 1917. Such activities are continued by a majority of them till today. A large section of this community is addicted to liquor.

3. The Bavris are almost a Nomadic group and, therefore, it is not possible for them to send their children to school. Although, some of them have stated in Ahmedabad that literacy percentage amongst them is twenty-five this appears to be an exaggeration and there is practically very little secondary or higher education among them. In some districts, the Bavris have stated that the percentage of literacy is less than five. They have shown their income as Rs. 200/- per month per family but their source of income is mainly from thefts.

4. The Bavris have no social prestige as the community was and is still known as a criminal group. Their standard of living is also very low on account of lack of education and their itinerant habits and slum-like habitation. The religious beliefs of Bavris are based on superstition.

### *Bawa*

This is another large community which is spread over all the parts of the State. The community is generally known as Bawa but it consists of several sub-sects known by such names as Dashnam Goswami, Atit Bawa, Goswami, Gosai, Dasnami Bawa, Ganga Jalia etc. The community has other sub-sects such as Ramanandi, Giri, Puri, Bharati, Kapdi, Margi, etc.

2. As regards its origin, this community has a peculiar history. It is not drawn from any one particular caste; but it seems to have been constituted out of the members of several castes and communities who considered themselves to be recluses and, having renounced worldly life, went from village to village as Sadhus or recluses and ultimately settled at some temples or other places of religious worship. Though there were

different sub-sects and beliefs prevailing amongst them, they ultimately formed themselves into a group or community called, Bawa. Their main profession was of offering worship at religious places and temples and to act as heads of 'Muths' or temples. On account of the similarity of their occupation, they developed certain common characteristics and in course of time formed themselves into a caste known as Bawas. The occupation of worship in temples could not accommodate all the members of their group, and it became necessary for them to ask for alms with the consequence that the occupation ultimately dwindled into that of begging. This was followed by poverty, absence of education, class rigidity and backwardness in social and cultural fields. The Bawas today exist as a separate social group and present a social problem of a peculiar nature.

2. Many of the Bawas reside in small kuchcha houses attached to the temples as they have to serve the deities enshrined in the temples. But others who have no such work cannot secure even such residence and, therefore, have to stay in huts or kuchcha structures. The remuneration that they get from the temples either in cash or in kind or both is not sufficient to make both ends meet and, therefore, they have adopted a practice of going out from village to village for the purpose of asking for alms. More over the profession of worship at temples cannot supply employment to all the members of the community and therefore, those who are not so employed have either to remain unemployed or to live on alms. The result has been that the community has lost all confidence and spirit of self-support and is in such a position that if it does not rehabilitate and re-establish itself in some other profession, their very existence is in great jeopardy.

3. The income which they receive from doing services at the temples and from alms or doing sundry jobs does not exceed Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- per month per family and at some places it is even lower than that. Most of them are indebted and some of them have to ask for donations from the public for the marriage of their children.

4. Originally, it was not intended that the members of the community, who were recluses should enter into matrimony, but as time went on the custom of remaining celibate became lax and marriage seems to have been permitted. This created the problem of maintenance of children and members of the family and also the problem of unemployment. As a result, the Bawas were not able to educate their children properly.

5. The literacy level particularly in villages went below the average and the community suffered in all respects, that is, cultural, economic and social. The original idea of creating a band of recluses was to supply the society with higher, proficient and religious leaders but ultimately, as time went on, it seems such a high ideal does not appear to have been fulfilled, and the community is now in a state of social as well as economic disruption.

6. It may be observed that other sects of Bawas known as Vairagi Bawas and Nath Bawas are considered as Nomadic Tribes. They are also known as Bharatharis and all these are also socially and educationally backward.

7. The position today is that the Bawa community has almost lost its hereditary profession of acting as religious leaders, and only a small part of the community can get bare maintenance from services rendered at the temples. The problem before the community is about sources of supply for their livelihood and means of earning for its members. The community has no hereditary training of any artisanship and all that they do for getting a scanty livelihood is to go out begging. Many times, the women also have to beg alongwith their male family members. As the males do not know any other occupation and as they are not educated, they have to live in penury.

#### *Bhalia*

This community is mainly concentrated in the District of Baroda, its main occupation being agriculture and agricultural labour. The total population of this community is about 6,000. The Bhalias reside in mud houses or in thatched huts.

2. The Bhalias are economically poor and hardly earn about Rs. 100/- per month per family. Most of them are indebted to the tune of Rs. 2,000.

3. They usually take their bath and change their clothes every two or three days and resort to exorcists and witchcraft in case of illness. They are also habituated to consume liquor.

4. The percentage of literacy amongst the Bhalias is about 20 and about 3 in secondary education. The percentage of higher education is very low.

#### *Bhamta*

The Bhamtas are originally from Maharashtra area and seem to have settled in Ahmedabad when the Naroda settlement was established in Ahmedabad. They stay in small rooms or huts or in rented houses.

2. The Bhamtas were considered as Criminal Tribes in Maharashtra. \*In the report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, 1939 it is stated that "They are also called Pardeshi Bhamtas. They have been known to be mainly pick pockets and pilferers. They travel all over India and attend all important fairs. When visiting fairs they assume the grab of Bairagis or Sadhus and add the suffix "Das" or "Sing" to their names. In the railway trains they move in disguise and occasionally travel in European costume in the upper class compartments. They commit thefts in crowds, at fairs, places of pilgrimage and in railway trains, generally by day only. They are experts at removing jewellery from the persons of children and at

\* Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, 1939, P. 13.

pick pocketing. They also hover on the banks of rivers and steal the clothing of bathers. They decamp with their employers' property or pass it out to a confederate who visits the house generally in the garb of a mendicant. Recently they have been noticed visiting Post Offices in big cities and committing thefts of insured letters and parcels offered at the counter for registration".

3. They were known to be mainly carrying on the occupation of pick-pocketing and pilfering. Some are engaged in committing thefts while many of them also do miscellaneous labour work and sell vegetables. It appears that the community has not yet been completely free from its criminal tendency. About 25% of Bhamtas population drink liquor. Their monthly income is about Rs. 200/- per family.

4. The percentage of literacy amongst Bhamtas is about twenty out of which 5% are girls and that of secondary education is one.

### *Bharwad*

The community of Bharwad is similar in almost all respects to the Rabaris. They follow the same occupation and lead the same type of traditional life living in small insanitary slum-like huts. Their principal sub-castes are Motabhai Bharwad and Nanabhai Bharwad. The Bharwads of Gir, Alech and Barda hills are considered as Scheduled Tribes. In certain regions of Saurashtra, these Bharwads lead an itinerant life and stay in temporary camps erected near fields outside the villages and they move with their cattle and members of the family. In other parts of the State, the Bharwads do not frequently go out of their fixed abode except for some months in a year for the purpose of grazing the cattle. On account of migratory habits their children remain uneducated and illiterate.

2. The most of the social customs of Bharwads are almost similar to those of Rabaris. But one peculiar custom of Bharwads may be specially mentioned. When the husband of a woman dies, she is, by the custom of the community, bound to remarry with the younger brother of the deceased husband, even if the younger brother is much younger in age than the widow. If the widow wants to be independent of the family, and marry a person outside the family, the person concerned will have to pay a heavy price, if the younger brother of the deceased husband is alive. This custom of levirate (Diyervatu) is compulsory in this community. As regards their religious beliefs, they are almost similar to those of Rabaris and are based on superstition and blind faith.

3. Their income level ranges from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- per month per family.

4. Literacy level in this community is almost negligible. The level of primary education is 1.5%, secondary 0.25% and higher education 0.1%.

*Bhils of Rajkot Division of the old Saurashtra State*

The Bhils are included in Scheduled Tribes, but the Bhils staying in the old Saurashtra State region were not so included. Such Bhils are found at Rajkot, Bhavnagar, Palitana, Ghogha and other places in the old Saurashtra State. They are black in colour and resemble the Adivasis. The Bhils belonging to their fold but staying in the Gujarat region, excepting the old Saurashtra area are considered as Adivasis.

2. The Bhils of Saurashtra area reside in slums. The Commission visited the Bhilvas at Rajkot and had found them staying in small mud houses with poor sanitary facilities.

3. The Bhils originally used to stay in jungles and mostly away from the common people. Later on, the Bhils seem to have come into contact with the East-India Company and the British appeared to have established their contact with the Bhils. The British were establishing their agencies in different parts of Gujarat and one of such agencies was established at Rajkot. For this purpose, new buildings had to be erected, roads had to be constructed and other necessary facilities had to be provided for military camping. Labourers had to be employed for this purpose; other civil population also started settling in Rajkot to supply the needs of the growing population. To supply these needs Bhil families settled in Rajkot where they started residing as a community. This possibly happened somewhere between 1835 and 1857. The Bhils, who settled in Rajkot, abandoned their jungle life and settled with their families on the fringe of Rajkot town. They, however, retained their community life with certain original characteristics. They settled in the same locality constructing small hutments standing in a row, having a small lane between the two rows of the hutments, each small hutment having a small room and a small open verandah. In the midst, a narrow gutter passed for passage of dirty water. The Bhils are habituated to liquor, though this habit has been reduced to some extent in recent times. They are engaged in doing odd jobs and odd labour work and many of them are peons and household servants.

4. The percentage of literacy except in Rajkot is about ten. As regards secondary and higher education, the percentage is extremely low.

5. Their income ranges from about Rs. 100 to Rs. 150/- a month per family. The Bhils of old Saurashtra region are socially as well as educationally backward.

6. These Bhils had represented to the Commission to be considered as Scheduled Tribes alongwith the other Bhils of Gujarat but that question is outside the purview of the Commission. There was also such a representation from Marwari or Majirana Bhils from Idar. If these are not already considered as Scheduled Tribes, they should be considered as socially and educationally backward.



*Bhoi*

The Bhoi is a big community spread over almost all over the State. Their sub-castes are Bhoiraj, Dhimar, Zinga Bhoi, Kevat Bhoi, Bhanara Bhoi, Machhindra Bhoi, Palewar Bhoi, Kirat Bhoi, Kahar Bhoi, Pardeshi Bhoi and Shrimali Bhoi.

2. Their ancestral occupation was that of carriers of palanquins and also of water. Since palanquins became out of date as means of transport, this community had to resort to different kinds of occupations such as fishing, sale of fish, tailoring, miscellaneous labour work and plantation of "Shingodas" and "Kamats" (Lotuses) and white-washing. Their occupation involve hard labour particularly while doing the occupation of growing "shingodas" and lotuses and catching fish. They have also to do the work mainly while standing in water or marshy land. Their average monthly income ranges from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 150/- per family.

3. They stay in huts of mud with roofs of local tiles. At many places about 50% members of this community consume liquor including women in some areas. This community is akin to Machhis and like them stands at a lower rung of the society. The average percentage of literacy is also very low, that is, about 10 to 15.

*Charan Gadhvi*

Charans originally carried on the hereditary profession of State poets particularly reciting folk songs and folk lore. Along with this profession they also kept some cattle. Some of the Charans have now taken to other miscellaneous occupation such as agriculture, agricultural labour, petty services etc.

2. The Charans who stay in villages reside in small huts or tenements having roofs covered with local tiles. Charans also go out for asking monetary help and for this purpose the males visit several villages in a year. Their total income is, however, meagre and does not exceed Rs. 100 to Rs. 150/- per family per month. Some of the Charans wander from one place to another in grass fields for the purpose of grazing their cattle and in this sense they bear similarity with the Rabari community.

3. It was customary amongst Charans to take opium but it seems that at present because of Government regulations, the practice of opium taking is dying out. However, some of them drink liquor. On account of the nature of their occupation such as cattle breeding, cattle grazing and visiting different places for the purpose of asking for alms, they have developed habits which are unhygienic. They take bath or change clothes once in a week or a fortnight. They also live amidst insanitary conditions. They are worshippers of goddesses and their beliefs are based on superstition.

4. The Charans used to compose poems but that was in the language known as 'Dingal' which is used by the Charans only. The percentage of literacy amongst them is about 5 to 25 and that of secondary education is low, that is, about five. It is said that the Charans give importance to family prestige which results into a remarkable expression of jealous behaviour amongst some of them.

5. The Charans residing in Barda, Gir and Alech areas of Junagadh District are considered as Scheduled Tribes but those who do not reside in these areas are not so considered.

6. The Charans are socially and educationally backward.

#### *Chhara (Sansi, Adodia)*

There are about 1,500 houses of Chharas in Ahmedabad. The Chharas in Saurashtra are called Adodias and in Dahod they are called Sansis. Mostly they stay in huts. The Chharas belong to the De-notified Tribes. Their main occupation is to commit thefts and to distil illicit liquor. According to one of the informants there is hardly an adult who has not suffered a conviction. They have a code language of their own used for the purpose of committing thefts.

2. The monthly income of Chharas is about Rs. 200/- per family. The level of literacy was stated to be high by one of the informants, but this appears to be an exaggeration and it is possible that small children in recent times are being sent to school in Ahmedabad. The level of secondary education is however, low. In spite of the introduction of some education amongst them, the Chharas do not appear to have made much progress at the social level. The criminal tendency yet persists among them and half of the population including some women is in the habit of consuming liquor.

3. The Sansis who stay in Dahod area are almost illiterate. They believe in sorcery and most of them drink liquor and commit thefts. Their monthly income is about Rs. 70 to 80/- per family.

4. All the three-Chharas, Sansis, and Adodias even today have criminal tendencies and are socially and educationally backward.

#### *Chunara*

The Chunaras usually stay outside the village or town limits in small huts with roofs of hay. Their hereditary occupation was dealing with "kilm of chunam". However, after the introduction of cement this occupation has considerably dwindled. Some of them are working as labourers on 'chunam kilns'. Others are engaged in miscellaneous labour work in factories and as agricultural labourers.

2. Their monthly income is about Rs. 150/- per family. Majority of the Chunaras take liquor including to some extent their women folk also. They have blind faith in exorcists and there is a custom of standing on one leg while taking a vow for some purpose. At some places, there is a custom of making animal sacrifices to please their deities. Their habits are very dirty. They take bath once a week and change their clothes only when the second pair is available.

3. The literacy percentage in this community is about 4 and the secondary and higher education is negligible.

### *Chuvaliya Koli.*

Chuvaliya Kolis constitute a large block amongst kolis and although spread over the whole State are mainly concentrated in Saurashtra. The Chuvaliya Koli is a De-notified Tribe and the evidence discloses that though criminal activities which were carried on by this community sometime ago have to some extent decreased, offences such as thefts in rural areas are yet being committed by some members of this community. It appears that this community has yet not been able to do away with the tendency towards criminal activities.

2. Their occupation consists of nurturing small tracts of land in river beds for purpose of growing vegetables, watermelons etc. and other miscellaneous work of hard manual labour. The average monthly income is stated to be about Rs. 50 to 100 per family. They are economically very poor. They reside mostly in small huts of mud or in small hut like kubas. Their habitation is very unclean. They take bath and change clothes once in a week and are dirty. At some places they are addicted to taking liquor. The percentage of literacy amongst them is about 5 in rural areas and about 10 in towns.

### *Dabgar*

This community is known for its occupation of preparing drums (Dhols) and Tablas. The upper covering of this instrument is made of hide and those engaged in preparing these instruments have necessarily to deal with hides. Sometimes they have to cut them, twist them, soften them and make them fit for being fastened upon the instrument. On account of such activities and similarity in occupation they resemble Mochis who have also to deal with hides for the purpose of shoe-making and their social status is also considered as low as that of the Mochis.

2. Dabgars are found all over Gujarat and in rural areas they reside in small huts or shacks of mud. As all the members of this community are not able to make a living out of the hereditary occupation, they are forced to engage themselves in miscellaneous labour. Their average monthly income ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 per family. At some places

especially in Panchmahal District Dabgars purchase raw-hides and do the work of processing by themselves. It is stated that about 50 years ago in this area they used to eat meat of dead animals. There have been some instances of child marriage also.

3. The percentage of literacy in this community seems to be about ten in rural areas. Percentage of secondary and higher education is very low.

#### *Divecha Koli*

This is a sub-community of the larger Koli community. They are called Divecha because they originally hail from Div in Saurashtra. Divecha Kolis are spread over in Porbander, Jamnagar, Mangrol and Veraval regions and resemble almost in all respects Kolis except that they do not give their daughters in marriage to Chuwalia Kolis.

2. The main occupation of Divecha Kolis is that of doing manual labour. Economically they are poor and as a consequence, they have to employ their children in manual labour to supplement the family income. The result is that they are not able to educate their children.

3. The level of literacy among Divecha Koli is very low. There is a practice amongst them to take liquor on occasions and their beliefs are based on superstition.

4. In respect of social hierarchy amongst Kolis, the Divecha Kolis are higher in status than that of Chuwalia Kolis but lower than that of Talpada Kolis and Ghedia Kolis.

#### *Dafar*

Dafers are principally Muslims but the Commission had met some Dafers who were Hindus. Originally, they were considered as criminal tribes. They are mainly found in Junagadh, Jamnagar, and Surendranagar districts. Some of them are in North Gujarat also. At present, they are included in the list of De-notified Tribes in Gujarat State.

2. They reside in mud houses having roofs covered with local tiles and their habitation is situated in filthy surroundings.

3. Under the former State of Saurashtra, they were first included in the list of Scheduled Tribes, but subsequently, they were removed therefrom and included in the list of Other Backward Classes.

4. Dafers have no special occupation. Some of them are nomadic. They are engaged in all sorts of miscellaneous labour. Their monthly income is about Rs. 50 to Rs. 60/- per family. Thus they are economically poor and live a very drab life.

5. The Muslim Dafers believe in 'Pirs' and the Hindu Dafers in exorcists. In the case of illness some of the Hindu Dafers use the method of cauterisation as remedial measure. Dafers are ignorant, superstitious and backward. The percentage of literacy amongst them is almost nil.

6. Dafers both Muslim and Hindu are socially and educationally backward.

### *Dhobi*

Dhobi is a community which is following the occupation of washing clothes. In some of the States such as Bihar, Assam, Orissa, Rajasthan, U.P., West Bengal, Delhi etc. they are considered as belonging to Scheduled Castes.

2. In Gujarat, Dhobis are not considered as untouchables but while doing their occupation, they have to wash the dirty clothes of people and therefore, they are given a low status in society. Though the monthly income of Dhobis in urban areas ranges from Rs. 100 to 200 per family, in rural areas it is about Rs. 90 to 100. Their occupation has suffered because of the establishment of big washing companies, which are formed and carried on on commercial basis and in most of the cases the owners of such companies do not belong to this community. Dhobis, however, do the washing and ironing work in these big washing companies for which they are relatively very lowly paid. On account of their weak financial condition they have to engage their children in their own occupation at a very early age and their children therefore remain uneducated. Their women also help the males in washing clothes and ironing them.

3. The percentage of literacy is about 10 to 15 among Dhobis. Some of them are also habituated to drink liquor probably under the belief that they must take liquor as they have to work constantly in water.

### *Faqir or Fakir*

The Faquirs are Muslims and they usually stay in houses attached to Muslim cemetery or burial grounds and mosques. Some of them also stay in small huts of mud with roofs of local tiles.

2. Their main occupation is that of begging alms and some of them also do odd jobs like plying lorries and are employed as Bidi workers. Their monthly income is from about Rs. 50/- to Rs. 125/- per family. They are not trained for any occupation and they have to go from place to place for begging. They live in extremely impoverished conditions and can hardly afford to send their children to school.

3. The percentage of literacy among them ranges from 5 to 10. Secondary education or higher education among them is almost nil. The

Faquirs supply magical charms to others and their beliefs are based on superstition. They have hardly any status in society as they live on people's alms and charity.

### *Gadhai*

This community is commonly called Gadhai and is principally found in the districts of Amreli, Junagadh and Bhavnagar. They stay in small mud houses and stay out of the village for major part of the year. Their main occupation is to keep donkeys and to fetch salt and sell it from village to village. For this they move from one village to another with their families and return to their village during the monsoon. When interior traffic by trucks is difficult during the monsoon, they also go out in the Gir area and transport goods on the back of donkeys. Thus many of the families roam about from village to village for major part of the year.

2. Some of them are agriculturists and may possess about 7 to 10 vighas of land. Their monthly income ranges from Rs. 125/- to Rs. 150/- per family. The Gadhais are Muslims by faith but their beliefs are based on superstition, and hence they believe in exorcists (Bhuvas). It is said that one Gadhai lady is an exorcist. There are about 122 Gadhai families and the level of literacy amongst them is about 15%.

### *Gadalia or Gadi Luharia*

The Gadalia or Gadi Luharia are known on account of their profession. They usually stay in a cart crudely adjusted for residential purposes and prepare out of pig iron, small hand made household implements such as nut crackers, tongs, knives, pen-knives etc.

2. They frequently change their residence for purpose of their occupation and probably that is why they have utilised carts as their mobile houses. They are included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in Gujarat. The whole family and their children stay and move in the cart and, if necessary, erect temporary sheds made of old gunny bags to serve as their house.

3. Since they lead a nomadic life, there is hardly any scope for education. They have no facility for bath and other sanitary purposes and they make their habitation usually wherever they find a place. Their income is also very meagre and the goods they produce by hand labour, are unrefined and used only by unsophisticated persons and villagers.

4. This community had not cared to make any representation nor did they personally appear on their own before the Commission. The Commission while on tour, visited certain places and while doing so came across members of this community and visited their cart houses

(residence) and saw their mode of life, habits and occupational products. The Gadalias live hand to mouth and have hardly any remunerative occupation for earning a decent living in society. They stay in uncongenial and dirty surroundings and have no education.

### *Galiara*

This is a Muslim community called Galiara, whose name is derived from the word Gali that is indigo. The Galiaras used to follow the occupation of manufacturing indigo from indigo plants and also to dye blankets. This community is mainly distributed in the Savarkundla, Mahuva, Barvala, Bagasara and Sihor regions of Saurashtra and also in Ahmedabad. The strength of their population in Gujarat is about 1,500.

2. The Galiaras live in mud houses having roofs covered with local tiles. On account of introduction of industrialised synthetics like indigo and dyes the profession of the Galiaras has become extinct, and they have been compelled to resort to miscellaneous labour. Their monthly income ranges from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 125/- per family and they are economically poor.

3. The percentage of literacy among them is about five and secondary education is also very low.

4. Galiaras do not take their bath regularly, sometime once during a fortnight. They also do not change or wash their clothes quite often. Thus they live a very unhygienic life.

5. The Galiaras believe in 'pirs' and other occult practices. Their beliefs are based on superstition and all this is mainly due to lack of education and poverty.

### *Ghanchi (Muslim)*

The Muslim Ghanchis are a large community, who used to carry on the traditional business of crushing oil from oil-seeds through oil-mills driven by bullocks. With the introduction of mechanised mills, this occupation has dwindled and Ghanchis have been forced to resort to other miscellaneous occupations. Some of them are engaged in agricultural labour, or miscellaneous labour or are engaged in the occupation of carriage-drivers hawkers, vendors etc. Their monthly income is about Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- per family. They are economically poor.

2. In the villages, they stay in kuchcha houses with roofs of local tiles. They take their bath and also wash and change their clothes once a week and in case of illness resort to remedies based on superstition.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst the Muslim Ghanchis is about ten and that of secondary and higher education is low. Female education is almost absent. This community has been almost thrown out of their traditional occupation and has not yet settled in the changed circumstances. The economic condition of this community being very poor, the percentage of education is also very low. They were included in the list of other Backward Classes in the ex-Saurashtra State.

#### *Ghedia Koli*

Ghedia Koli is a sub-community of main Koli community. They appear to have been called Ghedia Kolis because many of them settled in the Ghed region of Saurashtra, that is, the area lying between Porbander and Veraval of Junagadh district.

2. The main occupation of Ghedia Kolis is manual labour, agricultural labour, quarry work; their monthly income ranges from Rs.75/- to Rs. 100/- per family.

3. Many of them are habituated to take liquor, opium and ganja and have a tendency to commit crime. In case of illness they resort to native remedies and use the method of cauterisation for treatment. They believe in superstition also.

4. In the Ghed area the land is submerged in water in monsoon and, therefore, it is not possible to till the soil until it gets dry. As a consequence, agriculture is poor and the people living in that area are economically poor.

5. The percentage of literacy is about 5 to 15 and that of secondary education is about 2.

#### *Gola Rana*

The population of Gola Ranas is to be found in almost all the parts of the State. They usually live in old houses or Kuchcha houses with roofs of corrugated sheets or of local tiles. Some of them live in huts also. Their traditional occupation is of cleaning grains and cereals and husking paddy into rice. Since the latter occupation has almost gone out of use on the introduction of rice-mills, the males have taken to some other occupations such as working in factories and doing other miscellaneous labour work, and the women usually engage themselves in cleaning grains and cereals or in selling vegetables. They also work as domestic servants.

2. The Gola Ranas spend about 2000 rupees on marriage occasions and about 200 persons from the bride groom's side have to be entertained and fed twice. On account of lack of education their marital



relations are not happy. There is also a practice of child marriage amongst the Gola Ranas. The habit of drinking liquor is prevalent in this community.

3. Economically their position is not sound as their hereditary profession has greatly suffered on account of introduction of rice-mills. The monthly income of those who go to work in the mills and factories is a little higher, that is, about Rs. 250/- per month, but the rest earn about Rs. 75 to Rs. 100/- per month per family. Many of them are indebted also.

4. There are exorcists in the community and they resort to them in cases of illness.

5. The percentage of literacy excepting the big towns is low. The secondary education upto S.S. C. is hardly one and a half percent and the higher education being very low, that is, about half a percent.

### *Hingora*

The Hingoras are a Muslim community mainly staying in Abdasa Taluka of Kutch District. They live in houses built with mud and lime and roofs of some houses are covered with local tiles. The total population of Hingoras is about 1,000 persons.

2. The main occupation of this community is agriculture and the monthly income is about 300 rupees per family. It has been found however, that many offences of thefts and robbery are committed by members of this community. The name of this community is also included in the list of De-notified Tribes in the Gujarat State.

3. The level of literacy in this community is about 5% and that of secondary and higher education is almost nil.

### *Julaya (Garana)*

Julayas are Muslims and their original occupation is that of weavers. They are also known as Garana, Taria and Tari. Because of the introduction of various machine-produced textiles such as cotton, terelene, terene, this occupation has suffered and consequently there has been unemployment amongst the Julayas. They have been compelled to resort to other work and many of them are working as Bidi workers, vegetable sellers, hotel boys and plyers of hand lorries. In Jamnagar they are also engaged in 'Jari' work. They are economically poor and their monthly income ranges from about Rs. 100 to Rs. 125/- per family.

2. Most of the members of this community reside in small tenements and huts. They stay in Muslim locality almost as a group. Formerly the

occupation of weavers was practised by members of the Scheduled Castes and this occupation was akin to that of Vankars. Their social status is, therefore, considered low. Their beliefs are generally based on superstition.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst them is about fifteen to twenty and the percentage of secondary and higher education is negligible. In order to supplement the family income they have to engage their boys to do some remunerative work at an early age.

4. Julayas are socially and educationally backward.

#### *Jat (Muslim)*

The Jats are Muslims and have principally settled in the Kutch area and some families are also found in Jamnagar, Junagadh and Manavdar areas in Saurashtra.

2. They reside in small round huts made either of mud and wood or hay. It is a single small room with no sanitary facilities. These huts are called Bhungas. They take bath only occasionally and wash their clothes at long intervals. They usually put on clothes of black colour so that they may not appear to be dirty.

3. Their main occupation is that of cattle-rearing and they keep sheep, goats, camels and cows. They are usually found moving about from one place to another for the purpose of grazing and they also migrate with their families from Kutch to other places for about 8 to 9 months in a year. At some places, there is a custom amongst them to marry girls only with the approval of the whole community, with the result that some aged unmarried girls are found in some households. The leader of the community sits on a raised platform called 'otak' and settles disputes in the community. They take tea in large quantity in a round big metallic vessel (Tapeli or Tansli) and use jaggery instead of sugar. They usually do not boil milk. Some of them consume chameleon type of animal known as "Sandha" after boiling in water.

4. As regards literacy, it is totally absent amongst girls. Barely one percent of the Jat population hardly knows how to sign their name. There is no secondary or higher education amongst them.

5. The Jats lead a Nomadic life almost throughout the year and having no permanent place of abode continue to lead their life in the static and traditional way.

#### *Kaikadi*

The Kaikadis originally belong to the Sholapur region in Maharashtra and they were considered as Criminal Tribes in the old Bombay State. As stated in the "Report of the Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry, 1939" the Kaikadis were noted as expert burglars and house dacoits. Some of them had

settled in Ahmedabad at the time of Naroda settlement. They were brought in 1931 from Sholapur settlement to Naroda settlement in Ahmedabad. There are about 200 houses of Kaikadis in Ahmedabad. They live in Chhara-nagar in Ahmedabad in kuchcha rented huts with roofs having local tiles.

2. The Kaikadis have no particular occupation of their own and the boys are engaged in pick-pocketing as well as committing thefts of chapals and shoes. Some of the Kaikadis are engaged in miscellaneous labour work and in mills and earn about Rs. 100 to Rs. 125/- per month per family.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst the Kaikadis is twentyfive. This may be probably because they stay in Ahmedabad and the young children might be going to primary schools, but the level of secondary education is very low. Most of the Kaikadis are in the habit of drinking liquor and about 10% of them run illicit distilleries of country liquor.

#### *Kambadia Bhagat*

The Kambadia Bhagat community mainly reside in the Banaskantha District. Their main occupation is to beg but this begging is restricted to the Rabari community only. They are dependents of the Rabari community as they mainly get alms from Rabaris. They are thus inferior in status to the Rabaris.

2. The Kambadia Bhagat stay in small mud huts with roofs of hay or local tiles. The males usually go out of the village and visit houses of Rabaris while the females stay at home. The women in order to augment family income do outside labour work. Their monthly income is about Rs. 50 to 60/- per family.

3. The percentage of literacy in this community is very low, that is, about one. The percentage of secondary and higher education is almost nil.

4. The habits and social behaviour of this community are like that of Rabaris, and perhaps even lower.

#### *Kangasia*

The Kangasias are a Nomadic community who move from one place to another seasonally for the purpose of selling indigenous handmade combs. They have been included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in Gujarat. They stay in small huts of leaves of palm trees or in thatched huts and when they move out, they do so with all the members of their families.

2. The main occupation of Kangasias is to prepare indigenous combs called 'kangsi' and sell them by moving about in villages and streets in towns. The combs which they make are of a crude and cheap variety and are mostly saleable in rural areas. The Kangasias hardly earn about Rs. 50 per month per family and their standard of living is also very poor. The

males take their bath once a fortnight while many a times their women do so once a month. They wash and change their clothes, if they have a spare pair with them. The percentage of literacy among the Kangsias is almost nil; naturally one can imagine their plight as regards secondary and higher education.

#### *Khatki or Kasai*

The Khatkis are Muslim and they follow the occupation of butchers. The Khatki and the Kasai slaughter animals, sell mutton and hides. Their sub-castes are known as Chamadia Khatki and Halari Khatki. The distinction between the Khatki and Kasai is that those who slaughter small animals are known as Khatki whereas those who slaughter big animals are known as Kasai.

2. They stay in small mud houses with local tiles and their monthly income is about 100 to 150 rupees per family.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst Kasais and Khatkis is about fifteen. The percentage of secondary and higher education is very low.

4. This community has been given a lower status in society on account of the nature of their occupation and the low status seems to have adhered to the community as a whole. Majority of the people do not prefer to mix with them possibly because the occupation is considered to be dirty and low in society. The community has a stigma because of its occupation. They stay at the farthest end of the town as it may be difficult for them to get accommodation in any good locality.

5. About 30% of them consume liquor and some of them are also used to gambling. In case of illness, they customarily approach Pir, Faquirs etc.

#### *Khatik*

The Khatiks are a community which is more or less connected with the Rabaris and Bharwads because the occupation of Khatiks is to cut and trim the hairs of goats and to shear the sheep. The population of Khatiks is mainly concentrated in Idar taluka of Sabarkantha district. They originally hail from Rajasthan. They reside in mud huts having roofs covered with local tiles. Their monthly income is about Rs. 100 to 125 per family.

2. The percentage of education among the Khatiks is very low, that is, about two to three and there is no secondary or higher education amongst them.

3. The Khatiks have one pair of clothes, which they wash once in a week and put them on again. When they fall ill, they call exorcists and administer jungle herbs as medicines. Their beliefs are based on superstition. On account of their profession, which is considered to be dirty, they occupy a low position in society.

#### *Khant*

Khant is a large community and is almost like kolis. They stay in villages in mud houses. Their population is about 70,000 and is mainly concentrated in the Saurashtra region.

2. The main occupation of Khants is agriculture and agricultural labour and their monthly income ranges from Rs. 125/- to Rs. 150/- per family. There is a custom of voluntary levirate amongst the Khants, but it is said to be compulsory in villages as in the case of Bharwads.

3. There are exorcists amongst Khants and they consult them when they fall ill. Khants are ignorant and their beliefs are based on superstition. In certain parts, about 40% drink liquor.

4. The percentage of literacy is low, that is, about nine and the percentage of secondary and higher education is still very low.

5. The Khants are economically poor and their social practices are those of backward communities. They were included in the list of Other Backward Classes in the ex-Saurashtra State.

#### *Kharwa*

The main occupation of the Kharwas is that of sailors and the majority of the members of this community is connected in one way or the other with activities relating to sea. As their main occupation cannot engage all the members, some of them have resorted to miscellaneous labour work. Many of them and particularly, women folk are engaged in selling of fish. This community is therefore, similar in all respects to Machhis.

2. Most of the male members of this community residing on the sea-coast are habituated to take liquor. They reside in small slum-like huts and on account of the nature of their occupation their social status is considered low. Their monthly income ranges from Rs. 125/- to Rs. 150 per family and the level of education is also low. The percentage of literacy is on an average about 20. They believe in exorcists and magical practices and their beliefs are based on superstition. The Kharwas are, therefore, both educationally and socially backward.

3. There are Muslim Kharwas who carry on the same occupation and have the same characteristics as the Hindu Kharwas. They are also called Bhadela and they are for the same reasons socially and educationally backward.

#### *Gujarati Khristi*

Converts to Christianity are drawn from several different communities, but those who are Christian converts from Scheduled Castes are commonly called Gujarati Khristi.

2. The hereditary occupation of this group is that of weavers as this community is mainly constituted out of the persons who were originally Harijan weavers. They, therefore, resemble the class of Harijan weavers in almost all respects of social life. They have continued their marital relations with the members of the Harijan society and the people in villages treat them as they treat Harijans. Even though they have changed their faith, they have almost remained Harijans in other respects.

3. Their economic conditions have also not improved and their average income does not exceed Rs. 150/- per family. Most of the members are also indebted. This community is akin to Harijans (Scheduled Castes) and suffer from almost all the disadvantages of the Scheduled Caste. The level of literacy in larger towns is high. Secondary education in the larger towns cannot be said to be on the lower level. But the position in rural area seems to be different where the level of both primary and secondary education is low. The percentage of higher education in towns as well as in rural areas in very low.

4. Those members of this community who have become Christians and are converted from Scheduled Castes are called Gujarati Christian and should be considered as socially and educationally backward.

#### *Kolis*

The Kolis is a large community spread over the whole of the State. It comprises of several sub-castes such as Talpada Koli, Chuwalia Koli, Ghedia Koli, Divecha Koli, whom we have dealt with separately.

2. There are also other sub-castes such as Dhebaria Koli, Rathwa Koli, Baria Koli, Kharwa Koli and Idaria Koli, who also have similar characteristics and are socially and educationally backward.

#### *Labana*

The Labanas are mainly found in Panchmahal and Sabarkantha Districts and on the border of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Their sub-castes are Mehravat, Goti, Hadkashi, Zod, Dhinga, Pelya, Shatbai, Baman etc.

2. The Labanas are a community akin to Vanzara and are nomadic. Formerly they also used to do the work of transportation of grains and other goods with the help of bullocks and other beasts of burden. With the advent of modern means of transport, their original profession has suffered.

3. The Labanas stay in mud huts having roofs covered with local tiles in the interior of forest areas. Their occupation is agriculture and agricultural labour. Most of them are indebted and their monthly income is only Rs. 60/- to 70/- per family. The holdings of those who have agricultural lands are very small.

4. Child betrothals are frequent and marriages take place at the age of 10 to 12. There is a peculiar custom amongst them called 'Sata lagan'. In this the boy and the girl stay for about 5 days in the field and the marriage is performed after 7 days. Their dress is like Vanzaras and their language is akin to that of Marwadis.

5. The percentage of literacy is about ten, and that of secondary education is about five. Female education is almost nil.

6. Among Labanas about 40% of the males and 10% of the females drink liquor. In case of illness they first go to exorcists and if they do not get well then as a last resort get treatment at the hospital. Formerly there was a tendency among Labanas to commit crimes though at present it is said that they have become free from that tendency.

### *Lodha*

The Lodhas are spread over the Rajkot District, Ahmedabad, Deesa, Wankaner and Jamnagar areas. They stay in small huts and carry on the occupation of cutting grass and doing other labour work. Normally they reside in a town or a village but move out with their families for the purpose of cutting grass and for doing labour work.

2. The Lodhas are economically poor as their income ranges from Rs. 75/- to 100/- per month per family. A majority of them are used to consume liquor. Some of them are also used to gambling. There are frequent quarrels during their marital life and their beliefs are based on superstition.

3. They are mostly illiterate, the percentage of literacy being hardly five. The secondary and higher education is negligible.

### *Mir*

The Mirs are Muslims and are found in Saurashtra and some parts of Gujarat State. They are also known as Mirasi, Dhadhi and Langha.

2. Their traditional occupation is that of singing and playing musical instruments and asking for alms. Their occupation, in recent times, has declined and some of them have taken to miscellaneous manual work. Their monthly income is about 100 to 150 rupees per family. This community is faced with the problem of rehabilitating itself in new occupations.

3. They stay in small hut-like tenements made of mud and often move about for the purpose of begging. At some places in Saurashtra it is customary to engage Mir females to recite songs with beating of breasts on occasions such as death. On account of the nature of their occupation and its decline, the Mirs are economically poor and are not able to educate their children.

4. The literacy percentage is about 10 to 15. Secondary and higher education is very low.

#### *Machhi*

This community is also known as Dhimar, Kahar, Bitna, Tandel, Mangela, Dhivar, Kharwas, Khalas, Khalasi, Sarang.

2. The main occupation of this community is that of fishing and its population is generally found near the sea-coast or near river areas. Majority of their members reside in small huts built on marshy or wet land and they maintain themselves by catching fish from the sea or rivers. Those members of the community, who go to serve on ships, usually remain absent from their homes for about 8 months in a year.

3. On the coastal area, majority of the members of this community is habituated to take liquor and the womenfolk of this community also take drink. At many places, there is a custom of serving liquor on occasions of marriage or death. On account of such habits, the tendency of quarrelling and of giving divorce is found greater in this community. The occupation of fishing is considered unclean and somewhat derogatory in society. Their monthly income ranges from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 150/- per family.

4. The standard of literacy in this community varies from 5% to 10% and slightly more in some cities. But on the whole, the level of education is very low. On account of illiteracy and habitual drinking, their social prestige is also low and their religious beliefs are based on superstition.

#### *Madari (Nath, Bharathari)*

The Madaris are a Nomadic Tribe. They go from place to place with either monkeys, snakes or bears and entertain the children in villages expecting small rewards from them. They put on the dress of Bawas



and their occupation is almost that of begging, though they do give slight entertainment to children through the performance of their trained monkeys or bears. On account of their nomadic life most of the Madaris are illiterate and 50% of the male population drink liquor. Their monthly income being Rs. 50/- to Rs. 60/- per family, their standard of living is very low. In this community, there is a custom of savela, that is, when a married woman or engaged girl is kidnapped by a person other than her own husband, such a person is required to pay a particular amount to the husband for making his wife free to marry him on payment of a substantial amount demanded by the husband. On account of illiteracy and poverty and the nature of profession, the Madaris have remained socially backward. The entertainment that they provide is of a crude type and can hardly be called an occupation. Moreover, the remuneration which is derived from this occupation is meagre and that too has to be raised by asking for contribution which almost amounts to begging.

#### *Majothi Kumbhar*

This is a Muslim community mainly found in the Kutch and Junagadh districts. They are called Majothi Kumbhar, Durban or Durban Majothi.

2. Their main occupation was doing labour work or fetching earth on the back of donkeys and they acted as guards on the gates in the ex-Princely States. They now do pottery work. They also do the work of transportation of salt on donkeys on the coastal area of Saurashtra. Besides this work, they also do miscellaneous labour work in the fields and other petty services.

3. Their monthly income ranges from about Rs. 100 to Rs. 125/- per family. They stay in small huts covered by old tin roofs or hay. There is about 5% literacy in this community except a small portion where the percentage is about 12 to 15. Their economic condition is very poor and many of them stay in huts made with roofs of gunny bags.

#### *Makrani*

The Makranis are Muslim and are originally from Makran i.e. Baluchistan. In the time of old Princely States, they worked as guards or in the State Police and the concentration of their population is found in Jamnagar, Mehsana, Wankaner, Dhrangadhra, Rajkot and Gir areas.

2. The Makranis claim that their population is about 6 to 7 thousand in the Gujarat State. They stay in mud houses and usually mix with their own community. They usually marry girls in the Makrani community and if Makrani youths are not available, grown up girls have remained unmarried. The women cover their face as well as

observe, 'purdah' system and as a result they usually do not go out for earning to supplement the family income. They spend big amounts after social ceremonies such as marriage, death, etc. and there is a custom of the whole community visiting their bereaved persons. In case of illness they seldom go to hospital but take vows of 'pirs' or 'durgah' of 'Miradatar'. They are usually employed as watchman, policeman, drivers, cleaners, cycle-repairers etc. and their monthly income is about Rs. 100/- per family and most of them are indebted. They have a joint family system and their marital relations are unsatisfactory.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst Makranis is about four to five and secondary education is only half percent. The literacy among women is almost nil.

#### *Matwa or Matwa Quereshi (Muslim) and Gavli (Hindu)*

This is a Muslim group following the occupation of selling milk. Their principal habitation is in some parts of Kutch, Jamnagar, Rajkot, Gondal, Dhoraji, and Jetpur areas of Saurashtra. They reside in small huts or rooms made of mud and usually in a group where most of the Matwa families reside. The Matwas usually keep cows and earn about Rs. 100 to 150 per family. Their huts are surrounded by slum-like environment and they are economically poor.

2. The Matwas take bath once in a week or fortnight and change their clothes when there is a second pair available. They are ignorant, backward and believe in superstition.

3. The percentage of literacy among males is about five and there is hardly any literacy amongst females. As regards secondary and higher education, it is almost negligible.

4. Occupationally, the Matwas resemble the Bharwads and Rabaris except that the Matwas are not Nomadic. Their status in society can be considered equally low. They are socially and educationally backward.

5. There is also such a community following the occupation of selling milk amongst Hindus and they are called Gavlis. In all respects they belong to the same category and follow almost the same occupation. The Gavlis are also socially and educationally backward.

#### *Me*

The Me community is found in Kutch. They are also called Meta and are included in the list of De-notified Tribes in Gujarat.

2. The Mes stay in huts of mud having roofs covered with hay and are engaged in manual labour such as cutting logs of wood, taking out honey from stray growth of honeycombs. The monthly income of Me varies

from Rs. 70 to 90/- per family. They are Hindus but also follow some of the Muslim customs. Some have Hindu names whereas others have Muslim names. They hardly know anything about their religion but they worship some of the Hindu Goddesses and their beliefs are based on superstition. They are economically poor and there is almost no literacy amongst them.

### *Mena (Bhil)*

This is a small community mainly inhabiting the districts of Sabarkantha, Banaskantha and Mehsana. In many respects they resemble the Adivasi Bhil with whom they have social communications as well as inter-marriages. They reside in small huts of mud. It is said that originally they were Bhils but since their ancestors did the business of lifting palanquins, they were styled as Menas. At present, they are engaged in doing miscellaneous labour and household work. Their monthly income is about Rs. 50/- per family.

2. There is a peculiar custom in this community of each person fetching one log of wood while going to attend a funeral, and out of these logs, the funeral pyre is lit. There are exorcists among them and their beliefs are based on superstition. The percentage of education among the Menas is almost negligible.

### *Mer*

The population of Mer community is concentrated in the Junagadh District on the coastline between Porbander and Veraval. This community can be distinguished from other communities who carry on similar occupations. It is said that they attach great importance to family prestige and their family enmity descends from generation to generation. According to Mers their population in Gujarat is about 2 lacs.

2. The main occupation of Mers is agriculture and agricultural labour. They stay in small stone houses and are generally located in villages. In that region loose stones are available in plenty and hence instead of clay, their houses are made of stones. Pieces of stones are arranged one upon another without joining them by cement. Their agricultural holdings in most cases are small and as a consequence, their income is limited. The average monthly income is about 200 to 250 rupees per family.

3. There are child-marriages in this community and several marriages are performed at a time on a particular day. About 30% of the Mers drink liquor. There are exorcists in this community and their beliefs are based on superstition. They generally take bath once in a week but some of them once in a month and change their clothes only occasionally. Among Mers there is a custom of voluntary levirate. The Mers are believed to have very high notions of family prestige and family vengeance is inherited

by succeeding generations. On account of this, there have been frequent murders and blood feuds in the community and the incidence of crime is high. It seems that it has not abated in the last 5 years.\*

4. The percentage of illiteracy amongst the Mers is very high, that is, about ninety and there is no literacy amongst females. The village Visavada, where the Commission paid a visit appeared to be an exception where the percentage of literacy was high. This appears to be on account of the influence of the many inhabitants of the village who migrated to East Africa. The literacy level, however, in general, in this community as shown above, is very low. The percentage of secondary and higher education is very low.

5. The Mers were included in the list of Other Backward Classes in the ex-Saurashtra State.

#### *Miyana (Muslim)*

The Miyanas are principally residents of Malia in Morvi Taluka of Rajkot District. In the rural area, most of them reside in small thatched huts of hay. Their main occupation is agriculture, agricultural labour and fishing. They are small agriculturists and carry on the occupation of fishing for about a month and a half in a year in the creek near Surajbari Bridge joining Saurashtra and Kutch. Their annual income varies from Rs. 1200 to Rs. 2,000/- per family.

2. This community was considered to be having criminal tendency and in some of the ex-Princely States in Saurashtra, the Miyanas were required to possess permits before they entered the limits of a State. This criminal tendency has continued till today, though it appears that by lapse of time, it has been reduced to some extent. The Miyanas are included in the list of De-notified Tribes in the Gujarat State.

3. The educational level of the Miyanas is very low and the percentage of literacy is about three to five.

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
•					
Arrests for offences of murder	14	13	12	26	46
Arrests for offences of physical injuries	76	93	88	165	199
Arrests for offences against property	39	47	38	76	102
Arrests for offences of prohibition	156	168	159	283	192

*Mochi*

This is a group popularly known as Mochis and is an occupational caste. Its various sub-castes are Jansali, Sivanias, Myangar, Jingar, Dasania, Chamadia, Bharatbhara, Chandlia, Sonari, Aaribharatbhara. It may also be mentioned that of late, the Mochis have claimed to have adopted the name of Jankshatriya.

2. This group is distributed all over the State of Gujarat and although no exact figures are available, their population ranges from 4 to 5 lacs. The members of this community usually reside in mud or small kuchcha houses or brick-houses, and their residential quarters are usually located on the fringe of the town or village because their occupation is considered to be very low.

3. The main occupation of this community is that of shoe-making and their constant grievance is that their occupation is not flourishing and that of late, has dwindled to a considerable extent, the main reason being the introduction of competitive business from shoe manufacturers who have organised into big firms or companies such as Bata, Carona, PVC, Flex, etc. The occupation of this community is of making shoes by hand from hides. This is done by two processes; firstly by using processed hides and preparing shoes and chappals therefrom by hand and secondly, by purchasing raw hides and preparing shoes by hand after processing the same. The former process is usually employed in the major part of the Gujarat State. However, in some parts of Banas-kantha, raw hide is first processed by members of this community and then converted into hide, which is made fit for further operations in shoe-making. A dominant characteristic of this community is that it is placed at the lowest rung in the social hierarchy, and the evidence taken at various places by the Commission disclosed that most of the other communities usually do not have social relations with them, particularly in the matter of food and housing. Their social status appears to be a little higher than that of Harijans. In their occupation, they have to deal with hides and therefore, it is considered to be a low profession in the society. The processing, tanning and storing of hides for the purpose of making shoes is likely to create an atmosphere of filth in the locality. The result has been that the community has been considered to be very low in society and has suffered all the disadvantages of having such a social status.

4. It may be mentioned that the Mochis are considered as Scheduled Castes in Dangs district and Umargaon taluka of Bulsar district. In the former State of Bombay as well as in the State of Saurashtra the Gujarati Mochis were treated as other Backward Classes.

5. The Mochis being a caste by themselves marry within the same caste. Marriages in this community take place at or after maturity, that

is, between 18 and 20 years except in rare cases, which do not exceed 10%, but betrothals are made earlier, that is between 8 and 10 years.

6. The monthly income of members of this community is stated to be about Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 and the average indebtedness varies from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000 per family. Their women engage themselves as domestic workers in the families of higher class communities.

7. Superstitious beliefs and occult practices are prevalent in this community such as consulting 'Bhuvas' (exorcists) and procuring 'Dora Dhagas' (charms) etc. from them in case of illness of members of the family or animals. So far as personal hygiene is concerned their practice is to take bath daily or on alternate days and to change clothes at interval of a week.

8. As regards educational level, the percentage of general literacy does not appear to be very low and seems to be varying at different places, higher at some and lower at other places. However, the level of secondary and higher education is very low.

9. The percentage of persons taking liquor is not very high in this community. About 10% of the Mochi population take liquor except in some districts such as Dangs, Balsar and Surat, where the drinking habit is very common.

10. Barring a few families here and there the overall picture of Mochi community appears to be very dismal. They seem to live a drab life especially in villages.

### *Nat*

Nats are also called Natada. They are also known as Nat Bajania or Bajigar.

2. The main occupation of Nats is that of begging; they are wandering acrobats and players of indigenous tunes and drums. They have been considered as Nomadic Tribe in Gujarat State.

3. The Nats stay in small huts with roofs covered with hay or local tiles. They supplement their earning by begging. Their monthly income ranges from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100/- per family. They wander from village to village to perform acrobatic tricks on ropes and crude dances with the help of drums. Nats and Bajanias are in the habit of taking liquor. They approach exorcists in case of illness and their beliefs are based on superstition.

4. The occupation of Nats is that of group dancing and playing of drum which cannot provide employment to all and, therefore, some of them have been constrained to beg alms or to do small miscellaneous labour work.

The occupation is also considered very low in society as it is connected with begging. The percentage of literacy ranges from two to fifteen and is negligible as regards secondary and higher education.

### *Od*

The Ods are a Nomadic type of people changing residences for the purposes of obtaining labour work wherever it is available. They are included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in Gujarat State. They are usually engaged in labour relating to earth work and consequently, they stay in thatched huts built near tanks or places outside the village from where earth is dug for building mud houses. They shift their camps with their families and household kit for the purpose of securing labour work, earth work and for transporting earth on the back of donkeys from one place to another. The average monthly income is about Rs. 70/- to Rs. 150/- per family.

2. The percentage of literacy amongst them ranges from 3 to 8 excepting in the Mehsana region, where the percentage of literacy is higher. The percentage of secondary and higher education is also very low.

3. In Baroda, where there is a large population of Ods, it is customary to consume liquor on marriage occasions and about 60% of their male population is addicted to liquor. Their habitation is poorly equipped and they stay in huts made of hay or tents made out of old gunny bags.

### *Padhar*

The Padhar community lives around Nal Sarovar in Viramgam and Surendranagar areas. In the villages near about the Nal Sarovar they catch fish and because of extreme poverty they also eat roots known as "Thek" from the surrounding areas.

2. When the monsoon season is over, a large portion of the Nal Sarovar dries up and the Padhars remain unemployed for rest of the season during which time they try to earn their livelihood by all kinds of labour work, wherever available. Some of them catch flying birds for sale as well as for personal consumption. Their monthly income is about Rs. 60/- per family.

3. Padhars staying on one side of the Nal Sarovar in Viramgam and Dholka Taluka areas are similar to the Padhars who stay on the other side of the Nal Sarovar in Surendranagar district. The social customs in Padhars staying on both the areas are the same and there are intermarriages amongst them. Still, however, the anomalous position is that Padhars residing on the border area in Dholka and Viramgam talukas are not considered as Scheduled Tribes whereas their counterparts residing in the Surendranagar District area are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. The Commission feels that Padhars living on the Dholka and Viramgam taluka areas should also be considered as Scheduled Tribes alongwith the members of

the same community staying on the Surendranagar side. But till their case is considered and the position remedied by the State Government in consultation with the Government of India, they should be considered as socially and educationally backward as their habits and mode of living, customs, level of education etc. are the same as Padhars living in the Surendranagar District.

4. The percentage of literacy and primary education is about two and there is no secondary or higher education amongst them.

### *Padmasali (Pattusali)*

Originally the Padmasalis hail from the Andhra region but several families of Padmasalis have settled in the Bilimora, Chikhli, Navsari, Surat, Cambay and Ahmedabad areas. They are also known as Pattusalis.

2. The main occupation of Padmasalis is that of weavers and they appear to be slightly higher in status than Scheduled Castes and are almost like Adivasis. Their monthly income is about Rs. 100/- per family. Some of them get their daughters married even at the age of 10 or 11. There is a wide spread custom to take liquor and their women are also in the habit of drinking. Their residential accommodation consists of small sized huts with roofs of local tiles.

3. The percentage of literacy among Padmasalis is about 10 and almost nil as regards secondary and higher education.

### *Pinjara*

Pinjaras are carders of cotton and they move about the streets of towns and villages with their handmade carding bow-like instrument. They are also known as Ghanchi-Pinjara and Mansuri-Pinjaras.

2. In villages, the Pinjaras stay in small mud houses and in towns in rented houses. Their original occupation is that of carding or combing cotton and oil pressing. After the introduction of oil mills, their original occupation of extracting oil through "Ghanis" has suffered to a considerable extent. These occupations do not provide adequate employment to them and hence they have taken to miscellaneous labour work also. Their monthly income is about Rs. 100 to Rs. 125/- and average indebtedness ranges from Rs. 1000 to Rs. Rs. 2000 per family.

3. Pinjaras are economically poor and have a low standard of living. The percentage of literacy amongst them is about 5 to 10 and very low as regards secondary and higher education. Their beliefs are based on superstition.



*Rabari*

This is one of the largest communities who have adhered to their old conventional mode of living unaffected by modern style of dress and other customs and habits. They are generally distributed all over the State. Their principal habitation is in the Barda and Gir hills and other parts of Junagadh district, in north Gujarat and different villages of the State.

2. Rabaris are also known as Bhopa, Sorathia, Champya and Kodiatar. They reside with their families in small huts in the company of their cattle and, therefore, their residential environment is insanitary and filthy. The Rabaris of the Saurashtra region, particularly, are itinerant and move from one place to another for the purpose of grazing their cattle. They move from village to village and even outside the State such as Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, with their families and household goods. The Rabaris of Barda, Gir and Alech in Junagadh district of Saurashtra are treated as Scheduled Tribes.

3. The occupation of Rabaris is hereditary. The conventional mode of rearing and tending their cattle and dealing with the business of milk-selling are carried on in the same traditional way as was followed by their ancestors. On account of their itinerant habits and conventional mode of life, they introduce their boys into their occupation at a very early age with the result that most of them either remain totally illiterate or are unable to receive any primary education. The question of making them literate and inducing them to go to school is indeed difficult which, no doubt, will require immediate solution. On the whole, their economic condition is unsatisfactory, the average monthly income is about Rs. 75 to 100 per family in villages and Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 in towns. It appears that in some parts of the State, some Rabari families, who have settled in towns, are a little better off. It should, however, be stated that even in respect of these families who may be a little better off, they have not changed their social customs and traditional mode of life.

4. Although their social customs may slightly differ in different districts, one common feature which can be noted is the rigidity with which certain customs are followed. The custom of betrothal at a very early age even in infancy is very common in this community and child marriages are not infrequent. In some parts of the State, the practice of holding marriages at specific long intervals has been noticed with the result that most of the persons belonging to the community who have been betrothed, are married on a particular date fixed by the community, irrespective of their ages. The hold of the 'Caste-Panch' is also very strong on the members of the community and a big amount of penalty by way of compensation can be levied by leaders of the caste to the tune of Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000 /- for failure to follow the caste rules relating to marriage.

5. The Rabaris are very orthodox and rigid especially as regards religious beliefs based on blind superstitions. At certain places the word of their 'Bhuva' (exorcist) is sanctimonious and cannot be transgressed and many a times his permission is taken even for doing ordinary activities of life. Sometimes when a guest is to be received and treated, the exorcist is consulted before doing so.

6. As regards their literacy level it is very poor, as it is bound to be, having regard to the mode of their life. The level of primary, secondary and higher education is almost the same as Bharwads. Even in the field of their occupation, it does not appear that it is conducted on any modern scientific lines. The style of their living, the condition of their huts and the routine daily activities are also stereo-typed and traditional.

#### *Rathodia*

The Rathodias are mainly concentrated in the Baroda District and round about Dabhoi and Chhota Udepur. This community is almost like the Adivasis. There is practically no literacy amongst them and their habits and mode of life resemble that of Adivasis.

2. The Rathodias stay in small huts made out of hay and these huts are usually without doors. They are engaged in low type of agricultural labour and get work only in agricultural season. They are hardly able to get enough food for maintenance. When there is no work, they engage themselves in catching fish and try to eke out their living from the sale of fish. Their annual income is about Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 per family.

3. The percentage of literacy in the community is hardly one, most of the females being illiterate. There is no secondary and higher education. They believe in superstition and resort to charms when they fall ill.

#### *Raval, Ravalia, Jati or Raval Yogi.*

The Raval community is spread over the whole of Gujarat and they belong to the Nomadic Tribes. They are also known as Ravalia, Raval Yogi and Raval Jati or Jagaria.

2. They usually reside on the outskirts of a village in small hut like rooms made of mud having roofs covered with local tiles and many of them keep on moving from one place to another either for the purpose of transporting or taking goods such as salt, earth and vegetables etc. on the back of donkeys and camels; they also use camel carts. In Kaira District they play indigenous drums on marriage and such other auspicious occasions. In Saurashtra the Raval or Jogi also play "Daklas" and at times beg for alms. Some of them also play village folk songs on pipes and in a special musical instrument called "Ravanhatha". They also have superstitious beliefs.

3. Their monthly income is about 50 to 150 rupees per family and thus they are economically poor. The women in some of the families do the work of selling vegetables and others work as petty labourers. About 25% and at some places even more of the male population is habituated to take liquor.

4. Originally they were Nomadic Tribes and in recent times those who have resorted to other occupations other than transporting goods, begging etc. have started living a settled life. But still it appears that they have not yet given up some characteristics of their nomadic life.

5. The percentage of literacy in this community is about two to fifteen. Secondary and higher education is very low.

#### *Salat (excluding Sompura Salat)*

The Salats are a poor community engaged in selling and mending grinding stones.

2. There is a sub-caste in the Salats called Ghera Salat, which has been included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in the State of Gujarat. The Salat Gheras move from village to village with their families for mending the grinding stones.

3. They usually stay outside the village or a town in thatched huts and carry on their grinding work. They earn about Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 per month per family. Some of them are also engaged in manual labour of miscellaneous nature. Their beliefs are based on superstition.

4. There is hardly one or two percent literacy in this community.

5. The Salats and Ghera Salats are both socially and educationally backward.

6. The Sompuras are also called Sompapura Salats but they are not included in the list of socially and educationally backward classes as Sompuras are considered to be Brahmins and are in a better condition.

#### *Sandhi (Muslim)*

The Sandhis are a Muslim group and are found in rural areas in some parts of Saurashtra. They reside in small huts or small rooms of mud and are mostly engaged in agricultural and other labour.

2. The Sandhis are considered as a De-notified Tribe in Gujarat and some of them are still engaged in criminal activities. Their monthly income is from Rs. 75 to Rs. 100 per family. The percentage of literacy in this community is about 10.

*Saranias*

The traditional occupation of the Saranias is that of knife-grinding. They are found in almost every town and village of the State roaming about with their hand-pullies and grinding-stones inviting customers for grinding their knives. They usually stay in small mud houses and go from place to place for work. Many of them are almost like Nomadic Tribes even today, and those who are not able to maintain themselves out of this profession have to resort to miscellaneous labour work. Their monthly income is about Rs. 60/- to Rs. 125/- per family.

2. The level of literacy is very low, that is, about 5% to 25%. The percentage of secondary and higher education amongst them is extremely low. This community consists of both Hindus as well as Muslims. The "Saranias" have been treated as Nomadic Tribes in the Gujarat State. In some parts of Gujarat State they are also known as Shikligar which is also a Nomadic Tribe.

3. Both Hindu and Muslim Saranias are socially and educationally backward.

*Sargaras*

The Sargaras originally hailed from Rajasthan where their ancestral occupation was agricultural work and forced labour on estates. They have settled in Gujarat for about 100 years and their hereditary occupation is to cut logs of wood and they are also engaged in other miscellaneous labour. Their women get engaged in pounding dry chillies and their monthly income is Rs. 100/- to Rs. 200/- per family. They have settled in Ahmedabad, Godhra, Kapadvanj, Nadiad, Anand, Baroda and Dohad. They stay in slum areas in small huts and chawls.

2. The percentage of literacy amongst the Sargaras is about two. Secondary and higher education is almost nil.

3. 50% of the male population consume liquor. They stay in dirty environments and take their bath about twice a week. Their beliefs are based on superstition.

*Shravan (Sarvan)*

The Shravan community mainly stays in Saurashtra and its population is about 800. They stay in rented mud houses and their main occupation is asking for alms. This community has no hereditary occupation of its own and their income depends upon the charity of others. A few of them, however, have engaged themselves in 'bidi' work and other miscellaneous labour. The monthly income of a family is about Rs. 100/-.

2. According to folk-lore, this community is reported to have descended from Shraavan of mythological repute who gave his life in the service of his parents. Shraavan used to carry his parents for pilgrimage in a 'Kavad' which is like a balance with a thin pole in the middle. The members of this community, therefore, move about for alms with a 'kavad' on their shoulders. They also put on a scared thread, but it appears that this is only a type of custom inherited by them. There are no other similarities of this community with the Brahmins. But they appear more akin to the Bawas.

3. The level of literacy is about 25 % but the level of secondary and higher education is very low. This community is economically poor, having no independent income of its own.

### *Shikligar*

The Shikligars originally hail from Marwar and resemble the Luharias. They are included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in Gujarat.

2. The Shikligars are mainly concentrated in Baroda, Kalol, Mehsana and Rajkot. They stay in tent-like huts with cloth coverings on top erected in open plains. They go out in different villages for the purpose of selling their handmade goods. Their occupation is to prepare small articles of pig iron such as knives, tongs etc. by their own labour and their monthly income is about Rs. 60/- per family.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst the Shikligars is almost nil and there is no secondary or higher education among them. They have one pair of clothes to put on. However, they manage to take bath once a week. They resort to charms and consult exorcists during illness.

### *Siddi*

The Siddis appear to have originally come from African regions and they have retained their peculiar physical appearance of Siddis even today. Possibly, they might have come to Gujarat and particularly to Saurashtra as personal guards to Rulers but at present, they do petty services such as private guards, motor drivers, hotel-boys and other miscellaneous labour.

2. The Siddis stay in 'Bhungas' *i.e.*, small huts in Kutch and in mud houses with local tiles at other places. Their average income ranges from Rs. 60/- to Rs. 100 and at some places Rs. 150/- per month per family.

3. The level of literacy amongst Siddis is varying; at some places being low. The percentage of secondary and higher education is also low.

4. In the ex-Saurashtra State area, the Siddis are considered as Scheduled Tribes, but they are not so considered in other part of Saurashtra, which was under Baroda regime or in the Kutch area and other parts of Gujarat region, which formed part of the old Bombay State. There are some families of Siddis in Surat district also. The Siddi is an endogamous group and hence a daughter from a Siddi family residing in Surat district can marry a son of a Siddi family residing in Saurashtra region and their progeny would be considered as Scheduled Tribes whereas their counterpart in the Gujarat region would not be so considered, although the community is the same in all respects. It would be for the proper authority to consider the situation but in any event until they are placed in the list of Scheduled Tribes, they should be considered as socially and educationally backward.

### *Sipai*

The Sipais are Muslims and possibly they settled in India 3 or 4 centuries back and worked in the police force of the Mogul Princes. Some of them may also be local converts to Islam, who served in the State police force. The concentration of the Sipai is mostly in the districts of Saurashtra and Ahmedabad. A majority of the Sipai population stays in kuchcha or mud houses or chawls and most of them do not have adequate accommodation for residence on account of their poor economic condition.

2. The main occupation of this community was to work as members of the police force and even today, many of them are serving in the police force. Formerly, they were engaged in the Princely State services as "Sepoys". But at present, some of them are working as peons and are engaged in some other petty jobs such as 'bidi' workers, hotel-boys, horse-carriage drivers etc. On an average, their monthly income ranges from 100 to 200 rupees per family. Possibly, on account of abolition of the princely class, many of them suffered heavily in employment and had to take to different types of petty occupations and services. Many of the women observe 'Purdah' (veil) and therefore, are not able to freely help the family in its earning by undertaking outside work. On certain occasions like long sickness in the family, they resort to superstitious beliefs, in 'pirs' etc.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst the Sipai is about ten to twenty and very low amongst females. The percentage of secondary and higher education is also very low. On account of bad economic condition, the boys have to be employed in hotels and other labour work to earn a living and this leads to lack of secondary and higher education. They have to live in small hut-like houses which are like slums and being economically poor are consequently deprived of the means of education and civilized life. At certain places some of them are addicted to drink. In the Saurashtra region, the Sipais were considered as other Backward Classes.

*Turk Jamat*

It may be mentioned that the 'Turk]Jamat', Veraval, had approached the Commission for being considered as backward as they are a part of the Sipai community. This being so and since the Turks have almost all the characteristics of the Sipai, they are included as socially and educationally backward alongwith the Sipais.

*Patni Jamat*

The Patnis are almost a section of the Sipai community and have the same characteristics. They should therefore, be included as socially and educationally backward alongwith the Sipais.

*Talpada Koli*

Talpada Koli is a sub-sect of the Koli community. They are spread over the whole of Gujarat. They usually reside in kuchcha mud houses and some of them have roofs covered with hay or local tiles. In some of the areas their huts are located on the fringe of village amidst unhygienic surroundings. In cities they mostly live in slums.

2. The Talpada Kolis are considered to have a little higher status than that of the Chuvaliya Kolis but in many respects they are similar to the other sects of Kolis and their status is considered low in the social hierarchy. The practice of child betrothal is common and in certain areas, they get their girls married before puberty. High bride price is prevalent in this community and as a result in several cases the marriages end in quarrels.

3. The occupation of Talpada Kolis is mainly agricultural labour and only a few have land of their own. A large section of the community is engaged in scarcity labour work when such works are undertaken on account of famine or scarcity. Their average monthly income varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 125/-, per family. The Kolis residing on the sea coast are engaged in fishing also.

4. About 25% of the male population is addicted to taking liquor and the percentage is higher amongst the Kolis residing on the sea-coast. There are exorcists amongst this community and their beliefs are based on superstition. There are incidents of animal sacrifices among this community. They usually take bath and change their clothes once a fortnight or whenever there is a facility to do so and their daily habits are also dirty.

5. Although higher percentage is shown in the statement filed at Sayla in Surendranagar District and Palitana in Bhavnagar District, the percentage of literacy in this community does not appear to be more than 8 to 10. Also the statement relates to several communities which are classed as

Kolis and these classes include Chuvaliya Kolis, Thakore, Thakardas, Kharvas, Agarias and Talpada Kolis. The individual statement, however, and the evidential data disclosed literacy percentage about eight to ten in Talpada Kolis. The percentage of secondary and higher education is very low.

6. Talpada Kolis were formerly known for their criminal tendencies but of late such a tendency is fast disappearing and exists only in small proportion. This community was considered as other Backward Classes in the old Saurashtra State.

### *Tankar*

The Tankars are like the Vankars though they are not considered as Scheduled Castes. The Tankars originally belong to a community whose traditional occupation was that of drawing threads from cotton, that is, warping. They give their daughters in marriages among the Vankar community, which is considered as Scheduled Caste. This community therefore, in all respects, akin to the Vankar community and could have been included amongst the Scheduled Castes. But as it appears they have not been included, they should be considered as socially and educationally backward until this position is clarified and remedied by the proper authorities.

### *Targala (Bhavaiya)*

The Targalas who are also called Bhavaiyas and Nayaks and Bhojaks are spread over the whole of the State. They are well-known for their peculiar profession of performing 'Bhawai' and 'Ramleela', which is a folk-dramatic performance prevalent mostly in villages. They usually move from village to village in a group and give their performances to the village people at night and then ask for some reward in cash or kind. They were, for this reason, considered as Nomadic Tribe. At present, also they are included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in the State of Gujarat.

2. In course of time, some of the members of this community went to the stage as professional actors and in the beginning of the Gujarati stage the males used to play the female part. After the advent of the cinema and amateur groups performing dramas, this profession has also suffered considerably.

3. In villages the Targalas live in mud houses and their monthly income ranges from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150 per family. The male members who perform 'Bhawai' and 'Ramleela' have to be away from the home and the family for about 8 months in a year and therefore, are not able to attend to the education of their children. Although, the literacy level in this community is not low, the percentage of secondary education is



low and that of higher education is negligible. On account of nomadic habits and the practice of males playing the roles of females in 'Bhawai' and the 'Ramleela', their social status is considered low. Some of the members of the community have been forced to leave the profession and have been displaced. Those who are carrying on their traditional profession get remuneration which is hardly sufficient for bare maintenance and those who are displaced are hardly able to earn their living. On account of want of secondary and higher education and insufficient means of livelihood, their standard of living is low and their beliefs are based on superstition. The remuneration paid to them after a performance in a village is not fixed, but they have to go and ask for rewards from house to house, which lowers their social status because such a practice is considered equivalent to collection of alms.

### *Thakarda or Thakore*

This class constitutes a large section in Hindu society and is known by different names in different areas. They are mainly known as Thakardas but at some places, they are also called Patanwadia, Dharalas, Thakores, Barias which appear to be sub-sections of the main class of Kolis.

2. The Thakardas reside usually in small hut-like rooms of mud in towns and in villages in huts or 'Kubas'. Their main occupation is agriculture or agricultural labour. The land holding is also very small and uneconomical. A few of them are also engaged in doing miscellaneous labour work.

3. The number of persons who take liquor in this community is very large and at some places there is a tendency to commit criminal offences. In the Report of the "Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, 1939" there is a mention of Dharalas which says: "As explained in detail in Chapter VIII, Dharalas do not constitute a strict ethnological unit. Generally, they are agriculturists and several of them have been found addicted to highway robbery, dacoity, cattle lifting, theft and house breaking." Their main occupation is agriculture and many of them possess small pieces of land and their monthly income ranges from about Rs. 100 to 150/- per family. Those who are not owning land, most of them are engaged in agricultural labour. They are economically poor.

4. About 50 to 60% are addicted to liquor and in some places their females also drink liquor. At some places, the members of the community are in the habit of carrying on criminal activities.

5. The level of literacy amongst this community, is low, that is, ranging from 5% to about 20%. Secondary and higher education is still very low. There is no female education. The residential area in which the members of this class reside is as filthy as a slum. A family resides in one room of mud wall having a roof covered with native tiles and without any sanitary

facilities. The Commission visited one such locality and it was found that the members of the family were residing in one small room with local tiled roof and an open verandah in front with no sanitary facilities and no ventilation. About 150 families of this class were found to be residing in this locality in similar conditions.

6. As Thakardas are illiterate and ignorant, their beliefs are also based on superstition.

7. The Thakardas or Thakore, Patanwadia, Dharala, Baria are socially and educationally backward.

8. For the sake of caution it may be mentioned here that some of the Thakardas, Barias etc. style themselves as Thakores; but these Thakores should be distinguished from the Thakores of Saurashtra and other ex-Princely States, who belonged to the ruling families.

### *Theba*

The Thebas are a Muslim community mostly staying in Bhuj taluka in Kutch. The total population of this community is about 3000. They live in kuchcha houses or in huts with thatched roofs. Their main occupation is agricultural labour and some of them have small pieces of agricultural land which is of an inferior quality. Some of them are also engaged in cutting grass and wood. Their monthly income is about Rs. 100/-.

2. The percentage of literacy is about four and the level of secondary education is very low and negligible. This community is economically poor and has been included in the list of De-notified Tribes in Gujarat. Their beliefs are based on superstition. They take bath and change their clothes once in a week.

### *Vadi*

Vadi is a community whose ancestral occupation is that of snake charmers. Today, also, they roam from one place to another following the same age-old occupation. This is nothing but a sort of begging from which they eke out a very meagre amount. They stay in open fields on the out-skirts of villages sometimes even without huts or other protection and sometimes in huts made out of mud having roofs with hay or local tiles. In some areas they do not take bath even during the course of the whole year and change their clothes only when they are totally tattered. The very appearance of a Vadi family creates a very dismal picture of the entire community.

2. There are exorcists in every family. Their is a very peculiar custom in Vadis wherein the husband after marriage is required to go to the house of his father-in-law and stay there for about 12 months. They do not go to courts in case of disputes but their caste leader settles

the disputes. Female deities like 'Meldi', 'Sikotar' etc. are worshipped by them sometimes with evil motives. They have practically no occupation out of which they can earn a stable living and their monthly income is about Rs. 40 to 50 per family.

3. The percentage of literacy amongst Vadis is almost nil but at some places it is about one.

#### *Vahivancha Charan-Gadhvi of Vankars and Chamars.*

It may be noted that the Commission has received a representation from the Vahivancha Charan Gadhvis who are record keepers of some of the Scheduled Castes particularly Vankars and Chamars. The Commission had also taken their evidence at Ahmedabad and it was represented that these Vahivancha Charans of Harijans were considered as untouchables. Their residential localities were situated in the Harijanvas and they use the same well that are used by Harijans. They take their meals alongwith Vankars and Chamars. The women folk of these Vahivanchas do the work of Vankars, that is, weaving at the residence of Vankars, while the males maintain the records of geneology of Vankars and Chamars as well as are engaged in other miscellaneous labour work.

2. The monthly income of this community ranges from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per family. They stay in Harijanvas in mud houses having roofs covered with local tiles. Their beliefs are based on superstition. The percentage of literacy amongst them is about twentyfive but the secondary education is about 5%.

3. On the whole it appears that Vahivanchas whose clients are Harijans are like the sub-caste of Vankers and Chamars who are members of the Scheduled Castes, but they are not included in the Scheduled Caste. They had requested the Commission to be so recognized but the question of inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes is not within the purview of this Commission. But since they are not so recognised, the Commission feels that there is no objection in treating them as socially and educationally backward till their position is clarified and remedied by the appropriate Government.

#### *Valand*

This community is known by its hereditary occupation of hair-cutting and amongst the Hindus is generally known as Valand, Nayi, Babar and amongst Mohammedans as Hajams. They are also generally known by another name Barbar or Babar. They are spread over all the rural as well as urban areas of the State. In the rural area they usually reside in small kuchcha structures with indigenous tiles on the roofs.

2. Their main occupation is that of hair cutting and at some places in small villages the practice is to take yearly services from them for the whole family, and to remunerate them in cash or kind which is fixed in lump or on annual or seasonal basis. Formerly, Valand community used to render manual services to the village people and was required to serve them on certain occasions such as marriage, death etc. The remuneration paid to them was not commensurate with the nature of the services. This practice is disappearing to some extent in modern times but its remnants are still to be seen in villages.

3. This is a profession which no other community will be prepared to undertake as the profession is looked down by the society as of a low type. This is due to the fact that the profession involves dealing with dirty hair. Modern hair-cutting methods are not known or practised by them.

4. As stated above, their income may be either in cash or kind but the evidence discloses that the monthly average income ranges round about Rs. 105/- to Rs. 150/- per family. The figure may be a little lower in small villages and a little higher in towns.

5. The level of education and literacy of this community varies from district to district and in rural areas particularly, it is very low, round-about 5 to 10%. The general level of higher education is very low.

6. The social position that is given to this community is of a very low order, and the very name Valand or Hajam is considered to be derogatory in society. On the whole, therefore, this community is educationally as well as socially backward.

7. Valand in Hindu and Hajams in Muslim are included in this community. It may be noted here that the Valand were considered to be Other Backward Classes in the old Bombay State and the Saurashtra State. The Muslim Barbers, that is, Hajams have the same characteristics as the Hindu Valands and are also known as Khaliphas. They are also socially and educationally backward.

#### *Vankar Sadhus*

This is a community of Vankar Sadhus who are the medicants of the Vankar community. Their occupation is that of begging from the Harijans, Vankars and Chamars, who are Scheduled Castes. They could have also been included in the Scheduled Castes, but until they are so included, they may be included in the list of socially and educationally backward classes until this position is clarified and remedied.

*Vansfoda or Vansfodia or Vanza*

The Vansfodas are also known as Vansfodias or Vanza. The Vansfoda or Vansfodias are a Nomadic Tribe and are included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in the Gujarat State.

2. These are basket makers, who usually stay in small tent like huts made of old gunny bags erected outside the village. There are no mud walls even and the gunny bag cloth is supported by bamboo sticks to make a shed. They produce baskets (toplas) by manual work from bamboo chips and do their work in the open outside their huts.

3. They usually do not stay permanently at one place, but frequently move from village to village for the purpose of their occupation. They earn about 60 to 70 rupees per month per family and most of them are indebted.

4. Most of the Vansfodas are illiterate and do not know how to read and write. Only a very few of them can hardly sign their name. There is no secondary or higher education amongst them.

5. They have blind religious beliefs. Their economic condition is very poor and their standard of living is very low. They have no sanitary facilities near their habitation and are living almost a slum life. They take bath once a week and wash clothes if another pair is available. Most of them are addicted to illicit liquor intoxication. Liquor is served at the time of their marriage ceremonies.

*Vanzara*

The Vanzaras are a Nomadic type of people habituated to itinerary life which involves frequent changes of abode. This sort of life is due to their usual traditional occupation of transporting grains and goods from one place to another on bullocks or other beasts of burden. They usually camp outside a village, stay there for a few days in temporarily erected huts made of bamboo sticks with gunny bags covering or grass roofs.

2. On account of modern swifter means of transport, their occupation is fast dwindling and the problem of unemployment has been facing this community. Some of them engage themselves in hand labour, selling of combs and other miscellaneous work, involving manual labour. Their monthly income is about Rs. 100/- to Rs. 150/- per family. They are economically poor.

3. More than 25% of the male population seems to be addicted to liquor.

4. On account of their itinerary way of life, they have remained in almost all respects, including education, backward.

5. It may be mentioned that the sub-castes of Vanzaras that is Shinagwala and Kangsiwala have been considered as Nomadic Tribes in Gujarat State. These sub-castes will be included in the Vanzaras who are considered as socially and educationally backward.

6. In Dangs we have come across Muslim Vanzaras. Their population in Dangs is of 252. They are originally from Rajasthan and their original profession was of transportation of grains, salt, tobacco etc. on animal backs. At present some of them have small agricultural holdings and the rest are labourers. They are almost like Adivasis and their beliefs are based on superstition.

7. The percentage of literacy amongst them is three and secondary and higher education is nil.

8. The Muslim Vanzaras are also considered as socially and educationally backward.

### *Waghari*

There are several sub-groups of Waghari known by different names such as Dataniya, Vedu Waghari, Talpada Waghari, Gamachia Waghari, Godadia Waghari, Chibhadia Waghari etc. They are spread over all parts of the State.

2. Waghari are included in the list of De-notified Tribes in Gujarat State and as Scheduled Tribes in Kutch. The Marwada or Marwada Waghari are also included in the list of Nomadic Tribes in Gujarat. The Waghari usually stay in small thatched huts or mud houses, some of which have peculiar round shape which are known as 'Kubas'. Some houses are made of old tin sheets only. They follow occupation such as growing and selling vegetables, cutting grass, selling "Datans" (Babul stick used for cleaning teeth), and selling cheaper utensils in exchange of old clothes moving from house to house. Their monthly income is about Rs. 80 to 100/- per family.

3. The Waghari have poor literacy and the percentage of secondary and higher education amongst them is also very low.

4. They believe in obscure and superstitious beliefs and remedies. At some places even girls are sold away and at times animal sacrifices are made. Their marital relations are not happy and there are frequent quarrels among married couples. Their daily habits are also dirty. They take bath or change clothes once in a week or a fortnight. Their social status is considered to be low and is slightly above that of Harijans. The practice of consuming liquor and speaking abusive language is rampant among them at several places. The women too are involved in these practices. At certain places there is also a tendency to commit small crimes.

*Wagher*

There are both Hindu Waghers as well as Muslim Waghers. The Hindu Waghers principally reside in the Okhamandal taluka and some of them also in the Jamnagar district. The Muslim Waghers are concentrated in Salaya, Sikka, Bedi, Jodiya and other adjoining talukas of Jamnagar district.

2. The Hindu Waghers stay in mud houses, huts or 'Kubas' and their principal occupation at present, is agriculture and agricultural labour. Their womenfolk are engaged as labourers in salt manufacturing works.

3. The Waghers are included in the list of De-Notified Tribes in Gujarat State and there is a tendency to commit crimes even now. The historical figures 'Mulumanek' and 'Jodhamanek' (renowned outlaws) belonged to this community.

4. Their monthly income is about Rs. 75/- to Rs. 100/- per family. Being ignorant, their beliefs are based on superstition and living habits are dirty. They also live amidst insanitary and unhygeinic conditions. Most of the Waghers are habituated to drink liquor and several of them are engaged in illicit distillation.

5. The literay percentage in this community is about one to two, the secondary and higher education being negligible. The Waghers reside in the interior of Saurashtra and have not remained progressive possibly on account of lack of education and economic conditions. The Hindu Waghers are socially and educationally backward.

6. The Muslim Waghers also live in similar situation, their main occupation however, being that of fishermen and sailors. \*Formerly, pirates used to be from the Muslim Wagher community. Some of them are engaged in agriculture and agricultural labour. Their monthly income ranges from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 125/- per family. In rural areas, they reside in mud houses having roofs with local tiles. Female education is almost absent. In males, the percentage of literacy is about 25 in Salaya and at other places it is less. The percentage of secondary education is low and that of higher education is very low. The Muslim Waghers are also socially and educationally backward.

*Wandhara*

This is a community akin to Saranias whose profession is that of knife-grinding. The Saranias carry on their occupation of knife-grinding while moving about whereas many of the Wandharas follow their profession while staying at one place. This community is a small one consisting of about 1,000 persons and are concentrated round about, Savarkundla, Surendranagar, Rajkot and Jamnagar.

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\*"Maha Gujaratna Musalmano," P. 339.

2. The usual practice in this community is to take bath once a week and change their clothes at that time. When they fall ill, they first resort to charms and also consult exorcists. They live a very drab life. 75% of the male population is in the habit of drinking liquor.

3. They live in huts and have a small income of about Rs. 75/- to Rs. 125/- per month. Most of them are indebted. The percentage of literacy in this community is low, that is, nearly five and secondary and higher education is almost nil.

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## CHAPTER V

### AMELIORATION OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES

#### Purpose of Amelioration.

5.1. The history of the past half a century demonstrates that even in a democracy, the removal of inequality and backwardness which exist in society is a difficult task requiring constant attention and continuous effort. It is equally true that the fruits of freedom cannot be fully realised until they are equally shared by all. Equality voiced and proclaimed in the Constitution of India can be realised by majority of the people in our country first of all by a thorough understanding of the problem of backwardness and then a practical approach to its solution. The existence of backwardness in society is an indisputable sign of a sick social structure, which can no longer perform its basic functions in the traditional ways. Although backwardness, poverty or illiteracy are not primarily hereditary or rooted in the society, children born in backwardness, poverty, illiteracy and similar conditions have a more than an average chance of ending up in the same condition and there is equally a chance of preventing and redeeming the situation from falling into a state of unprogressive, conservative lethargy and of stirring the reserve of social and cultural mobility inherent in every society. In view of this, it should be realised that these evils are not hereditary, but are manmade. It is for the purpose of rousing this inherent faculty of progress, lying-dormant in every human being, that measures of amelioration are needed.

5.2. The main and the ultimate purpose behind devising ameliorative measures should be (a) to instil in these backward classes some incentive to progress, a sense of equality and enthusiasm to occupy a legitimate place in society, and (b) to equip them to contribute equally their share in the social, economic and cultural advancement of the nation. The measures, however, should not be such as would make them lean permanently on external support and remain in a dependent and spoon-fed condition for generations. Such measures will not only cripple them but would also make them helpless and devoid of any initiative for self-development. Therefore, the measures that are suggested should not only be creative but should also inspire in them self-confidence, to be able to claim an equal rank and opportunity with every other citizen of India. These classes have suffered from backwardness because of lack of opportunities. These should be supplied to them for such time as would generate in them a spirit of self-reliance, and make them free from social evils and disabilities. As soon as this is achieved, they should be gradually weaned away from external support taking care to see that what is achieved is not lost.

It may be pointed out that one of the major causes of the plight of backward classes is the loss of and decadence of their traditional occupation due to a variety of causes. In order to make these classes self-reliant,

it is essential to see that they have some useful occupations to make a living. For this purpose, wherever possible, efforts should be made to revive their old occupations by modernising them and giving suitable training to them for the purpose. There are, however, cases where such an effort is not possible, for example, in the case of *Bawas*. In such cases, it is essential to think of training such groups for alternative occupation at an early date. Such training in either case, will have to be of two types; one for adults and the other for younger persons.

#### **Nature of ameliorative measures.**

5.3 While considering the nature and extent of ameliorative measures the ultimate purpose for devising these measures described above should not be lost sight of. It has to be remembered that backwardness is a social condition and the treatment for its eradication should both be symptomatic as well as curative. Generally speaking, external signs of backwardness are illiteracy, lack of education, ignorance, superstition, occupational conservatism, unemployment, social unprogressiveness and stagnancy, poverty and low standard of living.

As the terms of reference indicate, the Commission, after ascertaining what classes should be considered as socially, educationally and in any other way backward, has to decide whether these classes deserve special treatment and grant of concessions, similar to those being granted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in pursuance of the provisions of various Articles of the Constitution.

5.4 The signs of backwardness mentioned above, which include many details which have been fully dealt with earlier, are required to be eradicated and for that purpose, special effort and treatment are required. The barriers of conventional and traditional thinking and caste rigidity have to be broken, the evils due to illiteracy such as superstition, addiction to intoxication, antisocial customs have to be eradicated; unemployment due to over-crowding in hereditary occupations, low remuneration due to unskilled stereo-typed labour work followed from generation to generation, semi-homeless condition and slum-like habitation have to be remedied. The disadvantages from which these classes suffer in the fields of education, occupational training and employment in services will require to be removed and some special assistance based on a well-thought-out programme would have to be formulated. These measures will include the grant of concessions similar to those which are being granted to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in the fields of education, employment, rehabilitation, grants, hostels, housing and distribution of land.

#### **Nature of concessions available to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.**

5.5. Before we come to the question of suggesting the ameliorative measures for the Other Backward Classes whom we have listed in Chapter IV

which include Nomadic and De-notified Tribes, it would be relevant to briefly refer to the nature of the concessions that are, at present, available to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Ameliorative measures which are extended to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been varied and modified from time to time. Measures which are extended can, however, be broadly divided into the following heads:—

- (1) in the field of education:
  - (a) Primary
  - (b) Secondary
  - (c) Technical
  - (d) Occupational
  - (e) Higher
- (2) in the field of public services.
- (3) distribution of lands:
  - (a) agricultural
  - (b) land for house sites (Gharthal)
- (4) financial assistance.
- (5) rehabilitation.
- (6) free legal aid.
- (7) water supply, wells, sanitary facilities, etc.
- (8) housing; co-operative societies
- (9) small-scale industries; assistance and loan

#### **General conditions about the determination of measures.**

5.6. Before we embark upon the difficult task of ascertaining and suggesting the ameliorative measures, it would be necessary to refer to some general considerations which may be helpful in the determination and implementation of these measures.

(i) Generally, the measures for amelioration extended to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be kept in view, while adopting the extent of similar measures in the case of Backward Classes.

(ii) The case of Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes, who are listed and recognised as such by Government will have to be considered separately for treatment as (a) they are already receiving assistance in some matters on a basis almost similar to that of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and (b) as they are persons who have either no fixed place of residence, are illiterate and have remained aloof from towns and villages and are engaged in unremunerative conventional occupations or have in some cases tendencies of a criminal nature.

(iii) The measures that are suggested should not be considered as inflexible; they are, and should always be considered liable to adjustments and modifications according to change in circumstances and data. Since 1951, the Census does not deal with caste or castewise figures and it is, therefore, not possible to know the precise figures of population of the classes who are considered backward. The figures have necessarily, therefore, to be approximate and may require modification in the light of experience.

(iv) The resources that are available to the State and the funds earmarked each year for ameliorative measures would determine the amount and extent of assistance to be extended in each field. At present, we have indicated salient points on which, in our opinion, assistance is necessary. In the field of education and public services, we think that priority should be given and, therefore, we have tried to fix the percentage of help to be given with some important details in these two fields.

## Measures in the field of Education :

### Primary Education

5.7. The benefits derived from education by a nation are too obvious to require an emphasis. Equally so the importance of education in the transformation of backward classes and eradication of backwardness can never be overemphasized. The importance of education as succinctly declared in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations is reflected in the statement in Article 46 of the Constitution of India which states that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the society. It is only by means of education that the Backward Classes could be made conscious of their rights and responsibilities and active participants as intelligent citizens in the vast programme of national reconstruction. Reference may also be made to Article 45 of the Constitution of India which says "the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of 10

years from the commencement of Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years". Primary education has been made both free and compulsory in the State of Gujarat. As early as 1947, the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947, has been in force in the major part of the area constituting the State of Gujarat and after the formation of this State, it has been in force in the whole State. Sections 25 to 28 of this Act relate to the preparation of a scheme of compulsion to provide compulsory primary education and section 31 provides that in the areas where the scheme has been made applicable, no fee shall be charged in any school maintained by the District School Board or an authorised Municipality in respect of any child for the standards included in the scheme. By section 32, it is provided that in every area of compulsion, the parent of each child, to whom the scheme applies, shall in the absence of reasonable excuse, cause such child to attend an approved school in such area. Under Section 34 where the school Board is satisfied that the parent of any child who is bound under the provisions of section 32 to cause such child to attend an approved school, has failed to do so, may make an order directing, the parent to cause such child to attend an approved school from the date specified in the order. Section 35 of the Act provides for penalty for failure to cause a child to attend an approved school. These are, in short, the provisions for compulsory and free primary education, which are in force in the State of Gujarat. It is, however, observed, that among the Backward Classes, primary education has not made progress which, it should have made in the course of 27 years. It may be that on account of weak economic conditions, the Backward Classes have not adequately responded in sending their children to school, and have possibly employed them for work with a view to adding to their family income. Whatever the reasons, a two-fold drive is necessary to implement the provisions relating to compulsory education at the primary stage; firstly, by making the legal provisions more effective and rigorous and secondly, by trying to relieve the economic stress and provide adequate facilities for education. We have been informed that the number of cases detected and dealt with under the law for not sending a child to school, are very few. Literacy is the basic requirement for laying the foundation for a sound social structure, and if this is wanting, there is practically little hope for progress.

### **Scholarships :**

5.8. In order to encourage attendance at school and study, we propose that Rs. 30/- per annum by way of scholarship, should be given to a child, who is studying in standard V to VII and who has obtained 50% of marks at annual examinations in each of the previous standards. This will give a fillip to primary education and encourage the tendency for continuous study at the primary stage amongst the Backward Classes. It may be noted that Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic Tribes, and De-notified Tribes do get such a scholarship at the rate of Rs. 40/-per annum, the minimum number of marks to be obtained to be eligible in

their cases being 40%. The above scholarship to Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes at the rate of Rs. 40/- per annum should be continued, for the reasons already given. The above scholarship should be made available to those children who attend a recognised school.

5.9. We, further suggest that those of the children who attend private schools from V to VII standards and who obtain 60% marks in each of the previous standards should be paid a scholarship of Rs. 60 per annum in the V standard, Rs.75/- per annum in the VI standard and Rs.90/- per annum in the VII standard. At present, the children of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes, who obtain 45% marks in V to VII standards are paid Rs. 60/- in the V standard, Rs.75/- in the VI standard and Rs. 90/- per annum in the VII standard. This scholarship should be continued to the De-notified Tribes and the Nomadic Tribes as hitherto-before on the same terms and conditions.

#### **Means test :**

5.10. All the above scholarships should be paid and made subject to the following income or what is known as means test. The above scholarship should be payable to those students, whose parents' or guardians' income from all sources, does not exceed Rs.4,800/- per annum. The means test limit of Rs. 7,200/- which is applicable at present to Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes will, however, continue in their case for reasons already stated. We do not propose to reduce this limit in their case. However, the limit of Rs. 4,800/- that we have suggested for the Backward Classes has been fixed in view of the present economic condition in the State. The number of scholarship to be awarded to the Backward Classes will also be fairly large in comparison with those for Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes.

#### **Secondary Education :**

5.11. Secondary education as imparted in schools today, is from VIII to XI standards and this education is also free. There is therefore, no necessity to provide for any tuition fees. Those students, however, who obtain 50% in each of the previous secondary standards, should be paid a scholarship of Rs. 75/- per annum subject to the income limit of Rs.4,800/- per annum, that is to say, such a scholarship should be payable to those students whose parents' or guardians' income from all sources is less than Rs. 4,800/- per annum. The scholarships admissible to Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes at present, will however, continue on the same basis which is applicable today that is Rs.75/- per annum, to those students who obtain 40% marks in the previous examination and whose parents' or guardians' income from all sources is less than Rs. 7,200 per annum. The pupils belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes are paid S.S.C. examination fees. We propose that the payment of such fees should be made to those pupils of the Other Backward Classes who have been paid scholarship in the final year of S.S.C.

5.12. We are informed that the change in the structure of secondary education has been made by introducing the system of keeping 10 standards upto S.S.C. and the 11 and 12 standards are to be named as higher secondary. In this structure the above concessions of scholarship will be available upto the X standard in the secondary and upto XI standard in the higher secondary.

#### **Technical courses :**

5.13. As regards technical courses, tuition fees are payable to those students whose parents' or guardians' income from all sources, is less than Rs. 2,400/- per annum under the orders relating to "Economically Backward Classes" Scheme. In addition to this payment, a scholarship of Rs. 115/- per annum should be paid to the pupils of other backward classes who obtain 45% marks in the qualifying examination subject to the income limit of Rs. 4,800/- as above. The scholarship paid to Nomadic Tribes, De-notified Tribes at the rate of Rs. 115/- per annum to those who obtain 40% marks at the qualifying examination will however, continue subject to the income limit of Rs. 7,200/- per annum.

#### **Occupational Training :**

5.14. Pupils belonging to Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes get at present Rs. 40/- per mensem, if they are able to obtain 40% marks at the qualifying examination for occupational training; this will continue. Students of Other Backward Classes, who obtain 45% marks at the qualifying examination, should be paid a similar scholarship of Rs. 40/- per mensem subject to the income limit of Rs. 4,800/- per annum as above.

5.15. It may be mentioned that whenever any changes in the scholarships by way of increase are made in amount of scholarships payable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, corresponding changes may also be made in the case of all students of other backward classes.

#### **Higher Education :**

5.16. As regards higher education, that is, post-Secondary School Certificate Examination, Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes get tuition fees, examination fees and scholarships, which may continue. As regards the Other Backward Classes, we do not find it practical to recommend any such payment at this stage. The decision should, however, depend upon the financial resources available to the State. If, however, the members of the Other Backward Classes are eligible to get the benefit of the Economically Backward Class (EBC) Scheme, that benefit will remain unaffected. We have however, recommended reservation of seats for admission to colleges, details of which are given below.

### **Reservation of seats in educational institutions:**

5.17. We suggest reservation of seats in the medical, engineering, technical, agriculture and veterinary colleges. The reservation of seats available to pupils belonging to Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes at present, will remain unaffected. For students belonging to the Other Backward Classes, we propose the following scheme for reservation in Medical, Engineering, Dental, Pre-Medical, Technical, Agriculture and Veterinary colleges. 10% of seats should be reserved for the Other Backward Classes other than Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes for whom separate reservation already exists along with Scheduled Tribes. The minimum number of marks at the qualifying examination obtained by the student in any of these colleges, should not be less than 55% and secondly admission in the reserved seats will be available to those students only who have obtained marks 5% less than the percentage of marks where the admission in the non-reserved seats has stopped.

5.18. The imbalance between the number of seats for students eligible for admission to professional and technical institutions and the number of applicants for admission is so great that it has been necessary to evolve the reservation policy for the educational advancement of weaker sections of the society. The question of reservation of seats in professional and technical institutions may be debatable and although strictly speaking, it may be against the principle of equality enunciated in Article 15, it seems to be necessitated by the circumstances prevailing in the country and the existence of social and educational backwardness in the people. Reservation, has, therefore, been found to be inevitable for the development of interest in higher studies in the Backward Classes. The principle of reservation could also be supported from the point of social justice. We have, therefore, recommended reservation of seats in certain educational institutions keeping the same within reasonable limits. Institutions imparting education of a special nature like Medical, Engineering and Technical Colleges are not many in proportion to the number of students demanding admission to such institutions, and therefore, there is a great strain on these colleges for admission. In these circumstances, those who belong to Backward Classes, would naturally feel the strain greater and in order to encourage them and give them a chance of educating themselves and coming to the top reservation has been recommended as regards such institutions. We have, however, not recommended any reservation in Arts, Science, Commerce and Law Colleges, even though, there is such reservation in these faculties for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes. There are a number of such institutions in the State and it may not be difficult to get admission in such faculties for students of the Backward Classes who have obtained the minimum number of qualifying marks.

### **Mobile Schools:**

5.19. There are some general recommendations, which may be made as regards primary education. There are certain communities and classes in the State, who have either no fixed place of residence or who live a



wandering life for a major part of the year for pursuing their traditional occupation. Such a mode of living prevents them from sending their young children to school. The members of such communities and groups would not prefer to send their primary school going children to residential hostels with the result that their children would remain totally illiterate. There is another reason also which prevents the smaller children from going to school. The parents of the children desire that they should stay at home in order to look after their younger kids, while they themselves are engaged in their occupations and for this reason, they would not like to send their children to residential hostels. For such communities, measures to attract their children to go to primary school may prove futile. If a mobile school is provided which would go to a place roundabout the area in which these communities reside, it may be possible to induce the parents to send their children for primary education. A specially trained staff with the necessary instructions to handle such children may be provided by way of an experiment in two or three such areas and thereafter, the number of schools may be expanded to other areas also. If the experiment is successful, the roots of education will be laid in such backward society and the consequential benefit would be that there would arise, in their minds, an interest for further education or for occupational training. We would, therefore, suggest as an experiment the introduction of mobile schools in the State for primary education in areas in which such mobile communities reside.

#### **Ashram Shala:**

5.20. Another suggestion that may be made is in respect of Ashrama Shala. There should be a cosmopolitan type of Ashram Shala for weaker sections of the society. We are not in favour of community-wise Ashram Shalas or hostels. The Other Backward Classes people should not only mix amongst themselves, but also with others. All that we propose is that there should be a reservation of seats for the Other Backward Classes in the present Ashram Shalas and Backward Class Hostels wherever necessary, and they should be expanded and new ones opened when a demand for them arises. In such Ashram Shalas and Backward Class Hostels 20% reservation of seats should be made for these Other Backward Classes.

#### **(2) In the field of Public Service :**

##### **Employment in Public Services.**

5.21. Article 16(4) to which a reference has already been made, provides that nothing in that Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens, which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State. In view of the historical factors, which have brought about the existence of Backward Classes in the Indian society, such a Constitutional guarantee was necessary. These classes have been denied opportunities of education and technical training which have stood in the way of their obtaining suitable appointments and adequate representation in Government service. The Backward Classes, in our opinion,

until they become self-supporting, would require some fillip to study and to occupy a place in society on the basis of equality by helping them to participate in the administration of the State by becoming public servants. The nation has pledged itself to establish a welfare state and this cannot be done until social justice, which is an important ingredient of the concept of a welfare state, can be meted out to every citizen. The concessions that are proposed, will be only for such time till the principle of equality of opportunity can be implemented meaningfully. We, therefore, propose that 10% reservation in posts of Class III and Class IV Government services should be reserved for the Backward Classes including Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes and 5% in Class I and Class II Government services to these classes. No relaxation in age limit has been proposed, as this would be an inducement to start study in proper time and get through the examination every year. We also propose no reservation at the promotion stage.

### **Pre-employment training:**

5.22. As regards employment in public services, and in other semi-Government institutions and Corporations, there is bound to be some sort of test or examination. It is possible that the Backward Classes may be lagging behind and may not be fit to pass the test without special training. We would, therefore, suggest that wherever possible, pre-employment training classes should be established by Government for training the Backward Class students, who are eligible for Government service.

### **Reservation in Public Undertakings:**

5.23. In recent times, there have been a number of services under Statutory Bodies and Public Undertakings and in view of the increasing number of such organisations, we feel that the above principles relating to reservation for Backward Classes should also be made applicable to such organisations and bodies.

### **(3) Distribution of Land:**

5.24. (i) *Agriculture* : India is primarily an agricultural country and a large proportion of its population lives on agriculture. A large number of Backward Classes are engaged in this occupation. Although, new avenues of employment have been created by the expansion of industries, the present occupational structure is not capable of absorbing the large sections of population of the Backward Classes. Many of these, who are agriculturists by occupation, have no land of their own and have, therefore, to depend upon getting employment as agricultural labourers. The preponderance of landless labourers has raised a problem difficult of solution and one of the measures to combat unemployment in this field is to allocate lands for cultivation to those who have no land to cultivate. No doubt, the disparity between the large number of landless labourers and the limited area

of availability of land for distribution makes the problem more difficult. The solution of this problem should, in fact, be a matter of expert investigation and all that can be done, at present, is to suggest only experimental measures. The distribution of land pre-supposes the availability of land for distribution and for this purpose two sources can be thought of ;

(i) utilisation of cultivable waste and similar lands in the State.

(ii) land obtained on account of implementation of 'ceiling' on land holding.

Lands which are released or available for distribution, may be distributed (a) firstly, according to the schemes of distribution of land among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and (b) secondly, to those landless agriculturists who belong to Backward Classes. Those members of the Backward Classes who are proved to be agriculturists and who are landless should be given land at concessional rate and without auction.

5.25. (ii) *Land for House Sites* : Concession should also be given to members of Backward Classes, who have no residential houses of their own. They should be given suitable (Gharthal) residential land at special concessional rate as may be determined by the Government from time to time. A separate scheme should be worked out for the purpose of determining the availability and distribution of lands amongst the Backward Classes. For this purpose, we have suggested the creation of an Implementation Cell at the end of this Chapter.

#### (4) Financial assistance :

5.26. Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes should continue to receive the same facilities and financial aid as is available to them today. For the Backward Classes, however, they should be considered as weaker sections of the society and financial aid should be given to them for development of occupation, rehabilitation, housing etc. keeping in view the financial resources available to the State at a particular time. The financial assistance may take the following forms :—

- (i) Subsidy,
- (ii) loans without interest,
- (iii) loans with interest,
- (iv) aids for training,
- (v) aids and loans for marketing,
- (vi) co-operatives.

A combined measure of subsidy-cum-loan can be put into effect by giving 50% loan with reduced interest or without interest for selected small-scale or cottage industries, for constituting purchasing society and for forming co-operatives in the field of agriculture, handicrafts, cottage industries etc. Reservation of 10% seats may also be made in the training-cum production centres for the Backward Classes.

#### (5) Rehabilitation :

5.27. The question of rehabilitation can be divided into two parts:—

- (i) rehabilitation as regards occupation, and
- (ii) rehabilitation as regards habitation.

There are several Backward Classes who have lost or abandoned their hereditary occupations or hardly get bare subsistence income in the hereditary occupations followed by them from generation to generation. As a consequence, these classes have no chance of coming up until they are rehabilitated. Encouragement should be given to members of such classes for occupational training and making their youths follow more remunerative occupations. For this purpose, the Implementation Cell will have to work out the statistical data giving the approximate number of communities which require complete or partial rehabilitation and then to devise a programme to draft the members of these communities into certain industries and occupation. For this purpose, a Backward Class Employment Bureau will have to be constituted. Such a Bureau will also explore the possibilities of qualified Backward Class persons being employed in public services and to see that the prescribed standard for preference in employment is given and maintained.

#### (6) Small-scale Industries-Assistance and loans :

5.28. The disruption of village economy has affected the cottage industry and this has resulted in a vast majority of the Backward Classes being unemployed. The cottage industry or hut industry which appears to have flourished in the past and provided maintenance to the handicraft workmen are showing signs of decay and their indigenous products can hardly stand competition with machine-made goods. On account of the poverty of these workers, they are not able to produce their goods according to the demand of the market nor are able to improve the quality of the goods. A scheme, therefore, should be evolved whereby suitable loans should be advanced to these workers and training should be given to them to improve the quality of their products. The Five-Year plans emphasised the importance of the cottage industry as a solution for unemployment in the country. There is no doubt that the cottage industry will play a great part in the economy of the rural area as these handicrafts are pursued mostly by the Backward Classes in the rural area. As early as

the First Five-Year Plan, it was remarked, “\*Village artisans have scarcely any financial resources of their own nor have they any security to offer. They produce mainly for local demand and if they manufacture for the market outside the village, finance is generally found by some middleman. Finance for the development of the village industry has to be viewed as a problem inseparable from finance for agriculture”.

Today, it seems there has been practically no change in this position and the problem of unemployment is facing the Backward Classes even today. It is, therefore necessary that a special scheme should be devised for the Backward Classes in consultation with the Gujarat State Handicrafts and Handloom Development Corporation, All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Gujarat State Khadi Board and the Director of Cottage Industries.

In the same way, small-scale and village industries should also be developed.

#### (7) Co-operative Societies :

5.29. Another means for relieving unemployment and rehabilitating the Backward Classes is to promote the co-operative movement amongst them. In a planned economy, co-operation is a dynamic instrument for finding out a solution of the economic problems of rural life. The co-operative movement can be utilised in several fields such as agriculture, dairy farming, animal husbandry, fisheries, credit and marketing and in several other programmes for assisting the weaker sections of society. For this purpose, it would be necessary to extend State aid and this can be done by giving:—

- (a) advance of share capital,
- (b) loans,
- (c) loans to individuals to enable them to take shares.
- (d) subsidy and loan-cum-subsidy,
- (e) Government guarantee,
- (f) administrative assistance.

#### (8) Housing :

5.30. Lastly, the rehabilitation of those classes who have either no home or no fixed place of abode or proper arrangement for residence can be made by starting a scheme for housing and by constituting Housing

Co-operative Societies for the Backward Classes people. The primary requirement is that of construction of huts with suitable sanitary facilities and water supply on a common basis. Those of the Backward Classes, who are poverty-stricken and have tattered huts, are practically living under the sky. A scheme may be started whereby, huts should be constructed either by giving subsidies or subsidy-cum-loan. The next important question is as regards those classes, who are staying in slums. This question, of course, will be dealt with by the Board separately created for slum clearance but practical suggestions in this direction should be made by the Backward Classes Board, the constitution of which is proposed at the end of this Chapter.

#### (9) Free Legal Aid :

5.31. Steps are already being taken in the direction of supply of free legal aid to the weaker sections of society and, therefore, no separate proposal has been made here. However, the Backward Classes Board should include within its programme of work the subject of extending legal aid to the members of the Backward Classes on such terms as may be determined from time to time, having regard to the exigencies and requirements of a particular period.

#### Period of Concessions :

5.32. The last recommendation that we would like to make is that all the measures that have been suggested above including reservation in the services as well as educational institutions, grant of concessions etc. should be given for a period of 10 years. It is necessary to fix such a period because the ultimate idea is not to spoon-feed the Backward Classes, but to make them self-reliant and fit for being absorbed in the society as ordinary citizens, and to equip them for participating in the programme of national welfare and for making their contribution in the development of the nation. During the course of this period of 10 years, it will be for the Backward Classes Board, the creation of which we suggest hereunder to study and examine the progress of the work and to suggest measures from time to time for making the backward classes self-reliant and self-supporting.

#### Creation of a Board :

5.33. Before we conclude this Chapter, there are certain suggestions which we would like to make in regard to the implementation of the ameliorative measures. This aspect of implementation in our view is important because without proper implementation of the measures suggested for the amelioration and eradication of backwardness from these classes, they would be almost futile. The problem of backward classes is principally based on the concept of doing justice to the unprivileged and weaker sections of the society. The Constitution has provided for the reconciliation of the claims

of the Backward Classes by incorporating certain Articles in the Constitution of India governing reservations and other factors. The advanced sections of the society have temporarily to forgo absolute equality in the wider interest of the country until a standard of equality judged by a reasonable standard prevails in the society. To solve and tackle such problems and to evolve the safeguards for the Backward Classes many adjustments will be required\*. The list of Backward Classes and the measures employed for amelioration will have to be examined and revised from time to time in the light of Articles 15(4), 16(4), 29(2) and other relevant provisions of the Constitution and the changes in circumstances in society; effect of the measures adopted and their progress towards the goal has to be constantly watched and modifications in the programme of work of amelioration and its working hypothesis will be necessary according to changing circumstances from time to time. All these will require the collection of relevant data and statistics and a constant study from various aspects to apprise the people and the Government of the nature and extent of the work done and the work to be done in future. We would, therefore, recommend the creation of a Board of Backward Classes in the State. This Board should be sub-divided into :

- (a) Backward Class Cell,
- (b) Implementation Cell, and
- (c) Revision Committee.

#### **Functions of the Backward Class Cell:**

5.34. The main functions of the Cell should be:—

- (i) Study of progress of the work done.
- (ii) Collection of statistical information regarding the extent of assistance, concessions, reservations etc.
- (iii) Assessment of quantitative and qualitative progress, reasons for total/partial failure of the measures adopted.
- (iv) Maintenance of a Social and General Welfare Section for the purpose of studying social conditions, customs, existence and causes of undesirable practices, superstition, suggestion of reforms in social customs, sanitation, health, hygiene and for development of cultural and allied activities amongst the backward classes.

#### **Functions of the Implementation Cell:**

5.35. The functions of the Implementation Cell should be:—

- (i) to devise means and measures of amelioration and to amend them from time to time.

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\* The Indian Constitution—A Case Study of Backward Classes, by Ratna G. Revankar p. 321.

(ii) to formulate and implement schemes for rehabilitation and assistance,

(iii) to devise and implement schemes to advance literacy and education including programmes for adult and continuing education.

**Functions of the Revision Committee:**

5.36. The functions of the Revision Committee should be:—

(i) revision of the list of Backward Classes and additions to and subtractions from it,

(ii) consideration and revision of time limit for ameliorative measures.

5.37. The above two Cells and the Revision Committee will be functioning as sub-committees of the Backward Classes Board but in order to secure speedy and efficient work, we would suggest that these Committees should be allotted separate and independent functions as suggested above. The functions of these Cells and Committee will constitute in the aggregate the functions of the Board of Backward Classes and it will be the Board's responsibility ultimately to see that the functions are adequately discharged. In view of the nature and extent of the functions, the Board should consist of such members, as would be competent to efficiently discharge the functions of the two Cells and the Revision Committee. We, therefore, suggest that the constitution of the Board should be independent of the administrative department, except the Secretary and the administrative staff; in other words the members constituting the Board should be independent persons of good standing and high calibre.

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## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. The work of the Commission, though it required several months of strenuous efforts on the part of Members of the Commission for collection of data, analysis and study of the materials gathered through tours, examination of witnesses, inspection of local sites, survey work, representations, study of replies to questionnaires and other documentary records, covered a comprehensive and exciting area of social science research and each facet, while it was noticed, pointed to the immensity and the complexity of the vast social problem which was for evaluation before the Commission. We hope that the end of the problem comes into sight earlier than social philosophers expect, but we are sure that while the problem lasts, it will supply a fascinating area of investigation to the social scientists. The pre-requisite to the planning of a socio-economic study is a well-designed methodology, based on a well-integrated and judicious combination of theory and practice. It cannot, however, be expected that the results of social science will reach the precision of mathematics, physics or chemistry. This is because the variables in these fields are so numerous, extensive and complex and sometimes mutually reacting that the derivation of a hypothesis explaining all relevant factors eludes the investigator. There is no doubt, however, that more sharp, precise and sophisticated instruments are being developed in the field of social sciences too so that complex social problems can be studied more accurately to-day. The problem of the existence of backwardness in society has attracted the attention of the present generation and it will play an important role in the formation of the new Indian society of tomorrow.

#### The Problem

6.2. The problem referred to the Commission for enquiry as disclosed in para 10 of the Government Resolution containing the terms of reference, may be summarised as under:—

(i) What section/sections of people, castes, races, tribes in the State or their parts or groups within them (other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be treated as socially, educationally and in any other way backward.

(ii) Whether and, if so, what special treatment and grant of concessions do they deserve similar to those being granted to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State in pursuance of the various Articles of the Constitution of India.

(iii) What recommendations should be made about the quantum and extent of such concessions and assistance to them and the period during which the same should remain in force.

(iv) Any other recommendations germane to the main terms of reference. (See Appendix I).

### The Methodology

6.3. The Commission employed the following procedure for the determination of the problem:—

- (i) Formation of an Advisory Committee of Experts.
- (ii) Formation of sub-Committee of Experts.
- (iii) A study of secondary sources (published as well as other) of data.

(iv) Representations made by social workers and/or leaders of castes, classes or groups of people and preparation of questionnaire No.2 seeking information from the various castes, classes and groups of people.

(v) Obtaining information and opinions from district level officials in questionnaire No.1.

(vi) Opinions of the social scientists regarding empirical criteria for determining educational and social backwardness as well as quantitative method to be followed for arriving at a composite index in the form of questionnaire No. 3.

(vii) Opinions of Members of Parliament and Members of the Legislative Assembly representing Gujarat, social workers, district officials and other informants regarding various castes, classes and groups whom they would like to be considered as socially, educationally and in any other way backward in the form of questionnaire No. 4.

(viii) Collection of data regarding enrolment of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic Tribes, De-notified Tribes and Other Backward Castes, Classes and groups in the primary, secondary and higher institutions of learning.

(ix) Collection of personal evidence by the Members of the Commission of various castes/classes/groups from different Districts and Taluka places.

(x) Local inspection of sites by the Members of the Commission in the different parts of the State.

(xi) Collection of data regarding Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

(xii) A State-wide-socio-economic household sample survey covering 6449 families.

### Factors considered :

6.4. The Commission, while determining backwardness, social, educational and of any other type, considered the following factors:—

- (i) Social backwardness in general,
- (ii) Poverty and economic backwardness,
- (iii) Illiteracy and educational backwardness,
- (iv) Occupational and environmental factors,
- (v) Poor representation in Public Services,
- (vi) Social status in general,
- (vii) Mode of living, customs and beliefs,
- (viii) Caste only as one of the relevant factors,
- (ix) Nomadic way of life and criminal tendencies,
- (x) Backwardness in other ways.

### Summary of Recommendations

6.5. The conclusions arrived at by the Commission with reference to the problem raised in the terms of reference summarised in para 6.2. above are:

(i) The castes/classes/groups shown in the list in Chapter IV should be considered as socially and educationally (and in any other way) backward.

Information regarding classes, groups etc. so considered as socially and educationally backward is contained in Chapter IV. This Chapter very briefly refers to the dominant characteristics of each class/section/group which has been treated as backward. The rest of the castes/classes/groups have not been included in the said list, as we did not find adequate evidence to consider them socially, educationally and in any other way backward. The lists of castes/classes and groups who had made representations and/or had appeared before the Commission for giving evidence are contained in Appendix XII.

(ii) Those classes who have been included in the list in Chapter IV deserve special treatment, concessions etc. on the lines suggested in Chapter V.

6.6. The recommendations are:—

(1) Measures for enforcement of compulsory primary education should be tightened (5.7)

(2) Scholarship of Rs. 30/- per annum should be given to a child studying in standard V to VII who has obtained 50% of marks at the annual examination in previous standards. (5.8)

(3) Those who attend private schools in standard V to VII and obtain 60% of marks at the annual examination in the previous standards, should be paid a scholarship of Rs. 60/- per annum in the V standard. Rs. 75/- per annum in the VI standard and Rs. 90/- per annum in the VII standard. (5.9)

(4) A scholarship of Rs. 75/- per annum should be paid to those students, who study in standard VIII to XI and who have obtained 50% of the marks at the annual examination in previous standards and such students should also be paid SSC examination fee. (5.11)

(5) Studnets in the technical courses should be paid a scholarship of Rs. 115/- per annum if they obtain 45% of marks in the qualifying examination. (5.13)

(6) Students who have obtained 45% marks at the qualifying examination should be paid Rs. 40/- per annum for the purpose of occupational training. (5.14)

(7) All the above scholarships referred to at (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) should be awarded subject to a means test of Rs. 4,800/-, that is, they should be payable to those students, whose parents' or guardians' income from all sources, does not exceed Rs. 4,800/- per annum. (5.10)

(8) Whenever any changes in the scholarships by way of increase are made in the amount of scholarships payable to Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes, corresponding changes should also be made in the case of students of other backward classes. (5.15)

(9) In the case of Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes the existing percentage of marks fixed by Government for eligibility to scholarships may continue at the existing means test limit of Rs. 7,200/- per annum. (5.10)

(10) 10% of seats should be reserved in medical, engineering, dental, pre-medical, technical, agricultural and veterinary colleges. The minimum number of marks at the qualifying examination obtained by the

student should not be less than 55% and admission in the reserved seats will be available to those students only who have obtained marks 5% less than the percentage of marks where the admission in the non-reserved seats has stopped. (5.17)

- (11) Experimental mobile schools for primary education. (5.19)
- (12) 20% reservation of seats in Ashram Shalas and Backward Class hostels. (5.20)
- (13) 10% reservation of seats in class III and Class IV Government services for Backward Classes including Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes. (5.21)
- (14) 5% reservation of seats in Class I and Class II Government services for Backward Classes including Nomadic Tribes and De-notified Tribes. (5.21)
- (15) Similar principles to be applied in cases of Statutory Bodies and Public Undertakings. (5.23)
- (16) Pre-employment training. (5.22)
- (17) Distribution of land at concessional rate. (5.24)
- (18) Concessions in regard to house sites. (5.25)
- (19) Financial assistance by way of subsidy, loans with or without interest, aids for training, aids and loans for marketing and co-operatives. (5.26)
- (20) Reservation of 10% seats in Training-cum-Production Centres (5.26)
- (21) Rehabilitation, small-scale industry, assistance and loans. (5.27 & 5.28)
- (22) Modernisation of traditional occupation wherever possible and diversion to new occupations. (5.2)
- (23) Co-operative Societies. (5.29)
- (24) Housing. (5.30)
- (25) Free legal aid. (5.31)

## General Recommendations.

### 6.7. General Recommendations:—

- (1) The period for which the above concessions, reservations and other measures to be extended should be for a period of 10 years.(5.32)
- (2) Creation of a Backward Class Board. (5.33)
- (3) Creation of a Backward Class Cell. (5.33)
- (4) Creation of an Implementation Cell (5.33)
- (5) Creation of a Revision Committee (5.33)
- (6) Maintenance of a Social and General Welfare Section. (5.34)

### Acknowledgement.

6.8. We cannot conclude this Report without expressing our sincere appreciation of the contribution made by the different classes/ groups, Members of Parliament, Members of Gujarat Legislative Assembly and officers of the State, who helped the Commission by their elaborate representations, replies and the views expressed in the oral evidence tendered before the Commission. We express our gratitude to officers of the State for the valued co-operation and assistance given to us during our tours and visits to various places. We acknowledge with pleasure the assistance given by all the members of our staff who helped the Commission in collecting, arranging and analysing the data and doing all the administrative work with care and enthusiasm. A list of the members of the staff of this Commission including the staff of the Research Cell is given in Appendix XXXVIII.

6.9. We are also grateful to the members of the Expert Committee and the Advisory Committee whose help on technical as well as non-technical matters was invaluable. Special mention requires to be made of the sincere help extended to the Commission frequently by Dr. Vimal P. Shah, Reader in Sociology, Gujarat University and Shri P. B. Buch, Director, Government Computer Centre. Both of them advised and helped the Commission throughout its proceedings and actively guided and supervised the survey work, computer results, statistical and other data. But for their sincere and careful guidance the Commission would not have been able to do the work efficiently and achieve satisfactory results. We may also mention the name of Kumari Punita Tripathi, Statistical Assistant in the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, who devised

the programmes of the computer and was constantly at the computer when the work of the Commission was processed. Shri V. B. Savdasiya, Deputy Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, helped us in preparing the sample design of the survey work and we are also grateful to him. We are also grateful to Shri R. D. Gandhi, Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics for making available resources of the Bureau to the Commission.

6.10. The State-wide socio-economic sample survey work was carried out under the supervision of the following Honorary Technical Area Consultants :

(i) Dr. I. P. Desai, Director, Centre for Regional Development Studies, Surat, in charge of Surat Centre.

(ii) Prof. D. B. Desai, Lecturer in Sociology, Gujarat University, in charge of Ahmedabad Centre.

(iii) Dr. V. H. Joshi, Reader in Economics, Saurashtra University, was in charge of the Rajkot Centre from 1.6.1973 to 20-12-1974. Shri R. G. Hathi, Assistant Project Officer, Drought Prone Area Project, Rajkot was in charge of the Rajkot Centre from 21-12-1974 to 31-3-1975.

(iv) Shri V. N. Desai, District Statistical Officer, Kutch, in charge of Kutch Centre.

We are grateful to them for the sincere execution of the survey work.

6.11. We have utilised the reports and publications listed in Appendix XXXIX for which we are obliged to their authors and in particular a recent publication\* by Ratna Revankar which has provided us with certain facts and ideas and appropriate words for their expression. We are grateful to its author and publishers.

6.12. Although it may not be necessary to thank a member, we cannot but recognise the fact that Shri B. D. Joshi, who worked as the Secretary of this Commission from the beginning and was subsequently appointed as Member-Secretary from 22nd August, 1975, rendered excellent and efficient service with devotion and care. His capacity for work, initiative and drive, expertise and indefatigable industry were mainly responsible for enabling the Commission to successfully deal with such a heavy and responsible task and particularly to prepare the Report, which we hope will play an important role in the understanding and solution of the problem of backwardness.

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\* The Indian Constitution—A Case Study of Backward Classes by Ratna G. Revankar.  
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6.13. We would also like to mention Shri K. S. Solanki, who worked as Assistant Secretary from the beginning, and attended to the work of the Commission with sincerity. The background of his work in the Social Welfare Department and his acquaintance with the different problems relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were greatly helpful in facilitating the work of the Commission.

(A. R. Bakshi)  
Chairman

(C. N. Vakil)  
Member

(Tara Patel)  
Member

(K. C. Sagar)  
Member

Ahmedabad, 27th February, 1976.

(B. D. Joshi)  
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