

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



REPORT

OF THE

BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

First Part

Volumes I & II

1980

VOLUME I

**THERE IS EQUALITY ONLY AMONG EQUALS. TO EQUATE
UNEQUALS IS TO PERPETUATE INEQUALITY.**

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B. P. MANDAL, Ex-M.P.
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D. O. No.

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श्रीश्री नया अ.प्रां
BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION
5, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road.

नई दिल्ली
New Delhi

दिनांक

Dated : December 31, 1980

Respected Rashtrapatiiji,

By the grace of God Almighty, I have got the privilege of presenting this report to you.

2. On the 20th December, 1978, Shri Morarjibhai, the then Prime Minister of India announced on the floor of the parliament the decision to appoint Backward Classes Commission under my Chairmanship, with four other members. They were : Dewan Mohan Lal, Shri R. R. Bhole, Shri Dina Bandhu Sahu and Shri K. Subramaniam. The terms of reference were also announced on the floor of the House.
3. One of our Members, Shri Dina Bandhu Sahu, resigned his membership on 5th November, 1979 on grounds of health. He left this world on 7th October, 1980. We are sorry to have lost his valuable services in the midst of our work. The vacancy caused by his resignation was filled up by appointing Shri L. R. Naik.
4. We started our work after the inaugural speech of Shri Morarjibhai Desai, Prime Minister of India on 21st March, 1979 and ended with the valedictory Address by Smt. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India on 12th December, 1980.
5. It may be mentioned that although this Commission was appointed by previous Janata Government, Smt. Indira Gandhi's Government not only gave two extensions but extended all support and cooperations in the discharge of our work. This clearly shows her devotion and commitment to the cause of the suppressed, depressed and the oppressed.
6. The Commission had to face many difficulties and challenges in carrying out its work like the dissolution of Lok Sabha in July 1979, followed by further dissolution of nine State Assemblies in March 1980. As the State machineries were engaged in preparation for polls, the Commission's work had to be slowed down. The Commission got three extensions, first for three months from 1st January to 31st March, 1980 and two more extensions from 1st April to 30th September and 1st October to 31st December, 1980. In spite of all these difficulties and time constraints, the Commission finished its work in a short period of less than two years.
7. Our task was confined to our terms of reference according to which we had to "determine the criteria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes" and "to recommend steps to be taken for the advancements of the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens so identified". We have, accordingly, fixed the criteria for the identification of such classes and recommended the steps to be taken for their upliftment. The necessary law laid down by the Supreme Court regarding the maximum quantum of reservation for the socially and educationally backward classes, under the meaning of Article 15(4) and 16(4) has also been kept in view in our report.
8. Our report, however, does not stand in the way of the States if they want to take any measure for the upliftment of the weaker sections of the people like the women and the poorer and others who are not covered by our terms of reference. It may be noted that there is no bar to make further reservation for them. For example, the Karnataka Government has reserved 48% seats for the socially and educationally backward classes, which includes SCs, STs and OBCs and further more 18% has been earmarked for the other weaker sections. The total reservation of 66% of that

Government was challenged in the judiciary and it was upheld. The reservation for OBCs under Article 15(4) and 16(4) should not, however, be amalgamated with any other reservation pertaining to any other criteria. In *Subhashini Vs. State* (AIR 1966 Mys 40) it was held "The validity of the reservation for classes other than socially and educationally backward classes SCs and STs had to be tested on the basis of the requirement of Article 14. Such reservations should not be mixed up with the special reservation under Article 15(4). The upper limit laid down in *Bahji* case, has application only to reservation to be made under Article 15(4). It does not include any reservation otherwise made". In some of the Northern States even a small percentage of reservation is not reaching the socially and educationally backward classes of people as contemplated under Article 15(4) and 16(4) due to such linking.

9. On the basis of our extensive tour throughout the length and breadth of India the response received from the general public at large, I would like to state that the Backward Classes of this country repose high hopes in the Government's positive response to our recommendations. Apprehensions were rightly expressed before us that in case the report of my Commission also meets the same fate as that of Kaku Kalekar's Commission, the legitimate hopes and aspirations of the socially and educationally backward classes, which constitute a bulk of the population will be dashed to ground.

10. We had to face enormous difficulties in the absence of caste enumerations figures after the 1931 Census. To avoid such difficulties in the future, a reference was made by me in my letter of 15th June, 1979 and 18th August, 1979, addressed to S/Shri H. M. Patel and Y. B. Chavan, respectively. I had also requested Giani Zail Singh, Home Minister to this effect in my letter of 31st March, 1980. I was informed that it had been decided that caste enumeration will not be carried out during the 1981 Census and that the present policy of not having enumeration of caste in Indian Census, will be continued, which needs reconsideration.

11. We were hoping to submit a unanimous Report to you and all the members of the Commission were agreed on this point. At the last moment when the Report was about to be signed one of the members, Shri L. R. Naik, decided to record a minute of dissent and it forms Volume VII of the Report.

12. Shri Naik's main contention is that the State-wise list of Other Backward Classes should be split into two parts: one pertaining to Intermediate Backward Classes and other to Depressed Backward Classes. Under Depressed Backward Classes, he has grouped those castes which, according to him, constitute the most deprived and under-privileged sections of the Backward classes. His contention is that they should be treated as a separate entity for purposes of benefits and concessions recommended in the Report. Clipping these two categories, he feels, will not result inequitable distribution of benefits to these two groups.

13. Whereas the Commission sees the point of Shri Naik's contention, the acceptance of his approach will result in a situation which is repugnant to Article 15(4) of the Constitution. In the case of *Balaji Vs. State of Mysore* the Supreme Court has clearly held "In introducing two categories of Backward Classes what the impugned order, in substance, purports to do is to devise measures for all the classes of citizens who are less advanced compared to the most advanced classes in the State, and that, in our opinion, is not the scope of the Article 15(4)". This observation has been repeated in a number of other cases and, by now, it has become established case-law. In view of this, the Commission did not find it possible to agree to Shri Naik's view of dividing Other Backward Classes into two categories.

14. Further, the population figures of the so-called depressed backward classes, worked out by Shri Naik, are also very arbitrary and based on pure conjecture.

15. It may also be pointed out that Shri Naik has deemed it proper to adopt the above line despite the fact that earlier from 10th to 14th November, 1980, he had signed every page of the State-wise lists of O.B.Cs., which treat all Other Backward Classes as one group.

16. Before I end this letter, I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my thanks to my colleagues, who have worked hard to finalise this report. The Commission consisted of members from Other Backward Classes and one Shri L. R. Naik from the Scheduled Caste. Dewan Mohan Lal, who is the eldest among us, never lagged behind to give his valuable contributions and the Commission has been benefited by the wisdom of his age and vast experience of his life. Shri Justice R. R. Bhole, M.P., had varied experience of legislature and judiciary and rural and urban life of India, was of immense help to the Commission. Shri K. Subramaniam, an intelligent and experienced

(v)

person, having had varied experience of rural life besides journalism and devoted to the service of the down trodden had made valuable contribution to the Commission. Shri L. R. Naik, who was appointed in the Commission after a lapse of several months, was the most hard working member in our lot. When other members were getting tired to continue the extensive tour of the country, he was ever unfatigued.

17. I have this signal privilege of submitting this report to you and hope you will have no hesitation in accepting our recommendations and redress the long felt grievances of the socially and educationally backward classes of our country.

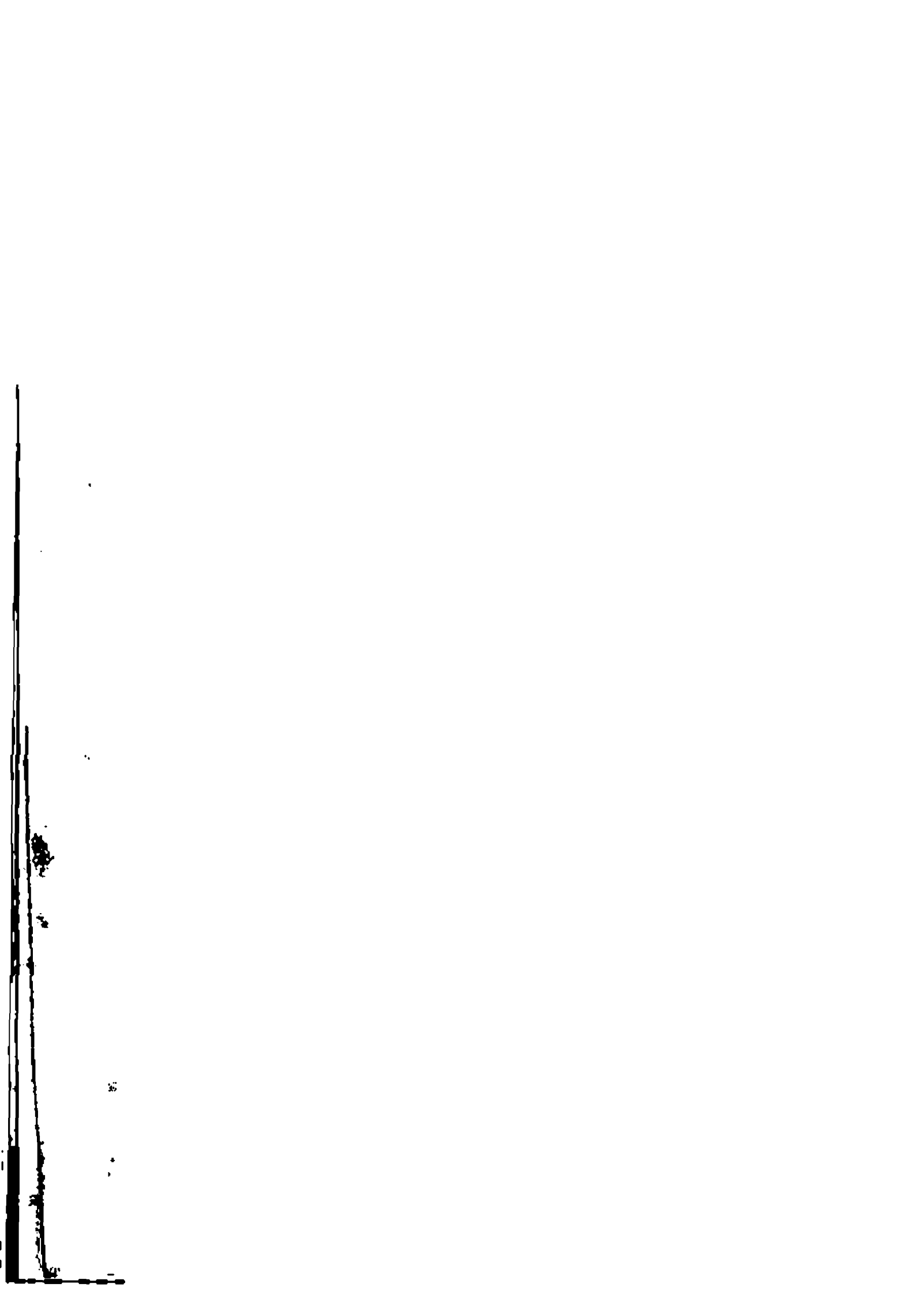
With regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(B. P. MANDAL)

Shri Neelam Sanjiva Reddy,
President of India,
Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi.



COMPOSITION AND TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE COMMISSION

• • •

In exercise of the powers conferred by Article 340 of the Constitution, the President appointed a Backward Classes Commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India. The composition of the Commission was as follows :—

1. Shri B. P. Mandal (ex-M.P.)	...	Chairman
2. Shri R. R. Bhole, M.P.	...	Member
3. Shri Dewan Mohan Lal	...	Member
4. Shri L. R. Naik* (ex-M.P.)	...	Member
5. Shri K. Subramaniam	...	Member
6. Shri S. S. Gill	...	Secretary

Chairman and the members were appointed on part-time basis and worked in an honorary capacity.

2. The terms of reference of the Commission were :—

- (i) to determine the criteria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes;
- (ii) to recommend steps to be taken for the advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens so identified;
- (iii) to examine the desirability or otherwise of making provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of such backward classes of citizens which are not adequately represented in public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of any State; and
- (iv) present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.

In this connection, the Commission may also examine the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission appointed earlier and the considerations which stood in the way of the acceptance of its recommendations by Government.

3. (1) The Commission may :—

- (a) obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose in such form and such manner as they may think appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Government, the Union Territory Administrations and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance to them; and
- (b) hold their sittings or the sittings of such sub-committees as they may appoint from amongst their own members at such times and such places as may be determined by, or under the authority of the Chairman.

(2) During the visits of the Commission or of any sub-committee appointed by them to any State and during any sittings held by the Commission or any such sub-committee in any State, the Commission may co-opt two persons, who belong to that State and who are members of backward classes, to be additional members of the Commission or the sub-committee, as the case may be.

4. The Headquarters of the Commission were located at Delhi.

5. The Commission was required to present their Report to the President not later than the 31st December, 1979.**

*Shri L. R. Naik was appointed in place of Shri Diva Bandha Sahu, who resigned from membership of the Commission on November 5, 1979 on health grounds.

**Later extended in stages upto December 31, 1980.

P R E F A C E

Notification setting up Backward Classes Commission was issued on January 1, 1979, and this Report is being submitted in December, 1980. Technically speaking, the Commission has taken 24 months to complete its work. In actual effect, the working time available to us was much shorter.

Except for the Secretary, the Administrative Officer and a couple of Stenographers the remaining staff of the Commission got into position in June-July, 1979 only. The formulation of staff proposals, their sanction and recruitment of suitable personnel took more than four months. Thus, while the Commission was formally inaugurated by the then Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, on March 21, 1979, it became fully operational only in the middle of 1979.

By the time the Commission's work got into full swing, the Parliament was dissolved in August, 1979 and States got busy with preparations for the next General Elections. By the time these elections were over, 9 State Assemblies were dissolved, and the assembly election became the major concern of the administrations of these States.

The above developments had an unsettling effect on the work of the Commission, specially so far as its tour to various States was concerned. The progress of the country-wide socio-educational field survey which commenced in February, 1980 was also seriously hampered. Owing to paucity of time and somewhat disturbed conditions in the 7 north-eastern States, the Commission could not undertake the tour of this region.

As indicated in Chapter III of this Report, the Commission adopted a multilateral approach to the collection of data in connection with its inquiry. This was a huge task covering several disciplines and the entire length and breadth of the country, and it would not have been possible to complete it within the allotted time except for the ready cooperation we got from all the concerned agencies and individuals. Whereas it will not be possible to thank each one of them separately, the Commission would like to express its gratefulness to those without whose invaluable assistance we would have been considerably handicapped.

The Commission had issued detailed questionnaires to all State Governments, Union Territories and the Ministries and Departments of the Government of India. All these agencies put in a lot of effort to compile the desired information. State Governments and Union Territories also made excellent arrangements in connection with the Commission's tours. Our grateful thanks are due to all concerned.

A large number of members of Sixth and Seventh Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha, State Legislatures and representatives of a number of voluntary organisations, thousands of social workers and members of the public appeared before the Commission to tender evidence and we are extremely grateful to them all for having responded to our invitations.

We also acknowledge with gratitude the valuable assistance given by Prof. M. N. Srinivas (Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore), Prof. Jogendra Singh (Jawaharlal Nehru University) and Prof. B. K. Roy Burman (Vishwa Bharati University) in connection with the Commission's socio-educational field survey. Dr. K. C. Seal, Director General, Central Statistical Organisation, also deserves very special mention in this behalf.

While expressing this gratitude, the Commission owns full responsibility for all aspects of the field survey. Electronic Commission did an excellent job of work in the computerisation of field data of socio-educational survey. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, and Indian Law Institute, Delhi, prepared two special reports for the Commission and we place on record our great appreciation for the fine quality of their work.

Shri P. Padmanabhu, Registrar General of India and Commissioner, Census Operations, took a very keen interest in the work of the Commission and rendered all possible help. And, of course, Ministry of Home Affairs, was always very helpful and showed a sensitive appreciation of our problems.

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The staff of the Commission, an *ad hoc* assemblage of personnel on deputation from several Ministries and Departments, worked hard as a well knit team despite several constraints and hardships. Research and Survey Wing of the Commission had a very exacting task to handle and under the able leadership of Dr. N. R. Parthasarathy, Joint Director, it did commendable work in processing the voluminous data received from several sources.

Last, but not the least, the Commission would like to place on record its very high appreciation of the performance of its Secretary, Shri S. S. Gill. Normally, a person in his position has to carry the main responsibility for drafting the Report. In the instant case, his contribution to its conceptualization was also very substantial. It was the shared view of all members of the Commission that Other Backward Classes could not have found an abler advocate of their cause than Shri Gill.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

1.1 The First Backward Classes Commission was set up by a Presidential Order under Article 340 of the Constitution of India on January 29th, 1953 and it submitted its report on March 30th, 1955. The composition of the Commission and its terms of reference are given in Appendix-I, Volume II of this Report.

1.2 The Commission issued a Questionnaire comprising 182 questions for eliciting the views of the State Governments and the general public on various aspects of its inquiry. It also undertook extensive touring of the country to collect on-the-spot evidence.

1.3 After sifting and sorting the facts collected as above the Commission formulated the following criteria for identifying socially and educationally backward classes :—

- (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.

It also prepared a list of 2399 backward castes or communities for the entire country, and 837 of these were classified as 'most backward'. The Registrar General and Census Commissioner of India assisted the Commission in making population projections of 930 backward castes or communities.

1.4 The recommendations of the Commission for the upliftment of the backward classes are extremely wide-ranging and comprehensive. They cover such diverse fields as Extensive Land Reforms, Reorganisation of Village Economy, Bhoodan Movement, Development of Livestock, Dairy Farming, Cattle Insurance, Bee-keeping, Piggery, Fisheries, Development of Rural and Cottage Industries, Rural Housing, Public Health and Rural Water Supply, Adult Literacy, University Education, Representation of Backward Classes in Government service, etc. etc. Some of the most noteworthy recommendations of the Commission were—

- (i) Undertaking caste-wise enumeration of population in the Census of 1961 ;

- (ii) Relating Social backwardness of a class to its low position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society;

- (iii) Treating all women as a class as 'backward';

- (iv) Reservation of 70 per cent seats in all technical and professional institutions for qualified students of backward classes;

- (v) Minimum reservation of vacancies in all Government services and local bodies for other Backward Classes on the following scale :—

Class I	..	25%
Class II	..	33-1/3%
Class III & IV	..	40%

1.5 It is pertinent to note that the Commission could not present an unanimous report. In fact five of its Members recorded minutes of dissent. Dr. Anup Singh, Shri Arunangshu De and Shri P. G. Shah were opposed to the view of linking caste with backwardness. They were also opposed to the reservation of posts on the basis of caste. On the other hand, Shri S. D. S. Chaurasia strongly advocated the acceptance of caste as the criterion for backwardness in his 67-page minute of dissent. Shri T. Mariappa's minute of dissent was concerned only with the inclusion of a couple of castes in the list of Other Backward Classes.

1.6 Shri Kaka Kalelkar, the Chairman, took a rather equivocal stand on this issue. Though he did not record a formal minute of dissent, in his forwarding letter to the President he opposed the acceptance of caste as the basis for backwardness. He also expressed his reservations regarding several other important recommendations made by the Commission.

Government Action on Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report

1.7 After a detailed examination of the Commission's Report, the Government laid its copy together with a Memorandum of action taken before each House of the Parliament on September 3rd, 1956 in compliance with Article 340(3) of the Constitution. In this Memorandum it was observed, "For the purpose of the enquiry specifically contemplated in Article 340 of the Constitution, it was necessary to consider whether these other backward sections could be properly classified, and the Commission had to find

objective tests and criteria by which such classifications were to be made; they had to find indisputable yardsticks by which social and educational backwardness could be measured. The report of the Commission has not been unanimous on this point, in fact, it reveals considerable divergence of opinion." It was further stated, "The Commission's list contains as many as 2399 communities out of which 930 alone account for an estimated population of 11.5 crores: Scheduled Castes and Tribes will make up another 7 crores" (on the basis of 1951 Census). Regarding the acceptance of caste as criteria for backwardness, it was stated, "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 caste."

1.8 Regarding the recognition of a large number of castes and communities as backward, it was pointed out, "If the entire community, 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."

1.9 In view of the above, the Government considered it necessary that "some positive and workable criteria should be devised for the specification of the socially and educationally backward classes and to undertake further investigations 'so that deficiencies that have been noticed in the findings of the Commission are made good...'" It was also pointed out in the Memorandum that the Planning Commission had already formulated the development programmes for the removal of backwardness and "the main point to be stressed was whether the special needs of the backward classes could be intensively and effectively served by appropriate shifts of emphasis or by rearrangement of priorities within the framework of the existing programmes or whether additional programmes needed to be drawn up"

Incidentally, the Commission's report was not discussed by the Parliament.

1.10 After presenting the Memorandum to the Parliament, the Government made efforts "to discover some criteria other than caste which could be of practical application in determining the backward classes." The Deputy Registrar General was asked to conduct a pilot survey to see if backwardness could be linked to occupational communities instead of caste. Such a survey was undertaken but it failed to throw up the desired criteria. The matter was also discussed at a conference of State representatives on 7-4-1959 and subsequently reviewed at a meeting of State officers convened by the Ministry of Home Affairs, but no consensus emerged as a result of these efforts.

1.11 The Central Government ultimately took a decision that no all India lists of backward classes should be drawn up, nor any reservation made in the Central Government service for any group of backward classes other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Consequently, on August 14th, 1961, the Ministry of Home Affairs addressed all the State Governments stating, "While the State Governments have the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, in the view of the Government of India it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by caste." Regarding the preparation of lists of backward classes it was observed, "Even if the Central Government were to specify under Article 33B(3) certain groups of people as belonging to 'other backward classes', it will still be open to every State Government to draw up its own lists for the purposes of Articles 15 and 16. As, therefore, the State Governments may adhere to their own lists, any all-India list drawn up by the Central Government would have no practical utility".

Some Observations on Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report

1.12 It is well worth remembering that Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report was the first national level inquiry of its kind after the adoption of the Constitution. Since then ten States have set up fifteen Commissions and their reports provide a wealth of material on this subject. Further, the present Commission has the additional benefit of a plethora of judicial pronouncements by the Supreme Court and several High Courts on the question of extending various types of benefits to backward classes other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

1.13 But despite making due allowance for its handicaps, it cannot be denied that Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report suffers from grave flaws of methodology and serious internal contradictions. For instance, the Commission was required to determine the criteria for identifying socially and educationally backward classes and, in accordance with such criteria, to prepare a list of such classes. The criteria evolved by the Commission is given in para 1.3 of this Chapter. The list of 2399 backward classes identified by the Commission is contained in Volume II of Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report. But it is not clear from the Report as to how the lists of backward classes were derived by the application of that criteria. The Commission's State-wise lists are based on the lists prepared by the Ministry of Education for the grant of scholarships etc. to 'Other Educationally Backward Classes' in 1949. The Ministry of Education, in its turn, had compiled these lists on the basis of the recommendations received from the respective State Governments.

1.14 It is seen that Ministry of Education had prepared its list not only without undertaking any special survey for the identification of the backward classes, it was meant only for 'Other Educationally Backward Classes' and not for 'Socially and Educa-

tionally Backward Classes' as contemplated in Article 340 of the Constitution.

1.15 Of course, Kaka Kalelkar Commission modified the Education Ministry's original lists in the light of the evidence collected by it. But the fact remains that it broadly adopted the lists of Other Educationally Backward Classes prepared by another Government agency for an entirely different purpose, and created it as the list of socially and educationally backward classes of India. This was done without undertaking any field survey to check their validity for the purpose of the Commission. Nor were they tested against criteria evolved by the Commission for identifying socially and educationally backward classes.

1.16 As stated in para 1.4 of this Chapter, Kaka Kalelkar Commission recommended different percentages of reservation of seats/vacancies in educational institutions, Government services, etc. for other Backward Classes (OBCs). For instance, it recommended reservation of 40% posts in Class III and Class IV categories, 25% in Class I category and 70% of the seats in professional and technical institutions. But in the absence of any explanation of the rationale for fixing different percentages for different groups of posts etc. the approach appears somewhat arbitrary.

1.17 Though the above failings are serious, yet the real weakness of the Report lies in its internal contradictions. As stated in para 1.5 of this Chapter, three of the Members were opposed to one of the most crucial recommendations of the Report, that is, the acceptance of caste as a criterion for social backwardness and the reservation of posts in Government services on that basis. This degree of dissidence greatly compromised the force of the Commission's recommendations. But it was the 30-page forwarding letter of Shri Kaka Kalelkar to the President which demolished the very basis of the Report. The following extracts from this letter speak for themselves :

"Being convinced that the upper castes among the Hindus have to atone for the neglect of which they were guilty towards the 'lower' classes, I was prepared to recommend to Government that all special help should be given only to the backward classes and even the poor and the deserving among the upper classes may be safely kept out from the benefit of this special help. My eyes were however opened to the dangers of suggesting remedies on the caste basis when I discovered that it is going to have a most unhealthy effect on the Muslim and Christian sections of the nation...."

"This was a rude shock and it drove me to the conclusion that the remedies we suggested were worse than the evil we were out to combat."

"This painful realisation came to me almost towards the end of our labours. I could not stem

the current of opinion within the Commission itself and ultimately decided, though reluctantly, to side with the majority with whom I had co-operated throughout in formulating remedies on caste basis. It is only when the Report was being finalised that I started thinking anew and found that backwardness could be tackled on a basis of a number of bases other than that of caste. I only succeeded in raising the suspicion of the majority of my colleagues that I was trying to torpedo the recommendations of the Commission. This was another reason why I signed the Report without even a minute of dissent...."

"...If such communities have neglected education it is because they had no use for it. Now that they have discovered their mistake it is for them to make the necessary efforts for making up the leeway."

"Till recently, good many Communities were organising caste conferences and collecting funds for granting scholarships to boys and girls of their own community. That was a good lesson in self help and a good number of communities have thus come forward in material well-being. But now all burden is sought to be thrown on the common exchequer and those who have thoughtlessly neglected education in the past are now seeking preferential treatment in Government services. This is anything but fair...."

"I am definitely against reservation in Government Services for any Community for the simple reason that the services are not meant for the servants but they are meant for the service of society as a whole."

"I believe that in Class I and Class II services, the backward classes will stand, to gain, both morally and materially, if they do not demand a reservation percentage in the vacancies and simply rely on the fair-mindedness of the administration to use their preference in favour of the backward classes...."

1.18 The above extracts form an eloquent testament of Shri Kalelkar's views on backwardness and social justice. It must have caused this gentle Gandhian no end of anguish to refrain from recording a formal note of dissent to a Report which recommended caste as one of the main criteria for determining social backwardness. Despite giving such clear expression to his views, he observed in a latter para of this letter, "Following the analogy of the proverb, viz., 'Use the thorn to remove a thorn', we held that the evils of caste could be removed by measures which could be considered in terms of caste alone". Here, the strain of squaring the circle becomes so palpable that one can only sympathise with Kaka Sahib in his predicament.

1.19 A Report so fragmented in its conceptual design carried within itself the logic for its rejection.

Some Observations on Government Action

1.20 Whereas Kaka Kaleikar Commission Report received the closest attention of the Government right upto the highest level, there is one aspect of its examination which merits special attention. Despite referring to various constitutional provisions and accepting the need to give special relief to socially and educationally backward classes, in the overall context the Government thinking was mainly conditioned by the national imperative of reducing economic disparities between different classes of society. This approach is clearly summed up in the letter that Home Ministry addressed to all the State Governments after full examination of the Report. The concluding sentence of this letter reads, "They (Government of India) also consider that while the State Governments have the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, in the view of the Government of India it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by caste." (emphasis added)

1.21 As the main thrust of Government's development programmes has always been the removal of mass poverty, this pre-occupation with economic criteria in determining backwardness is quite understandable. But howsoever laudable the objective may be, it is not in consonance with the spirit of Article 340 of the Constitution, under which the Commission was set up. Both Articles 15(4) and 340(1) make a pointed reference to "socially and educationally backward classes". Any reference to 'economic backwardness' has been advisedly left out of these Articles. Whereas we shall have more to say on this subject in a subsequent Chapter, it may be pertinent to point out that in giving primacy to 'economic tests' in determining the type of backwardness referred to in Article 340(1) of the Constitution, the Government has, perhaps inadvertently, paid less than adequate attention to the constitutional requirements in this matter. It may be possible to make out a very plausible case for not accepting caste as a criteria for defining 'social and educational backwardness'. But the substitution of caste by economic tests will amount to ignoring the genesis of social backwardness in the Indian society.

CHAPTER II

STATUS OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES IN SOME STATES

2.1 It is for nearly a hundred years that Provincial Governments in India have been implementing special programmes for the welfare of depressed or deprived sections of society. The first such step was taken by Madras Government with the framing of Grant-in-Aid Code in 1885 to regulate financial aid to educational institutions, providing special facilities for students of depressed classes. Subsequently, in 1921, acting on a resolution passed by the State Legislative Council, Madras Government took steps for higher representation of non-Brahmins in Government services. The scheme was reviewed in 1927 and the scope of reservations was enlarged further, dividing all the communities in the State into five broad categories and earmarking separate quota for each category.

2.2 On the basis of representations received from aggrieved communities, in 1918 the Maharaja of Mysore appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Sir L. C. Miller, the then Chief Justice of Mysore, to recommend steps for adequate representation for non-Brahmins in the services of the State. On the basis of Miller Committee report, the Government of Mysore issued orders in 1921 extending special facilities to backward communities with regard to education and recruitment in State services.

2.3 It was in 1928 that the Government of Bombay set up a Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. O. H. B. Stacie to identify backward classes and recommend special provisions for their advancement. In its report submitted in 1930, this Committee classified backward classes into three categories, i.e., 'depressed classes', 'aboriginal and hill tribes' and 'other backward classes'. This Committee recommended the provision of special facilities regarding education and recruitment in Government services to the members of the above three categories of backward classes.

2.4 At the all-India level the first systematic attempt at the welfare of depressed classes was made with the introduction of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, when separate representation on a number of public bodies was given to members of these classes. In official parlance the omnibus term 'depressed classes' at that time included 'Scheduled Castes', 'Scheduled Tribes' and 'Other Backward Classes'. In the Census of India 1931, the term 'depressed classes' was changed to 'exterior castes', which covered only the untouchable castes. Aboriginal and Hill Tribes were enumerated under the term 'Primitive Tribes'.

2.5 In addition to the depressed classes, there was another category of very backward section of society

termed as 'criminal tribes'. They were notified under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871 and several provisions were made for their rehabilitation.

2.6 It was under the Government of India Act, 1935, that the 'Scheduled Castes' replaced 'Depressed Classes' and separate lists of Scheduled Castes were notified for various Provinces in 1936. Simultaneously, the term 'Primitive Tribes' was replaced by 'Backward Tribes' and their lists notified in respect of Provinces where there was substantial representation of these tribes. It was only after Independence that the term 'Scheduled Tribes' was used for 'Backward Tribes' in the Constitution.

2.7 The main benefit extended to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Government of India Act, 1935 was that of political representation in the Federal Legislature and Provincial Assemblies.

2.8 It was only after Independence that the Central Government tried to define Other Backward Classes (OBCs) with a view to making special provisions for their advancement. Articles 15(4) and 16(4) refer to the making of such provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was with this objective that Kaka Kalelkar Commission was appointed in 1953 under Article 340 of the Constitution. While rejecting the main recommendations of this Commission the Central Government had informed the State Governments that they were free to draw their respective lists of backward classes on the basis of criteria worked out by them and take whatever further action they deemed necessary in the matter.

2.9 Consequently a number of State Governments set up their own Commissions or Committees for defining criteria for backwardness and recommending measures for its removal. So far ten State Governments have set up fifteen Commissions and Committees in this behalf. These States are: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Further 8 other States and Union Territories have notified lists of Other Backward Classes for the grant of various educational, employment and other benefits. These are: Assam, Delhi, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Orissa, Pondicherry and Rajasthan. These State Governments and Union Territories mostly relied on the lists of OBCs maintained by them for the grant of post-matric scholarships, etc. under the Education Ministry's scheme formulated in 1944, and another list prepared by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at the time of drafting the First Five Year Plan.

2.10 The first attempt at giving a fair representation to depressed classes in public services was made when the Government of India issued instructions in July, 1934 that duly qualified candidates of these classes should not be deprived of fair opportunity of appointment merely because they could not succeed in an open competition. However, no definite percentage of vacancies was earmarked for them. It was only in 1943 that orders reserving 8½% of vacancies for Scheduled Castes were issued. In June, 1946 this reservation was raised to 12½% so as to bring it in line with the population of Scheduled Castes. No reservation was made for the backward tribes as their prevailing educational level was considered to be too low to qualify them for Government service in any appreciable numbers.

2.11 Curiously, provisions for the spread of education amongst depressed classes were made much later. It was in 1944 that the Ministry of Education prepared a scheme of post-matric scholarships etc. for the students of Scheduled Castes and it was extended to Scheduled Tribes in 1948.

2.12 A brief account of the main recommendations of the Commissions or Committees set up by the aforesaid ten State Governments and the action taken thereon is given below.

Andhra Pradesh

2.13 In 1966, Andhra Pradesh Government notified a list of 112 communities belonging to Other Backward Classes and ordered reservation of seats for them in Government services and professional colleges etc. Several writs were filed against this Order and the High Court of Andhra Pradesh struck it down on the ground that the State could not produce evidence regarding the social and educational backwardness of the listed communities. This decision was upheld by the Supreme Court also.

2.14 In view of this, Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed a Backward Classes Commission in April 1968 under the Chairmanship of Shri Manohar Prasad and it presented its report in June, 1970. This Commission identified four different categories of OBCs and recommended reservations of seats both in professional colleges and in Government services. The recommendations of the Commission on these two important items and the action taken by the State Government are indicated in the following table:—

TABLE

S. No.	Category of OBCs	Reservation in professional colleges and Government services	
		As recommended by the Commission	As accepted by the State Government
1.	Aboriginal Tribes, Vimukta Jatis, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes	7%	7%
2.	Vocational groups	13%	10%
3.	Harjjan Converts	1%	1%
4.	Other Classes	9%	7%
		30%	25%

2.15 The State Government also accepted the Commission's recommendation that candidates selected on merit in an open competition would not be adjusted against the reserved vacancies. The reservation of 25% was also extended to all posts under the control of local bodies, State Government undertakings, etc.

2.16 The State Government has also reserved 25% of the house-sites and 15% of the houses constructed by Housing Board for OBCs. Backward Classes students whose family income is below Rs. 6,000 per annum are exempted from payment of tuition fees and are eligible for award of scholarships, hostel facilities, etc.

2.17 The Government further accepted the Commission's recommendation for the allotment of house sites and surplus land to OBCs and to set up a separate Finance Corporation for them. The Commission's recommendation for extending scholarships and other benefits on the basis of economic criteria was also accepted by the State Government.

2.18 Subsequently, a Committee of the Fifth Legislative Assembly under the Chairmanship of Shri Agisam Veerappa was set up to recommend further measures for the welfare of backward classes. It submitted its report in 1977 and some of its important recommendations accepted by the Government are:—

- (i) Grant of scholarships from the first standard onwards instead of the sixth standard, as per prevailing practice.
- (ii) Enhancement in the rate of scholarships.
- (iii) Lowering the qualifying marks for OBCs from 40% to 35% for admission to various institutions.

Bihar

2.19 In 1951 the Government of Bihar had prepared a list of 109 backward classes for awarding post-matric scholarships, etc., under a scheme launched by the Ministry of Education. In its letter of August 14, 1961 (referred to in para. 1.12, Chapter I), Home Ministry had informed the State Governments that they may draw up their lists of backward classes as the lists recommended by Kaka Kalelkar Commission had not been accepted. Bihar Government decided to continue with the list already prepared in 1951.

2.20 In 1964, Patna High Court*, in view of the Supreme Court's judgment in *Balaji's* case, declared Bihar Government's list of backward classes as invalid as it had relied on caste as the criterion of backwardness. In view of this, the State Government decided that the current educational benefits should be given only to such students of Other Backward Classes mentioned in the 1951 Order whose family income was below Rs. 500 per month. For admission to medical colleges, the income limit was fixed at Rs. 250 per month.

*A.J.R. 1965, Pages 372.

2.21 Bihar Government also appointed a Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of Shri Mungeri Lal in June 1971 and it submitted its report in February, 1976. This Commission identified 128 communities as 'Backward' and 94 of them were classified as 'Most Backward'.

2.22 The main recommendations of the Commission were :—

- (i) Reservation of 20% vacancies in all Government Departments, local bodies and State Government Undertakings for the candidates of Other Backward Classes. In addition, 3% of such vacancies were recommended to be reserved for women and the same percentage for economically weaker sections. Only those candidates should be given this benefit whose family income was below the minimum income-tax limit;
- (ii) Reservation of 24% seats in engineering, medical and other professional institutions for students of Other Backward Classes; and
- (iii) Grant of various other benefits like allotment of house sites, grant of scholarships, reimbursement of tuition fees, etc., to OBCs.

2.23 The State Government accepted the above recommendations in October 1978 and this gave rise to a lot of agitation. Both the forward and the backward communities were dissatisfied with the Government. The implementation of the Commission's recommendations also raised a lot of controversy. Many recruiting agencies mis-constructed the provision for reservation as prescribing the upper limit for the intake of backward class candidates selected on merit. In case OBC candidates in excess of the reserved quota of 20% got selected in open competition, the actual intake was restricted to 20% only.

2.24 Subsequently, the Government of Bihar corrected this misconception in July 1979 and clarified that the reservation quota indicated the minimum and not the maximum quota for backward class candidates. It was also clarified that the percentage of backward class candidates selected on merit should not be adjusted against their reserved quota.

Gujarat

2.25 Gujarat Government set up a Backward Classes Commission in August 1972 under the chairmanship of Shri A. R. Bakshi and it submitted its report in 1976. This Commission listed 82 castes and communities as socially and educationally backward classes and recommended the following measures for their advancement :—

- (i) Reservation of 10% of seats in medical engineering and other professional institutions;

- (ii) Reservation of 10% of vacancies in all Class III and IV Government services;
- (iii) Reservation of 5% of all Class I and Class II vacancies in all Government services, local bodies, State Public Undertakings, etc.
- (iv) Reservation of 10% of seats in training-cum-production centres.
- (v) Award of scholarships and other educational facilities to OBC students, provided their parental income did not exceed Rs. 4,800 per year. This income limit was raised to Rs. 7,200 in the case of nomadic tribes and denotified tribes.

2.26 All the recommendations of Bakshi Commission were accepted by the Government of Gujarat

Jammu & Kashmir

2.27 In 1956 the Government of Jammu & Kashmir notified Civil Services Rules which, *inter alia*, provided that the State Government could make reservation in Government services for backward classes. In November 1967, the State Government appointed the Gajendragadkar Commission and one of its terms of reference was to examine the existing recruitment policies with a view to recommending measures for giving equitable representation to various regions, communities and backward classes in Government employment. The Gajendragadkar Commission gave its report in December 1968 and recommended that economic backwardness, occupation, habitation, literacy and caste (in respect of Hindus) should be made the criteria for determining backward communities. The Commission recommended that this job should be entrusted to a High Power Committee.

2.28 Accordingly a Backward Classes Committee was set up by the Government of Jammu & Kashmir in February 1969 under the Chairmanship of Shri J. N. Wazir and its report was submitted in November 1969. Acting on the recommendations of this Committee, the State Government framed "The Jammu & Kashmir Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes (Reservation) Rules, 1970". As a result of a petition, the Supreme Court pointed out certain lacunae in these Rules and observed that the same should be rectified before giving effect to them. Consequently, the State Government appointed a Committee under Justice (Dr.) Adarsh S. Anand in August 1976. This Committee submitted its report in September 1977, and recommended that—

Permanent residents of the State falling in the following categories be declared backward classes :—

- (i) Twenty-two weak and under-privileged classes; and
- (ii) Residents belonging to specified backward areas.

2.29 Weak and under-privileged classes comprised mostly of occupational communities. Backward areas

were identified on the basis of inaccessibility, bad climate, low literacy, lack of medical facilities, etc.

2.30 The Committee recommended the following benefits for the backward classes of the State :—

- (i) Reservation of 42% of vacancies arising in all Government services ;
- (ii) Reservation of 42% seats in all technical and professional institutions ;
- (iii) Award of scholarships and stipends to students whose family income does not exceed Rs. 3,000 per annum and award of similar scholarships and stipends at higher rates to students from backward classes with the same limit on their family income.

2.31 The above reservations in services and educational institutions are in addition to 8% reservation made for Scheduled Castes. (There are no Scheduled Tribes in Jammu & Kashmir).

Karnataka

2.32 Created as a result of the re-organisation of States, Karnataka comprised whole or parts of five States of Mysore, Coorg, Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras. On the basis of the list earlier drawn up by some of these States, the new State prepared a uniform list of backward classes for the whole of Karnataka. This list was struck down by the Mysore High Court and a similar attempt made in 1959 also met the same fate. In January 1960 Karnataka Government appointed a Backward Classes Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. R. Naganna Gowda, which submitted its report in May 1961.

2.33 This Committee suggested one set of backward communities for reservation in services and another set for the grant of educational concessions. It recommended that 50% of the seats in technical and professional institutions should be reserved for students of backward classes. It also proposed reservation of 45% of all Government vacancies for backward class candidates.

2.34 The Government Order of 1961 based on these recommendations was struck down by the Supreme Court in the celebrated *Balaji's* case with the observation that the State Government had committed a fraud on the Constitution. In view of this the State Government, as a temporary measure, started treating individuals instead of classes as backward for giving them special benefits.

2.35 It was in August 1972 that Karnataka Government set up Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of Shri L. G. Havanur and it submitted its Report in November 1975. In its findings, the Commission stated that it had not gone by the criterion of caste in deciding the social backwardness of castes and communities. Instead, it had relied on multiple tests, such as economic, residential and occupational factors in determining social backwardness of castes and communities. Instead, it had relied categories of backward classes, worked out the percentage of their population in the State and re-

commended reservation of vacancies in Government services as given below :—

Name of Backward Classes	Percentage of population	Percentage of reservation
1. Backward Communities	19.20%	16%
2. Backward Castes	14.47%	10%
3. Backward Tribes	8.00%	6%
TOTAL	41.67%	32%

2.36 Similar reservation of seats was also proposed in educational institutions.

2.37 The Commission also recommended setting up of a separate Financial Corporation and a Directorate for Other Backward Classes.

2.38 The State Government, while broadly accepting the recommendations of the Commission, ordered the following scale of reservation in services and educational institutions for various categories of backward classes :—

S. No.	Name of Backward Classes	Percentage of reservation in	
		Educational Institutions	Government Services
1	2	3	4
1.	Scheduled Castes	15%	15%
2.	Scheduled Tribes	3%	3%
3.	Backward Communities	20%	18%
4.	Backward Castes	10%	10%
5.	Backward Tribes	5%	5%
6.	Special Groups	15%	15%
	TOTAL	68%	66%

2.39 It will be observed that while issuing orders the Government added a new category of backward classes, i.e., 'Special Group' and made a reservation of 15% for this category. Further, whereas Havanur Commission had recommended reservation of 16% in Government services and educational institutions for backward communities, Government enhanced it to 18% and 20% respectively.

Kerala

2.40 Kerala Government has set up three Committees/Commissions so far on Other Backward Classes. The first one was an Evaluation Committee appointed under the chairmanship of Shri V. K. Vishwanathan in June 1961. It submitted its report in October 1963 and its main recommendations were :—

- (i) Reservation of 40% of seats in technical and professional colleges for OBC students and 10% for students belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes ;

- (ii) The above reservation to be made applicable to all fresh appointments under the State Government also; and
- (iii) Appointment of an Expert Committee to go into the question of reclassification of backward communities.

2.41 The State Government accepted the above recommendations, except that reservation of seats for OBC students in the technical and professional institution was confined to 25% only.

2.42 Subsequently, the decision of the Government regarding the reservation of seats in educational institutions under Article 15(4) of the Constitution was challenged in the High Court of Kerala and the State Government was directed to start a fact-finding enquiry and evolve objective criteria for giving educational benefits to backward classes. Accordingly, the State Government appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Shri G. Kumara Pillai in July 1964 and the Commission submitted its report in December 1965. Its main recommendations are given below:—

- (i) It classified 91 communities as 'backward' and stipulated that the benefits recommended in the report should be extended only to those members of the Backward Classes whose aggregate family income was below Rs. 4,200 per year; and
- (ii) In technical and professional institutions 25% of the seats should be reserved for OBCs. It also indicated separate quotas for various categories of OBCs in the allocation of these seats.

2.43 The State Government accepted the above recommendations with the modification that the income ceiling of Rs. 4,200 was raised to Rs. 6,000 per annum. It may be noted that the High Court had desired the State Government to institute an enquiry for granting educational benefits to OBCs under Article 15(4) of the Constitution only. In view of this the Government of Kerala did not take any action to disturb the existing arrangements regarding the reservation of 40% posts under the Government for Other Backward Classes.

2.44 Subsequently, on a petition filed before the High Court of Kerala, the State Government was told that the Rules relating to reservation of jobs for backward communities were based on obsolete and out-of-date data and, therefore, it should undertake a detailed survey and collect the relevant data periodically. Accordingly, the State Government appointed Backward Classes Reservation Commission under the chairmanship of Shri M. P. Damodaran in October 1967 and it submitted its report in June 1970. The Government took more than 9 years in examining this report and at the end of this period felt that after such a long interval the Commission's findings may have lost their validity. In the circumstances the Government decided that only by appointing a Commission the matter could be satisfactorily settled. In the mean-

time, certain minor adjustments were made regarding the inter se percentages of reservations in services prescribed for the eight separate groups of Other Backward Classes, without disturbing the overall reservation of 40 per cent. These reservations are:—

S. No.	Name of Group	Reservation for Class IV posts	Reservation for other than Class IV posts
1.	Ezhavas	11%	14%
2.	Muslims	10%	12%
3.	Latin Catholics and Anglo Indians	4%	4%
4.	Nadars	1%	1%
5.	Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity	2%	1%
6.	22 Communities like, Atatis, Kammlars, Vayakarnas, etc.	2%	3%
7.	Dheevara Community	2%	1%
8.	Other Backward Classes	8%	4%
	TOTAL	40%	40%

2.45 The State Government has not been able to appoint a new Commission so far.

Maharashtra

2.46 After bifurcation of the former Bombay State, the Government of Maharashtra appointed a Committee in November 1961 under the Chairmanship of Shri B. D. Deshmukh to 'report on reservation of Backward Classes in the services'. In its report submitted in January 1964 the Committee recommended that:—

- (i) Backward Classes should be grouped under four categories, i.e. (a) Scheduled Castes and Neo Buddhas; (b) Scheduled Tribes; (c) Denotified and Nomadic Tribes; and (d) Other Backward Communities.
- (ii) Reservation in services and educational institutions for different categories of Backward Classes should be related to the percentage of their population in the State.

2.47 The Government broadly accepted the above recommendations and made the following reservation in the State services and educational institutions for the four categories of Backward Classes:—

Name of Category	Percentage of reservation
1. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Caste converts to Buddhism	13%
2. Scheduled Tribes	7%
3. Denotified and Nomadic Tribes	4%
4. Other Backward Communities	10%
TOTAL	34%

2.48 Subsequently, in April 1979 the State Government issued orders that 80 per cent of all vacancies under the State Government, local bodies, etc., should be reserved for Economically Weaker Sections of Society. These weaker sections were defined as families whose income was less than Rs. 200 per month. Where adequate number of suitably qualified candidates were not available to fill 80 per cent of reserved vacancies from persons with family income below Rs. 200 per month, preference for the balance of reserved seats was to be given to candidates whose family income ranged from Rs. 200 to 400 per month.

2.49 In this order, it was also clarified that 80 per cent reservation was inclusive of the earlier reservations made for other backward classes, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, etc.

Punjab

2.50 In 1951 the Punjab Government appointed a Committee on Backward Classes and on the basis of its recommendations declared 14 castes, constituting 2 per cent of the State population, as OBCs. Identification was done on the basis of economic, educational and social backwardness. On the basis of the recommendations of the Committee, 2 per cent seats in services were reserved for backward classes. Similar concession was given in respect of admission to educational institutions also.

2.51 In 1965, the State Government appointed an Evaluation Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Brij Bhan to review the concessions given to backward classes. In its report submitted in August 1966, the Committee recommended :—

- (1) the existing list of backward classes should be rationalised so that classes or castes who are no longer backward could be excluded; and
- (2) the existing reservation of 2 per cent of seats in educational institutions should be raised to 5 per cent.

The Committee also observed that reservation in services was not serving any useful purpose and Government should give concessions mainly in matters of education.

2.52 The Government did not accept the Committee's recommendation on abolishing reservation in respect of services. Actually, the reservation quota, both in services and educational institutions, was raised to 5 per cent.

2.53 In its Fourth Report, 1975-76, the Punjab Vidhan Sabha Committee on Welfare of S.C., S.T. and Backward Classes recommended that 15 per cent reservation should be made for OBCs in services. After examining this recommendation, the State Government pointed out that 25 per cent seats were already reserved for Scheduled Castes and 20 per cent for ex-servicemen. As the maximum reservation could not exceed 50 per cent, it was not possible to

earmark more than 5 per cent seats for backward classes.

Uttar Pradesh

2.54 A "Most Backward Classes Commission" under the chairmanship of Shri Chhedi Lal Sathi was appointed in October 1975 and it gave its report in 1977. The Commission recommended the classification of Backward Classes into three categories and prescribed reservation of separate quota in Government services for each of the three categories as follows :—

Name of category	Percentage of reservation
1. List 'A' comprising those who are landless labourers, unskilled workers, non-artisans and domestic servants.	17%
2. List 'B' comprising marginal and small cultivators	10%
3. List 'C' Muslim Backward Classes	24%
TOTAL	51%

2.55 It proposed the above scale of reservation of seats in educational institutions also and further recommended that preference may be given to students of poor families. Special provision of hostel facilities, scholarships, etc. was also recommended.

2.56 The Government of Uttar Pradesh has only partially accepted the above recommendations and ordered reservation of 15 per cent of all vacancies in Government services for the candidates of OBCs. Similar reservation has been made for admission to technical and professional institutions. Subsequently, even this order of reservation has been struck down by Allahabad High Court in 1979 and the matter is now pending in appeal before Supreme Court.

Tamil Nadu

2.57 Tamil Nadu has been the pioneer in providing special concessions to OBCs. As indicated in para 2.1, in 1927 Madras Government had classified all the communities of the State into five categories under the famous Communal G.O. and earmarked separate quota for each group for recruitment to Government services. This system continued till independence. In 1947, in view of mounting pressure from backward classes the Government revised their representation as follows :—

S. No.	Name of the Group	Group-quota reserved in 1947	Quota revised in 1947
1.	Non-Brahmin Hindus	5/12	6/12
2.	Brahmins	2/12	2/14
3.	Scheduled Caste-/Depressed Classes	1/12	2/14
4.	Muslims	2/12	1/14
5.	Anglo-Indian and Christians	2/14	1/14
6.	Backward Hindus	—	2/14

2.58 The above scheme of reservation was struck down by the Supreme Court and subsequently the State Government decided in 1951 that henceforth reservation should be made for the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes only. [Incidentally, this was the judgement which subsequently led to the insertion of Art 15(4) *vide* First (Constitution Amendment) Act, 1951]. After the separation of Andhra Pradesh, the Government of Madras ordered in 1964 that 16 per cent of all posts under the State Government should be reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 25 per cent for Backward Classes. For admission to Medical Colleges, etc., the earlier system for linguistic-cum-district basis was discontinued in 1960 and Orders were issued for reserving 15 per cent seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 25 per cent for Backward Classes.

2.59 In November, 1969, Tamil Nadu Government appointed a Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of Shri A. N. Sattanathan and it gave its Report in November, 1970. Its main recommendations were :—

- (i) The existing list of Backward Classes contained several inconsistencies and the same should be rationalised;
- (ii) 33 per cent of posts under the State Government should be reserved for the candidates of Other Backward Classes;
- (iii) The above reservation should be followed in respect of admission to various professional and technical institutions also; and
- (iv) Various educational concessions, special coaching facilities, etc., should be provided to the students of Other Backward Classes.

2.60 Keeping in view the recommendations of the Commission, the Supreme Court judgement in *Balaji* case and the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as per 1971 Census, the State Government ordered reservation of 31 per cent of all posts for (Other) Backward Classes and 18 per cent for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In respect of educational institutions also the reserved quota for these two categories of students was fixed at 31 per cent and 18 per cent respectively.

2.61 The State Government has enhanced the reservation quota for OBCs from 31 per cent to 50 per cent from January 24th, 1980, both in Government services and educational institutions. This is in addition to the quota of 18 per cent reserved for S.Cs. and S.Ts. A writ against this order is pending in the High Court of Tamil Nadu.

2.62 The Tamil Nadu Government is also giving scholarships, free mid-day meals, school uniforms, text books, etc., to Backward Class students. Separate hostel and special coaching facilities have also been started for them. Occupational communities are given loans at subsidised rates.

Eight Other States

2.63 Regarding the eight States and Union Territories which have notified lists of Other Backward Classes without ordering a formal inquiry into their conditions, the position is briefly as follows :—

2.64 Haryana has provided for 10 per cent reservation in Government services and 2 per cent in professional and technical institutions for Other Backward Classes. Himachal Pradesh has reserved 5 per cent of all posts for OBCs and also extended some educational concessions to the Backward Class students. Assam and Pondicherry have not reserved any posts for OBCs in Government services, but some reservation has been made in educational institutions. Rajasthan, Orissa, Meghalaya and Delhi have neither reserved any posts in Government services nor any seats in educational institutions for OBC candidates. They extend some marginal concessions regarding school fees, books, mid-day meals etc., to backward class students. In 1961, both Orissa and Delhi withdrew the lists of OBCs prepared on the basis of caste and adopted economic criterion for determining backwardness.

2.65 The States and Union Territories which have never prepared a list of OBCs or taken any separate action for their upliftment are : Andaman and Nicobar Island; Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh; Dadra and Nagar Haveli; Goa, Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep; Madhya Pradesh; Manipur; Mizoram; Nagaland; Sikkim; Tripura and West Bengal.

2.66 Government of West Bengal set up a Committee on August 1st, 1980, to study whether it was necessary to invoke the powers vested in the State Government under Articles 15(4), 16(4), and 29(2) read with Article 15(4) of the Constitution. In its report submitted on August 30th, 1980, the Committee recommended that "Poverty and low levels of living standards rather than caste should, in our opinion, be the most important criteria for identifying backwardness." It also recommended the identification of occupational groups as backward and formulation of comprehensive programmes "for the economic development and educational advancement of these groups who are below the poverty line" The Committee was against reservation of quotas in Government services for backward classes.

2.67 The report of the Committee has been accepted by the Government of West Bengal *in toto*.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND DATA BASE

3.1 One important reason as to why the Central Government could not accept the recommendations of Kaka Kalelkar Commission was that it had not worked out objective tests and criteria for the proper classification of socially and educationally backward classes. In several petitions filed against reservation orders issued by some State Governments, the Supreme Court and various High Courts have also emphasised the imperative need for an empirical approach to the defining of socially and educationally backwardness or identification of Other Backward Classes.

3.2 The Commission has constantly kept the above requirements in view in planning the scope of its activities. It was to serve this very purpose that the Commission made special efforts to associate the leading Sociologists, Research Organisations and Specialised Agencies of the country with every important facet of its activity. Instead of relying on one or two established techniques of enquiry, we tried to cast our net far and wide so as to collect facts and get feed-back from as large an area as possible. A brief account of this activity is given below.

(i) State Government Questionnaire

3.3 The Commission was formally inaugurated by the then Prime Minister on March 21st, 1979, and soon thereafter, at our request, Department of Anthropology, Delhi University, organised a two-day seminar on social backwardness. The main objective of this seminar was to start a well informed debate on the term of reference of the Commission and establish a rapport between its Members and the Academics. This proved to be a very happy augury for the Commission's work and the continuous support that we received from the academic community has, undoubtedly, benefited us a great deal.

(2) Questionnaires

3.4 In April 1979 the Commission issued the following three questionnaires to all the State Governments, Central Ministries/Departments and the General Public (Appendices 2, 3 and 4, Vol. II).

(i) State Government Questionnaire

3.5 In this questionnaire State Governments were requested to supply information on their concept of social and educational backwardness, steps taken for the welfare of OBCs, representation of Other Backward Classes in Government services, income levels and social status of manual workers and occupational communities, their educational levels and incidence of drop-outs, etc. Replies were received from all the State Governments and Union Territories.

(ii) Questionnaire for Central Ministries/Departments

3.6 In this questionnaire the Central Ministries/Departments and the Public Undertakings working under them were requested to supply information regarding the number and percentage of employees of Other Backward Classes employed in those Organisations. A rough and ready criterion of social and educational backwardness was also given in this questionnaire. In all 30 Ministries and Departments and 31 Attached and Subordinate offices furnished the desired information.

(iii) Questionnaire for the General Public, Voluntary Organisations, etc.

3.7 This questionnaire was issued to Members of the general public, social workers, publicmen, caste associations, voluntary organisations, etc., to elicit their views on the criteria for social and educational backwardness, social mobility since independence, place of caste in the social structure of India, social and civil disabilities suffered by backward classes, etc. This questionnaire was published in leading English and vernacular Papers of each State at the time of the Commission's tour and it was also widely distributed in meetings held during the Commission's tour. In all 1872 replies to this questionnaire were received by the Commission from all over the country.

3.8 Information collected in response to the above three questionnaires was systematically compiled, collated and analysed and it has been used in the relevant Chapters of this Report.

(3) Commission's Touring

3.9 The Commission undertook extensive tours of the country to get first hand information from various communities and sections of the public on the problems of social and educational backwardness. It toured and in the process, it visited 84 district headquarters, 37 villages, attended 171 formal meetings and received 2638 representations from publicmen and voluntary organisations. At each State Headquarters the Commission had useful discussions with Chief Ministers, Ministers, Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assemblies, senior officials, representatives of State and Central Public Undertakings, voluntary social organisations and other prominent publicmen.

3.10 This proved to be a most fruitful exercise and gave the Commission deep insight into the problems and conditions of Other Backward Classes and the way various sections of society react to these.

(4) Evidence Before The Commission

3.11 The Commission invited a number of people's representatives, eminent publicmen, sociologists, journalists, demographers, etc., for tendering evidence on various problems pertaining to the socially and educationally backward classes. In 1979, all Members of the Sixth Lok Sabha were issued invitations in this behalf and quite a large number appeared before the Commission for evidence. Quite a few Rajya Sabha Members also tendered evidence in this connection. A list of all the Members of Parliament, publicmen and experts, who appeared before the Commission in this connection, is given at Appendix-5, Volume II of this Report.

(5) Socio-Educational Field Survey

3.12 The Commission constituted a panel of 15 experts under Prof. M. N. Srinivas for preparing the design of a country-wide Socio-Educational Field Survey. The panel met in Delhi from July 16th to 20th, 1979, and, after detailed deliberations, prepared a set of schedules, dummy tables, instructions, etc., for undertaking this Survey.

3.13 To make full and proper use of the massive information flowing from the Survey, it was also decided that the whole operation of processing the data should be computerised. It was hoped that the results of this Survey will throw up a set of indicators which constituted the syndrome of social and educational backwardness in the Indian conditions. Full particulars of this Survey are contained in Chapter XI of this volume.

(6) Case-Studies, Special Reports, etc.

North-South Comparison of Backward Classes Welfare

3.14 Southern States have a fairly long and peaceful history of giving substantial benefits to Other Backward Classes and these States have done more for their welfare than any other region in India. On the other hand Northern States have been quite slow and hesitant in framing any welfare scheme for Other Backward Classes. In fact-very modest reservations made in services and Educational Institutions in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in the recent years have given rise to wide-spread protests and agitation. As it appeared necessary to have a clear understanding of local factors, social attitudes, prejudices, etc. for this contrast in responses to the same phenomenon, the Commission engaged Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, to undertake a case-study of four States, i.e. Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh with this end in view. The results of this study have been given in Chapter VIII of this volume.

(7) Analysis of Census Data, Village ~~Monographs~~ and Special Reports

Caste Indexing 1891/1931

3.15 On the basis of 1891 and 1931 Census data, was collected and analysed with a view to getting a frame for the linkage of traditional occupations by caste. The main object of this exercise was to get an idea of social mobility amongst various castes during the intervening period of 40 years. Such data was compiled fully for the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and caste index by traditional occupations was prepared for these two States. This study could not be carried beyond 1931, as listing of castes was discontinued in subsequent Census operations.

Village Studies by Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta

3.16 At the Commission's request, the Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, made available its village studies pertaining to Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Uttar Pradesh. From these studies the Commission could cull useful information about the socio-economic conditions of rural population of these States.

3.17 A large number of survey reports and monographs prepared by the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, New Delhi, Labour Bureau (Ministry of Labour), National Labour Institute, Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, etc., provided the Commission with a mine of useful information on the conditions and problems of socially and educationally backward classes.

(8) Legal and Constitutional Issues

3.18 During the last 20 years Supreme Court and various High Courts have decided a number of cases regarding the reservation of posts in Government Services, allocation of seats in Educational Institutions and giving of various other benefits to Other Backward Classes by several States. As very important Constitutional and Legal issues have been discussed in these judgements, it was necessary for the Commission to take due cognisance of these judicial pronouncements in formulating its recommendations for the identification of Backward Classes and suggesting measures for their upliftment. In view of this, the Commission engaged Law Institute of India, New Delhi, to prepare a comprehensive Report on this subject

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL BACKWARDNESS AND CASTE

4.1 Castes are the building bricks of Hindu social structure. All sorts of virtues and evils have been attributed to caste system by the social historians. But this controversy is not germane for our purpose. Here we are mainly concerned with the manner in which caste has fragmented the social consciousness of Hindu society by dividing it into numerous groups arranged in a hierarchical order. In his Contemporary Indian Philosophy, Prof. A. R. Wadia has observed, "The high metaphysics of Upanishads and ethics of the Gita have been reduced to mere words by the tyranny of the caste. Emphasising the unity of the whole world, animate and inanimate, India has yet fostered a social system which has divided her children into water-tight compartments, divided them from one another, generation to generation, for endless centuries." It may be further remarked that in this process of division, groups called castes have been permanently assigned high or low ranks simply on the basis of birth.

4.2 One important outcome of this ritual ranking of castes has been to create deep-rooted vested interests in this system and to enable the higher castes to exploit the lower ones through the institutional framework of social organisation.

4.3 In fact there is nothing unusual about this phenomenon. Ruling classes everywhere have tried to perpetuate their privileges through all sorts of devices and aristocracy has generally joined hands with the clergy in this process. Giving an example of English popular preaching in the medieval ages, Owst^{*} writes, "..... each man's first duty, be he knight or priest, workman or merchant—is to learn and labour in the things of his particular calling, resting content therewith and not aspiring to meddle with the tasks and mysteries of others. The social ranks and their respective duties, ordained by God for humanity, were intended to remain fixed and immutable. Like the limbs of the body, they cannot properly exchange either their place or function."

4.4 This is as close an approximation to the brahmanical view of caste as one can expect! The Rigvedic hymn of Purushasukta, which contains the earliest reference to Chaturvarna, also states that after the primeval sacrifice, "his mouth became the Brahmin; his two arms were made into the Rajanya (kshatriya); his thighs in the Vaishyas; from his two feet the Sudra was born." (Rigveda : 10.90). Whereas the English Priest and the Vedic hymn are saying more or less the same thing, and this view of the divine sanction of the privileges of the ruling

classes was preached in most other countries, it is only in India that this concept got formalised into a cast-iron mould.

4.5 The real triumph of the caste system lies not in upholding the supremacy of the Brahmin, but in conditioning the consciousness of the lower castes in accepting their inferior status in the ritual hierarchy as a part of the natural order of things. In India caste system has endured for over 3,000 years and even today there appear no symptoms of its early demise. No social institution containing so large an element of inequality and discrimination towards majority of the people can survive that long in a purely social context. It was through an elaborate, complex and subtle scheme of scripture, mythology and ritual that Brahmanism succeeded in investing the caste system with a moral authority that has been seldom effectively challenged even by the most ardent social reformers. How religion and mythology were used to weave this magic web, we shall try to show with the help of some well-known examples.

4.6 The concept of divine origin of the caste system has the authority of the holiest Hindu scriptures. As mentioned earlier, Rigveda describes the creation of four Varnas from the limbs of Purushasukta. The Taittiriya Samhita not only ascribes the origin of Chaturvarna from the limbs of the Creator, but also interprets this origin theologically and gives divine justification of their functions and status. In Gita, Lord Krishna says, "The four-fold Order was created by Me, on the basis of quality and action."

4.7 "All Hindu Dharma Shastras take caste for granted. All Puranas assume the existence of caste and look upon it as a permanent order of society."*

4.8 "The Dharma Shastras mention that if a man does good deeds he will be born in a high caste and be well-endowed, while if he does evil acts, he will be born in a low caste, or even as an animal, a pig or a donkey."@

4.9 Ranking of the Hindu society into four Varnas furnished Brahmanical orthodoxy with the bed-rock on which it erected its elaborate caste structure. One essential feature of this institution is the concept of 'purity and pollution'. "In Hindustan proper, castes can be divided into five groups; first, the twice-born castes; second, those castes at whose hands the

*Hindu Society at Cross-roads' by K. M. Panikar, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1971.

@'Caste in Modern India' by M. N. Srinivas, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964.

*Literature & Pulpit in Medieval England by G. R. Owst, Oxford, 1961.

twice-born can take "Pekka" food; third, those castes at whose hands the twice-born cannot accept any kind of food but may take water; fourth, castes that are not untouchable yet are such that water from them cannot be used by the twice-born; last come all those castes whose touch defiles not only the twice-born but any orthodox Hindu."⁶

4.10 "..... the Shanar, toddy-tapper of Madras, contaminates a Brahmin if he approaches the latter within twenty-four paces..... A Nayar may approach a Nambudiri Brahmin but must not touch him, while a Tiyan must keep himself at the distance of thirty-six steps from the Brahmin, and a Pulayan may not approach him within ninety-six paces. A Tiyan must keep away from a Nayar at twelve paces, while some castes may approach the Tiyan, though they must not touch him."⁷

4.11 "... In the Maratha country a Mahar—one of the untouchables—might not spit on the road lest a pure-caste Hindu should be polluted by touching it with his foot, but has to carry an earthen pot, hung from his neck, in which to spit. Further he had to drag a thorny branch with him to wipe out his foot-prints and to lie at a distance prostrate on the ground if a Brahmin passed by, so that his foul shadow might not defile the holy Brahmin".⁸

4.12 Another sociologist quotes the following passage from the 'Hindu' of 24-12-1932 as an example of visual pollution.

4.13 "In this (Tinnevely) district there is a class of unseeables called purada vannans. They are not allowed to come out during day time because their sight is considered to be pollution. Some of these people who wash the clothes of other exterior castes working between midnight and day-break, were with difficulty persuaded to leave their houses to interview".⁹

4.14 The award of punishments and levy of taxes were also closely related to an individual's caste. "A Brahmin was exempt from the usual taxes... both the person and property of Brahmin were absolutely inviolate.... Kautilya prescribes differential rates of interests for debts according to different castes, a Brahmin being charged per cent, kshatriya 3; a vaishya 4; and a shudra 5 per cent..... A Brahmin is entitled to whatever exists in the world. In fact the whole world is his property and others live on his charity."¹⁰ The Mahabharata says, "the Shudra can have no absolute property, because his wealth can be appropriated by his master at will".¹¹

4.15 Regarding litigation: "In a local dispute between a Brahmin and a non-Brahmin the arbitrator

or a witness must speak in favour of the former."¹² According to 'Satapatha Brahmana', "a murder of a Brahmin alone is the real murder, while the Yajurveda declares it to be a more heinous crime than that of killing any other man."¹³ On the other hand, Manu says that the "slaying of a Shudra by a Brahmin is equivalent merely to the killing of a cat, a mongoose, a blue jay, a frog, a lizard, an owl or a crow."¹⁴

4.16 "... A king shall never sentence a Brahmin though convicted of all possible crimes but may punish him with all his property secure and his body unhurt. No greater crime is known on the earth than the slaying of a Brahmin and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest."¹⁵

4.17 "If a shudra mentions the name and class of the twice-born with contumely, an iron nail, ten figures long shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth."¹⁶

4.18 The thoroughness with which caste-based discrimination was propagated and practised may be judged from the fact that even in matters of dress the lower castes were forbidden to emulate their superiors. The wearing of 'Jancu' (sacred thread) marked the dividing line between caste-Hindus and the Shudras and even in recent times the attempts by some lower castes to wear 'Jancu' were violently resented by the twice-born. "The toddy-tappers of Malabar and the east coast, Izhavas and Shanaras, were not allowed to carry umbrellas, to wear shoes or golden ornaments, to milk cows or even to use the ordinary language of the country."¹⁷

4.19 In Mysore State, the women of certain lower castes were not permitted to cover their bosoms. There arose a sharp controversy over this issue resulting in civil disturbances and ultimately the Maharaja of Mysore had to issue a Royal Proclamation permitting the aggrieved castes to wear jackets or cover their bosoms, "in any manner they desire, but that they were not permitted to imitate the dress and hair styles of higher castes."¹⁸

4.20 The above account will show as to how every important facet of a Shudra's personal, social and economic activity was severely influenced by his low caste status. Mythology and scriptures were also pressed into service to establish the inherent

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ S. R. Kambale, *ibid.*

⁹ Code of Manu quoted by J. R. Kambale, *ibid.*

¹⁰ 'Social Movements and Social Transformation' by M.S.A. Rao.

¹¹ @ Ghurye, *ibid.*

¹² M.S.A. Rao, *ibid.*

¹³ 'Caste and Class in India' by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

¹⁴ 'Rise & Awakening of Depressed Classes in India' by J. R. Kambale, National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979.

superiority of the Brahmin and the low social ranking of the Shudras. For instance, Tulsidas states in his Ramayana :

पुत्रिये विप्रकील गुण होना
नहि शूद्र गुण ज्ञान प्रवीणा

(Venerate a Brahmin even if he is devoid of all virtue, but not a Shudra even if he is packed with virtue and knowledge).

Quoting from Apastamba, Ghurye says, "Between a hundred year old Kshatriya and a 10 year old Brahmin, the latter is said to be like the father".*

4.21 Balmiki's Ramayana tells the famous history of Shambuk, a Shudra, who hung himself by his feet from a tree in the forests of Uttarkhand and went into deep meditation for 12 years. At the death of a Brahmin boy whose father was still living, some of his kinsfolk complained to Rama that this outrage had occurred because Shambuk had committed the sacrilegious act of meditation despite being a Shudra. Rama went to Uttarkhand forests and after verifying the truth of this allegation, beheaded Shambuk for his temerity.

4.22 Mahabharata narrates the story of Eklabya, a tribal boy, who went to Guru Dronacharya for learning Dhanur Vidya (archery). The Guru refused to take him as a pupil, as this vidya could be imparted to Kshatriyas only. One day Dronacharya went to a forest with his students, Kauravas and Pandavas, to practise archery. A dog accompanying the party was hit by an arrow in the mouth, when he happened to bark. Obviously, the archer, hidden from the view, had hit the dog by just aiming in the direction of his bark. Dronacharya knew that only Arjuna was capable of such a feat. He called for the marksman and Eklabya emerged from the forest and confessed having killed the dog by his arrow. On being asked about the identity of his Guru, he replied that he was Dronacharya's pupil. In explanation he recalled the earlier episode and stated that he had learnt Dhanur Vidya from the statue of Dronacharya which he had erected in the forest. Dronacharya asked for the right hand thumb of Eklabya as Guru Dakshina. Eklabya readily complied with the wishes of his Guru, though he could never again handle a bow with his disabled hand.

4.23 If religion was ever used as an opium of the masses, it was done in India, where a small priest-class, by a subtle process of conditioning the thinking of the vast majority of the people, hypnotised them for ages into accepting a role of servility with humility. As labourers, cultivators, craftsmen, etc., shudras were the main producers of social surplus. Their social labour was the life-blood of India's great civilisation. Yet socially, they were treated as out-castes: they had no right in private property; they carried the main burden of taxes, and the heaviest punishments were awarded to them for minor infringements of the social code. As their low caste status was tied to their birth, they toiled and suffered without any hope.

*Ibid.

4.24 It may be argued that when Lord Krishna said, "The four-fold order was created by Me on the basis of quality and action, he linked an individual's caste to his karma instead of the accident of birth. Here, Bhagwat Gita, no doubt, marks an important change in attitude at the philosophical level. But in actual practice this philosophy of caste takes the sting off the institution (of caste) and skillfully stereotypes it.... The difference between the Sutra theory of caste and this theory is significant. The Brahmin authors of the Sutras promised salvation to the Shudra only through the intermediacy of birth in higher castes. In plain words, it was tantamount to asking him to wait till doomsday.... The Gita, on the other hand, disarms opposition on more counts than one. First, it tries to provide a rationale for the original division into four Varnas. Secondly, it unequivocally asserts the virtual equality of these divisions as far as the value of their distinct work and their inherent capacity for working out the individual salvation are concerned".*

4.25 Gandhiji developed this theme much further in his crusade against untouchability. But what was the net impact of the Gita's view of caste or Gandhiji's crusade on a common man's perception of the caste system? When dealing with the living social reality, what counts is not the fine metaphysical concepts embodied in great religious works of a people, but the home-spun ideas that have percolated into the consciousness of the masses and become a part of their world-view. In this sense the caste system has meant division of Hindu society into numerous isolated castes and jatis who marry among themselves, dine among themselves and, broadly, pursue traditional occupations. Further, birth determines their caste and every caste has a fixed rank in the ritual hierarchy.

4.26 The above scheme of social organisation, transfixed for over 3,000 years, had far-reaching effects on the growth and development of various castes and communities. For instance, as exclusive custodians of higher knowledge, the Brahmins developed into a highly cultivated community with special flair for intellectual pursuits. On the other hand, the Shudras, being continuously subjected to all sorts of social, educational, cultural and economic deprivation, acquired all the unattractive traits of an unlettered rustic. The following passage from Rujin Kothari's 'Caste in Indian Politics' will show us to how the low castes fared in competition with the higher castes even when several of their crippling handicaps had been removed :—

As Brahmins entered the institutions of higher learning, the professions and the services, everywhere they formed cliques from which non-Brahmins were excluded. Between 1892 and 1904, out of 16 successful candidates for the I.C.S. 15 were Brahmins; in 1914, 93 out of 128 permanent district munsifs were Brahmins; in 1944, 452 out of 650 registered graduates of the University were Brahmins.

*Ghurye, Ibid.

4.27 In case the above example appears too remote in time, and one is led to expect that after nearly three decades of special concessions and encouragement the lower castes are fast coming into their own, the following example may prove an eye-opener. Over the period of ten years from 1969 to 1978, only ten candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes got into I.A.S. on the basis of merit. As late as 1976 and 1977 not a single S.C. or S.T. candidate could make the grade in open competition. Similarly, only six S.C. and S.T. candidates got into I.P.S. on the basis of merit during these 10 years. (Appendix 6).

4.28 This small but telling example gives some idea of the cultural lag that the depressed classes have still to make up before they are able to overcome their historical handicaps.

4.29 As caste conditioned and controlled every aspect of an individual's life, it led to the creation of a society in which there was no 'rank disequilibrium'. In other words, the lower castes were backward not only socially, but also educationally, politically and economically. On the other hand, the higher castes were advanced in all these spheres. The basic cause of this phenomenon was the higher or lower rank of a particular caste in the ritual hierarchy.

4.30 In fact the role of caste status was so pervasive in society that the idea and administration of

justice were completely coloured by it. Used as we are today to the concept of the 'Rule of law', it will be interesting to compare this view with the perception of law in the earlier Hindu society where a man's worth was directly related to his status in the caste hierarchy.

4.31 "For Englishmen, the law, if it is to be universal, impersonal and impartial, ought to be blind, an idea graphically illustrated by the representation of justice as a classically clad, blindfolded woman holding balanced scales. For Hindu law, the reverse was true; the differences among men in society were central to their legal identity, rights and obligations".*

4.32 The fact that despite having lived under the rule of law during the British regime and made it the corner-stone of our Constitution, in actual practice our law still makes a lot of allowance for a person's status, is an interesting example of the historical hang-over from the earlier times.

4.33 In view of the foregoing will it be too much to say that in the traditional Indian society social backwardness was a direct consequence of caste status and, further, that various other types of backwardness flowed directly from this crivoline handicap ?

*'The Modernity of Tradition' by Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susane Hoebel Rudolph (Orient Longmans Ltd., New Delhi, 1967).

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF CASTE

5.1 Two serious objections may be raised to the argument developed in the last Chapter. First, the model of caste system based on the Hindu Shastras actually represents an ideal conceptualised by the priest-class and not the actual state of social reality. For instance, it is not likely that a red hot nail was thrust in the mouth of a Shudra if he uttered the name of the twice-born or, that, slaying of a Shudra by a Brahmin mattered as little as the killing of a frog or a crow.

5.2 Secondly, caste restrictions have loosened considerably as a result of the rule of law introduced by the British, urbanisation, industrialisation, spread of mass education and, above all, the attainment of Independence and the introduction of adult franchise.

5.3 Both the above points are quite valid but, unfortunately, they do not materially alter the basic position stated in the last Chapter. Even if the caste model described by us represents an ideal State, yet it does not negate the fact that caste system has been the most enduring basis of social organisation in India or, that, it has divided the Indian society into a large number of hierarchically arranged high and low castes or, that, the lower castes have suffered crippling social handicaps for centuries as a result of their low caste status. Similarly, despite all the modifications that caste has undergone over the ages and, specially after Independence, changes in the caste system are representative more of shifts in emphasis than any material alteration in its basic structure.

5.4 Caste has endured over the ages owing to its great resilience: like the proverbial cat, it has nine lives. In fact, no scheme of social organisation can survive for long unless it keeps adjusting with changes in society and is able to produce effective answers to the contemporary problems. It was its basic resilience that enabled caste system to survive the challenges of Buddhism and Islam, the shock of the alien British culture and administration and crusades of Gandhi, Ambedkar and Nehru.

5.5 Inevitably, the Constitutional commitment to establish a casteless and egalitarian society and, particularly, the introduction of adult franchise, has unleashed the strongest forces to which caste system has been exposed so far. But, characteristically, here also this wily institution, emulating the examples of Hindu Avatars, is assuming new forms without showing much loss of its original vitality. In fact, several observers feel that the logic of democratic politics and mass mobilisation has brought caste to the centre of the stage. "... where the caste structure provides

one of the principal organisational clusters along which the bulk of the population is found to live, politics must strive to organise through such a structure... By drawing the caste system into its web of organisation, politics finds material for its articulation and moulds it to its own design. In making politics their sphere of activity, caste and kin groups, on the other hand, get a chance to assert their identity and to strive for positions; Drawing upon both the inter-acting structures are the real actors, the new contestants for power."*

5.6 In fact, being the unit of social organisation in India, the role of caste was bound to increase under a political system based on adult franchise. "Those in India who complain of 'casteism' in politics," observes Kothari, "are really looking for a sort of politics which has no basis in society". In the process of politicisation, caste has provided a cushion for absorbing the impact of modernist forces without disrupting the social fabric. Rajni Kothari further observes that the inter-action of caste and democratic politics has produced two results: First, "the caste system made available to the leadership structural and ideological basis for political mobilisation... Second, the leadership was forced to make concessions to local opinion, take its cue from the consensus that existed as regards claims to power, articulate political competition on traditional lines and, in turn, organise castes for economic and political purpose... Politics and society began moving nearer and a new intra-structure started coming into being."

5.7 "Had other avenues of social advancement and status mobility been available to the aspirant caste groups," continues Kothari, "it is doubtful whether politics would have been so much impressed by caste as it is... Politics affords to the lower castes an opportunity to achieve through politics what they cannot through social instrumentalities."**

5.8 The manner in which various castes and caste groups mobilise themselves in the power game depends upon the level of political action. "At the State or even at the district level minor segments merge with one another so as to be able to operate as viable units. But this kind of merger easily comes about precisely because basis for it already existed in the traditional structure. At the village level, a major segment may sub-divide and its component units be opposed to one

*Caste in Indian Politics by Rajni Kothari.

** *Ibid.*

another, again because the cleavage was present in the past."⁹

5.9 From the foregoing it will be seen that despite the resolve of our Constitution-makers to establish a casteless society, the importance of caste has increased in some of the most important spheres of our national life. As electoral politics is primarily a numbers game, this development was implicit in the very scheme of things. Of course, as pointed out by Rajni Kothari, the institution of caste has played a useful role by providing ready-made traditional channels of mobilisation and articulation. Yet the hard fact remains that the excessive and unrestrained use of these channels has only helped to deepen and broaden them. In fact many political observers have pointed to the importance attached to caste by all political parties in the selection of candidates for elections to the Parliament and the State legislatures. And this phenomenon surfaced soon after Independence when the stalwarts of the freedom movement were still dominating the national scene. "Strong caste rivalries were seen in Bihar during the 1951 elections. The three chief castes were : Rajput (led by the then Finance and Food Minister, A. N. Sinha); Bhumihar (led by the then Chief Minister, Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha) and Kayastha (led by Shri K. B. Sahay, Minister for Revenue and Excise)... The Congress exploited the principal of caste in the elections. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur was brought to tour the tribal areas to wear away tribesmen, a good many of whom are Christians, from a separatist demand for tribal State to be called Jharkhand."¹⁰

5.10 Regarding Andhra, Srinivas quotes the following passage from Harrison* :

"As an example of Hindu caste discipline in political motion the post-war decade in Andhra merits special attention. Caste has played so fundamental a role during this period that this examination becomes in effect a case history in the impact of caste on India's representative institutions."

5.11 Prof. Srinivas further observes, "Caste is omnipresent in modern Mysore. As in Andhra the Congress party is dominated by two leading castes, one of which is the Lingayat and the other, Okkaliga. Lingayat-Okkaliga rivalry is colouring every issue, whether it be appointments to Government posts or reservation of seats in colleges, or selection of local bodies and legislatures." Whereas this observation is nearly two decades old, the Commission found evidence of the same rivalry today during its tour of Karnataka.

5.12 In this process of mobilisation, the emergence of caste associations. "The amalgamation of analogous

castes with a view to the exercise of social and political influence," (2) has been a very significant phenomenon in the development of rivalry between the higher and the lower castes. Whereas 'fission' was an old feature of caste system where castes were "characterised by the haphazard tendency to break down into new endogamous sub-units... the caste association is clearly a modern creation—and has been both the product and the agent of caste fusion within the over-arching caste category."¹¹ In para. 5.8 we have already noted that the level of caste mobilisation corresponds to the level of political action. In the pursuit of political power, caste associations have spilled over all the earlier restrictive boundaries. "The Ahir Kshatriya Mahasabha is organised for the Ahirs of the whole of Uttar Pradesh, while the All India Yadava Mahasabha of herding castes operates throughout India. The operational units of caste have always been much smaller than this and until recently the organisation of castes on such a large scale, was exceptional."¹²

5.13 In fact it is mainly through the caste associations and not individual castes that caste has served as an important channel for political action. "By mobilising similar but dispersed and isolated Jatis of village and locality in horizontal organisations with common identities, caste associations have contributed significantly to the success of political democracy by providing basis for communication, representation and leadership."¹³

5.14 The size and area of activity of these caste associations operating in India today is truly enormous. Most of the leading castes like Rajputs, Thakurs, Kayasthas, Yadavas, Jats, etc. have forged countrywide links amongst similar caste-clusters. Other important regional castes like Kamars, Reddis, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Nadars, Ezhavas, Mahars, Marathas, etc. are having strong regional organisations and pressure groups.

5.15 The extension of caste's operational field from the confines of village and endogamous level to the State or all-India level may give the impression that, at long last, caste system is losing its traditional, divisive role and, hopefully, we are moving towards the goal of national integration. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Whereas it is no doubt true that the forces of modernity have loosened the old

* 'Caste in India' by J.H. Hutton, Cambridge University Press.

¹¹ Caste: Fission and Fusion by R.L. Hardgrave Jr., Economic and Political Weekly, July, 1968.

¹² Caste, Class and Politics by Anil Bhuit, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1975.

¹³ The Modernity of Tradition by L.A. Rudolph, Susane Rudolph, Orient Longmans Ltd., 1967.

⁹ Caste in Modern India by M.M. Srinivas (Agni Publishing House), Bombay, 1964.

caste bonds in some areas and weakened some traditional caste taboos, yet this does not imply that the caste system itself is showing signs of durability.

5.16 As noted earlier, the institution of caste has great resilience and the post-independence changes have resulted more in the shift of emphasis than in any significant decline in 'castelism'. About the real nature of caste associations, B.M.S. Nambudiripad has remarked that these were "the first form in which the present masses rallied and struggled against feudalism." Today, however, it is easy enough to see that these caste organisations are not the class organisations of the peasantry; they had, on the contrary, concealed the caste separatism of the people in general and of the peasant in particular so that the grip of these caste organisations on the peasantry has to be broken up if they are to be organised as a class.* In the same context, Rudolphs have remarked, "The traditional authority and functions of the Jatis are declining but the caste associations' concern to control or influence those

who hold political power and thereby allocate resources, opportunity and honour has revived and extended loyalties in new and larger contexts."**

5.17 The above account should serve as a warning against any hasty conclusion about the weakening of caste as the basis of social organisation of the Hindu society. The pace of social mobility is no doubt increasing and some traditional features of the caste system have inevitably weakened. But what caste has lost on the ritual front, it has more than gained on the political front. This has also led to some adjustments in the power equation between the high and low castes and thereby accentuated social tensions. Whether these tensions rent the social fabric of the country is able to resolve them by internal adjustments will depend on how understandingly the ruling high castes handle the legitimate aspirations and demands of the historically suppressed and backward classes.

*The National Question in Kerala, (Bombay, 1952).

***Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL JUSTICE, MERIT AND PRIVILEGE

6.1 Equality before the law is the most precious democratic right of an Indian citizen and it is enshrined in Article 14 of the Constitution of India. This right is further elaborated and made specific in Articles 15, 16 and 29 of the Constitution. These Articles prohibit discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, language or place of birth, whether in respect of employment or admission to educational institutions, or access to public places, etc.

6.2 The above Articles constitute the bed-rock of a citizen's fundamental rights. But by ensuring equality of opportunity to all citizens in respect of educational and employment opportunities, we may be ignoring the special problems of some backward sections of our people who have suffered from social, cultural, educational and economic deprivation for hundreds of years. On the face of it the principle of equality appears very just and fair, but it has a serious catch. It is a well-known dictum of social justice that there is equality only amongst equals. To treat unequals as equals is to perpetuate inequality. When we allow weak and strong to compete on an equal footing, we are loading the dice in favour of the strong and holding only a mock competition in which the weaker partner is destined to failure right from the start. This approach does ensure the 'survival of the fittest'. But we must also note that survival of the fittest is the law of the jungle.

6.3 The humanness of a society is determined by the degree of protection it provides to its weaker, handicapped and less gifted members. Whereas in a jungle everybody feeds for himself and devil takes the hind-most, in a civilised society reasonable constraints are placed on the ambitions and acquisitiveness of its more aggressive members and special safeguards provided to its weaker and more vulnerable sections. These considerations are basic to any scheme of social justice and their neglect will brutalize any human society.

7 "In a limited sense, the right to social justice may be defined as the right of the weak, aged, destitute, poor, women, children and other under-privileged persons, to the protection of the State against the ruthless competition of life. It seeks to give the necessary adventitious aids to the underprivileged so that they may have the equal opportunity with the more advanced in the race of life. It is a bundle of rights; in one sense it is curved of other rights; in another sense it is a preserver of other rights. It is the balancing wheel between haves and have-nots."^{*}

^{*}"Social Justice and Law" by Shri Justice K. Subba Rao, National, New Delhi.

6.4 Our Constitution makers were fully alive to the need for providing safeguards to the weaker sections of society. Whereas Articles 15, 16 and 29 create the overall impression of according equal access to all citizens to educational, employment and other facilities, Clause (4) of Article 16 stipulates—

(4) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

6.5 Subsequently as a result of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, a similar clause was added to Article 15 also. Thus, it will be seen that Clauses (4) of both Articles 15 and 16 make special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes. Further, Article 46 enjoins upon the State the obligation to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people.

6.6 On the face of it, it may appear that special safeguards provided to weaker sections under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) are in conflict with the fundamental rights to education, employment, etc. It has been forcefully argued that the equality of opportunity and treatment granted to every citizen under Articles 14, 15, 16 and 29 of the Constitution is greatly undermined by Clauses 4 of Articles 15 and 16, which enable the State to make special provisions for the advancement of weaker sections of the society. According to this line of reasoning these two Clauses give the State over-riding powers to greatly dilute the principle of equality before the law contained in Article 14.

6.7 Here the real conflict arises from the clash between the interests of the individual versus that of society. The Fundamental Rights are primarily concerned with the rights of the individual. Claims of society do not have the same sort of immediacy and urgency as the claims of individuals. Wrongs suffered by individuals stick out much more pointedly than the wrongs suffered by the society. In view of this the exceptions contained under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) appear to confer a privileged status on backward classes which seems out of line with the over-all scheme of Fundamental Rights. It is only under Directive Principles of the State Policy that the claims of society, in general are accorded due recognition.

6.8 By now the conflict between the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of the State Policy has become a very familiar theme of Parliamentary

debates and judicial pronouncements. This conflict was very vividly highlighted by Pandit Nehru during the Parliamentary debates on the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951. He stated,

"... The Directive Principles of State Policy represent a dynamic move towards a certain objective. The Fundamental Rights represent something static, to preserve certain rights which exist. Both again are right. But somehow and sometime it might so happen that that dynamic movement and that static standstill do not quite fit into each other."

"... The result is that the whole purpose behind the Constitution which was meant to be a dynamic Constitution leading to a certain goal step by step is somewhat hampered and hindered by the static element being emphasised a little more than the dynamic element and we have to find out some way of solving it."

"... If in the protection of individual liberty you protect also individual or group inequality, then you come into conflict with that Directive Principle which wants, according to your own Constitution, a gradual advance or let us put it another way, not so gradual but more rapid advance. Wherever possible, to a State where there is less and less inequality and more and more equality. If any kind of an appeal to individual liberty and freedom is to mean as an appeal to the continuation of the existing inequality, then you get into difficulties. Then you become static, unprogressive and cannot change and you cannot realise that ideal of an egalitarian society which I hope most of us aim at."

6.9 The dilemma pointed out by Pandit Nehru is very real and has been faced repeatedly in the course of implementing legislation aimed at the creation of a more just social order. Whereas we can take legitimate pride in having established a Democratic Republic in India, the elitist and unequal character of Indian society cannot be considered as a matter of much satisfaction.

6.10 Before we examine this issue further, it will be useful to consider the implications of 'Equality' in the context of human societies. H. G. Gans* has observed that three alternative outcomes of 'Equality' are generally considered: (i) Equality of opportunity, (ii) Equality of treatment, and (iii) Equality of results. Equality of opportunity promised under Article 16(1) of the Constitution, is actually a libertarian and not egalitarian principle as it allows the same freedom to everybody in the race of life. "People who start their lives at a disadvantage rarely benefit significantly from equality of opportunity, because, unless they are distinctly superior in skills or upward-mobility techniques, they can never catch up with the more fortunate and most disadvantaged people never even get access to the supposedly equal

opportunity.... Equality of opportunity is also an asocial principle, because it ignores the many invisible and cumulative handicaps in the way of disadvantaged; in fact, unless the children of the poor are taken from their parents at birth and brought up in middle-class homes, most are condemned to inequality of opportunity."

6.11 Equality of treatment, observes Gans, may be interpreted in two ways. "On the one hand, it means treating people as roughly equal in impersonal social intersections.... On the other hand, it means providing people with the same resources regardless of their current resources of socio-economic position; used in this sense, equality of treatment suffers from the same drawback as equality of opportunity for to treat the disadvantaged uniformly with the advantaged will only perpetuate their disadvantage. Even in the courts which pride themselves on equality of treatment before the law, the defendant who can afford only a poor or over-worked lawyer will not often obtain equal treatment from the judge."

6.12 In view of the above considerations, Gans observes, "Consequently, the only truly egalitarian principle is equality of results, which may require unequal opportunity or treatment for the initially disadvantaged so that they eventually wind up equal in resources or rights."

6.13 If a tree is to be judged by its fruits, equality of results is obviously the most reliable test of our aspirations and efforts to establish a just and equitable order. A formidable task under any circumstance, it becomes particularly so in a society which has remained segmented in a finely graded caste hierarchy for centuries.

6.14 In fact the essence of Fundamental Rights itself remains unrealised unless proper conditions are created for protecting the legitimate rights of the under-privileged. Soon after Independence every State enacted land reforms legislation, giving security of tenure to tenants and tillers, placed a ceiling on land holdings, etc. As the weak and poor tenants and cultivators did not have the means to enforce their rights and the powerful land owners had the resources and influence to evade ceiling laws, our land reform measures have fallen far short of their objectives. Stronger sections of society keep perpetrating all sorts of atrocities against Harijans and other backward classes and they are generally able to get away without any punishment. Our entire legal apparatus is so expensive and time-consuming that under-privileged sections of society generally do not have the means or stamina to get justice from law courts. Under these circumstances, the claim of 'Equality before the law' does not carry much conviction with the weaker sections of Indian society. Equality of results being the real acid test of effective equality, there is no running away from the fact that our sovereign democratic republic will remain seriously flawed unless a fair share of the fruits of freedom. Equality of opportunity and Equality of treatment are also made available to the backward sec-

*More Equality, Pantheon Books—New York, 1973.

lions of our people. In this connection, Shri Justice K. Subba Rao has observed :

"... unless adventurous aids are given to the under-privileged people, it would be impossible to suggest that they have equal opportunities with the more advanced people. This is the reason and the justification for the demand of social justice that the under-privileged citizens of the country should be given a preferential treatment in order to give them an equal opportunity with other more advanced sections of the community."

6.15 In this connection nothing generates so much heat and genuine indignation as the concept of 'merit'. Whereas nobody objects to the grant of special educational facilities and various other concessions to the backward classes, the provision of a reserved quota in educational institutions or services for members of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Other Backward Classes provokes sharp reaction. The advocates of 'merit' find it very unfair when a depressed class student securing 45% marks gets admission to a medical college in preference to a student from the general quota obtaining 70% marks. The resentment is much greater when a lower ranked backward class competitor is selected in preference to a much higher ranked general quota counterpart to an All India Service.

6.16 This sort of reaction is based on two considerations : First, it hurts a person's sense of fair play to see that a more 'meritorious' candidate has been left out in preference to a less 'meritorious' person on purely extraneous grounds. Secondly, it is argued, that by selecting candidates with lower 'merit' against reserved quota vacancies, the nation is being deprived of the services of the best talent that is available to it.

6.17 This line of argument, though plausible on the face of it, suffers from a serious fallacy regarding the nature of 'merit'. We shall try to illustrate this point by a homely example. Mohan comes from a fairly well-off middle-class family and both his parents are well educated. He attends one of the good public schools in the city which provides a wide range of extra-curricular activities. At home, he has a separate room to himself and he is assisted in his studies by both the parents. There is a television and a radio set in the house and his father also subscribes to a number of magazines. In the choice of his studies and, finally, his career, he is continuously guided by his parents and his teachers. Most of his friends are of similar background and he is fully aware of the nature of the highly competitive world in

which he will have to carve a suitable place for himself. Some of his relations are fairly influential people and he can bank on the right sort of recommendation or push at the right moment.

6.18 On the other hand, Lallu is a village boy and his backward class parents occupy a low social position in the village caste hierarchy. His father owns a 4-acre plot of agricultural land. Both his parents are illiterate and his family of 8 lives huddled in a two-room hut. Whereas a primary school is located in his village, for his high school he had to walk a distance of nearly three kilometers both ways. Keen on pursuing higher studies, he persuaded his parents to send him to an uncle at the Tehsil headquarters. He never received any guidance regarding the course of studies to be followed or the career to be chosen. Most of his friends did not study beyond middle-school level. He was never exposed to any stimulating cultural environment and he completed his college education without much encouragement from any quarter. Owing to his rural background, he has a rustic appearance. Despite his college education, his pronunciation is poor, his manners awkward and he lacks self-confidence.

6.19 Assuming that Mohan and Lallu had the same level of intelligence at the time of their birth, it is obvious that owing to vast differences in social, cultural and environmental factors, the former will beat the latter by lengths in any competitive field. Even if Lallu's intelligence quotient was much higher as compared to Mohan, chances are that the former will lag far behind the latter in any competition where selection is made on the basis of 'merit'.

6.20 Let us suppose that both of them sit for the All India Services examination and Mohan secures 50% more marks than Lallu. Does it mean that Mohan's merit is 50% higher than that of Lallu or, that, he will be 50% more efficient than that village boy. Is it possible to determine that, in view of their respective native intelligence, how these boys would have fared in case they had exchanged places? If merit also includes grit, determination, ability to fight odds, etc., should not the marks obtained by Mohan and Lallu be suitably moderated in view of the privileges enjoyed by the former and the handicap suffered by the latter?

6.21 In fact, what we call 'merit' in an elitist society is an amalgam of native endowments and environmental privileges. Mohan and Lallu are not 'equals' in any fair sense of the term and it will be unfair to judge them by the same yard-stick. The conscience of a civilized society and the dictates of social justice demand that 'merit' and 'equality' are not turned into a fetish and the element of privilege is duly recognised and discounted for when 'unequals' are made to run the same race.

" Social Justice and Law by Shri Justice K. Subba Rao, National, New Delhi.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL JUSTICE, CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW*

7.1 In the last Chapter we noticed the element of inherent conflict between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy and observed as to how Article 15(4) and 16(4) helped to maintain a state of dynamic equilibrium between these two vital parts of the Constitution. In this Chapter, we shall examine the extent to which these two Articles have served as instrument of State Policy for securing social justice for weaker sections of the society.

7.2 In India, the State is by far the largest employer and the greatest dispenser of all sorts of patronage. Employment under the State and admission to various technical and professional institutions represent to an Indian citizen two most important opportunities to participate in the life of the nation. It is a telling comment on our unequal society that till the introduction of reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, nearly 90 per cent of higher posts under the State and seats in medical and engineering colleges were filled by candidates from about 18 per cent of the higher castes. It was the enormity of this inequality that gave rise to various lower-caste movements, particularly in the South, right from the beginning of this century. As a result of sustained agitations, specific quotas of seats had been earmarked in medical and engineering colleges in the States of Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, etc. much before Independence. In post-Independence India, the first important step to remedy this situation was taken with the incorporation of Clause 4 under Article 16 of the Constitution which empowered the State to reserve posts in favour of inadequately represented backward class citizens. The first major challenge to this policy of reservation was posed in Madras by two Brahmin candidates, one each for medical and engineering colleges respectively, who could not get admission despite higher marks. As the Supreme Court's** decision in this case is of historical importance and marked the start of a legal battle the last shot in which has yet to be fired, it will be useful to give a gist of it.

7.3 Under an Order issued by the Madras Government (popularly known as Communal G.O.) all seats in medical and engineering colleges were distributed among six communities in a fixed ratio, and candidates of various communities could compete only among themselves for admission and not with candidates of other communities. Two Brahmin candidates who could not get admission against their quota, challenged the Government Order as being violative of the

Fundamental Rights under Article 29(2) of the Constitution. The Supreme Court struck down the Communal G.O. on the ground that the classification was based on religion, race and caste and, thus, it was violative of Article 29(2). Madras Government's argument that the said classification was in pursuance of Article 46, which enjoined upon the State to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of people, was rejected on the ground that the Fundamental Rights were, "sacrosanct and not liable to be abridged by any Legislative or Executive act or order, except to the extent provided in the appropriate Articles in Part III. In our opinion, that is the correct way in which the provisions found in Parts III and IV have to be understood".

7.4 This decision of the Supreme Court had serious implications for the backward classes and widespread political agitations followed in its wake. These events also highlighted a lacuna in the Constitution and led to the amendment of Article 15 by the addition of Clause 4 through the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill, 1951. This clause reads as follows :—

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.

7.5 Whereas Clause (4) of Article 16 provides for reservation of posts under the State, the new clauses enjoined upon the State to make "any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes

7.6 It may be noticed that whereas Article 16(4) refers to "any backward class citizens", in Clause (4) of Article 15, the reference is "any socially and educationally backward classes". As Pt. Nehru explained before the Select Committee, this departure was made to bring the language of Article 15(4) in line with that of Article 340, which provides that Backward Classes Commission may be set up for "socially and educationally backward class citizens".

7.7 Perusal of the Parliament debates on this amendment clearly shows that irrespective of the criteria for the classification of backward classes, there had to be a list of castes or communities. During one of the debates, Pt. Nehru observed, "We want to put an end to..... all those infinite divisions that have grown up in our social life..... we may call them by any name you like, the caste system of religious division etc....." Ambedkar, the then Law Minister, was

*This Chapter is based on a special paper prepared by Indian Law Institute, New Delhi for the Commission. The study constitutes Volume III of this report.

**Champakant Dalwajan v. State of Madras (A.I.R. 1951 S.C. 226).

more forthcoming when he observed, "What are called backward classes are nothing else but a collection of certain castes."

7.8 Whereas the backward classes looked upon Articles 15(4) and 16(4) as a sort of charter of rights, the forward classes and upper classes felt greatly cramped by the provision of reserved quotas in educational institutions and government employment. This greatly hurt their self-interest and they considered it as a denial of "equality of opportunity", "equality before the law and a breach of Fundamental Rights. Consequently, scores of aggrieved parties filed petitions before various High Courts and the Supreme Court for the enforcement of their alleged Fundamental Rights and, over the years, a considerable body of case law has grown on this issue.

7.9 It is well known that the development of case law on really important issues seldom follows a smooth curve. If consistency is a virtue of small minds, the judicial mind can never be accused of any smallness. In view of the highly controversial and emotive nature of providing reserved quotas for backward classes, a large number of judgments delivered over the last two or three decades contain quite divergent findings on some very vital aspects of this matter. But all the same, taking an overall, impressionistic view, one can discern the emergence of some broad consensus on the really important issues agitated before the Courts.

7.10 Instead of undertaking an academic exercise of minutely tracing the history and development of judicial thinking on Articles 15(4), 16(4) and 29(2), we shall try to briefly examine about half a dozen Supreme Court judgments which are regarded as landmarks in the evolution of case law on this subject and, then, to list some of the important findings which have acquired general acceptance by courts and the legal pundits.

7.11 Supreme Court's decision in Balaji v. State of Mysore* is the most celebrated judicial pronouncement on the question of reservation for backward classes and it has exercised a decisive influence on all the subsequent judgments delivered on this issue. A brief account of this case is given below.

7.12 On the basis of the report of the Naganna Gowda Committee, 1962, the Government of Karnataka, passed an order reserving 50 per cent of the seats in all medical and engineering colleges for the candidates of other backward classes. This was in addition to the reservation of 15 per cent of seats for Scheduled Castes and 3 per cent for Scheduled Tribes. Consequently, 68 per cent of the seats in medical, engineering and other technical colleges were reserved for the weaker sections of the society, leaving 32 per cent for the merit pool. This Committee had also observed that under the Indian conditions the only practicable method of classifying backward classes in the State was on the basis of caste and community. Further, it sub-divided Other Backward Classes into 'backward' and the 'more backward' classes and dis-

tributed 50 per cent of the reserved seats among them in the ratio of 28 : 22 respectively.

7.13 The above order was challenged on the basis that it determined the social backwardness of communities in a manner not contemplated under Article 15(4).

7.14 The first important observation made by the court was that the concept of 'backwardness' is not intended to be relative in the sense that any classes who are backward in relation to most advanced classes of the society should be included in the list of backward classes. Also, backwardness under Article 15(4) must be social and educational, and not either social or educational.

7.15 Regarding social 'backwardness', the court observed that the group of people to whom Article 15(4) applies are described as 'classes of citizens' and not as 'castes of citizens'. Of course, in the Hindu social structure caste played an important part in determining the status of the citizen. Irrespective of its origin, with the passage of time, the "functional and occupational basis of castes was later over-bounded with consideration of purity based on ritual concepts, and that led to its ramifications which introduced inflexibility and rigidity." In view of this, it may not be irrelevant to take into account the caste of a group of citizens in determining its social backwardness. But whereas "castes in relation to Hindus may be a relevant factor in determining the social backwardness of a group of classes of citizens, it cannot be made the sole dominant test in that behalf." To determine educational backwardness, the Naganna Gowda Committee had taken the State average of student population in the last three high-school classes of all high schools in the State and listed all communities as educationally backward whose average on the aforesaid basis fell even marginally below the State average. Communities with less than 50 per cent of the State average were categorised as 'more backward'.

7.16 On this point, the court observed that it is only communities which are well below the State average that can be properly regarded as educationally backward class of citizens. Classes whose average was below 50 per cent of the State average are obviously educationally backward class of citizens. Marginal variation was not relevant for this purpose.

7.17 The court also felt that the sub-classification made by the order between 'backward classes' and 'more backward classes' was not justified under Article 15(4). "In introducing two categories of backward classes what the impugned order, in substance, purports to do is to devise measures for all the classes of citizens who are less advanced compared to the most advanced classes in the State, and that, in our opinion, is not the scope of Article 15(4)."

7.18 Regarding the quantum of reservation, the court observed that the interests of the weaker sections of the society had to be adjusted with interests of the community as a whole. "Speaking generally and in

*A.I.R. 1963, S.C. 649.

a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50 per cent, how much less than 50 per cent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case." Accordingly reservation of 68 per cent for backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was considered excessive and declared unconstitutional.

7.19 In view of the aforesaid reasons, the impugned order of the State Government was struck down by the Supreme Court.

7.20 The next important case in this genre is that of *R. Chitralekha V. State of Mysore** which is actually a sequel to the judgment delivered in the *Balaji* case.

7.21 In pursuance of the decision in *Balaji* case, Mysore Government devised profession-cum-means test for determining social and educational backwardness and incorporated it in its order of July 1963. Under this order, 50 per cent of the seats in medical, engineering and other technical institutions were reserved for backward classes in addition to 15 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 3 per cent for Scheduled Tribes.

7.22 Validity of this Order was challenged before the Mysore High Court in *D. G. Viswanath v. Government of Mysore*** on the ground that the impugned Order altogether ignored 'caste' and 'residence' basis and, thus, it did not benefit the really backward classes among the Hindus. In *Balaji* case the Supreme Court had held caste, poverty, occupation, place of habitation as some relevant factors for determining social backwardness. According to the petitioner, the omission of caste and residence as relevant criteria from the Government Order ran counter to *Balaji* judgment and, therefore, it was bad in law. Mysore High Court allowed the petition and, relying on *Balaji*, stated, "As the Government had ignored caste and residence basis altogether in the instant case, the court felt that the classification of backward classes adopted did not really help the really backward classes among the Hindus."

7.23 In appeal the correctness of Mysore High Court's interpretation of *Balaji* case came up before the Supreme Court for decision in *R. Chitralekha v. State of Mysore** Supreme Court observed, "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 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 caste is only a relevant circumstance in ascertaining the backwardness of a class and there is nothing in the judgment of this court which precludes the authority concerned from determining the special 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 had not made it one of the compelling circumstances affording a basis for the ascertainment of backwardness of a 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."

7.24 Regarding 'caste' and 'class' the court stated, "Though it may be suggested that the expression 'classes' is used in clause (4) of Article 15, as there were 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 also leads to a reasonable inference that the expression 'classes' is not synonymous with 'castes'.

7.25 In view of the above reasons, Mysore High Court judgment was set aside and the impugned Government Order was restored.

7.26 It may be observed in passing that the judgment in *Balaji* case and more so in that of *Chitralekha* represents, perhaps, the most conservative view on the relevance of caste for determining social backwardness and synonymy between 'classes' and 'castes'. We shall show presently that the passage of time has led to considerable shifting of emphasis on these two issues and the subsequent trend of judicial decisions has departed appreciably from the *Chitralekha* approach. The decision of Supreme Court in *P. Rajendran v. State of Madras** marks a water-shed in this connection.

7.27 Rules made by the Government of Madras regulating admission to medical colleges provided for reservation of seats for socially and educationally backward classes specified in an appendix to that Order. This Order was challenged as violative of Articles 14 and 15 on the ground that the list of classes specified in the Government Order was actually a list of certain castes. On this point the Court observed, "Now, if the reservation in question had been based only on caste and had not taken into account the social and educational backwardness of castes in question, it would be violative of Article 15(1). *But it must not be forgotten that a caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it is socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of Article 15(4)* It is true that in the present case, the list of socially and educationally backward classes has been specified by caste. But that does not necessarily mean that caste was the sole consideration and that persons belonging to these castes are also not a class of socially and educationally backward citizens."

*A.I.R. 1964 S.C. 1823.

**A.I.R. 1964 Mys. 132

*A.I.R. 1968 S.C. 1012

7.28 The Court also held that it was for the petitioners to show that the castes specified in the Government Order were not socially and educationally backward.

7.29 The upshot of *Rajendran* case was that caste-wise classification was held valid for identifying social and educational backwardness. The criterion of 'caste' as a sole basis of classification was rejected in *Balaji* and *Chitralakha* cases. But *Rajendran*, without overruling these cases, approved of caste-wise classification on the basis that "a caste is also a class of citizens".

7.30 The above decision was slightly modified in *P. Sagar v. State of Andhra Pradesh*.^{*} In this case, the Supreme Court, upholding the decision of Andhra Pradesh High Court, invalidated the caste-wise classification made by the State on the basis that the State had failed to specify the criterion on which the list was based. The main contention of the petitioner in this case was that the list of socially and educationally backward classes notified by the State Government was entirely caste-based and, hence, violative of Article 15(1). The main difference between this case and that of *Rajendran* is that here, on being questioned, the State Government failed to specify the criteria for the classification of backward classes. The court observed that the expression 'classes' meant a homogenous section of people grouped together because of certain likeness of common traits and identifiable by some common attributes such as status, rank, occupation, residence in a locality, race, religion and the like. In determining whether a particular section forms a class, caste could not be excluded altogether. But in case the class was made a criterion, proper inquiry or investigation should be conducted by the State Government before listing certain castes as socially and educationally backward. "..... The assertion by the State that the officers or the State had taken into consideration the criteria which had been adopted by the courts or that the authorities had acted in good faith in determining the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens would not be sufficient to sustain such a claim Article 15 guarantees by the first Clause a fundamental right of far-reaching importance to the public generally. Within certain defined limits an exception has been engrafted upon the guarantee of the freedom in clause (1), but being in the nature of an exception, the conditions which justify departure must be strictly shown to exist."

7.31 The element of apparent contradiction between judgments in *Rajendran* and *Sagar*, only emphasises two aspects of the same situation. In the case of *Rajendran* "castes" listed as backward were so classified on the basis of their backwardness and not because they were castes as such and the State had produced evidence in support of the classification made by it. But in *Sagar* the State had failed to produce evidence in support of its classification. After the Supreme Court judgment in *Sagar* case, Courts have become much more particular about ascertaining the objective

evidence or tests on the basis of which a particular caste was identified as socially and educationally backward.

7.32 In *Periakaruppan v. State of Tamil Nadu*^{*} the petitioners challenged the State Government's selection of candidates for medical colleges after dividing the State into six regions and reserving 41 per cent of the seats for socially and educationally backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The petitioners contended that (1) the method of unit-wise selection was violative of Articles 14 and 15 of the Constitution; (2) determination of backward classes on the basis of caste was unconstitutional; and (3) reservation of 41 per cent for backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was excessive.

7.33 The Court allowed the plea that unit-wise selection was illegal. But it held that classification of backward classes on the basis of caste was within the purview of Article 15(4) and, that, 41 per cent reservation was not excessive. The Court observed, "Undoubtedly we should not forget that it is against the immediate interest of the nation to exclude from the portals of our medical colleges qualified and competent students but then the immediate advantages of the nation have to be harmonised with its long range interests. It cannot be denied that unaided many sections of the people in this country cannot compete with the advanced sections of the nation. Advantages secured due to historical reasons should not be considered as fundamental rights (Emphasis added). Nation's interest will be best served—taking a long range view—if the backward classes are helped to march forward and take their place in line with advanced sections of people..... A caste has always been recognised as a class There is no gainsaying the fact there are numerous castes in this country which are socially and educationally backward." For this proposition the Court relied on the authority of *Rajendran* that the classification of backward classes on the basis of caste is within the purview of Article 15(4) if those castes are shown to be socially and educationally backward.

7.34 The Supreme Court's decision in *S. V. Balaram v. State of Andhra Pradesh*^{**} is also of particular interest regarding the determination of social and educational backwardness on the basis of caste and the quantum of reservation for backward classes. As a sequel to the Supreme Court's decision in *Sagar* case, the Andhra Pradesh Government set up a Backward Classes Commission to determine criteria for classifying backward classes, etc. The Commission evolved criteria based on poverty, occupation, caste and education. The Commission also prepared a list of backward classes in the light of this criteria. The State Government notified reservation of 25 per cent of the seats in medical colleges for the candidates of backward classes. Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was 14 per cent and 4 per cent respectively. This order of the State Government was challenged in the High Court, which held that it was

^{*}A.I.R. 1968 S.C. 1379.

^{*}A.I.R. 1971 S.C. 2303

^{**}A.I.R. 1972 S.C. 1375.

violative of Articles 15(1) and 29(2) of the Constitution and was not saved by Article 15(4). Supreme Court set aside the order of the High Court and held that the lists of backward classes notified by the State were in order and the reservation of 43 per cent for educationally and socially backward classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was not excessive.

7.35 The Court observed that the Backward Classes Commission appointed by the State had circulated a questionnaire to various authorities and organisations, toured all the districts in the State and recorded oral evidence of the representatives of a number of communities. On the basis of this evidence the Commission had found certain castes as socially and educationally backward and classified them as such. The Court also referred to the "criticism levelled at the Commission that it had used its personal knowledge for the purpose of characterising a particular group as backward. That, in the circumstances of the case, is inevitable and there is nothing improper or illegal. The very object of the Commission in touring various areas and visiting the huts and habitations of people is to find out their actual living conditions."

7.36 Regarding the acceptance of caste as criterion, the Court observed, "It should not also be missed that a caste is also a class of citizens and that a caste as such may be socially and educationally backward. If after collecting the necessary data it is found that the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, in our opinion the reservation made of such persons will have to be upheld notwithstanding the fact that a few individuals in that group may be both socially and educationally above the general average.* There is no gainsaying the fact that there are numerous castes in the country which are socially and educationally backward, and, therefore, a suitable provision will have to be made by the State as charged in Article 15(4) to safeguard their interests.

7.37 The Court referred with approval to its observation in the earlier case of *Triloki Nath v. State of Jammu and Kashmir*† on the scope of Article 16(4) relating to reservation for backward classes in public employment. In that case the Court had held that the members of an entire caste or community may in the social, economic and educational scale of values, at a given time, be backward and may on that account be treated as backward classes, but that is not because they are members of a caste or community but because they form a class.

7.38 Regarding the overall reservation of 43%, the Court did not consider it to be excessive as it was within the limit of 50% laid down in *Balaji* case.

7.39 The relevance of means-test in classifying socially and educationally backward classes has also been agitated before the Courts. The case of *K. S. Jayaree v. State of Kerala*** was an off-shoot

of the acceptance of the recommendations of Kerala Backward Classes Commission by the State Government. This Commission adopted a means-cum-caste/community test for identifying backward classes and recommended that such of the listed castes or communities whose family income was below a certain minimum should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes. The Kerala Government accepted this recommendation. In *Shanim v. Medical College, Trivandrum** the Single Judge quashed the Government order holding that irrespective of their economic status all families from the backward classes were entitled to protective discrimination as "the test of poverty cannot be the determining factor for social backwardness". However, on appeal, the Division Bench of the same High Court reversed this decision and upheld the Government's order. The High Court held that economic backwardness plays a part in social and educational backwardness and, therefore, poverty or economic standard was a relevant factor. In appeal, in *Jayree v. State of Kerala* the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Kerala High Court. It also declared that a classification based only on poverty was not logical. This view was also expressed in *Laila Chacko v. State of Kerala*† In this case the Court held that annual income of families alone cannot determine social and educational backwardness.

7.40 To sum up, we may refer to a very recent judgment of Allahabad High Court in *Chotelal and Others v. State of Uttar Pradesh*** which contains a gist of important case law on Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution. In this case the Court observed that :—

- "(i) The bracketing of socially and educationally backward classes with the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in Article 15(4) and the provision of Article 338(3) that the references to Scheduled Castes and Tribes were to be construed as including such backward classes as the President may by order specify on receipt of the report of the Commission appointed under Article 340(1), showed that in the matter of their backwardness they were comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
- (ii) The concept of backward classes is not relative in the sense that any class which was backward in relation to most advanced class in the community must be included in it;
- (iii) The backwardness must be both social and educational and not either social or educational;
- (iv) Article 15(4) refers to 'backward classes' and not 'backward castes'; indeed the test of caste would break down as regards several communities which have no caste;

*Emphasis added.

†A.I.R. 1969 S.C. 1.

**A.I.R. 1976 S.C. 2381.

*A.I.R. 1976 Ker. 54.

†A.I.R. 1967—Ker. 124.

**A.I.R. 1979 All. 135.

- (v) Caste is a relevant factor in determining social backwardness but is not the sole or dominant test;
- (vi) Social backwardness is in the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a very large extent. 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;
- (vii) A classification based only on caste without regard to other relevant factors is not permissible under Art. 15(4); some castes are, however, as a whole socially and educationally backward;
- (viii) The occupations followed by certain classes (which are looked upon as inferior) may contribute to social backwardness; and so may be habitation of people, for, in a sense, the problem of social backwardness is the problem of rural India;
- (ix) The division of backward classes into backward and most backward classes is in substance a division of population into the most advanced and the rest, the rest being divided into backward and most backward classes and this is not warranted by Article 15(4);
- (x) Article 16(4) does not confer any right on a person to require that a reservation should be made. It confers a discretionary power on the State to make such a reservation if in its opinion a backward class of citizens is not adequately represented in the services of the State. Mere inadequacy of representation of a caste or class in the services is, however, not sufficient to attract Article 16(4) unless that class (including a caste as a whole) is also socially and educationally backward;
- (xi) The object of reservation would be defeated if on the inclusion of a class in a list of backward classes, the class is treated as backward for all times to come. Hence the State should keep under constant periodical review the list of backward classes and the quantum of the reservation of seats for the classes determined to be backward at a point of time;
- (xii) The aggregate reservation of posts for various categories (including backward classes) should be less than 50%; and
- (xiii) The courts' jurisdiction is limited to deciding whether the tests applied by the State in determining the backward class of citizens are valid or not. If the relevant tests have

not been applied it is not open to the Court either to modify the list of "backward classes" prepared by the State or to modify the extent of reservation but it must strike down the offending part, leaving it to the State to take a fresh proper decision after applying the correct criteria."

7.41 Judgment in *Balaji* case was delivered nearly 17 years ago and subsequent decisions in *Rajendran*, *Segur*, *Balram*, etc. show a marked shift from the original position taken in that case on several important points. But the powerful influence that *Balaji* continues to exercise on judicial thinking is highlighted by the manner in which Allahabad High Court has summarised the case law in *Chotelal's* case cited above.

7.42 For instance, in paragraph 20 of its judgment in *Balaji* case the Supreme Court had observed that the backward classes for whose improvement special provision is contemplated to be made under Article 15(4) should be comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the matter of their backwardness. This was a very controversial observation and had caused a lot of confusion. But in actual effect such a test of backwardness has neither been applied by any State Government nor insisted upon by the Supreme Court. When this matter was agitated before the Supreme Court for reconsideration in *Balram v. the State of Andhra Pradesh*, the Court observed that in regard to the case on hand "factually the castes enumerated as backward classes are really socially and educationally backward." After referring to the principles laid down by it in some earlier cases, the Supreme Court stated, "It must be pointed out that none of the above decisions lay down that social and educational backwardness must be exactly similar in all respects to that of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". Whereas various tests have been devised by State Governments to determine social and educational backwardness, nowhere the test of comparability to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been applied. Further, no list of Other Backward Classes prepared by a State Government has been struck down by the Supreme Court simply because the backward classes notified by it were not comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Yet Allahabad High Court has observed in *Chotelal* that in the matter of their backwardness the Other Backward Classes should be comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

7.43 The Allahabad High Court has also emphasised the point that Article 15(4) refers to 'backward classes' and not 'backward castes'. The case law on this point is fairly well settled by now and the judgments cited in this Chapter bring out the current thinking quite clearly. The position was amply clarified in *Rajendran's* case when the Supreme Court stated "Caste is also a class of citizens and if the class as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it was socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning

of Article 15(4).” In *Perriakaruppan* the Supreme Court again observed “A caste has always been recognised as a Class”.

7.44 One observation made in *Balaji* case and repeated several times in subsequent judgments including Allahabad High Court’s decision under reference concerns the relationship of poverty to social backwardness. In this case the Supreme Court had remarked, “Social backwardness is in the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a very large extent. These classes of citizens who are deplorably poor automatically become socially backward.” In Chapter IV of this Report we have shown as to how the lower and impure castes in the Hindu caste hierarchy were permanently assigned menial tasks and refused any access to all avenues for a better life. It was the all pervasive tyranny of this caste system which kept the lower castes socially backward and economically poor. The poverty of these castes stemmed from their social discrimination and they did not become socially backward because of their poverty. In view of this, historical and sociological evidence does not support the view that, in the ultimate analysis, social backwardness is the “result of poverty to a very large extent”. In fact, it is just the other way round.

7.45 We may close this Chapter with an observation by Shri Justice K. Subba Rao on the import of Article 16(4) of the Constitution in *General Manager Southern Railway v. Rangachari**. Supreme Court held that Article 16(4) was in the nature of a proviso or exception to Article 16(1) and it could not be so interpreted as to nullify or destroy the main provision. “No provision of the Constitution or of any enactment can be so construed as to destroy a provision contemporaneously enacted therein.....” In his dissenting judgment, Justice Subba Rao observed that Article 16(4) was not an exception to Article 16(1). “The expression ‘nothing in this Article’ is a legislative device to express its intention in a most emphatic way that the power conferred therein is not limited in any way by the main provision but falls outside it. It has not really carved out an exception, but has preserved a power untrammelled by the other provisions of the Article.”

7.46 Though the observation was made in a dissenting judgment, yet it merits serious consideration while examining the implication of Article 16(4) of the Constitution for extending special benefits to Other Backward Classes.

*A.I.R. 1962 S.C. 36.

CHAPTER VIII

NORTH-SOUTH COMPARISON OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES WELFARE

(A case Study of Four States)

8.1 Setting right of historical wrongs is a very complex and difficult process. In the caste-ridden Hindu society, with its close correspondence of caste and socio-economic status, a handful of higher castes monopolised all the good things of life and the majority of lower castes were deprived even of the bare essentials of a decent living. In view of this, the most pressing task before the country after Independence was the reduction of disparities between the high and the low and the establishment of a more egalitarian society.

8.2 The Government of India adopted a two-pronged approach to tackle this problem. On the one hand, it formulated Five Year Plans for the overall development of the country, and, on the other, it made special provisions under Articles 15(4), 16(4), 46, etc. for the upliftment of all sections of backward classes. Whereas the Government assumed direct responsibility for the framing and implementation of Plans, the welfare of backward classes, except that of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, is left to the discretion of the State Governments. Needless to say that this approach has resulted in a serious neglect of the interests of Other Backward Classes.

8.3 Left to their own resources, State Governments have adopted a variety of approaches to this problem. Southern States, with a long history of backward class movements, have made substantial progress in implementing programmes for the welfare of Other Backward Classes. On the other hand, the approach of Northern States to this question has been generally hesitant and half-hearted. One of the most concrete measures to help the backward classes is to make reservations for them in employment under the Government and in professional institutions. Such concessions were extended in the four Southern States quite some time back and the whole operation was relatively smooth and painless. But when States like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh introduced similar concessions on a much smaller scale, there was a violent reaction from the upper castes.

8.4 On the face of it, this was a rather baffling phenomenon. Generally speaking Hindu orthodoxy had a greater hold on South than on North India and, consequently, one would have expected stronger reaction in the South than in the North. As a proper understanding of the difference in response of Southern and Northern States to the question of welfare of the Other Backward Classes was very important for the Commission's work, we approached Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, to prepare a comparative study of the implementation of O.B.C

welfare measures in the four States of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The study forms Volume IV of this Report. Except for some side observations, the following account contains a gist of this Study. The Commission does not necessarily subscribe to the views expressed in this Study.

8.5 To explain the phenomena of backlash to reservations in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and its absence in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the Study formulates the following nine hypotheses :—

- (1) If the communal reservation scheme has had a long history, retaliation by the forward castes is likely to be absent.
- (2) If the forward castes are divided against themselves, the chances of retaliation are less.
- (3) If the backward and scheduled castes are not getting on well together, the retaliation on the part of forward castes is likely to be high.
- (4) If the backward castes are also politicised and organised, the retaliation on the part of the forward castes is less likely.
- (5) If the upper castes are suddenly faced with the prospect of losing their political and economic position, i.e. if a reservation scheme is likely to bring about a sudden rank disequilibrium, then the chances of retaliation on the part of such castes are very high.
- (6) If the forward sub-castes' persons can pass off as backward castes persons, the likelihood of retaliation is less.
- (7) If the State as a whole has experienced a kind of revivalism or is mobilized against outside symbols, the backward class movement against the forward castes is likely to be less powerful.
- (8) The capacity on the part of the backward castes to retaliate is a function of (a) their numbers; (b) political consciousness; (c) dominance, and (d) perceived lack of alternative opportunities.
- (9) If the non-government tertiary sector is expanding, the retaliation on the part of the forward castes is less likely.

8.6 To place the amalgams of open caste conflicts in proper historical context, the Study observes, "The British rulers produced many structural disturbances in the Hindu caste structure, and these were contradictory in nature and impact. . . . Thus, the various impacts of the British rule on the Hindu caste system, viz., near monopolisation of jobs, education and professions by the *litterati* castes, the Western concepts of equality and justice undermining the Hindu hierarchical dispensation, the phenomenon of Sanskritization, genteel reform movements from above and militant reform movements from below, emergence of the caste associations with a new role set the stage for the caste conflicts in modern India. Two more ingredients which were very weak in the British period, viz., politicisation of the masses and universal adult franchise, became powerful moving forces after the Independence.

8.7 Now we pass on to the treatment of each of the four individual States studied by the Institute.

8 TAMIL NADU

Being the hereditary custodians of higher learning, the Tamil Brahmins were the main beneficiaries of the British system of education and the advantages that flowed from it. This enabled them to establish a near-monopoly of all Government services and the professions. "Alerted by the advent of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and dyarchy the non-Brahmin elite castes took the lead in establishing first, the South Indian Liberal Federation and secondly, The Justice Party in 1916". After coming into power in 1920 this party took steps to loosen the hold of Brahmins on services. It was under the communal G.O. of 1927 that compartmental reservation of posts was made for various communities.

8.9 It may be noted that, "the Justice Party leaders were drawn from the landed classes and were not much keen on broadening their base by including the landless castes within their ranks. . . . The communal G. O. of 1927 represented a victory for the Vellala castes, particularly the Mudaliars". This approach eroded the mass base of the Justice Party. Its aloofness from the national movement weakened it further.

8.10 In the meantime, angered by the domination of the Congress by the Brahmins, and annoyed at Gandhiji's adherence to a purified Varna ideology, E. V. Ramaswami Naicker walked out of the Congress party and started the Self-Respect movement. He rejected the Brahmanical religion and culture and demanded a separate Dravidstan. Subsequently, with the constitution of Dravida Kazagam party anti-Hindi and anti-North planks were added to this ideology.

8.11 In 1947 the communal G. O. of 1927 was revised and an important feature of the new Order was that, "For the first time the non-Brahmin castes were bifurcated into non-Brahmin Hindus and non-Brahmin backward Hindus". This compartmental reservation was struck down by the Supreme Court and, consequently, the Government issued another order in 1951 making reservations for Scheduled

Castes and Tribes and Other Backward Classes only. This did not give rise to any sharp reaction from the non-Brahmin forward castes as they "had become sufficiently powerful to hold out to their benefits and did not have to resort to any kind of protest for backlash."

8.12 A special feature of the above scheme of reservation was that it divided most major community or caste groups into forward and backward sections. "Christian converts from the Scheduled Castes are backward; other Christians are forward. While Labbai and Dakshin Muslims are backward, Urdu-speaking Muslims are forward, Adisaiva, Karghata, Kalavali-Vallals are forward; and Thuluvallals and Sozhiavallals are backward. All Reddis are forward except Ganjam Reddis, Gavara and Vadugar Naidus are backward; Kamanaidus are forward. . . ." This manner of division also greatly reduced the potential of the forward sub-castes to protest or agitate.

8.13 In actual operation, the benefits of reservation have gone primarily to the relatively more advanced castes amongst the notified backward classes. The Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission took special note of it and suggested that compartmental reservation should be introduced for different categories of Other Backward Classes, but the State Government did not heed this suggestion. "The main question here is : Why did the weaker and minor backward castes who constitute 88.7% of the backward classes population did not feel resentment against the benefits of reservation going to only a handful of castes ?" In Karnataka, "Devaraj Urs capitalising on this resentment carved out a new political base of himself from these castes", but in Tamil Nadu such a movement did not take shape owing to "the peculiar Dravida Kazhagam culture. . . . As long as the Tamil culture revivalism continues to grip the State. . . . a real backward classes movement. . . . will not emerge."

8.14 Unlike some other States, an open conflict between the Harijans and the Other Backward Classes has not developed in Tamil Nadu to eclipse the Brahmin v. non-Brahmin cleavage. "Because Tamil Nadu is a non-Sanskritic cultural area, the four-fold Varna system has less applicability there." Here Harijans have also promptly responded to Self-Respect movement.

8.15 The expanding Tamil Nadu economy and the relatively higher rate of urbanisation have created new avenues and job opportunities for the youth of the Brahmin and non-Brahmin upper castes. This has certainly eased the tensions which would have otherwise built up among these communities as a result of job reservation, etc.

8.16 KARNATAKA

Mysore Brahmins, very much like their Tamilian counterparts "had established a run-away lead" over the two dominant landed gentry castes of the Lingayats and Vokkaligas. . . . Almost contemporaneously with the rise of the Justice movement in Madras. . . . the Lingayats and Vokkaligas of the princely Mysore

State became agitated over the Brahmin predominance in the Government service and education. . . . As the Brahmins turned increasingly urban-ward the Lingayats generally bought up their lands. They started forming caste associations and in 1917 Praja Mitra Mandal was established to voice the claims of the non-Brahmins. The Government viewed sympathetically the grievances of the backward classes and, on the basis of Miller Committee report, issued orders in 1921 extending special educational and employment facilities to backward class candidates. This resulted in a gradual reduction in the percentage of the Brahmins in the services and professional institutions.

8.17 In the absence of a sharp focus, Praja Mitra Mandal disintegrated and its place was taken by Praja Paksha in 1928. This party was headed mainly by the "two dominant castes who had considerable exposure to the caste conflicts in the neighbouring States".

8.18 It was after Independence that the "Vokkaligas started controlling the State apparatus and the Congress party, while the Lingayats constituted their junior partners. . . . the formation of the unified Karnataka State in 1956 altered the caste balance considerably. The Lingayats constituted 15% of the population in the entire State and Vokkaligas about 11%. The political centre of gravity shifted from the old Mysore area to the newly integrated regions particularly the Bombay-Karnataka."

8.19 After Reorganisation, the new leaders extended the communal reservation scheme to the entire State. As a result of a number of court cases culminating in the famous *Balaji* judgment, the State Government ordered in 1963 30% reservation for Other Backward Classes and 18% for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The beneficiaries of this scheme of reservation were the politically dominant castes of Lingayats and the Vokkaligas. This gave rise to considerable resentment amongst other minority castes, who found themselves left high and dry. "Devaraj Urs. . . . very carefully and sedulously cultivated the non-Lingayat and non-Vokkaliga communities." It was primarily the consolidation of this base that enabled him to rule the State from 1972—80.

8.20 In 1972 he set up Karnataka Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of Shri L. G. Havanur. On the basis of its surveys the Commission did not include the Brahmins, Lingayats, Kshatriyas, etc. in the list of backward classes. After modifying the Commission's recommendations the State Government divided the under-privileged classes into six broad categories and made separate reservation for each group.

8.21 The special feature of this scheme was, "that some sub-castes of the Lingayats had been classified as backward, when majority of the sub-castes have been classified as forward. Also, while the Vokkaligas have been classified as a backward community, their erstwhile senior partners in the politics of the Karnataka State, the Lingayats have been classified as mostly

forward. For these reasons the Lingayat community finds itself divided on the issue of the reservation scheme, based on the Havanur Commission Report. Also, on this issue an alliance of the Vokkaligas with the Lingayats cannot take place as they find themselves in different camps of the backward and the forward. This is in total contrast with the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh situation where all the major forward caste groups, viz., the Brahmins, the Kayasthas, the Rajputs and the Bhumihars have been classified as forward and can find a platform to unite upon."

8.22 Havanur Commission Report resulted in considerable controversy between Lingayats and other backward castes. But owing to effective mobilisation of the smaller backward castes, protests and agitations organised by Lingayats did not cut much ice.

8.23 "The Karnataka non-Brahmin movement in the decades following the 20's failed to produce any overarching revivalist Kannada ideology which might have prevented the cleavage among the non-Brahmins from emerging to the surface . . . this more recent cleavage has displaced the older Brahmin v. non-Brahmin cleavage."

8.24 "Like the Brahmins, Kayasthas, Bhumihars and Rajputs of U.P. and Bihar, the Lingayats, the Brahmins and Bunts of Karnataka have been kept out of the reservation scheme. The Karnataka Brahmins are so weak that even if they join hands with the Lingayats, it will not make any difference. The Brahmin leaders feel that they have been slightly better-off in regard to the jobs and seats since 1972. For all these reasons, the forward castes anger is muted in Karnataka and has not assumed any violent forms."

8.25 Urbanisation and rapid growth of industry in Karnataka have produced the same effect of reducing caste tensions as they did in the case of Tamil Nadu.

8.26 BIHAR

Unlike Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the twice-born castes in Uttar Pradesh & Bihar are fully differentiated among themselves and also from the backward castes and the Harijans. Further, it is Kayasthas and not the Brahmins who constitute the main literati caste.

8.27 "In Bihar, the political struggle within the Congress till the middle of the sixties was characterised by the conflicts and competition among the twice-born castes. After the sixties, without these cleavages being significantly eroded, the conflicts between these caste groups and the lower peasant castes, and between the lower peasant castes and the Scheduled castes have come to prevail."

8.28 The three twice-born castes of Bihar i.e. Brahmins, Bhumihars and Rajputs were the dominant land-owning communities. Here it was the Kayasthas and not the Brahmins who took in a big way to modern education and the professions. Separation of Bihar from Bengal in 1911 was their big opportunity.

8.29 Bhumihars, who were better educated than Rajputs and more rural-oriented than the Kayasthas,

dominated the Congress politics in the State till the death of their astute leader, Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha.

8.30 In the earlier phase of post-Independence Congress rule in Bihar, social cleavages surfaced in the political life of the State. "The Kayasthas tried to bolster their sagging position by supporting and encouraging the Rajput group. The Brahmins too entered the Congress in big numbers... the Bhumihar-Rajput rivalry reached its peak in the fifties." But all these developments will show that during this period the backward castes did not form an important element in this power game. It was with the rise of the Yadavas, Kurmis and Koeris that the backward castes began to organise themselves along caste lines. "The All India Yadava Mahasabha has its headquarters at Patna and the Bihari Yadavas along with their counterparts in Punjab and U.P., formed the backbone of the Indian Yadava Movement. In the initial stages, most of these caste groups functioned as appendages of the main contenders in the upper castes; leaders from the upper castes coopted men from the lower castes to leadership positions." This obviously prevented the backward peasant castes from offering a united front and each caste group entered the Congress divided. Of course, with the acquisition of political skills, they became increasingly autonomous.

8.31 It will be interesting to note that between 1934 and 1960 the percentage of the Kayastha members in the Bihar Pradesh Congress Executive Committee declined steeply from 53.84% to 4.76%; that of the Bhumihars increased from 15.38% to 28.56%. "The Rajput and the Brahmin representation, after registering some increase, declined. The backward castes (both upper and lower) began appearing around 1948 and held about 14 per cent of the posts around 1960. As Blair (1980) shows, the percentage in the Congress legislature party in 1962 of the backwards was just 24.9 per cent, an overwhelming bulk of whom were the upper backwards." This once again contrasts with the success of the non-Brahmins in South India in ousting the Brahmins from the Congress and politics in general. In Bihar, the forward castes have been too well entrenched in politics and the economy to be ousted by divided and imperfectly mobilised backwards. In 1963, for the first time in the history of the Bihar Congress legislature party there was contest between a forward caste leader (K. B. Sahay, a Kayastha) and a backward caste leader with considerable ability (Birchand Patel, a Kurmi). It is interesting to note that not only the backward caste legislators but also those belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, were divided between the two contestants. In fact, more backwards voted for Sahay than for Patel."

8.32 After 1962 the strength of forward caste MLAs has declined and that of backward class MLAs increased, though in neither case the variation is very steep. It was Ram Manohar Lohia who conceived the idea of uniting the backward castes to defeat the Congress and in the sixties the Samyukta Socialist Party started wooing them assiduously. "The Congress

debacle of 1967 marks an important stage in the upsurge of the backward castes. In these elections to the Vidhan Sabha the Bania, Kurmi, Koeri and Yadava candidates were returned in big numbers and constituted 31.6% of the MLAs. Most of them belonged to the SSP. This pattern repeated in the midterm polls of 1969 also. In the 1972 elections, the Congress rode back to power and the share in the Assembly of the Backward castes MLAs declined below the level of even 1962. The share went up again in 1977, when the Janata Party won. . . . As the subsequent events have shown, the 1977 elections did not in any way signify the permanent and durable resurgence of the backward castes in the Bihar politics. Like their rise in 1967, their upsurge in 1977 was a temporary and transient one. Contrast this with the Karnataka elections of 1972 and 1978, which vindicated the durability and invincibility of the new backward castes coalition."

8.33 The pattern of land reforms in Bihar is one of the main reasons for the imperfect mobilisation of the backward castes into politics. The abolition of all intermediaries has definitely helped the hard working peasant castes like Kurmis, Koeris and Yadavas. These small peasant proprietors "work very hard on their lands and also drive their labourers hard", and any resistance by the agricultural labourers gives rise to mutual conflicts and atrocities on Harijans. In view of this, "the power structure in the Bihar countryside has not been as neatly settled as elsewhere. . . ." This situation contains considerable potential for cleavages and conflicts.

8.34 It was Karpoori Thakur's Government which introduced 20% reservation for backward classes in November, 1978. (Details of this are given in Chapter II of the Report). "Thakur was only pursuing the Lohia line of further mobilizing the backward castes. He thought that he could successfully graft the Karnataka model on Bihar. The G.O. provoked widespread backlash on the part of the forward castes. The Universities and colleges came to be closed. Trains and buses were attacked. The government property was damaged."

8.35 In a recent article in Economic and Political Weekly,* James Manor has compared the achievements of Davaraj Urs and Karpoori Thakur as follows :—

"Thakur proclaimed his policy of preferment for the 'backward classes' soon after taking office. He did so in order to signify "that the Backwards had displaced the Forwards as the dominant force in Bihar politics, that the old days of dominance in public affairs from village to "Vidhan Sabha by the 'twice-born' were gone forever". But he made this announcement before he had either consolidated 'backward class' control in the state-level political arena or developed programmes to provide 'backward class' people with new economic and political resources in the form of substantive

*E.P.W. Annual Number 1980.

patronage from government. His early offer of preferment inflamed feelings among both forward castes and scheduled castes who felt threatened by it and led to the collapse of his government before it had time to achieve its major goals. It was replaced by a government which is dominated by "Forwards and Jana Sanghis". In the words of Devaraj Urs, "Karpoori climbed into the ring before he learned how to box".

8.36 Regarding the adroit management of OBC—Scheduled Castes relations by Urs, Manor has observed :—

"If preferment programmes in North India have been seen as threats by the scheduled castes, how did Urs maintain an alliance between the 'backward classes' and the scheduled castes? He did so through a combination of symbolism and substantive action. On a symbolic level, he kept the scheduled caste leader, B. Basavilangappa, in the prominent role of Revenue Minister, more than doubled scheduled caste representation in the cabinet (with important portfolios) and had the Assembly Speaker chosen from among their number. Urs also sought—largely successfully, by all accounts—to re-assure the scheduled castes that reservations for 'backward classes' meant no diminution of their statutory quotas. He drove the point home by energetic efforts to see that scheduled caste quotas which had never been adequately filled in the higher ranks of government service were more fully met during his tenure. . . ."

8.37 Unlike Tamil Nadu and Karnataka the process of urbanisation and industrialisation in Bihar has been very slow and the young aspirants of higher castes are not in a position to leave their original moorings and seek their fortunes in new avenues. This, coupled with the hold of higher castes on the Government services, has given them both the capability and the motivation to hit the backward castes whenever they try to raise their head.

Uttar Pradesh

8.38 "As in Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh too the caste system is found well differentiated in terms of the Varna model. According to the 1931 census, the forward twice-born castes constituted about 20.30% of the total population : the Brahmins formed 9.23% of the population and Rajputs 7.28%. The upper peasant castes of Yadavas, Kurmis, Jats, Lodhis and Koeris formed about 16.4% of the population. In Uttar Pradesh the Brahmins, Kayasthas and, later, the Banias, were the main beneficiaries of modern education. The Rajputs being the dominant landed peasantry, did not show much resentment at the Brahmin-Kayastha monopoly of education and the professions,

8.39 Another important reason as to why cleavages did not develop among the forward castes as in Bihar or among forward and backward castes as in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, is that during the freedom struggle "The Hindu-Muslim and Congress-League cleavages overshadowed every other cleavages." Incidentally,

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this also shows how a larger issue tends to depress minor issues in the same area.

8.40 On the backward classes front, "the peasant castes of Yadavas, Kurmis, Koeris, Jats developed a high degree of affinity among themselves. . . . Despite these stirrings the OBCs could not forge a united political front of the OBCs and the Scheduled Castes."

8.41 The caste composition of the various Ministries since 1937 demonstrates the weakness of the backward castes movement. In the 1937—39 cabinet the Brahmins held three out of six posts and OBCs none. This pattern continued till 1952, when Charan Singh, a Jat, was taken in the cabinet. Sampurnanand, C. B. Gupta and Sucheta Kripalani also continued this pattern. It was only in the S.V.D. Ministry headed by Charan Singh in 1967 that three ministries were given to the peasant backward castes, including Yadavas and Kurmis. This became necessary as backward classes made considerable gains in the 1967 elections. "The decline of the Congress also meant the decline of the forward caste representation in the Assembly. The second Charan Singh ministry of 1970 and T. N. Singh ministry of 1970-71 also gave considerably more representation to the upper peasant castes and inducted for the first time the artisan castes." But this trend did not represent an enduring gain for the OBCs, as the representation of forward castes again went up under the ministries formed by Tripathi, Bahuguna and Tiwari. It was only when the Janata Party came in power in 1977 that the share of OBCs increased considerably. "Like Karpoori Thakur in Bihar Ram Naresh Yadav mistook this increase for a durable rise of the backwards and was emboldened to issue the famous G.O. of August 1977. The 1980 elections disproved the assumption of a critical change in the balance of power."

8.42 Land reforms produced similar changes in the political economy of Uttar Pradesh as in Bihar. "The tenant and share-cropping castes of Yadavas, Kurmi, Lodhs, Gujars, Koeris became owner cultivators, and industrious as they are, they are better qualified to take advantage of the modern agricultural inputs. . . ."

8.43 On the basis of the recommendations of the Most Backward Classes Commission, the Yadav Government, ordered 15 per cent reservations of Government posts for Other Backward Classes in August, 1977. It is not clear as to why a "Most Backward Classes Commission" was appointed instead of a "Backward Classes Commission". Yet the very modest reservation of 15 per cent for OBCs gave rise to strong backlash on the part of forward castes. "Even the Government servants in some areas of U.P. joined in the agitation. The gravamen of the demands of the agitators was that class and not caste should be the criterion of social and economic backwardness."

8.44 The trend shows OBCs and Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh do not possess political organisation and cohesion to force a demand for a higher representation of backward classes in service and educational institutions. Even the 15 per cent reservation

made by the State Government has been set aside by Allahabad High Court. "Like Karpoori Bhakar, Ram Narsh Yadav too tried to telescope the backward classes mobilisation into a span of less than one decade. Unlike Devraj Urs, they did not try to divide the forward castes with the help of any well-conceived strategy. The Janata victories of 1977 constituted only deviant cases."

Conclusions :

8.45 In view of the foregoing account, the reasons for much stronger reaction in the North than South to reservations, etc. for Other Backward Classes may be summarised as below :—

- (1) Tamil Nadu and Karnataka had a long history of Backward Classes movements and various measures for their welfare were taken in a phased manner. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar such measures did not mark the culmination of a mass movement.
- (2) In the South "the forward communities have been divided either by the classification schemes or politically or both.... In Bihar and U.P. the G.Os. have not divided the forward castes."
- (3) In the South, clashes between Scheduled Castes and the Backward peasant castes have been rather mild. In the North these cleavages have been much sharper, often resulting in acts of violence. This has further weakened the backward classes solidarity in the North.
- (4) In the non-Sanskritic South, the basic Varna cleavage was between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and Brahmins constituted only about 3 per cent of the population. In the Sanskritic North, there was no sharp cleavage between the forward castes and together they constituted nearly 20 per cent of the population. In view of this the higher castes in U.P. and Bihar were in a stronger position to mobilise opposition to backward class movement.
- (5) Owing to the longer history and better organisation of Other Backward castes in the South, they were able to acquire considerable political clout. Despite the lead given by the Yadavas and other peasant castes, a unified and strong OBC movement has not emerged in the North so far.
- (6) The traditions of semi-feudalism in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar have enabled the forward castes to keep tight control over smaller backward castes and prevent them from joining the mainstream of backward class movement. This is not so in the South.
- (7) "The economies of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have been expanding relatively faster. The private tertiary sector appears to be growing. It can shelter many forward caste youths. Also, they are prepared to migrate outside the State. The private tertiary sectors in Bihar and U.P. are stagnant. The forward caste youths in these two States have to depend heavily on Government jobs. Driven to desperation, they have reacted violently."

CHAPTER IX
EVIDENCE BY CENTRAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS
(A Review)

9.1 The Commission had issued two sets of questionnaires, one to all the State Governments and Union Territories (Appendix-2) and the other to the Central Government Ministries and Departments (Appendix-3), to elicit information on various aspects of its inquiry. These Questionnaires were framed with a view to :—

- (i) Obtaining a comparative picture of the status of backward classes in various States and steps taken to date for their welfare;
- (ii) Getting an idea of the thinking of various State Governments and Union Territories on the vexed issues of social and educational backwardness; and
- (iii) Obtaining some useful cues to help the Commission formulate its views on these questions.

A. Questionnaire for the State Governments

9.2 The questionnaire for the State Governments, etc. contained 86 questions, divided into 7 sections, i.e., (I) Criteria, (II) Safeguards, Reservations, etc., (III) Census, (IV) Social, (V) Educational, (VI) Welfare, and (VII) Employment. This questionnaire was despatched to the State Governments and Union Territories on April 11th, 1979 and it took more than one year to get their replies.

9.3 Before we proceed to analyse these replies, it will be necessary to say something about the nature of information received by the Commission. Some of the core questions in the questionnaire necessitated collection and compilation of data from various agencies before a State Government could furnish meaningful answers. For instance, the Commission was very much interested in knowing the representation of OBCs in various local bodies, Government employment, etc. (Questions No. 10, 11 and 12). We also wanted information about OBC representation in State Public Service Commissions, judiciary and senior echelons in State Administration (Question No. 24). Similar information was sought in respect of 'education' and 'employment'.

9.4 It was rather disappointing to see that hardly any State was able to give the desired information. Of course, the States which had not notified any lists of OBCs were physically not in a position to supply the above particulars. But despite the fact that 16 States and 2 Union Territories had notified such lists and several of them had implemented fairly comprehensive programmes for the welfare of OBCs, only one or two of them furnished the necessary details.

Further, several States did not choose to respond even to some simple and straightforward questions on important policy issues. Repeated reminders and contacts at personal level did not materially alter the situation.

9.5 The above observation has been made not in any spirit of reprobation, as the Commission has mostly received unflinching courtesy and help from all the State Governments and Union Territories in its work. These facts have been stated only to explain the absence of comment or analytical depth while reviewing replies to some of the most important questions in the questionnaire.

Criteria

9.6 This section contains questions pertaining to various aspects of the problems of identifying Other Backward Classes. Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh have recommended caste as one of the criteria for identifying backwardness. Delhi, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have stated that caste should not be made a criterion of backwardness. Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P. have suggested low economic status as one of the significant tests, while Orissi, Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Haryana have desired the economic factor to be the sole determinant of backwardness.

9.7 Regarding non-Hindus, Assam has stated that there are classes of socially discriminated people amongst them also and this should serve as a basis for determining their social backwardness. Similar views were expressed by Gujarat and Maharashtra. Madhya Pradesh preferred the literacy test for non-Hindus and Haryana was in favour of the economic criterion. Kerala considered traditional occupations, economic backwardness and low social status of converts to be the criteria for this purpose. Punjab and Orissa favoured the same tests for both non-Hindu and Hindu communities.

Safeguards, Reservations, etc.

9.8 Chapter II of this Report contains particulars of the welfare measures taken by eighteen State Governments, and Union Territories for the welfare of Other Backward Classes. Quantum of reservation in Government employment and educational institutions has also been indicated in that Chapter. The remaining 13 States and Union Territories, i.e., Andaman and Nicobar Islands; Arunachal Pradesh; Chandigarh; Dadra & Nagar Haveli; Goa, Daman & Diu; Lakshadweep, Madhya Pradesh; Manipur; Mizoram;

Nagaland; Sikkim; Tripura and West Bengal have so far neither identified Other Backward Classes nor taken any steps for their upliftment. Even among the 18 States who have done so, quite a few have provided only token relief to OBCs. For instance, Assam, Pondicherry, Rajasthan, Orissa, Meghalaya and Delhi have not made any reservation in services or educational institutions and Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab have done so only nominally. In U.P., even 15% reservation for OBCs has been set aside by Allahabad High Court and the matter is pending in appeal in the Supreme Court.

9.9 Several questions in this section pertained to the representation of Other Backward Classes in elected bodies, services, etc. A couple of States have replied to these questions and even these replies are scrappy and inadequate.

9.10 Only Gujarat has furnished information regarding representation to OBCs in local bodies. In the three municipal corporations of Baroda, Surat and Rajkot, Backward class representation was 6%, 16% and 12% respectively. In Nyaya Panchayats and District Panchayats, OBC representation ranged from 12 to 16% and the same was the figure regarding the election of backward class candidates as Sarpanchas of Panchayats.

9.11 In Haryana, 1,114 (7.4%) Mukhiyas out of a total of 15,005 belonged to Other Backward Classes. Out of 5,262 Gram Panchayats, 204 (nearly 4%) belonged to backward classes.

Only 1 out of 22 Sarpanchas of Nyaya Panchayats in Delhi was from OBCs.

9.12 Whereas the Gujarat figures, though much lower, in our view, far higher than those of several other States, it is a pity that most States, especially from the North have not furnished this information.

9.13 Regarding the actual representation of OBCs in higher public services, only a couple of States have given some information. In Kerala 4 out of 7 members of the State Public Service Commission belong to OBCs. In Assam this representation was 1 out of 3 and in Uttar Pradesh it was 3 out of 9. Out of 16 High Court Judges in Kerala, 4 belonged to OBCs. In Assam this figure was 2 out of 6 and in Maharashtra it was 1 out of 33. In Kerala 12 out of 38 District and Sessions judges and 19 out of 90 heads of department belonged to Other Backward Classes.

9.14 The above information is too sketchy and scrappy for any meaningful inference which may be valid for the country as a whole. Kerala is known to have taken vigorous and energetic measures for improving the lot of OBCs and, even there, backward classes representation is far below their percentage of the State's population. In most other States, especially in the North, the situation is bound to be much less satisfactory.

9.15 One interesting question (No. 9) pertained to the 'Varna' of the Chief Ministers of various

States since independence. It will be revealing to know that whereas immediately after independence the Chief Ministers of all except a couple of States in the country were Brahmins, after the 1977 and 1980 assembly elections only a couple of States had Brahmins as their Chief Ministers. This is a telling evidence of the inexorable logic of electoral politics and a very significant pointer to the direction in which the events are moving.

Census

9.16 This section sought to collect information on various demographic aspects of Other Backward Classes, denotified tribes, advanced castes and to compare lists of Other Backward Classes prepared by Kaka Kalelkar Commission with those notified by various State Governments. The information supplied was very incomplete.

9.17 The comparison of lists of Other Backward Classes notified by various State Governments and those prepared by Kaka Kalelkar Commission shows wide variations in most of the cases, as will be seen from the following table:—

S. No.	Name of the State	No. of Castes included in Kaka Kalelkar Comm. report	No. of Castes notified by State Govts.
1.	Andhra Pradesh	124	95
2.	Assam	44	119
3.	Haryana	88	64
4.	Himachal Pradesh	27	48
5.	Karnataka	64	181
6.	Kerala	48	76
7.	Maharashtra	360	196
8.	Orissa	148 (list withdrawn)	111
9.	Punjab	88	62
10.	Tamil Nadu	156	124
11.	Uttar Pradesh	120	56

9.18 The main reason for this disparity is that whereas State Governments prepared their lists on the basis of some sort of field survey and investigation, Kaka Kalelkar Commission had mostly borrowed the lists prepared by the Ministry of Education for the award of post-Matric scholarships. Secondly, the pressure of field situation and local factors may have also influenced the judgment of State Governments in the preparation of these lists.

9.19 No separate lists of Other Backward Classes belonging to non-Hindu communities have been prepared by any State except Uttar Pradesh, where a list of 21 backward Muslim communities was notified. Some other States have included some backward muslim communities in their overall lists of OBCs. In Kerala, Muslims, Latin Catholics and

Anglo-Indians and Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity form three of the eight groups for whom separate reservations have been made.

9.20 Some States furnished the lists of denotified tribes. Though, in most cases they could not give their approximate population : Haryana has 9 denotified tribes. Himachal Pradesh—7, Jammu & Kashmir 2, Karnataka—62, Madhya Pradesh—21, Maharashtra—14, Orissa—11, Tamil Nadu—70, West Bengal—2 and Delhi—2.

Social

9.21 This section is mainly concerned with defining the social profile of Other Backward Classes, disabilities suffered by them, the impact of remedial legislation, etc.

9.22 Under the Protection of Civil Rights Act, open discrimination against any class of citizens or denial of social, civic and religious rights is a cognisable offence and the concerned State Governments are responsible for its enforcement. In view of this no State has admitted to the denial of social, civic and religious rights to any class of citizens. But Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh have observed the prevalence of social discrimination of backward classes. 'Segregation', 'low social status', 'unclean profession', 'social distance', 'looked down upon', etc. are some of the expressions used to describe the social situation of OBCs. Geographical isolation, pursuit of unclean professions, lack of education and employment facilities, primitive and insanitary conditions of living, social taboos, etc. are some of the social disabilities said to be suffered by OBCs.

9.23 Reservations of jobs in Government services and seats in educational institutions, establishment of separate departments and advisory bodies for the welfare of Backward Classes, allotment of house-sites, setting up of separate financial institutions, etc., are some of the important measures taken by some States for the removal of the above disabilities.

9.24 In some States some castes not included in the Scheduled Castes are being treated as untouchables. For instance, Neo-Budhists in Maharashtra, Muslim Mehtars in Uttar Pradesh, etc., are treated as untouchables, though they have not been listed as Scheduled Castes. Kolghas, Kolchias, Kotwalias, Me in Gujarat are treated as untouchables though the first three castes are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. Most of the States have not replied to this question and the matter needs a more thorough probe.

9.25 There are a number of caste-groups which neither belong to the three Varnas nor they have been included in the lists of Scheduled Castes & Tribes or Other Backward Classes. For instance, Lingayats of Karnataka ; Lohars, Kadius, Suthars, Kumhars and Darjis of Gujarat ; Ahirs and Jats of Haryana ; Denotified communities of Himachal Pradesh and and Maharashtra ; Karnikar, Kurup, Irular, Nair, Nambiars, etc. of Pondicherry are the cases in point.

9.26 Regarding the caste composition of landless agricultural labourers, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Pondicherry, etc., stated that this work-force comprised almost wholly of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. Haryana, Punjab, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa, etc., stated that in addition to the aforesaid three groups, members of other castes also worked as agricultural labourers.

9.27 As regards the segregation of living quarters, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka informed that Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes were generally found to be living in the same section of the village. But Rajasthan, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab intimated that these two classes generally did not reside in the same area.

9.28 Rehabilitation of denotified tribes is a continuing process and a lot more needs to be done in this connection. A large number of them have neither been included in the list of Scheduled Castes nor Scheduled Tribes and dependable population estimates of such tribes are not available in the States. Some of the measures adopted for their amelioration are : allotment of agricultural land and house sites, provision of educational facilities, establishment of craft training centres, Ashram (residential) schools, hostels, etc.

9.29 All welfare schemes for denotified tribes are now being implemented by the State Governments only and the Central assistance earlier given to States in this connection was discontinued with the introduction of Fifth Plan.

EDUCATIONAL

9.30 No State Government could furnish figures regarding the level of literacy and education amongst Other Backward Classes. Regarding the special measures adopted for the promotion of education among OBCs, the position is as follows :—

Assam.—Award of post-Matric scholarships, grants for purchase of books, study tours, reservation of seats in education institutions and holding of adult literacy classes in backward areas of the State.

Andhra Pradesh.—Exemption of tuition fees, pre-Matric and post-Matric scholarships, hostel facilities, free supply of clothes and text-books, 20 per cent reservation of seats in educational institutions, 5 per cent relaxation in minimum qualifying marks at the time of admission, etc.

Gujarat.—Exemption of examination fees, scholarships, free supply of clothes, running of coaching centres, reservation of 10 per cent seats in educational institutions and implementation of adult literacy programme throughout the State. One special Ashram school started exclusively for OBC students.

Haryana.—Award of pre-matric and post-matric scholarships, reservation of 2 per cent seats in educational institutions and 5 per cent relaxation in marks at

the time of admission to various colleges, etc., and exemption of fees where parental income is below Rs. 4,200 per annum.

Jammu and Kashmir.—Establishment of 80 mobile schools for Gujjars and Bakarwals, special hostel facilities, award of scholarships, free supply of books and uniforms, reservation of seats for various categories of backward classes in educational institutions and opening of 1,100 adult literacy centres.

Karnataka.—Exemption of school fees, award of scholarships, hostel facilities, free training in workshops with free uniforms, reservation of 50 per cent seats in educational institutions and running of adult literacy centres.

Kerala.—Exemption of tuition and examination fees, special stipends, reservation of 5 per cent seats in post-graduate courses and 25 per cent seats in technical institutions and 5 per cent relaxation in marks for admission to various colleges, etc.

Maharashtra.—Running of non-formal education programmes for tribals and 10 adult literacy centres and reservation of 10 per cent seats in educational institutions. Exemption of tuition fees for all OBC students whose parental income is below Rs. 4,800 per annum.

Punjab.—Tuition fee concessions, stipends, running of adult literacy classes and reservation of 5 per cent seats in educational institutions.

Tamil Nadu.—Free education upto higher secondary level, educational concessions for higher studies and 50 per cent reservation in educational institutions.

9.31 Regarding OBC representation in University Senates, Syndicates, Academic Councils, Boards of Appointments, etc., only Karnataka and Maharashtra have reported making of a special provision for backward classes in their respective University Acts.

9.32 Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu have established separate hostels for backward class students. Orissa had earlier set up 134 such hostels and after the withdrawal of OBC list these are being used for SC & ST students. In Gujarat, 20 per cent of the seats in SC/ST hostels are reserved for OBC students.

9.33 From the foregoing it will be seen that except in the South, programmes for the educational advancement of OBCs presently implemented by most of the State Governments are of an uneven, patchy and *ad hoc* nature.

WELFARE

9.34 No plan allocation is made by the Central Government for the welfare of Other Backward Classes and State Governments are required to finance all such schemes from their own resources. In Chapter II of this Report we have stated that 18 States and Union Territories have launched programmes for the upliftment of OBCs and also given brief particulars of such

programmes. But it will be seen that even those States which are more sympathetic to the cause of OBCs have not been able to make adequate provision for ameliorating the lot of backward classes. For instance, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and J. & K. spent 2.4 per cent, 0.27 per cent and 0.46 per cent respectively of their last annual budget on schemes specially prepared for OBCs. It will, therefore, be seen that the Centre will have to step in a big way to assist the State Governments in framing reasonably effective plans for the betterment of OBCs.

9.35 In most of the States, Welfare or Social Welfare Department looks after OBCs. Generally, schemes for the upliftment of tribals, Harijans, etc. are also entrusted to this Department.

9.36 The actual implementation of programmes is mostly entrusted to Directorates of Welfare and several States like Gujarat, J. & K., Karnataka, etc., have also set up advisory boards to assist the respective Governments to formulate plans for all categories of underprivileged classes. In both Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh separate Directorates of Backward Classes has been set up for looking after OBCs.

9.37 In practically every State, there are a number of voluntary associations and agencies working for the welfare of backward classes, organising public opinion in their favour and espousing the cause of OBCs before official forums. For instance, there are as many as 53 such organisations functioning in Gujarat and 61 in Karnataka.

9.38 A beginning has been made in some States to set up separate financial institutions to assist OBCs. For instance, Assam has set up a development corporation for OBCs. The Karnataka Backward Classes and Minorities Development Corporation established in 1977 assists OBCs whose family income is below Rs. 6,000 per annum. It advances direct loans to borrowers as well as in collaboration with Banks. Punjab State Backward Classes Land Finance and Development Corporation advances loans to backward class applicants upto Rs. 30,000 per head for setting up small scale industries in various sectors. Himachal Pradesh has approved the setting up of an Antodaya Corporation.

9.39 State Governments were also asked if backward classes are able to exercise their franchise free from any pressures or threat of violence from the dominant castes. Assam, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan stated that OBCs were not subjected to any pressures at the time of elections. Karnataka informed that such pressures operated only in the case of the more backward of backward castes. It was rather disappointing that even the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where booth-capturing was a fairly well-known phenomenon, were not forthcoming on this question.

EMPLOYMENT

9.40 We had asked the State Governments to list the main occupations of Other Backward Classes and the approximate number of families dependent on each

occupation. No State Government could furnish any precise information on this point. Most of the States intimated that OBCs worked as small farmers and landless agricultural labourers. Some States listed animal husbandry, fishing, poultry, carpentry, blacksmithy, weaving, etc. as traditional occupations followed by backward classes.

9.41 Regarding the specific steps taken to improve the lot of landless agricultural labourers, most of the States have listed the following measures :—

- (1) Passing and enforcement of Minimum Wages Acts for agricultural labourers;
- (2) Allotment of surplus land, mostly accruing from land ceiling laws; and
- (3) Allotment of house sites.

The case of West Bengal for effective implementation of Minimum Wages Act merits special mention.

9.42 In Karnataka Deputy Commissioners have been instructed to reserve compact blocks of about 200 acres each for setting poor landless agricultural labourers belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes and backward tribes. In Kerala agricultural labourers have been covered by the provident fund scheme under Agricultural Workers Act. In Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc., special facilities are being extended under Antodaya scheme.

9.43 Regarding the impact of 'Green revolution', Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh replied that it has increased agricultural production as well as employment opportunities and improved the income levels of agricultural labour. Only Karnataka and Orissa observed that maximum benefit has been derived by the larger farmers. Karnataka also pointed to the widening of economic disparity between upper castes and agricultural labourers as a result of green revolution. Predictably Punjab was most enthusiastic about its beneficial effects and has referred to the seasonal mass migration of labour from Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Orissa as a result of increased demand for labour.

9.44 Regarding the prevalence of bonded labour, only Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh have indicated its existence in some small pockets. In Uttar Pradesh this evil, however, seems to be little more widespread, specially in the hill areas. The State Government has prepared a scheme for the rehabilitation of bonded labourers in tribal blocks and a provision of Rs. 30 lakhs had been made for this purpose for 1979-80.

9.45 Most of the States have reported loss of employment by village artisans owing to shift in the pattern of economic activity in the villages. In Gujarat, bamboo workers, wood workers, handloom weavers, etc. have suffered on this account. Haryana has reported erosion of employment opportunities of carpenters, potters, blacksmiths, weavers, etc. Black-

smiths, carpenters, potters, leather workers and weavers have suffered a set-back in Punjab.

9.46 Regarding the protection of Other Backward Classes from exploitation by money-lenders, various States have reported the following position :—

Assam.—Extension of financial assistance to OBCs by State Development Corporation for Other Backward Classes.

Gujarat.—Financial assistance for starting cottage industries, small trades, etc., and supply of milch cattle and poultry. Vigilance under the Money Lenders Act to prevent charging of exorbitant interest rates.

Haryana.—Grant of small mid-term loans from mini banks, nationalised banks, cooperative societies, etc., for starting small scale industries and trades. Under Haryana Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness Act, 1976, debts in respect of certain categories of agricultural labourers, rural artisans, etc., have been discharged or scaled down.

Himachal Pradesh.—Vigilance over interest rates charged by private money-lenders and grant of credit facilities from various financial institutions.

Jammu and Kashmir.—District Consultative Committees set up to oversee availability of credit to the weaker sections. The Distressed Debtors Relief Act and the Usurers Loans Act have also helped backward class debtors.

Karnataka.—Under the Karnataka Debt Relief Act, 1976 debtors belonging to weaker sections with annual income below Rs. 2,400 are entitled to treat their debt wholly discharged.

Maharashtra.—Protection given under the Money Lenders Act.

Orissa.—Amended Orissa Money Lenders Act, 1939 provides adequate protection to weaker sections and heavy penalties to money-lenders for breach of any provision.

B. Questionnaire for Central Government Offices, Etc.

9.47 A questionnaire for collecting information regarding the representation of all categories of Backward class employees under the Government of India was circulated to all the Ministries, Departments, etc. on March 19th, 1979. As no list of OBCs is maintained by the Central Government, nor their particulars are separately compiled in Government offices, a rough and ready criteria for identifying OBC employees for both Hindu and non-Hindu communities was also furnished to the concerned organisations. Particulars of this criteria have been furnished in para. 4 of Annexure-7, Volume II.

9.48 Replies to the above questionnaire were furnished by 30 Central Ministries/Departments, 31 Attached and Subordinate offices, and public sector undertakings under the administrative control of 14 Ministries. Break-up of the information furnished by

all these agencies is given in Annexure-8, Volume II. The following table gives a summary of the over-all employment position in this behalf :—

Category of Employees	Total number of employees	Percentage of SC/ST	Percentage of OBCs
Class I	1,74,043	5.68	4.69
Class II	9,12,786	18.18	10.63
Class III & IV	4,84,646	24.40	24.40
All Classes	15,71,475	18.71	12.55

9.49 Two things become clear from the above table. First, the percentage of SC/ST employees and, much

more so, that of Other Backward Classes, is much below the percentage of their total population in the country. Whereas the aggregate employment for SC/ST comes to 18.71 per cent against their total population of 22.5 per cent, the employment of OBCs works out to 12.55 per cent against their estimated population of 52 per cent. Secondly, the representation of SC/ST and OBC employees in Class I services is much smaller even when compared to the overall employment percentage of these classes. For instance, for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes employees, this figure comes to 5.68 per cent and for OBCs it is 4.69 per cent only. In other words, the representation of OBC employees in Class I services of the Government of India is not even 1/10th of their proportion to total population.

CHAPTER X

EVIDENCE BY THE PUBLIC

10.1 The Commission collected voluminous evidence from members of the general public, voluntary organisations, social workers, politicians, legislators, etc. The Commission also toured the country extensively and held meetings at State and district headquarters and interior villages to get representations and hear views of as many people as possible. All the evidence thus collected has been grouped into following three sections :—

1 *Questionnaire for the general public, Voluntary organisations, etc.*

10.2 A questionnaire (Appendix 4) containing 18 questions was separately prepared for the general public and widely advertised all over the country. It was published in leading vernacular and English dailies of all the States toured by the Commission. Its copies were also distributed at the meetings held by the Commission during its tours. A subject-wise summary of the replies received by the Commission is given below :—

(1) *Changes in caste structure since Independence*

10.3 Regarding the material changes that have taken place in the caste-structure of various States since Independence, nearly 63 per cent of the respondents were of the view that no material changes had taken place over this period. On the other hand, 17 per cent of the replies indicated that caste cleavages had deepened with time. Another 17 per cent were of the view that there have been changes in the political, social and economic status of several castes owing to greater social mobility. Interestingly, hardly anybody held the view that casteism is on the decline.

(2) *Criteria for defining backwardness*

10.4 Nearly 78 per cent of the respondents were of the view that caste should be accepted as a criterion for identifying backwardness. However, 28 per cent favoured the acceptance of caste as the sole criterion. Nearly 70 per cent were in favour of evolving multiple criteria based on social status, political influence, educational attainments, economic level, employment status, etc. Others favoured the inclusion of place of habitation and financial position also in the list of criteria.

10.5 Regarding non-Hindu religious groups, 62 per cent were of the view that the criteria should be based on economic status, employment, educational level pursuit of traditional occupations associated with low social status, etc. Nearly 18 per cent were of the opinion that caste was a fact of life among non-Hindus

also and it should be accepted as one of the criteria for backwardness.

(3) *OBCs list of State Governments*

10.6 Nearly 82 per cent of the respondents who belonged to States which have notified lists of OBCs were aware of this fact. However 62 per cent were not satisfied with the lists thus notified for one reason or the other. It was pointed out that many advanced castes have been included in the Lists and several backward classes left out. Some people also felt that those lists were not based on objective tests.

10.7 Nearly 82 per cent of the replies showed that special facilities have been given to socially and educationally backward classes. Nearly 52 per cent testified that educational facilities as well as reservation in jobs have been extended to backward classes.

(4) *Job Reservations*

10.8 In the States where jobs have been reserved under Government employment and public sector undertakings for OBCs, nearly 75 per cent of the respondents showed awareness of this fact, but 65 per cent expressed dissatisfaction with the quantum of reservation.

10.9 Regarding the steps to be taken to enhance the intake of Other Backward Class candidates in services, 45 per cent suggested increase in the percentage of reservation. Nearly 17 per cent asked for caste-wise reservation of jobs and seats in educational institutions. Free educational facilities, relaxation of maximum age limit, special coaching facilities for OBC candidates appearing in competitive examinations, etc. were some of the other measures suggested in this behalf.

(5) *Disabilities suffered by OBCs*

10.10 Nearly 78 per cent of the respondents stated that various types of disabilities like free access to public utilities, social discrimination, lack of educational opportunities, habitation in segregated and neglected areas, etc. were some instances of such disabilities. Only 9 per cent of the replies indicated that OBCs were not subjected to any discrimination or disability.

10.11 Regarding steps taken by the respective State Governments to remove these disabilities, nearly 43 per cent were of the view that no concrete steps have been taken so far. On the other hand, 17 per cent felt that some steps have been taken in this direction, but one-third of these persons felt that the steps taken were neither adequate nor effective. Others acknowledged that measures like expansion of educational and employment opportunities, provision of housing

facilities, etc. have helped to mitigate the hardships of OBCs.

(6) Access to employment/education

10.12 Nearly 82 per cent of the respondents felt that OBCs have to face a number of hurdles in securing employment or admission to institutions of higher education. Increase in the percentage of reservation, relaxation of upper age limit, creation of a separate Ministry or a Commission to protect the rights of OBCs were some of the remedial measures suggested by them.

(7) Indebtedness

10.13 According to 71 per cent of the respondents, majority of the members of OBCs were in debt. This high incidence of indebtedness was attributed to illiteracy, poverty, social customs, etc.

(8) Literacy

10.14 For the promotion of literacy for the OBCs, nearly 40 per cent of the respondents recommended that free and compulsory education for the children of backward classes was necessary. Nearly 12 per cent wanted special adult education programmes for OBCs. Provision of employment to the educated amongs OBCs, assistance for higher education and vocational training, setting up of more educational institutions, provision of free books and school uniforms, as also free board and lodging and other educational facilities on par with the SC/ST students were some of the other measures recommended for the promotion of literacy among OBCs.

(9) Steps to ameliorate hardships

10.15 For improving the lot of OBCs, nearly 25 per cent suggested the grant of low or interest-free loans, 10 per cent were in favour of free distribution of agricultural land and house sites, 31 per cent wanted reservation in educational institutions and employment and 26 per cent suggested combination of all the facilities mentioned above.

(10) Dominant Castes

10.16 Nearly 50 per cent of the respondents defined dominant castes as those which indulged in social, economic or political exploitation. About 74 per cent held the view that the three upper Varnas constituted the dominant castes. As regards the factor leading to dominance of a caste in the country-side, it was attributed to educational, economic or political status or a combination of more than one of these factors. Nearly 35 per cent of the replies indicated that relations between dominant castes and OBCs were strained.

(11) Role of Voluntary Organisations

10.17 Nearly 72 per cent of the respondents were aware of the existence of voluntary organisations and thought that they work for the welfare of their respective castes or classes. As regards the impact of their activities, 17 per cent stated that these organisa-

tions helped only members of their own castes. Nearly 35 per cent were of the view that some sort of educational, economic, political and social benefits have accrued as a result of the activities of these organisations, but another 20 per cent felt that their impact has been nominal.

(12) Shift in the occupational patterns

10.18 Regarding shift in occupational patterns, nearly 45% of the respondents felt that significant changes have taken place in the last three decades. Nearly 14% stated that these changes have been for the worse and a large number of people have been rendered jobless as a result of industrialisation, social change, etc. Above 35% of the respondents were of the view that these changes have been for the better.

(13) Economic Criteria

10.19 Regarding validity of economic criteria for the identification of backwardness nearly 36% of the respondents were not in its favour, but 28% thought that backwardness was directly linked with poverty.

II. Evidence of Members of Parliament

(A) Sixth Lok Sabha

10.20 The Commission invited members of Sixth Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha for expressing their views on its terms of reference. Members of Parliament were invited in six batches from March 31st to May 8th, 1979, and the list of participants is at appendix 9.

10.21 A large number of MPs including Sarvshri R. L. Paswan, Hukam Dev, Ram Vilas, L. R. Naik, K. Ramamurti, P. V. Periasamy, B. R. Malhan, Govindaran Miri, Nathu Singh, R. S. Yadav, Brahm Perkash, B. P. Maurya, Mohan Lal Pipal, Daya Ram Shakaya, Sham Lal Yadav, Kunwar Mahmood Ali Khan, R. L. Kureel, M. V. Visharad, Kaiho, Cheetubhai Farnit, S. H. Lingdoh, G. Mallikarjun Rao and K. S. Narayan expressed themselves in favour of reservation of seats in Government employment and educational institutions for Other Backward Classes. They considered it an important ameliorative measure for their advancement. Further, Sarvshri L. R. Naik, P. V. Periasamy, Govindaran Miri, Brahm Perkash, B. P. Maurya, Sham Lal Yadav, Kunwar Mahmood Ali Khan, Mangal Dev Visharad, G. Mallikarjun Rao and K. S. Narayanan emphasised that in view of various historical and cultural factors, caste should be made the criterion for social and educational backwardness among Hindu communities, Sarvshri Ram Vilas, R. L. Kureel and K. N. Narayana held the view that the quantum of reservation for OBCs should be proportionate to their population. On the other hand, Sarvshri Chaturbhuj and Chandan Singh were of the view that means test or economic criteria should be adopted for identifying Other Backward Classes.

10.22 Shri Ramamurthy and Dr. P. V. Periasamy drew the Commission's attention to the false propaganda being carried on by certain vested interests to

create bad blood between Other Backward Classes and SC/ST by spreading the impression that special concessions were given to OBCs, these will be at the cost of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These MPs made the very important point that the Commission should be at special pains to emphasise that there was no clash of interest between OBCs and SC/STs and that, these two groups, in fact, are the two parallel streams of the movement of under-privileged classes.

10.23 Some of the other observations made by individual MPs are as follows :—

10.24 Shri B. P. Maurya explained in detail the genesis of caste system and maintained that under the Indian conditions 'class' (in the Marxian sense) was the creation of caste and not *vice versa*. In view of this, caste has to be the basic criterion for identifying social and educational backwardness. He also expressed the view that it was iniquitous to extend the benefit of reservation, etc. to those members of OBCs who had already made reasonable progress. In view of this he suggested that the criterion of caste should be applied in conjunction with that of poverty.

10.25 Shri Ram Vilas suggested that the existing percentage of reservation for OBCs should be increased and greater educational facilities provided to them. A number of backward communities had been left out from the State lists and their claims should be re-examined. He also wanted the collection of comprehensive socio-economic and educational data about OBCs. He was of the view that in case the family income of a candidate exceeded Rs. 10,000 per year, he should not be given the benefit of reservation.

10.26 Shri Ramamurti was much concerned at the Government having ignored the recommendations of the Kaka Kalelkar Commission for the past 25 years and he was very particular that the Government should take immediate action on the report of the present Commission.

10.27 Shri L. R. Naik emphasised that a Central list of OBCs should be prepared by Government of India and, in view of the specific constitutional provisions, only those classes should be included in this list which were socially and educationally backward. He also stated that the Commission's criteria should be based on these factors only. He desired a thorough study of court judgements on this issue for the Commission's guidance.

10.28 Shri Daya Ram Shakya expressed himself against the system of interviews by various Public Service Commissions, etc. for the recruitment of candidates as he felt that it gave undue advantage to city dwellers and the children coming from well-to-do homes. He also suggested that while preparing the list of OBCs, castes left out by Kaka Kalelkar Commission should be included by the present Commission. On the other hand, such castes as had made progress since the submission of Kaka Kalelkar Commission report should be deleted from the list of OBCs.

10.29 Shri Mangal Dev Visharaj pointed out that social backwardness was directly linked to caste and even when a socially backward caste becomes economically advanced, its social status does not improve. He cited the incident where Babu Jagjivan Ram had unveiled the statue of a national leader at Varanasi. Subsequently, caste Hindus washed that statue with 'Gangajal' as Babu Jagjivan Ram was supposed to have polluted it by his touch.

(B) Seventh Lok Sabha

10.30 As the Sixth Lok Sabha was prematurely dissolved and the Seventh Lok Sabha was in position in January, 1980, the Commission invited the Members of the new Lok Sabha also for giving evidence on its terms of reference. The country was divided into four regions and members from each region were invited separately from July 1st to 4th, 1980, to meet the Commission. Invitations were also issued to members of Rajya Sabha. List of MPs who responded to the Commission's invitation is at appendix 10.

10.31 Most of the MPs of the Seventh Lok Sabha also contended that special facilities should be given to Other Backward Classes and reservations in services and educational institutions made for them. MPs who pressed this view were : Sarvshri P. Shiv Shankar, P. Rnjagopal Naidu, N. G. Ranga, R. V. Swaminathan, E. Balanandan, Narsiah Makwana, B. K. Gadhave, Mundar Sharma, S. B. Chavan, Madhu Dandavate, G. R. Kochak, Hakam Singh, Shyam Lal Yadav, Narendra Singh, Ram Pyara Panikar, J. S. Kashyap, N. E. Horo, D. P. Yadav and C. M. Panigrahi. Most of them also held that social and educational backwardness should form the basis of identification of OBCs. Shri B. R. Reddy and Professor N. G. Ranga were of the view that benefits for OBCs should be restricted to families whose monthly income did not exceed Rs. 1,000 so that affluent section of backward classes did not get undue advantage of reservations etc. Shri S. B. Chavan was also in favour of some such restriction so that the list of OBCs does not become very lengthy, thereby diluting the benefits for backward classes.

10.32 Shri G. M. Shah, Gen. Rajinder Singh Sparrow, Shrimati Rajinder Kaur and Shri Tompok Singh were in favour of giving primary to economic criteria in determining backwardness.

10.33 Shri P. Shiv Shankar (Law Minister) suggested that it would be safer to follow the criteria of social and educational backwardness already upheld by the Supreme Court in a number of cases. Adoption of other criteria will lead to fresh litigation and create complications. He also felt that the acceptance of economic criteria would give a setback to OBCs. Lists of OBCs already drawn up by several State Governments have been, in most cases, already tested before courts and the Commission should try to adopt those lists as far as possible. He was also of the view that in addition to reservation at the time of initial recruitment, there should be 3 to 4% reservation for promotion posts also.

10.34 S/Shri B. J. Poojari and N. B. Sidman felt that Scheduled Castes' converts to Christianity, etc. should also be included in the list of OBCs. The same view was expressed by Shri E. Balanandan.

10.35 Shri R. P. Gaekwad said that lack of education was the main handicap of backward classes and all facilities should be provided for their educational advancement. But he did not see any justification for reserving jobs for them. Shri N. K. Shejwalkar was also of the view that it will not be proper to make reservation in services for OBCs. Shri Bapusaheb Parulekar stated that the goal of the nation was to establish a casteless and classless society and this goal should not be lost sight of while framing criteria for listing OBCs.

10.36 Prof. Madhu Dandavate stated that conversion from one faith to another did not change the socio-economic status of a person. It was, therefore, desirable that converts from Scheduled Castes to Buddhism, Christianity, etc. should be treated as Scheduled Castes. But until this change was brought about by legislation, all such converts should be listed as OBCs. He also felt that economically backward classes should be treated as a separate entity from socially and educationally backward classes. As an example of blind priestly prejudice against low castes, he cited the incident when Lord Mountbatten had invited Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, a member of his Executive Council to accompany him to a visit to Jagannath Puri temple. Whereas the local priests happily welcomed Mountbatten to enter the temple, they refused permission to Dr. Ambedkar.

10.37 Shri Mubarak Shah felt that in view of the special location and problems of Jammu and Kashmir, all-India model of caste-based society was not applicable to that State. He felt that geographical location and complete isolation of certain areas should form the basis for determining backwardness for Jammu and Kashmir.

10.38 Shri Jyotirmoy Bose pointed out that caste was a legacy of the feudal system and viewing the social scene from the casteist angle was no longer relevant for West Bengal. He also stated that his party would express its considered views on various issues before the Commission after examining the matter more thoroughly.

10.39 Shrimati Gita Mukerjee stated that caste based discrimination was a thing of the past in West Bengal. Old occupational patterns had undergone changes and there was no single caste following any single hereditary occupation. She was in favour of giving special assistance to economically weaker sections of society.

III. Commission's Tours

10.40 The Commission toured most of the States and Union Territories of India to collect on-the-spot evidence (Appendix-11). Tour programmes of the Commission were given advanced publicity in every

State and the Commission's questionnaire for the general public was also published in vernacular and English dailies. At the headquarters of the States the Commission met Chief Ministers, Ministers, Members of Parliament, MLAs, senior officials, representatives of social and caste organisations and other prominent publicmen. It also received a large number of representations during its tours of Districts and villages and recorded evidence of the speakers at its meetings. In the course of its tours, the Commission visited 17 States, 5 Union Territories received 2638 representations and recorded evidence of 1,539 persons.

10.41 Broadly speaking, two types of evidence were tendered before the Commission. First, a large number of publicmen and caste associations argued their case for the inclusion of a particular caste in the list of Other Backward Classes. Some of them, whose caste was already notified as backward by the State concerned, wanted it to be included in the list of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. Nearly 3/4th of the respondents appearing before the Commission belonged to this category. Their representations have been separately examined and the results of this examination have been incorporated in the State-wise lists of OBCs prepared by the Commission. Secondly, there were associations or persons which discussed the question of social and educational backwardness in more general terms and offered various suggestions on the terms of reference of the Commission.

10.42 An over-whelming proportion of respondents appearing before the Commission contended that caste should be the basis for determining social and educational backwardness. They were in favour of giving liberal concessions to OBCs so as to off-set their historical handicaps which they had suffered for centuries as a result of their low caste status. Some of the important measures were : reservation in Government services and educational institutions; relaxation in minimum qualifying marks and upper age limit for admission to various courses, etc.; other educational concessions like free books, uniforms and special coaching facilities; allotment of house-sites; grant of liberal loans at low rates of interest; assistance in setting up small-scale industries, etc.

10.43 A number of respondents argued that the reservations for OBCs should be in proportion to their population, as it was only just and fair that in a democratic set-up they are adequately represented in public services. Some of them also maintained that there should be reservations for OBCs in Parliament and Legislative Assemblies, as Other Backward Classes will be in a position to assert their rights only after they have acquired sufficient political clout. A number of associations and persons suggested that Public Service Commissions, Selection Boards and all other recruiting agencies should have adequate representation of OBCs so that backward class candidates could get a fair and sympathetic treatment from these bodies. It was repeatedly emphasised that with a view to ensuring proper protection and fair treatment in the hands of law-enforcement agencies, the bulk of the police force should be recruited from the

waker sections of society. This sort of policy would not only instil confidence in the underprivileged and backward classes, but also ensure that the law enforcement agency is more sensitive and understanding towards the problems of these defenceless people.

10.44 Several respondents stated that the existing State lists of OBCs included many castes and communities which were really forward and left out some others which were actually backward. They also pointed out that the special concessions meant for the upliftment of backward classes were, in actual fact, cornered by the more influential and stronger groups and adequate safeguards should be devised to protect the legitimate interests of the genuinely backward classes. In view of this Scheduled Castes converts to Christianity, Islam, Buddhism etc., should not be denied the benefit extended to Scheduled Castes and the same should hold good in respect of OBCs. At some places it was also contended that all Muslims and all Christians should be included in the list of OBCs as these communities were really very backward.

10.45 Regarding the criteria for identifying OBCs, some people suggested that all hereditary occupations carrying the stigma of low social status should be made a touch-stone of backwardness.

10.46 It was but natural that most of the respondents appearing before the Commission belonged to OBCs, as they were the people representing aggrieved classes and they were keen to ventilate their grievances before the Commission. But at most of the places some associations or members of the forward classes or castes also gave evidence before the Commission. These respondents generally opposed the linking of caste with social backwardness and expressed themselves against reservation of posts in Government services for OBCs. They were generally in favour of applying the means-test for determining backwardness and contended that poverty was the real cause of social and educational backwardness. Interestingly enough, some Brahmins in practically every State staked their claim to be included in the list of OBCs as they neither enjoyed high social status nor could educate their children owing to lack of means.

10.47 Generally speaking, it was seen that the views of every individual, group and association were conditioned by their own class interests and the question of giving concessions to OBCs was surcharged with emotion. The Commission repeatedly noticed that at the same meeting speakers expressed diametrically opposite views on this issue and class bias was the most compelling logic behind their convictions. For instance in the meeting at Trivandrum held on 15-6-1979, Shri R. Sundaresan Nair, MLA, stated that there was no social discrimination or untouchability in Kerala and, that, economic criteria should be accepted for determining backwardness. The next speaker, Shri A. N. Nadar, MLA, contended that caste system was strongly entrenched in Kerala and caste should be accepted as a criterion for social and educational backwardness. A little later,

Shri Issuddin, President, Trivandrum District Committee of All India Muslim League, expressed himself in favour of economic criteria while Shri K. Vasudevan of Akhil Bharatiya Vishwakarma Mahasabha, Trivandrum, was vehemently opposed to it. Similarly in a meeting held at Saharsa (Bihar) on 26-5-1979, Shri Jagan Nath Misra favoured the economic criteria whereas Shri Narendra Narain Yadav was wholly in favour of the caste criteria. Numerous such examples can be cited from every State.

10.48 In the following is given a gist of the views expressed by some respondents in some of the States visited by the Commission. An effort has been made to present as wide a spectrum of opinions as possible.

10.49 Shri G. Lachanna, MLA, Hyderabad, lamented the lack of any provision in the Constitution for abolishing caste system and pointed to the caste conflicts in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra as indicative of increasing casteism in the country. Lower castes had suffered from discrimination for ages and remedial steps should be taken for their advancement. In his view, there was no social backwardness amongst non-Hindu communities, as they were free from the ban of casteism. Though he was satisfied with the reservation of 25 per cent made by Andhra Pradesh Government, he desired more facilities to be extended to OBCs.

10.50 Shri P. Lakshmana Rao, Ex-MLA, speaking on behalf of Agnikula Kshatriya Sangam, stated that his community of Fishermen was exceedingly poor, lived in remote villages and frequent cyclones rendered its existence very precarious. Owing to its extreme backwardness, in 1968, there was a proposal to include his community in the list of Scheduled Tribes, but somehow this did not materialise. He pleaded for separate reservation for Fishermen as a group. He also wanted interest-free loans, low-cost housing and improved communication facilities for fishermen.

10.51 Shri J. Yadagiri of Andhra Pradesh Backward Class Students Association, Hyderabad, desired that OBCs should be given adequate representation and reservation in Indian Central Services, Union Public Service Commission, Nationalised Banks, Public Corporations, etc. The quantum of reservation should be in proportion to their population. Fifty per cent of the seats in residential schools should be reserved for OBCs. There should be a standing vigilance body to ensure proper implementation of the reservation policy framed by the State Government.

10.52 Shri Ram Sunder Das, Chief Minister, Bihar, stated that the question of making adequate reservation in services and educational institutions for OBCs is directly linked with the progress and development of the nation. The country cannot progress unless the masses are actively associated with the main nation-building tasks. This was possible only if much larger number of persons from OBCs are recruited to Government services etc.

10.53 Shri Abhinash Chandra, Mukhiya, Chausa West (Bihar), stated that caste should be the criterion

for identifying social and educational backwardness. There should be 60 per cent reservation for OBCs in Government employment and educational institutions. Provision for reservation could be effectively implemented only when the recruiting agencies comprised OBCs. Other Backward Class candidates selected on the basis of merit should be excluded from the reservation quota. Seats should also be reserved for OBCs in the State Assemblies. There should be separate provision for the intake of women.

10.54 Shri Y. Ramachandran, Bangalore, stated that the demands and rights of backward classes have been denied since 1935 and it is high time that the Central Government gave adequate relief to OBCs. Under the Indian conditions caste was the only dependable criterion for social and educational backwardness. Adequate reservation in Services and educational institutions should be provided for OBCs and the quantum of reservation should be determined in the light of the Supreme Court's decisions on this matter.

10.55 Shri K. R. S. Naidu, Bangalore, stated that he had identified nine factors for determining backwardness. These were : social, educational, economic, cultural, traditional, historical, geographical (?), geographical and political. He also emphasised that Indian society was divided into two main classes, i.e. the manual workers and intellectual workers. This distinction was very relevant for judging the social status of a class.

10.56 Smt. Parvathi Amma, Prof. of Sociology, Mysore University stated that whereas backwardness was directly linked to caste, the unit of identification should not be sub-caste but whole communities which were socially and educationally backward. Education was the greatest anti-dote to backwardness and should be made free upto the level of matriculation. Economy should be diversified rapidly to create job opportunities for backward classes.

10.57 Shri P. K. Gopalakrishnan, Deputy Speaker, Kerala Legislative Assembly, stated during the Commission's meeting in Trichur that caste was a very important fact of our social life and person's social status was determined by four factors : the position of a community in the caste hierarchy, its ability to influence politics of the State, its financial condition and its educational and employment status.

10.58 Shri K. M. Raman of Harijan Samajam, Calicut (Kerala), expressed the view that by listing a large number of castes as backward the privileges and concessions given to the untouchables were being exploited by classes who did not really deserve them.

10.59 Shri B. B. Abdullah Koya, M.P. (Calicut), wanted 'occupation' to be the criterion of backwardness. Scholarships to the backward class students should be given liberally and there should be relaxation of upper age limit and minimum educational qualifications for entry into services. He wanted the entire Muslim community to be declared as backward and suggested the provision of free legal aid to backward classes so that they could resist exploitation by the affluent sections of society.

10.60 Shri Panna Lal Yadu, Journalist, Raipur, stated that there were several districts in Chhattisgarh, and the population of Kurmi, Teli and Yadav communities was about 25 lakhs, 20 lakhs and 17 lakhs respectively. But there was no M.L.A. or M.P. or senior official from these communities. He pleaded for the introduction of reservation for these and other backward communities in educational institutions, Government services, Parliament and State Legislatures.

10.61 Shri Viswanath Singh, Satna, representing Rajput community, wanted economic tests to be adopted for determining backwardness and pointed out that reservation on the basis of caste had resulted in riots in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

10.62 Shri Promode Kumar Das, representing weaver community of Balbhadrapur, Tanti (Orissa) deposed that owing to increasing popularity of powerlooms his community was very adversely affected. Only 5 out of 106 families of weavers in the village were presently following their traditional occupation. Out of 22 matriculates, 11 had joined Government service and the remaining were keen on getting training in powerloom technology. He desired reservation for his community in Government services and educational institutions and also award of stipends to students upto the matriculation stage.

10.63 Shri Hare Krishna Sahu, representing Teli community, stated before the Commission at village Bodanrundei (Orissa) that none of the 36 families of his caste was engaged in their hereditary occupation of oil-pressing. Mechanical oil-pressing units had monopolised the market and oil seeds were in short supply as land was being increasingly used for paddy cultivation. Owing to extreme poverty, Telis could not impart higher education to their children. He wanted special credit facilities for the purchase of oil seeds and installation of mechanised pressing units.

10.64 Shri B. S. More, Neo-Buddhist, Aurangabad, pointed out that after centuries of ostracism, the Harijans became neo-Buddhists. But unfortunately they were still being subjected to all sorts of discrimination and treated as untouchables. Concessions for neo-Buddhists should be continued till the practice of untouchability disappeared. Those who were financially well off and such castes which were not being treated as untouchables should be deleted from the list of Scheduled Castes.

10.65 Shri A. M. Bane, Secretary, Muslim Backward Classes Association, Nagour, explained that several Muslim communities had the same caste structure as the Hindus and they also followed hereditary occupations. Giving examples of correspondence between Muslim and Hindu occupational communities, he stated that Qasai and Khatik, Julaha and Halba Bunkar, Pinjara and Dhunia, Lalbegi and Bhangi, Rangrez and Rangari, Teli and Tirmal were cases in point. He desired that the same concessions should be extended to the Muslim occupational communities as done in the case of Hindu communities.

10.66 Shri Dau Lal, Secretary, Rajasthan Backward Classes Federation, Jaipur, stated that Rajasthan Government has not extended any worthwhile concessions to backward classes. The backward classes had no voice in the State Assembly and he recommended reservations for them in Assemblies and Parliament. He also wanted reservation in Government services and expressed the apprehension that the Report of this Commission may meet the same fate as that of Kaka Kalelkar Commission.

10.67 Shri Om Parkash Parmar, Jodhpur, suggested that caste-wise enumeration of population should be re-introduced with 1981 Census. He wanted special concessions for occupational communities and the setting up of a Backward Classes Board in Rajasthan. He was also in favour of free education and free legal aid to members of backward classes.

10.68 Fr. Joseph Cannath, Gangtok, stated that the Christians numbered around 5,000 in Sikkim and most of them belonged to the backward tribes of Limboos and Rais. But they were not getting any special benefits owing to change of religion. He pleaded that caste should not be criterion for determining backwardness and social and educational backwardness could be removed only if economic conditions were improved. In case caste is adopted as a criterion of backwardness, the Christian community will suffer heavily.

10.69 Shri P. M. Subba, M.P., confirmed at Gangtok the observation made by some other speakers that Scheduled Tribes in Sikkim were getting more facilities and concessions as compared to Scheduled Castes; the former were given free hostel accommodation, books, scholarships, house-building advances, sewing machines, etc. which were not extended to the latter. He also pointed out that there was caste system among Nepalese in Sikkim and the low castes amongst them should be included in the list of OBCs.

10.70 Shri R. Govindarajan, President, Parvatharajakula Youth Association, Kumbakonam, Thanjavur, wanted Fishermen's community to be bracketed with Scheduled Tribes in view of its extreme backwardness. He suggested the preparation of a time-bound programme for the advancement of this community and grant of loans to unemployed for starting small scale industries, mechanisation of fishing boats, etc. He was very particular that fishing rights should be granted to members of the Fishing community only.

10.71 Shri A. Latif, MLA, Tirunelveli, contended that the Muslim representation in services was only 3 per cent though they constituted 10 per cent of the State's population. In view of this adequate provision should be made to increase their representation in services. He also wanted more Muslims to be recruited to the Special Branch and Intelligence section of the State Police Force.

10.72 Shri A. N. Saha, Secretary, West Bengal Backward Classes Federation, stated at Calcutta that economic criteria did not find any place in the Indian Constitution for identifying socially and educationally backward classes. He asserted that there was casteism in West Bengal and there were no inter-caste marriages. He also contended that over the last 25 years there has been little change in the living conditions of the 105 communities listed as backward by Kaka Kalelkar Commission. He suggested some sort of income ceiling to pick out the more backward castes for special concessions.

10.73 Shri Gur Mohan Shar, General Secretary, West Bengal Swarnakar Sabha, deposed in Calcutta that he did not agree with the State Government's view that there were only two castes, i.e., the rich and the poor. Caste system was as deeply entrenched in West Bengal as in the rest of the country. He pleaded that his community of goldsmiths was socially and educationally very backward and only few Swarnakars were in Government service. He desired them to be listed as backward.

10.74 Shri Narayan Chaudhuri stated at Burdwan that people of West Bengal were against caste system and there was not much difference between high and low castes. While referring to agitations against reservations in U.P. and Bihar, and the troubled conditions in Assam and Tripura, he opined that reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should also be abolished and economic criteria should be made the basis of backwardness. He felt that only the more influential people amongst lower castes were getting the benefit of reservation. In view of this, means-test should be the only basis for giving concessions to backward people.

10.75 Shri Raghubar Dayal Verma (Boatman), Agra, stated that whereas the population of OBCs in U.P. was 56 per cent, only 15 per cent reservation has been provided for them in Government services. He wanted this figure to be raised to 60 per cent. He also desired reservation quotas for OBCs in All India Services and autonomous bodies. He suggested that all Selection Committees should include representatives of OBCs.

10.76 Dr. J. Prasad (Kachhi), Professor, Degree College, Kanpur, said that the criteria of backwardness fixed by the U.P. Government for reservation of posts for OBCs was defective, as candidates selected on merit were also counted against the meagre quota of 15 per cent. He desired that Central aid should be provided for the education of backward-class children, seats should be reserved for them in educational institutions and special programmes designed to remove their cultural backwardness.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL FIELD SURVEY AND CRITERIA OF BACKWARDNESS

11.1 In their examination of Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report, the Government of India had specially noticed the absence of any objective tests for identifying socially and educationally backward classes. Several Supreme Court judgements have also emphasised the need for evolving such criteria on the basis of field investigations and other independent evidence. It was in view of these considerations that the Commission decided to tap a number of sources for the collection of data and Chapter III of this Report contains a brief account of this approach.

11.2 Socio-educational field survey was the most comprehensive inquiry made by the Commission in this behalf. Right from the beginning, this survey was designed with the help of top social scientists and specialists in the country, and experts from a number of disciplines were associated with different phases of its progress.

11.3 To begin with, a Research Planning Team of sociologists met in Delhi from June 12th to 14th, 1979 to draw up a plan of studies and researches which should be undertaken by Backward Classes Commission for determining, in a scientific and objective manner, the criteria for defining socially and educationally backward classes. The report of this team is at Appendix-12, Volume II.

11.4 Subsequently, a Panel of Experts (Appendix-13, Volume II), led by Professor M. N. Srinivas, met in Delhi from July 16th to 20th, 1979, and, after detailed deliberations, prepared a complete design of the survey along with a set of schedules, dummy tables, instructions etc.

11.5 Experts' Panel agreed with the observation of Research Planning Team that the task before the Commission was to "lay down the criteria for identifying recognisable and persistent collectivities and not individuals." It also observed, "in the Indian context such collectivities can be castes or other hereditary groups traditionally associated with specific occupations which are considered to be low and impure and with which educational backwardness and low income are found to be associated."

11.6 With a view to providing continuous guidance at the operational level, a Technical Advisory Committee was set up under Dr. K. C. Seal, Director General, Central Statistical Organisation, with Chief Executive, National Sample Survey Organisation, and representatives of Directors of State Bureaux of Economics and Statistics as members.

Schedules

11.7 The experts' Panel had prepared the following four schedules for canvassing during the field survey :—

- (i) Household schedule (rural).
- (ii) Household schedule (urban).
- (iii) Village schedule.
- (iv) Town schedule.

These schedules were pre-tested in a number of villages in West Bengal, U.P., Maharashtra and Haryana and validation checks carried out by the Research & Survey Wing of the Commission. The results were discussed by Technical Advisory Committee and, after detailed examination, it was decided that rural and urban household schedules may be combined in one composite schedule with two independent, mutually exclusive sections for rural and urban areas. It was also decided to drop the town schedule. The combined rural and urban household schedule was fully pre-coded so as to meet the requirements of electronic processing of data. The schedules thus finalised and actually canvassed in the field are at Appendices 14 and 15, Volume II.

11.8 Household schedule was divided into five parts, i.e., household particulars, particulars of individual members, particulars of non-students between 5—15 years, description of assets and indebtedness. Questions under each part were so framed as to get information on such social, educational and economic particulars of a household as characterised the syndrome of social and educational backwardness in the Indian conditions.

11.9 All the questions in the schedules were direct and did not involve any probing. As indicated earlier, these schedules were pre-tested in four States, validation checks carried out at the headquarters and some modifications made as a result thereof.

Sample Size and Coverage

11.10 Experts' Panel had recommended "1% purposive sample of villages at the district level to be able to identify a vast majority of backward classes." At a subsequent meeting of Technical Advisory Committee presided over by Director General, Central Statistical Organisation, it was decided that for our purpose a sample of 1% of the country's population comprising 65 lakh persons may be too large, especially in view of the limited time available to the Commission. Instead, 100% coverage of two villages and one urban block in each district of the country was considered to be quite adequate. In

view of the vast experience of Central Statistical and National Sample Survey Organisations in conducting surveys this recommendation of the Committee was accepted. The selection of villages and urban blocks was left to the State agencies entrusted with the survey. It was, however, emphasised that, as far as possible, the villages and urban blocks selected for survey should be of a composite nature, medium-sized and should reflect typical rural or urban conditions of the concerned district. A list of the villages and urban blocks surveyed in each State is at Appendix-16, Volume II.

Organisation of Survey

11.11 Survey operations were entrusted to the State Statistical Organisations of the concerned States/Union Territories. This was made possible through the good offices of Dr. K. C. Seal, Director General, Central Statistical Organisation, who took up this matter at the Fourth Conference of Central and State Statistical Organisations held at Lucknow from September 20th to 24th, 1979 and persuaded the State representatives to accept this challenging task.

11.12 All the schedules, survey instructions, etc., were got centrally printed in Delhi and despatched directly to a number of distribution centres indicated by each State. Each State nominated a Contact Officer to coordinate survey work at the State level. The actual work of survey was entrusted to District Statistical Officers who selected two investigators per village/urban block for actual canvassing of schedules in the field. It was also decided that the filled-in schedules will be scrutinised at each district headquarters before they are forwarded to the Commission.

Training of Survey Staff

11.13 Special emphasis was laid on proper training of not only the field staff but also the District Statistical Officers and the State level Contact Officers. An orientation course for Contact Officers was held at Delhi on 9th and 10th January, 1980 and the time-schedule of field operations was also discussed at this meeting. Instructions for filling the schedules were elaborated in the light of these discussions (Appendix-17, Vol. II) and, this was followed up by issuing supplementary guidelines for filling the schedules (Appendix-18, Volume II). The State Contact Officers convened training sessions of their respective District Statistical Officers who, in turn, undertook training of field investigators and scrutinisers. Special instructions regarding the scrutiny of schedules were also issued (Annexure-19, Volume II). On-the-spot inspections by District Statistical Officers during the progress of the survey were ensured.

Time Frame of Survey

11.14 According to the time-schedule of field operations approved at the meeting of State Contact Officers held in Delhi on January 9th and 10th, 1980, it was decided that the Commission will undertake to despatch the schedules immediately so that they reach the district headquarters before January 31st, 1980. Field survey operations were to com-

mence in the beginning of February and completed by the month end. The scrutiny of canvassed schedules was to be undertaken simultaneously with the field operations and completed by March 7th, 1980 so that scrutinised schedules could reach the Commission's office in Delhi by March 15th, 1980. This time table could not be adhered to by some States owing to the approaching assembly elections and other bottlenecks, though practically all the completed schedules from all the States and Union Territories were received by the end of May 1980.

Computerisation and Analysis of Data

11.15 Out of 406 districts in the country, our survey covered 405 districts. Household schedules were canvassed in 2 villages and one urban block in each of these 405 districts. Each household schedule contained 51 questions and there was provision for entering particulars of upto 10 members of the household in each schedule.

11.16 Data of this magnitude could be quickly and meaningfully processed by computerisation only. In view of this, arrangements were made with the National Informatic Centre of Electronics Commission of India for electronic processing of this data.

11.17 A detailed computer plan was prepared for the generation of a set of 156 tables pertaining to different variables, i.e., social, educational, demographic, economic, occupational, etc. The tabulation plan was mainly aimed at the analysis of data by caste groups and similar collectivities with reference to the variables given above. Caste was also taken as an independent variable.

11.18 Technical Committee constituted a Sub-Committee of Experts (Appendix-20, Volume II) to help the Commission prepare 'Indicators of Backwardness' for analysing data contained in computerized tables. After a series of meetings and a lot of testing of proposed indicators against the tabulated data, the number of tables actually required for the Commission's work was reduced to 31 (Appendix-21, Volume II). The formulation and refinement of indicators involved testing and validation checks at every stage.

11.19 In this connection it may be useful to point out that in social sciences no mathematical formulae or precise bench-marks are available for determining various social traits. A survey of the above type has to tread warily on unfamiliar ground and evolve its own norms and bench-marks. This exercise was full of hidden pitfalls and two simple examples are given below to illustrate this point.

11.20 In *Balaji's* case the Supreme Court held that if a particular community is to be treated as educationally backward, the divergence between its educational level and that of the State average should not be marginal but *substantial*. The Court considered 50% divergence to be satisfactory. Now, 80% of the population of Bihar (1971 Census) is illiterate. To beat this percentage figure by a margin of 50% will mean that 120% members of a caste/class should be illiterates. In fact it will be seen that in

this case even 25% divergence will stretch us to the maximum saturation point of 100%.

11.21 In the Indian situation where vast majority of the people are illiterate, poor or backward, one has to be very careful in setting deviations from the norms as, in our conditions, norms themselves are very low. For example, Per Capita Consumer Expenditure for 1977-78 at current prices was Rs. 991 per annum. For the same period, the poverty line for urban areas was at Rs. 900 per annum and for rural areas at Rs. 780. It will be seen that this poverty line is quite close to the Per Capita Consumer Expenditure of an average Indian. Now following the dictum of Balaji case, if 50% deviation from this average Per Capita Consumer Expenditure was to be accepted to identify 'economically backward' classes, their income level will have to be 50% below the Per Capita Consumer Expenditure i.e. less than Rs. 495.5 per year. This figure is so much below the poverty line both in urban and rural areas that most of the people may die of starvation before they qualify for such a distinction!

11.22 In view of the above, 'Indicators for Backwardness' were tested against various cut-off points. For doing so, about a dozen castes well-known for their social and educational backwardness were selected from amongst the castes covered by our survey in a particular State. These were treated as 'Control' and validation checks were carried out by testing them against 'Indicators' at various cut-off points. For instance, one of the 'Indicators' for social backwardness is the rate of student drop-outs in the age group 5—15 years as compared to the State average. As a result of the above tests, it was seen that in educationally backward castes this rate is at least 25 per cent above the State average. Further, it was also noticed that this deviation of 25% from the State average in the case of most of the 'Indicators' gave satisfactory results. In view of this, wherever an 'Indicator' was based on deviation from the State average, it was fixed at 25%, because a deviation of 50% was seen to give wholly unsatisfactory results and, at times, to create anomalous situations.

Indicators (Criteria) for Social and Educational Backwardness

11.23 As a result of the above exercise, the Commission evolved eleven 'Indicators' or 'criteria' for determining social and educational backwardness. These 11 'Indicators' were grouped under three broad heads, i.e., Social, Educational and Economic. They are:—

A. Social

- (i) Castes/Classes considered as socially backward by others.
- (ii) Castes/Classes which mainly depend on manual labour for their livelihood.
- (iii) Castes/Classes where at least 25% females and 10% males above the State average get married at an age below 17 years in rural

areas and at least 10% females and 5% males do so in urban areas.

- (iv) Castes/Classes where participation of females in work is at least 25% above the State average.

B. Educational

- (v) Castes/Classes where the number of children in the age group of 5—15 years who never attended school is at least 25% above the State average.
- (vi) Castes/Classes where the rate of student drop-out in the age group of 5—15 years is at least 25% above the State average.
- (vii) Castes/Classes amongst whom the proportion of matriculates is at least 25% below the State average.

C. Economic

- (viii) Castes/Classes where the average value of family assets is at least 25% below the State average.
- (ix) Castes/Classes where the number of families living in Kuccha houses is at least 25% above the State average.
- (x) Castes/Classes where the source of drinking water is beyond half a kilometer for more than 50% of the households.
- (xi) Castes/Classes where the number of households having taken consumption loan is at least 25% above the State average.

11.24 As the above three groups are not of equal importance for our purpose, separate weightage was given to 'Indicators' in each group. All the Social 'Indicators' were given a weightage of 3 points each, Educational 'Indicators' a weightage of 2 points each and Economic 'Indicators' a weightage of one point each. Economic, in addition to Social and Educational Indicators, were considered important as they directly flowed from social and educational backwardness. This also helped to highlight the fact that socially and educationally backward classes are economically backward also.

11.25 It will be seen that from the values given to each Indicator, the total score adds upto 22. All these 11 Indicators were applied to all the castes covered by the survey for a particular State. As a result of this application, all castes which had a score of 50 per cent (i.e., 11 points) or above were listed as socially and educationally backward and the rest were treated as 'advanced'. (It is a sheer coincidence that the number of indicators and minimum point score for backwardness, both happen to be eleven). Further, in case the number of households covered by the survey for any particular caste were below 20, it was left out of consideration, as the sample was considered too small for any dependable inference.

11.26 The above system of listing castes as socially and educationally backward on the basis of their score may appear somewhat arbitrary. On the face of it, this is a tenable viewpoint. On the other hand, the points scored by a particular caste under the above system actually reflect the number of indicators of backwardness which it satisfies. Secondly, this method has the great merit of objectivity, as point system allows no subjective assessment. Thirdly, this method was found to be highly dependable in practice. For instance, as a result of its application, most of the well-known socially and educationally backward castes were identified as backward.

11.27 In the end it may be emphasised that this survey has no pretensions to being a piece of academic research. It has been conducted by the administrative machinery of the Government and used as a rough and ready tool for evolving a set of simple criteria for identifying social and educational backwardness. Throughout this survey our approach has been conditioned by practical considerations, realities of field conditions, constraints of resources and trained manpower and paucity of time. All these factors obviously militate against the requirements of a technically sophisticated and academically satisfying operation.

CHAPTER XII

IDENTIFICATION OF O.B.Cs.

OBCs Among Hindu Communities

12.1 In the last Chapter we described the formulation of eleven indicators or criteria of backwardness on the basis of which socially and educationally backward classes may be identified. We have applied this criteria to the primary tables generated by the computerised survey data in respect of each State. This forms Volume V of this Report. The basis for listing a caste as backward or otherwise has been explained in the last Chapter.

12.2 It may be clarified that the classes, castes or communities identified as backward as a result of this survey belong to Hindu religion only. As the unit of identification in the above survey is caste, and caste is a peculiar feature of Hindu society only, the results of the survey cannot have much validity for non-Hindu communities. Criteria for their identification have been given separately.

12.3 As the acceptance of caste as a unit of identification, the matter has already been discussed exhaustively in Chapter IV and VI of this Report. The Supreme Court has held "...but it must not be forgotten that a caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it is socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of article 15(4)."¹ Further, "...a caste has always been recognised as a class. There is no gainsaying the fact that there are numerous castes in this country which are socially and educationally backward."² And, "if after collecting the necessary data it is found that the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, in our opinion the reservation made of such persons will have to be upheld notwithstanding the fact that a few individuals in that group may be both socially and educationally above the general average."³ Experts Panel (Chapter XI, para. 11.5) also recognised that the main task before the Commission was to "lay down the criteria for identifying recognisable and persistent collectivities and not individuals." It also observed, "in the Indian context such collectivities can be castes or other hereditary groups."

12.4 In fact, caste being the basic unit of social organisation of Hindu society, castes are the only readily and clearly "recognisable and persistent collectivities".

12.5 Regarding the Statewise lists of socially and educationally backward castes contained in Volume VI of this Report, the following clarification may be borne in mind. As stated in the last chapter, only two villages and one urban block were selected from each district of the country for socio-educational survey. Whereas the size of this sample was large enough to give us reliable data for the formulation and testing of criteria of socio-educational backwardness, it was not sufficiently comprehensive to cover each and every caste in the country. But for our purpose it was also necessary to give complete lists of socially and educationally backward castes/classes in each State, as in the absence of properly identified O.B.Cs., the recommendations of the Commission would have been only of academic interest.

12.6 In view of the foregoing, the Commission has also applied some other tests like stigmas of low occupation, criminality, nomadism, beggary and untouchability to identify social backwardness. Inadequate representation in public services was taken as another important test.

12.7 Thus, the Commission has adopted a multiple approach for the preparation of comprehensive lists of Other Backward Classes for all the States and Union Territories. The main sources examined for the preparation of these lists were :—

- (i) Socio-educational field survey;
- (ii) Census Report of 1961 (particularly for the identification of primitive tribes, aboriginal tribes; hill tribes, forest tribes and indigenous tribes);
- (iii) Personal knowledge gained through extensive touring of the country and receipt of voluminous public evidences as described in Chapter X of this Report; and
- (iv) Lists of OBCs notified by various State Governments.

12.8 It may be pointed out that the use of personal knowledge by the Commission in the aforesaid manner has been upheld by the Supreme Court in *S. P. Balram v. State of Andhra Pradesh*⁴. In this case the Court referred to the "criticism levelled at the Commission that it had used its personal knowledge for the purpose of characterising a particular group as backward. That, in the circumstances of the case, is inevitable and there is nothing improper or illegal. The very object of the

¹A.I.R. 1959, SC 1012

²A.I.R. 1971, SC 2103

³A.I.R. 1972, SC 1375

⁴A.I.R. 1972 SC 1375

Commission in touring various areas and visiting the haunts and habitations of people is to find out their actual living conditions".

12.9 In this context it may also be stated that in some cases, the findings based on socio-educational field survey happened to be inconsistent with the living social reality. For example, the social status of Kaseria caste in Bihar, Dbohi in Gujarat, Agasa in Karnataka, Kumbhar in Rajasthan, Badager in Tamil Nadu, etc. is known to be very low. Yet these castes scored below 11 points and, thus, qualified for ranking as forward. Such aberrations are bound to occur in any sociological survey which is based on statistical methods owing to lopsidedness of the sample covered. The only corrective to these aberrations is the intimate personal knowledge of local conditions and the use of massive public evidence produced before the Commission. The results of the field survey have been carefully scrutinised and such aberrations rectified as far as possible.

12.10 Whereas the Commission has tried to make the State-wise lists of OBCs as comprehensive as possible, it is quite likely that several synonyms of the castes listed as backward have been left out. Certain castes are known by a number of synonyms which vary from one region to the other and their complete coverage is almost impossible. In view of this the Commission recommends that if a particular caste has been listed as backward then all its synonyms whether mentioned in the State Lists or not should also be treated as backward.

O.B.Cs. Among Non-Hindu Communities

12.11 There is no doubt that social and educational backwardness among non-Hindu communities is more or less of the same order as among Hindu communities. Though caste system is peculiar to Hindu society yet, in actual practice, it also pervades the non-Hindu communities in India in varying degrees. There are two main reasons for this phenomenon: first, caste system is a great conditioner of the mind and leaves an indelible mark on a person's social consciousness and cultural mores. Consequently, even after conversion, the ex-Hindus carried with them their deeply ingrained ideas of social hierarchy and stratification. This resulted in the Hindu converts inadvertently acting as Trojan horses of caste system among highly egalitarian religions such as Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, etc. Secondly, non-Hindu minorities living in pre-dominantly Hindu India could not escape from its dominant social and cultural influences. Thus, both from within and without, caste amongst non-Hindu communities received continuous sustenance and stimulus.

12.12 "..... Sayyads and Shelkhs are the priestly castes like the Brahmins and the Mughals and Palhans fashoos for their cavalry, are equal to the Kshatriyas. . . . There are occupational castes who are considered lower castes in the hierarchy. . . . Thus castes are hereditary names based on their occupation and there is basic tendency among them to practise endogamy. . . . They are descendants of the members of the

Hindu clean castes who have been converted to Islam either in groups from different castes or as whole castes".*

12.13 On the same point Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed observes, "There is a notion of hierarchy among the Muslims, though it is hard to say how far the criterion of the ranking among them can be said to conform to the Hindu model. . . . It is clear that castes exist as a basis of social relations amongst them (Muslims), but its form has been greatly weakened and modified as it differs from the Hindu model in certain details."@

12.14 Similar is the situation among Indian Christians. " . . . Christians in Kerala are divided into various denominations on the basis of beliefs and rituals and into various ethnic groups on the basis of their caste background. . . . even after conversion, the lower caste converts were continued to be treated as Harijans by all sections of the society including the Syrian Christians, even though with conversion the former ceased to be Harijans and untouchables. . . . In the presence of rich Syrian Christians the Harijan Christians had to remove their head-dress while speaking with their Syrian Christian masters. They had to keep their mouth closed with a hand. . . . It was found that the Syrian and Pulaya members of the same Church conduct religious rituals separately in separate buildings. . . . Thus lower caste converts to a very egalitarian religion like Christianity, ever anxious to expand its membership, even after generations were not able to efface the effect of their caste background."

12.15 About Sikhs, the Hindu caste model is almost literally replicated and the fact is too well-known to need any elaboration.

12.16 But despite the prevalence of caste system among non-Hindu communities in varying degrees, the fact of the matter is that all these religions are totally egalitarian in their outlook, they proclaim absolute equality of all their co-religionists and any social differentiation based on caste is anathema to them. In view of this, caste cannot be made the basis for identifying socially and educationally backward classes among non-Hindu communities. We, therefore, shall have to evolve some other rough and ready criteria for identifying non-Hindu OBCs.

12.17 On the face of it, the criterion of poverty appears to be the most plausible, but it is full of pitfalls. For instance, even a highly respected and well-educated Sayyad or Syrian Christian may be poor. Thus he will not satisfy the constitutional provision of 'social and educational backwardness'. Secondly, economic criterion is very difficult to apply. A person who is poor today may be well off tomorrow and

*Caste Among Non-Hindus in India, edited by Dr. Rajinder Singh, National, 1977.

@Caste & Social Stratification among Muslims in India, edited by Dr. Imtiaz Ahmed, Manohar Publications, 1978.

‡K.C. Alexander in 'Caste among Non-Hindus in India', edited by Dr. Rajinder Singh.

vice-versa. Moreover, verification of economic status is very tricky.

12.18 After giving a good deal of thought to these difficulties the Commission has evolved the following rough and ready criteria for identifying non-Hindu OBCs :-

(i) All untouchables converted to any non-Hindu religion; and

(ii) Such occupational communities which are known by the name of their traditional hereditary occupation and whose Hindu counterparts have been included in the list of Hindu OBCs. (Examples : Dhobi, Teli, Dheemnar, Nai, Gujar, Kumhar, Lohar, Darji, Badhai, etc.);

Estimated Population of OBCs

12.19 Systematic caste-wise enumeration of population was introduced by the Registrar General of India in 1881 and discontinued in 1931. In view of this, figures of caste-wise population beyond 1931 are not available. But assuming that the *inter se* rate of growth of population of various castes, communities and religious groups over the last half a century has remained more or less the same, it is possible to work out the percentage that all these groups constitute of the total population of the country.

12.20 Working on the above basis the Commission culled out caste/community-wise population figures from the census records of 1931 and, then grouped them into broad caste-clusters and religious groups. These collectivities were subsequently aggregated under five major heads, i.e. (i) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; (ii) Non-Hindu Communities, Religious Groups, etc.; (iii) Forward Hindu Castes and Communities; (iv) Backward Hindu Castes and Communities; and (v) Backward Non-Hindu Communities. Results of this exercise are contained in the table and a look at it will indicate the broad classification adopted by the Commission.

12.21 The population of Hindu OBCs could be derived by subtracting from the total population of Hindus, the population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and that of forward Hindu castes and communities and it worked out to 52%. But the same approach could not be adopted in respect of non-Hindu OBCs. Assuming that roughly the proportion of OBCs amongst non-Hindus was of the same order as amongst the Hindus, population of non-Hindu OBCs was also taken as 52% of the actual proportion of their population of 16.16%, or 8.40%. Thus the total population of Hindu and non-Hindu OBCs naturally added up to nearly 52% (43.70% + 8.40%) of the country's population.

12.22 From the foregoing it will be seen that excluding Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes constitute nearly 52% of the Indian population.

Percentage Distribution of Indian Population by Caste and Religious Groups

S. No.	Group Name	Percentage of total population
I. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*		
A-1	Scheduled Castes	13.03
A-2	Scheduled Tribes	7.51
TOTAL of 'A'		22.56
II. Non-Hindu Communities, Religious Groups, etc.		
B-1	Muslims (other than STs)	11.19 (0.02)*
B-2	Christians (other than STs)	2.16 (0.44)*
B-3	Sikhs (other than SCs & STs)	1.67 (0.22)*
B-4	Budhists (other than STs)	0.67 (0.03)*
B-5	Jains	0.47
TOTAL of 'B'		16.16
III. Forward Hindu Castes & Communities		
C-1	Brahmins (including Bhumihars)	5.52
C-2	Rajputs	3.90
C-3	Marathas	2.21
C-4	Jats	1.00
C-5	Vaishyas-Bania, etc.	1.89
C-6	Kayasthas	1.07
C-7	Other forward Hindu castes/groups	2.00
TOTAL of 'C'		17.58
TOTAL of 'A', 'B' & 'C'		56.30
IV. Backward Hindu Castes & Communities		
D.	Remaining Hindu castes/groups which come in the category of "Other Backward Classes"	43.70@
V. Backward Non-Hindu Communities		
E.	52% of religious groups under Section B may also be treated as OBCs.	8.40
F.	The approximate derived population of Other Backward Classes including non-Hindu Communities	52% (Aggregate of D & E, rounded).

@This is a derived figure.

*Figures in brackets give the population of S.C.&S.T. among these non-Hindu Communities.

CHAPTER XIII

RECOMMENDATIONS

13.1 It may appear that the upliftment of Other Backward Classes is part of the larger national problem of the removal of mass poverty. This is only partially correct. The deprivation of OBCs is a very special case of the larger national issue : here the basic question is that of social and educational backwardness and poverty is only a direct consequence of these two crippling caste-based handicaps. As these handicaps are embedded in our social structure, their removal will require far-reaching structural changes. No less important will be changes in the perception of the problems of OBCs by the ruling classes of the country.

Reservations

13.2 One such change in the attitude of the ruling elite pertains to the provision of reservation in Government services and educational institutions for the candidates of Other Backward Classes. It is generally argued that looking to the large population of OBCs (52%), recruitment of a few thousand OBCs every year against reserved vacancies is not going to produce any perceptible impact on their general condition. On the other hand, the induction of a large proportion of employees against reserved vacancies will considerably impair the quality and efficiency of the Government services. It is also stated that the benefits of such reservations will be skimmed off by those sections of OBCs which are already well off and the really backward sections will be left high and dry. Another argument advanced against this approach is that the policy of large scale reservations will cause great heart burning to those meritorious candidates whose entry into services will be barred as a result thereof.

13.3 All the above arguments are based on fairly sound reasoning. But these are also the arguments advanced by the ruling elite which is keen on preserving its privileges. Therefore, like all such reasoning, it is based on partisan approach. By the same token, while illuminating some immediate areas of concern it tends to ignore much larger issues of national importance.

13.4 It is not at all our contention that by offering a few thousand jobs to OBC candidates we shall be able to make 52% of the Indian population as forward. But we must recognise that an essential part of of the battle against social backwardness is to be fought in the minds of the backward people. In India Government service has always been looked upon as a symbol of prestige and power. By increasing the representation of OBCs in Government services, we give them an immediate feeling of participation in the governance of this country. When a backward class candidate becomes a Collector or a Superintendent of

Police, the material benefits accruing from his position are limited to the members of his family only. But the psychological spin off of this phenomenon is tremendous; the entire community of that backward class candidate feels socially elevated. Even when no tangible benefits flow to the community at large, the feeling that now it has its "own man" in the "corridors of power" acts as morale booster.

13.5 In a democratic set-up every individual and community has a legitimate right and aspiration to participate in ruling this country. Any situation which results in a near-denial of this right to nearly 52% of the country's population needs to be urgently rectified.

13.6 Apprehensions regarding drop in the quality of Government services owing to large scale induction of S.C./S.T. and O.B.C. candidates against reserved posts may be justified only up to a point. But is it possible to maintain that all candidates selected on merit turn out to be honest, efficient, hard-working and dedicated? At present, top echelons of all the Government services are manned predominantly by open competition candidates and if the performance of our bureaucracy is any indication, it has not exactly covered itself with glory. Of course, this does not imply that candidates selected against reserved posts will do better. Chances are that owing to their social and cultural handicaps they may be generally a shade less competent. But, on the other hand, they will have the great advantage of possessing first hand knowledge of the sufferings and problems of the backward sections of society. This is not a small asset for field workers and policy makers even at the highest level.

13.7 It is no doubt true that the major benefits of reservation and other welfare measures for Other Backward Classes will be cornered by the more advanced sections of the backward communities. But is not this a universal phenomenon? All reformist remedies have to contend with a slow recovery along the hierarchical gradient; there are no quantum jumps in social reform. Moreover, human nature being what it is, a "new class" ultimately does emerge even in classless societies. The chief merit of reservation is not that it will introduce egalitarianism amongst OBCs when the rest of the Indian society is seized by all sorts of inequalities. But reservation will certainly erode the hold of higher castes on the services and enable OBCs in general to have a sense of participation in running the affairs of their country.

13.8 It is certainly true that reservation for OBCs will cause a lot of heart burning to others. But should

the mere fact of this heart burning be allowed to operate as a moral veto against social reform. A lot of heart burning was caused to the British when they left India. It burns the hearts of all whites when the black protest against apartheid in South Africa. When the higher castes constituting less than 20% of the country's population subjected the rest to all manner of social injustice, it must have caused a lot of heart burning to the lower castes. But now that the lower castes are asking for a modest share of the national cake of power and prestige, a chorus of alarm is being raised on the plea that this will cause heart burning to the ruling elite. Of all the spacious arguments advanced against reservation for backward classes, there is none which beats this one about 'heart burning' in sheer sophistry.

13.9 In fact the Hindu society has always operated a very rigorous scheme of reservation, which was internalised through caste system. Eklivya lost his thumb and Shambhuk his neck for their breach of caste rules of reservation. The present furore against reservations for OBCs is not aimed at the principle itself, but against the new class of beneficiaries, as they are now clamouring for a share of the opportunities which were all along monopolised by the higher castes.

Quantum and Scheme of Reservations

13.10 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute 22.5% of the country's population. Accordingly, a *pro-rata* reservation of 22.5% has been made for them in all services and public sector undertakings under the Central Government. In the States also, reservation for SCs and STs is directly proportional to their population in each State.

13.11 As stated in the last Chapter (para 12.22) the population of OBCs, both Hindu and non-Hindu, is around 52% of the total population of India. Accordingly, 52% of all posts under the Central Government should be reserved for them. But this provision may go against the law laid down in a number of Supreme Court judgements wherein it has been held that the total quantum of reservation under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution should be below 50%. In view of this the proposed reservation for OBCs would have to be pegged at a figure which, when added to 22.5% for SCs and STs, remains below 50%. In view of this legal constraint, the Commission is obliged to recommend a reservation of 27% only, even though their population is almost twice this figure.

13.12 States which have already introduced reservation for OBCs exceeding 27%, will remain unaffected by this recommendation.

13.13 With the above general recommendation regarding the quantum of reservation, the Commission proposes the following over-all scheme of reservation for OBCs :—

- (1) Candidates belonging to OBCs recruited on the basis of merit in an open competition

should not be adjusted against their reservation quota of 27%.

- (2) The above reservation should also be made applicable to promotion quota at all levels.
- (3) Reserved quota remaining unfilled should be carried forward for a period of three years and dereserved thereafter.
- (4) Relaxation in the upper age limit for direct recruitment should be extended to the candidates of OBCs in the same manner as done in the case of SCs and STs.
- (5) A roster system for each category of posts should be adopted by the concerned authorities in the same manner as presently done in respect of SC and ST candidates.

13.14 The above scheme of reservation in its tota should also be made applicable to all recruitment to public sector undertakings both under the Central and State Governments, as also to nationalised banks.

13.15 All private sector undertakings which have received financial assistance from the Government in one form or the other should also be obliged to recruit personnel on the aforesaid basis.

13.16 All universities and affiliated colleges should also be covered by the above scheme of reservation.

13.17 To give proper effect to these recommendations, it is imperative that adequate statutory provisions are made by the Government to amend the existing enactments, rules, procedures, etc. to the extent they are not in consonance with the same.

Educational Concessions

13.18 Our educational system is elitist in character, results in a high degree of wastage and is least suited to the requirements of an over-populated and developing country. It is a legacy of the British rule which was severely criticised during the independence struggle, and yet, it has not undergone any structural changes. Though it is least suited to the needs of backward classes, yet, they are forced to run the rat-race with others as no options are available to them. As 'educational reform' was not within the terms of reference of this Commission, we are also forced to tread the beaten track and suggest only the palliative measure within the existing framework.

13.19 Various State Governments are giving a number of educational concessions to Other Backward Class students (Chapter IX, paras 9.30-9.33) like exemption of tuition fees, free supply of books and clothes, mid-day meals, special hostel facilities stipends, etc. These concessions are all right as far as they go. But they do not go far enough. What is required is, perhaps, not so much the provision of additional funds as the framing of integrated schemes for creating the proper environment and incentives for serious and purposeful studies.

13.20 It is well known that most backward class children are irregular and indifferent students and their drop-out rate is very high. There are two main reasons for this. First, these children are brought up in a climate of extreme social and cultural deprivation and, consequently, a proper motivation for schooling is generally lacking. Secondly, most of these children come from very poor homes and their parents are forced to press them into doing small chores from a very young age.

13.21 Upgrading the cultural environment is a very slow process. Transferring these children to an artificially upgraded environment is beyond the present resources of the country. In view of this it is recommended that this problem may be tackled on a limited and selective basis on two fronts.

13.22 First, an intensive and time bound programme for adult education should be launched in selected pockets with high concentration of OBC population. This is a basic motivational approach, as only properly motivated parents will take serious interest in educating their children. Secondly, residential schools should be set up in these areas for backward class students to provide a climate specially conducive to serious studies. All facilities in these schools including board and lodging, will have to be provided free of cost to attract students from poor and backward homes, separate Government Hostels for OBC students with the above facilities will be another step in the right direction.

13.23 A beginning on both these fronts will have to be made on a limited scale and selective basis. But the scope of these activities should be expanded as fast as the resources permit. Adult education programme and residential schools started on a selective basis will operate as growing-points of consciousness for the entire community and their multiplier effect is bound to be substantial. Whereas several States are extended a number of *ad hoc* concessions to backward class students, few serious attempts have been made to integrate these facilities into a comprehensive scheme for a qualitative upgradation of educational environment available to OBC students.

13.24 After all, education is the best catalyst of change and educating the backward classes is the surest way to improve their self image and raise their social status. As OBCs cannot afford the high wastage rates of our educational system, it is very important that their education is highly biased in favour of vocational training. After all reservation in services will absorb only a very small percentage of the educated backward classes and the rest should be suitably equipped with vocational skills to enable them to get a return on having invested several years in education.

13.25 It is also obvious that even if all the above facilities are given to OBC students, they will not be able to compete on an equal footing with others in securing admission to technical and professional institutions. In view of this it is recommended that seats should be reserved for OBC students in all scientific, technical and professional institutions run by the Cen-

tral as well as State Governments. This reservation will fall under Article 15(4) of the Constitution and the quantum of reservation should be the same as in the Government services, i.e. 27%. Those States which have already reserved more than 27% seats for OBC students will remain unaffected by this recommendation.

13.26 While implementing the provision for reservation it should also be ensured that the candidates who are admitted against the reserved quota are enabled to derive full benefit of higher studies. It has been generally noticed that these OBC students coming from an impoverished cultural background, are not able to keep abreast with other students. It is, therefore, very essential that special coaching facilities are arranged for all such students in our technical and professional institutions. The concerned authorities should clearly appreciate that their job is not finished once candidates against reserved quota have been admitted to various institutions. In fact the real task starts only after that. Unless adequate follow-up action is taken to give special coaching assistance to these students, not only these young people will feel frustrated and humiliated but the country will also be landed with ill-equipped and sub-standard engineers, doctors and other professionals.

Financial Assistance

13.27 Vocational communities following hereditary occupations have suffered heavily as a result of industrialisation. Mechanical production and introduction of synthetic materials has robbed the village potter, oil crusher, blacksmith, carpenter, etc. of their traditional means of livelihood and the pauperisation of these classes is a well known phenomenon in the country-side.

13.28 It has, therefore become very necessary that suitable institutional finance and technical assistance is made available to such members of village vocational communities who want to set up small scale industries on their own. Similar assistance should also be provided to those promising OBC candidates who have obtained special vocational training.

13.29 Of course, most State Governments have created various financial and technical agencies for the promotion of small and medium scale industries. But it is well known that only the more influential members of the community are able to derive benefits from these agencies. In view of this, it is very essential that separate financial institutions for providing financial and technical assistance are established for the backward classes. Some State Governments like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have already set up separate financial corporations etc. for OBCs.

13.30 Cooperative Societies of occupational groups will also help a lot. But due care should be taken that all the office-bearers and members of such societies belong to the concerned hereditary occupational groups and outsiders are not allowed to exploit them by infiltrating into such cooperatives.

13.31 The share of OBCs in the industrial and business life of the country is negligible and this partly explains their extremely low income levels. As a part

of its overall strategy to uplift the backward classes, it is imperative that all State Governments are suitably advised and encouraged to create a separate network of financial and technical institutions to foster business and industrial enterprise among OBCs.

Structural Changes

13.32 Reservations in Government employment and educational institutions, as also all possible financial assistance will remain mere palliatives unless the problem of backwardness is tackled at its root. Bulk of the small land-holders, tenants, agricultural labour, impoverished village artisans, unskilled workers, etc. belong to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes. "Apart from social traditions, the dominance by the top peasantry is exercised through recourse to informal bondage which arises mainly through money-lending, leasing out of small bits of land and providing house-sites and dwelling space to poor peasants. As most of the functionaries of Government are drawn from the top peasantry, the class and caste linkage between the functionaries of Government and the top peasantry remain firm. This also tilts the socio-political balance in favour of the top peasantry and helps it in having its dominance over others."^{*}

13.33 The net outcome of the above situation is that notwithstanding their numerical preponderance, backward classes continue to remain in mental and material bondage of the higher castes and rich peasantry. Consequently, despite constituting nearly 3/4th of the country's population, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes have been able to acquire a very limited political clout, even though adult franchise was introduced more than three decades back. Through their literal monopoly of means of production the higher castes are able to manipulate and coerce the backward classes into acting against their own interests. In view of this, until the stranglehold of the existing production relations is broken through radical land reforms, the abject dependence of under privileged classes on the dominant higher castes will continue indefinitely. In fact there is already a sizeable volume of legislation on the statute books to abolish zamindari, place ceilings on land holdings and distribute land to the landless. But in actual practice its implementation has been halting, half-hearted and superficial. The States like Karnataka, Kerala and West Bengal which have gone about the job more earnestly have not only succeeded in materially helping the Backward classes, but also reaped rich political dividends into the bargain.

13.34 It is the Commission's firm conviction that a radical transformation of the existing production relations is the most important single step that can be taken for the welfare and upliftment of all backward classes. Even if this is not possible in the industrial sector for various reasons, in the agricultural sector a change of this nature is both feasible and overdue.

13.35 The Commission, therefore, strongly recommends that all the State Governments should be

directed to enact and implement progressive land legislation so as to effect basic structural changes in the existing production relations in the countryside.

13.36 At present surplus land is being allotted to SCs and STs. A part of the surplus land becoming available in future as a result of the operation of land ceiling laws etc. should also be allotted to the OBC landless labour.

Miscellaneous

13.37 (1) Certain sections of some occupational communities like Fishermen, Banjaras, Banstoras, Khatwas etc. still suffer from the stigma of untouchability in some parts of the country. They have been listed as O.B.Cs. by the Commission, but their inclusion in the lists of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes may be considered by the Government.

(2) 'Backward Classes Development Corporations should be set up both at the Central and State levels to implement various socio-educational and economic measures for their advancement.

(3) A separate Ministry/Department for O.B.Cs. at the Centre and the States should be created to safeguard their interests.

(4) With a view to giving better representation to certain very backward sections of O.B.Cs. like the Gaddis in Himachal Pradesh, Neo-Buddhists in Maharashtra, Fishermen in the Coastal areas, Gujjars in J&K., it is recommended that areas of their concentration may be carved out into separate constituencies at the time of delimitation.

Central Assistance

13.38 At present no Central Assistance is available to any State Government for implementing any welfare measures for Other Backward Classes. The 18 States and Union Territories which have undertaken such measures have to provide funds from their own resources. During the Commission's tours practically every State Government pointed out that unless the Centre is prepared to liberally finance all special schemes for the upliftment of OBCs, it will be beyond the available resources of the States to undertake any worthwhile programme for the benefit of Other Backward Classes.

13.39 The Commission fully shares the views of the State Governments in this matter and strongly recommends that all development programmes specially designed for Other Backward Classes should be financed by the Central Government in the same manner and to the same extent as done in the case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

13.40 Regarding the period of operation of the Commission's recommendations, the entire scheme should be reviewed after twenty years. We have advisedly suggested this span of one generation, as the raising of social consciousness is a generational process. Any review at a shorter interval would be rather arbitrary and will not give a fair indication of the impact of our recommendations on the prevailing status and life-styles of O.B.Cs.

^{*}Rising Middle Peasantry in North India by Pradhan M Prasad, Economic & Political Weekly, Annual Number 1980.

CHAPTER XIV

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

Chapter I—The First Backward Classes Commission

The First Backward Classes Commission was set up on January 29th, 1953 and it submitted its report on March 9th, 1955. On the basis of criteria evolved by it, the Commission listed 2,399 castes as socially and educationally backward. It recommended various welfare measures for OBCs including reservation in Government services and educational institutions.

The Central Government did not accept the recommendations of the Commission on the ground that it had not applied any objective tests for identifying Backward Classes. Five out of the 11 Members of the Commission had given notes of dissent. The Government felt that the Commission had classified a very large section of the population as backward and if special assistance had to be extended to all these people, "the really needy will be swamped by the multitude". The Government was also opposed to the adoption of caste as one of the criterion for backwardness and preferred the application of economic tests.

As Article 340 of the Constitution speaks of "socially and educationally backward classes", the application of 'economic tests' for their identification seems to be misconceived.

Chapter II—Status of OBCs in Some States

It is for nearly 100 years that Provincial Governments in India have been implementing special programmes for the welfare of depressed and backward classes. Madras Government took the lead by framing Grant-in-Aid Code in 1885 to regulate financial aid to educational institutions for backward classes students. Mysore State was the next to follow and, by now, all the Southern States are implementing fairly comprehensive programmes for OBCs. As on date 16 States and 2 Union Territories are providing special assistance of varying degrees to Other Backward Classes. Ten State Governments are doing so on the basis of recommendations made by Backward Classes Commission specially set up by them in this behalf and the others are doing so in an *ad hoc* manner.

Special concessions like reservation of jobs in Government employment and seats in educational institutions; financial assistance; subsidised educational facilities, etc. are being given by several State Governments to OBCs. Southern States have done much more work in this connection as compared to the rest of the country. Karnataka has reserved 48% of all Government jobs for OBC candidates in

addition to 18% for SCs and STs. In the case of Tamil Nadu, these figures stand 50% and 18% respectively.

Chapter III—Methodology and Data Base

One serious defect noticed by the Government in the report of first Backward Classes Commission was that it had not formulated any objective criteria for classifying Other Backward Classes. The need for field surveys and formulation of objective tests has also been repeatedly emphasised by the Supreme Court in several cases. In view of this, the Commission has taken special care to tap a number of independent sources for the collection of primary data. Some of the important measures taken in this connection were : seminar of sociologists on social backwardness; issue of three sets of questionnaires to State Governments, Central Government and the public; extensive touring of the country by the Commission, taking evidence of legislators, eminent publicmen, sociologists, etc.; undertaking a country-wide socio-educational survey; preparation of reports on some important issues by specialised agencies; analysis of census data, etc., etc.

By adopting this multilateral approach the Commission was able to cast its net far and wide and prepared a very firm and dependable data base for its Report.

Chapter IV—Social Backwardness and Caste

Castes are the building bricks of the Hindu social structure. They have kept Hindu society divided in a hierarchical order for centuries. This has resulted in a close linkage between the caste ranking of a person and his social, educational and economic status.

This manner of stratification of society gave the higher castes deep-rooted vested interests in the perpetuation of the system. The priestly castes evolved an elaborate and subtle scheme of scripture, ritual and mythology and perpetuate their supremacy and hold the lower castes in bondage for ages. Most of our Shastras uphold the four-fold Varṇa system and, because of this religious sanction, caste system has lasted longer than most other social institutions based on inequality and inequity.

In view of the permanent stratification of society in hierarchical caste order, members of lower castes have always suffered from discrimination in all walks of life and this has resulted in their social, educational and economic backwardness. In India, therefore,

The low ritual caste status of a person has a direct bearing on his social backwardness.

Chapter V—Social Dynamics of Caste

Caste system has been able to survive over the centuries because of its inherent resilience and its ability to adjust itself to the ever changing social reality. The traditional view of caste system, as contained in Chapter IV, is based more on Hindu Shastras than the actual state of social reality. Moreover, caste restrictions have loosened considerably as a result of the rule of law introduced by the British, urbanisation, industrialisation, spread of mass education and, above all, the introduction of adult franchise after independence. But all the above changes mark only shift of emphasis and not any material alteration in the basic structure of caste.

It is generally agreed that whereas certain caste taboos have weakened as a result of the above changes, the importance of casteism in Indian politics is on the increase. This perhaps, was inevitable. Caste system provided the political leadership with readymade channels of communication and mobilisation and, in view of this, the importance of caste was bound to increase in Indian politics. As Rajni Kothari has observed, "those in India who complain of 'casteism' in politics are really looking for a sort of politics which has no basis in society."

The pace of social mobility is no doubt increasing and some traditional features of caste system have inevitably weakened. But what caste has lost on the ritual front, it has more than gained on the political front. In view of this it will be unrealistic to assume that the institution of caste will wither away in the foreseeable future.

Chapter VI—Social Justice, Merit and Privilege

Equality before the law is a basic Fundamental Right guaranteed under Article 14 of the Constitution. But the principle of 'equality' is a double edged weapon. It places the strong and the handicapped on the same footing in the race of life. It is a dictum of social justice that there is equality only among equals. To treat unequals as equals is to perpetuate inequality. The humaneness of a society is determined by the degree of protection it provides to its weaker, handicapped and less gifted members.

'Equality of opportunity' and 'equality of treatment' places the weak and the strong on par and, to that extent, it amounts to denial of social justice. In fact, it is 'equality of results' which is the acid test of society's egalitarian pretensions. In a highly unequal society like ours, it is only by giving special protection and privileges to the under-privileged section of society that we can enable the weak to resist exploitation by the strong.

It was in view of these considerations that our Constitution makers made special provisions under Articles 15(4), 16(4) and 46 etc. to protect the interests of SCs, STs and OBCs. Some people consider provisions like reservation of posts for backward classes, etc., as a violation of their Fundamental

Right and denial of meritorious person's legitimate due. In fact, 'merit' itself is largely a product of favourable environmental privileges and higher rating in an examination does not necessarily reflect higher intrinsic worth of the examinee. Children of socially and educationally backward parents coming from rural background cannot compete on an equal footing with children from well to do homes. In view of this 'merit' and 'equality' should be viewed in proper perspective and the element of privilege should be duly recognised and discounted for when 'unequals' are made to run the same race.

Chapter VII—Social Justice, Constitution and the Law

The element of conflict between the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy has been the subject matter of numerous Parliamentary debates and judicial pronouncements. In pursuance of Articles 15(4) and 16(4) a number of State Governments made reservations in Government services and educational institutions for OBCs and several petitions were filed before the High Courts and the Supreme Court against such orders. Gradually a sizeable body of case law has grown on the subject and a gist of it is given below.

Caste is an important factor in the identification of Other Backward Classes among Hindu communities. Backwardness must be both social and educational and not either social or educational. Caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it is a socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of Article 15(4). The further division of backward classes into 'backward' and 'most backward' is not warranted by Article 15(4). The aggregate reservation of posts under Article 15(4) should be less than 50%. Objective criteria should be evolved on the basis of field survey, etc., for identifying OBCs.

Chapter VIII—North South Comparison of OBC Welfare

Southern States have done much more for the welfare of Other Backward Classes than Northern States. Moreover, in the South the whole operation was conducted quite smoothly whereas in the North even modest welfare measures for OBCs have given rise to sharp resistance. The Commission approached Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, to prepare a comparative study of the 4 States of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, so as to have better appreciation of this phenomenon.

Tata Institute Study formulated a number of hypotheses in this regard. They are : Reservation scheme had a much longer history in the South; forward castes were more divided among themselves in the South; OBCs were not getting along very well with SCs/STs in the North and thus divided the backward classes movement; backward classes were more politicised in the South; reservation scheme was introduced too suddenly in the North; the capacity of backward classes

to retaliate depends upon their numbers, political consciousness, dominance and perceived lack of alternative opportunities; more rapid expansion of tertiary sector gave opening to forward castes in the South which was not available to the same extent in the North, etc.

Data Institute Study supports the above hypotheses by citing a number of examples and historical developments in the 4 States under consideration.

Chapter IX—Evidence by Central and State Governments

Two sets of questionnaires were circulated to all State Governments, Union Territories and Ministries and Departments of Central Government for eliciting information on various aspects of our inquiry. These questionnaires were designed to obtain a comparative picture of status of backward classes in various States, steps taken for their welfare, views of various Government agencies on the question of social and educational backwardness and any useful suggestions regarding the Commission's terms of reference.

Most of the State Governments favoured caste as an important criteria for determining social and educational backwardness. Some States preferred economic criteria and some a combination of caste and measures. Eighteen State Governments and Union Territories have taken special steps for the welfare of Other Backward Classes, though there is wide variation in the quantum of assistance provided by them. For instance, reservation in Government services for OBCs ranges from 50% in the case of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and 5% in Punjab and nil in the case of Rajasthan, Orissa, Delhi, etc. Representation of OBCs in local bodies, State Public Service Commissions, High Courts, etc., is also negligible. Social discrimination is still practised against OBCs. There are a number of castes and communities which are treated as untouchables though they have not been included in the list of Scheduled Castes. All the State Governments which have launched programmes for the welfare of backward classes have to fund the same from their own resources as no separate Plan allocation is made by the Centre for this purpose.

Most States have reported loss of employment by village artisans owing to the introduction of machines, change in consumption patterns, etc.

From the information supplied by the Central Government Ministries and Departments it is seen that Other Backward Classes constitute 12.55% of the total number of Government employees, whereas their aggregate population is 52%. Their representation in Class I jobs is only 4.69%, i.e., less than 1/10th of their proportion to the country's total population.

Chapter X—Evidence by the Public

Nearly 2/3rd of the respondents to our questionnaire for General Public felt that no material changes have taken place in the country's caste structure since Independence. Regarding criterion for identifying backwardness, nearly 3/4th of the respondents favoured

caste. More than 3/4th of the respondents also complained of various disabilities suffered by backward classes and many felt that no concrete steps have been taken to remove them. They wanted job reservation quotas to be enhanced and more educational concessions to be given to the children of OBC. Ameliorative measures suggested for OBCs were: reservation in Government employment and educational institutions; grant of interest free loans, free distribution of agricultural land and house sites; etc.

In their evidence before the Commission. Members of Sixth and Seventh Lok Sabha also expressed views similar to those summarised above. Some MPs warned against malicious propaganda being carried on by vested interests to create conflict between OBCs and SCs and STs. Some stated that the Commission should adopt those criteria for determining backwardness which have been tested before the Courts. They also suggested that the lists of OBCs prepared by State Governments and accepted by the courts should be adopted by the Commission *in toto*.

During the Commission's tour to various States, a large number of representations were received for including particular castes in the list of OBCs. Most of the other respondents expressed similar views on the criteria for identifying backward classes and measures to be taken for their upliftment as already indicated above.

Chapter XI—Socio-Educational Field Survey—Criteria for Backwardness

A country-wide socio-educational survey covering 405 out of 407 Districts was conducted with the help of Bureau of Economics and Statistics of various states from February to June, 1980. Voluminous data gathered from the Survey was computerised and 31 primary tables were generated from this data in respect of each State and Union Territory. On the basis of these tables, 11 Indicators or Criteria for social and educational backwardness were derived and they were grouped under 3 broad heads, i.e., Social, Educational and Economic. In view of their relative importance, 3 points were assigned to each one of the Social Indicators, 2 to Educational Indicators and 1 to Economic Indicators. This added upto a total score of 22 points. All these 11 indicators were applied to each one of the castes covered by the Survey in each State. Castes obtaining a minimum score of 11 points on this scale were listed as socially and educationally backward.

Chapter XII—Identification of OBCs

A large number of castes were identified, as backward in each State as a result of the Socio-Educational Survey. As this Survey covered only 2 villages and one urban block per District, a large number of Castes were naturally left out. Moreover, in some cases, the size of the sample was so small that the results were not dependable.

In view of this, two supplementary approaches were adopted to prepare complete lists of OBCs for each

State. First, State-wise list of the 11 groups of primitive tribes, exterior castes, criminal tribes, etc. contained in the Registrar General of India's compilation of 1961 were culled and included in the Commission's lists of OBCs. This was done as the social and educational status of these castes and communities was more or less akin to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Secondly, based on the public evidence and personal knowledge of the Members of the Commission, State-wise list of those OBCs were drawn up which could not be covered by the socio-educational survey.

It was as a result of this three pronged approach that State lists of OBCs (Volume-III) were prepared.

From the results of the field survey it was seen that some of the well-known OBCs which were also included in the lists of backward classes notified by various State Governments were not ranked as 'backward' in the survey. This is unavoidable in any sociological survey based on Statistical methods. Such aberrations were corrected in the light of the other field evidence available with the Commission.

The set of eleven Indicators (criteria), being caste-based, could not be applied to non-Hindu communities. In view of this, a separate set of 3 criteria was evolved for the identification of non-Hindu backward communities.

On the basis of the available census data, the population of Hindu and non-Hindu OBCs was estimated to be 52% of the total population of India. This is in addition to the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which amounts to 22.5%.

Chapter XIII—Recommendations

Reservation for SCs and STs is in proportion to their population, i.e., 22.5%. But as there is a legal obligation to keep reservations under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution below 50%, the Commission recommends a reservation of 27% for OBCs. This reservation should apply to all Government services as well as technical and professional institutions, both in the Centre and the States.

Special educational facilities designed at upgrading the cultural environment of the students should be created in a phased manner in selected areas containing high concentration of OBCs. Special emphasis should be placed on vocational training. Separate coaching facilities should be provided in technical and professional institutions to OBC students to enable them to catch up with students from open quota.

Special programmes for upgrading the skills of village artisans should be prepared and subsidised loans from financial institutions granted to them for setting up small scale industries. To promote the participation of OBCs in the industrial and business life of the country, a separate net-work of financial and technical institutions should be created by all State Governments.

Under the existing scheme of production-relations, Backward Classes comprising mainly small land holders, tenants, agricultural labour, village artisans, etc., are heavily dependent on the rich peasantry for their sustenance. In view of this, OBCs continue to remain in mental and material bondage of the dominant castes and classes. Unless these production-relations are radically altered through structural changes and progressive land reforms implemented rigorously all over the country, OBCs will never become truly independent. In view of this, highest priority should be given to radical land reforms by all the States.

At present no Central assistance is available to any State for implementing any welfare measures for Other Backward Classes. Several State Governments expressed their helplessness in undertaking more purposeful development programmes for backward classes in view of lack of resources. It is, therefore, recommended that welfare programmes specially designed for OBCs should be financed by the Central Government in the same manner and to the same extent as done in the case of SCs and STs.

Sd/-

(BINDHYESHWARI PRASAD MANDAL)

Sd/-

(R. R. BHOLE)

Sd/-

(DIWAN MOHAN LALL)

Sd/-

(K. SUBRAMANIAM)

Sd/-

(L. R. NAIK)

(Subject to my minute of dissent)

VOLUME II

COMPOSITION AND TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE FIRST BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

Composition

1. Shri Kakasabheb Kalelkar, M.P., Chairman
2. Shri Narayan Saboba Kajrolikar, M.P.
3. Shri Birabha Bhai, M.P.
4. Shri Shivdayal Singh Chaurasia
5. Shri Rajeshwar Patel, M.P.
6. Shri Abóús Qaiyum Ansari, M.L.A. (Bihar)
7. Shri T. Mariappa, M.L.A. (Mysore)
8. Late Jagannath
9. Shri Atma Singh Namdhari, M.P.
10. Shri N. R. M. Swamy, M.P.
11. Shri Arunangshu De (Member-Secretary)

Terms of Reference

The Backward Classes Commission shall—

- (a) 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 setting out also their approximate numbers and their territorial distribution;
 - (b) investigate the conditions of all such socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour; and make recommendations—
 - (i) as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties or to improve their condition, and
 - (ii) as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State and the conditions subject to which such grants could be made;
 - (c) investigate such other matters as the President may hereafter refer to them; and
 - (d) present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.
- The Commission may—
- (a) obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose in such form and such manner as they may think appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Governments and such other authorities, organizations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance to them;
 - (b) hold their sittings or the sittings of such sub-committees as they may appoint from amongst their own members at such authority of the Chairman; and
 - (c) visit or depute a sub-committee of theirs to visit such parts of the territory of India as they consider necessary or convenient.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STATE GOVERNMENTS/UNION TERRITORIES

NOTE :

- (a) Unless otherwise specified, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be excluded while furnishing information about Other Backward Classes (OBCs).
- (b) Replies should be brief and specific. Generalizations may be avoided.
- (c) Statistics may be given, wherever possible.
- (d) A separate sheet may be used for each question so as to facilitate compilation work in the office of the Commission. Only question number may be indicated in the top left hand margin of the sheet and the whole question need not be reproduced.

CRITERIA

1. Has your State Government recognised and identified 'Other Backward Classes' as a separate entity?
2. If so, what are the criteria adopted for doing so?
3. What should be the objective and specific criteria for determining :
- (a) Social backwardness; and
- (b) Educational backwardness.
4. Could caste be made a criterion for identifying backwardness?
- Please give reasons for your answer.
5. Caste being peculiar to the Hindu Communities, what criteria should be adopted to determine social and educational backwardness of the non-Hindu communities?
6. Can you suggest any other positive and workable criteria for determining backwardness?
- If so, please spell it out.
7. In the context of other Backward Classes, the Constitution refers to social and educational backwardness only. Economic backwardness as a criterion has been advisedly left out. What are the views of your State Government on this issue?

11. SAFEGUARDS, RESERVATION ETC.

8. Please give the following particulars regarding the members elected to both Houses of the Parliament and the State Legislature(s) from your State in the last three general elections;

	Lok Sabha	Rajya Sabha	State Legislature(s)
(1) Total number of Members.			
(2) No. of members belonging to SCs and STs.			
(3) No. of members belonging to OBCs.			

9. Please give a complete list of Chief Ministers of your State since independence to date and indicate the 'varna' (i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya or Sudra) against each name.

10. What is the total number and percentage of elected members of OBCs in the various local bodies of the State? (If figures down to the village level are not readily available, please go as far below the district level as possible. Figure for each level may be given separately).

11. Please furnish the following information about village headmen/mukhtas and sarpanchas in your State :

	Total number	No. belonging to SCs & STs	No. belonging to OBCs
(1) Village headmen/mukhtas			
(2) Sarpanchas of Gram Panchayats.			
(3) Sarpanchas of Nyaya Panchayats.			

12. Has your State Govt. fixed any specific quota of posts in the public services for other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes? If so, please give information in the following table :

Employer	Gazetted	Non-Gazetted other than Class IV	
		OBC SC&ST	OBC SC&ST
		OBC SC&ST	OBC SC&ST
(1) State Govt.			
(2) Local Bodies			
(3) Undertakings			

Note : For Local Bodies and public undertakings, please give the equivalent of gazetted and non-gazetted posts.

13. What is the total number of vacancies that normally arise every year under the above three categories?

14. In case your State Government has adopted a policy of job reservation for Other Backward Classes, are these further sub-divided into "Backward" and "More Backward" Classes?

If the answer is 'Yes', please give the basis for doing so.

15. When was job reservation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes first introduced in your State?

16. (a) Is the reserved quota of jobs fully utilised by the candidates of Other Backward Classes?

(b) Please give latest available figures of number of posts reserved and actually filled by OBC candidates in all the three grades mentioned in Q. No. 12 for three consecutive years.

17. In the open selection of candidates for any category of posts, some OBC candidates are also likely to be selected on the basis of merit alone. Are the number of posts thus filled by Other Backward Classes candidate i.e. on the basis of individual merit, subtracted from the quota of posts specially reserved for candidates of Other Backward Classes?

18. In case the quota reserved for OBC candidates is not fully utilised by the members of Other Backward Classes in a particular year, how does your State Government treat the unutilised quota?

19. Does the reservation of jobs for OBCs bear any relation to the population of OBCs *vis-à-vis* the total population of the State? If not, please give reasons.

20. Is reservation of posts for Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes necessary and equitable?

If so, what should be the basis for determining quotas of reserved posts?

21. What percentage of the total population of the State do the upper three caste groups of (i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya) constitute?

(b) What percentage of the total number of gazetted posts in the State are held by persons belonging to these three caste groups? Please give separate figures for each group.

22. Have any decisions regarding job reservation for OBCs been challenged before any judicial forum?

If so, what was the outcome of such challenges? Please also enclose copies of the concerned judgements.

23. What specific steps should be taken to enhance the representation of OBCs under various categories of public services?

24. (a) Please furnish the following information :

	Total number	No. belonging to SCs & STs	No. belonging to OBCs
(1) State public service Commission (Chairman and Members only).			
(2) High Court Judges			
(3) District & Sessions Judges			
(4) Collectors/District Magistrates.			
(5) Secretaries to Govt.			
(6) Heads of Departments			

(b) Please also indicate if the Chairman of the state public Service Commission or the Chief Justice of the High Court belong to Scheduled Caste & Scheduled Tribe or Other Backward class.

III. CENSUS

25. Please indicate :

	As per 1931 Census	As per latest estimate
(1) Population of your State		
(2) Population of SCs & STs		
(3) Population of OBCs		

26. A list of Other Backward Classes prepared by the previous Backward Classes Commission appointed in 1953 is enclosed (Annexure 1).

(a) Does it tally with the list prepared by your State?

(b) If not, please indicate the OBCs included in your State list but omitted from the list prepared by the earlier backward Classes Commission and vice versa.

(c) Please also give reasons for your State Government not following the list prepared by the previous backward Classes Commission.

27. Has a separate list been prepared for the backward communities of non-Hindus?

If so, please give the basis for doing so.

28. Please give the approximate population figures of each caste/class group of Other Backward Classes included in the list prepared by your State Government and the manner in which these figures have been arrived at.

29. In case your State Government has prepared no such list please give the approximate population figures of the caste/class groups included in the enclosed list of OBCs (Annexure I).

30. Which are the advanced caste/class groups of your State?

31. Does your list of advanced caste/class groups tally with that prepared by the previous backward Classes Commission (This list will be sent later).

32. Please give a list of ex-criminals or Denotified Tribes living in your State along with the approximate population of each tribe.

IV. SOCIAL

33. What are the social, civil and religious disabilities which other backward classes suffer in your State?

34. What are the concrete measures taken by the State Government to remove these disabilities?

35. To what extent have these measures succeeded in removing these disabilities?

36. Are there any non-scheduled Castes in your State which are treated as untouchables?

37. Are there any caste groups from the upper three 'Varnas' (i.e. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas) in your state which belong to Other Backward Classes?

38. Are there any caste groups in your state which neither belong to the upper three 'Varnas', nor to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes nor to Other Backward Classes?

If so, please give a list along with their population figures.

39. (a) Does the Hindu segment of landless agricultural labour comprise entirely of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes?

(b) If not, please give a list of the excluded castes/classes along with their population figures.

40. Which are the dominant castes of your state?

Please furnish a list along with their approximate population figures.

Also, please give your definition of "dominant caste".

41. Are the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes generally found to be living in the same Area?

42. Which areas of your State have a high concentration of Other Backward Classes?

43. (a) What percentage of the population of your State lives below the "poverty line"?

(b) What proportion of such population is comprised of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes?

44. What has your State Government done for the rehabilitation of Denotified (ex-criminal) Tribes?

Please give their list along with approximate population figures.

V. EDUCATIONAL.

45. Please give the percentage of literacy, separately for males and females, among the following as per the Census of 1951, 1961 and 1971 :-

(a) General literacy:

(b) Literacy among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:

(c) Literacy amongst "Other Backward Classes".

46. Amongst OBC literates, how many are :-

(i) Primary pass:

(ii) Matriculation, Higher Secondary pass;

(iii) Graduates; and

(iv) Technically qualified.

47. What special measures have been taken by the State Government to promote literacy amongst Other Backward Classes?

48. Are the Children belonging to Other Backward Classes given any special educational stipend, etc.?

If so, please give details.

49. Has the State Government set up any educational institutions specially for the children of Other Backward Classes?

If so, please give particulars.

50. Has the State Government reserved any seats in technical institutions for the children of Other Backward Classes?

If so, what percentages?

51. Has the State Government launched any adult literacy programme for Other Backward Classes?

If so, what percentage of OBC adults has been covered under this programme?

52. (a) How many universities, degree colleges, secondary education boards, intermediate education boards, etc. are there in your States?

(b) Please give separately the representation of Other Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Advanced classes in all these bodies.

(c) Figures in respect of the teaching staff of various institutions may also please be given.

53. Are the students of Other Backward Classes given any concession for admission to colleges and technical institutions?

If so, please give details.

54. Have any specific quota or seats been reserved for the candidates of OBCs in colleges and technical institutions?

If so, please give details.

55. If reply to the above question is in the positive, are the reserved quotas reduced by the number of Backward Class students who are able to secure admission on the basis of merit?

56. (a) Have any separate hostels been constructed for the students of Other Backward Classes?

(b) What is the total residential capacity of these hostels?

(c) What percentage of this capacity is actually utilised by the students of Other Backward Classes?

57. Is any concession in respect of tuition fees extended to the students of OBCs?

Please give particulars.

58. Have any special promotional measures been taken by the State Government for the spread of education among girls belonging to Other Backward Classes?

Please give details.

59. Please give the following information about the student population of your state :-

	In schools	In colleges
(1) Total number of students		
(2) No. belonging to SCs & STs		
(3) No. belonging to OBCs		

VI. WELFARE

60. What percentage of the total state budget is spend for the advancement of Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

Please give allocations under various heads.

61. What Central Assistance is your State getting for the upliftment of Other Backward Classes under the plan and non-plan grants?

62. (a) Which Department is looking after the welfare of Other Backward Classes in your State?

(b) Which are the other official agencies engaged in this work?

63. Please give a list of all the active non-official and voluntary agencies working in your State for the welfare of Other Backward Classes.

64. Has your State Government set up a separate finance Corporation for Other Backward Classes in your State?

If not, please give reasons.

65. If yes, what is the pattern of assistance adopted by this Finance Corporation and what is the scope of its activities?

66. What is the extent of indebtedness among the occupational groups like fishermen, tanners, shepherds and weavers etc. belonging to Other Backward Classes?

67. Has your State Government appointed any special Commission or Committee to make recommendations for the welfare of Other Backward Classes?

If so, when was its report submitted?

Also, please give a brief description of its specific recommendations and the action taken by your State Government thereon.

68. Do Other Backward Classes in your State exercise their franchise freely and without any pressures from the dominant castes.

If not, please give details.

VII. EMPLOYMENT

69. What are the main occupations of Other Backward Classes in your State?

Give approximate number of families dependent on each occupation.

70. What is the total number of landless agricultural labourers in your State?

71. How many of these landless agricultural labourers belong to Other Backward Classes?

72. What steps has the State Government taken to improve the lot of landless agricultural labourers?

73. What has been the impact of the 'Green Revolution' on the agricultural labourers of Other Backward Classes?

74. If the impact of 'Green Revolution' is negligible, please give reasons for the same.

75. How many and what percentage of the landless agricultural labourers of OBCs have acquired tenancy or proprietary rights in land as a result of land reforms?

76. How many and what percentage of the landless agricultural labourers of OBCs have benefited from the distribution of surplus land?

77. What are the approximate income levels of Other Backward Classes?

78. How many members of Other Backward Classes are engaged in small scale, village and cottage industries and what percentage of the population of OBCs they constitute?

79. Are there any castes/classes of OBCs which are neither landless agricultural labourers, nor marginal farmers, nor small artisans?

If so, please give their list and approximate population figures.

80. Are there any castes/classes consisting of landless agricultural workers, or marginal farmers, or small artisans which neither belong to OBCs nor to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes?

If so, please give their list, indicating the approximate population of each caste/classes.

81. (a) What is the incidence of prevalence of bonded labour in your State?

(b) What concrete measures have been taken to abolish the practice of bonded labour?

82. Are some sections of OBCs losing employment owing to shift in the pattern of economic activity in the villages?

If so, which areas of employment are most seriously affected?

83. What steps the State Government has taken to protect OBCs from exploitation by money-lenders?

84. (a) What is the total number of unemployed persons registered with the employment exchanges of your State?

(b) How many of these unemployed belong to—

(i) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and

(ii) Other Backward Classes?

85. Please list the names of castes which are traditionally associated with the following occupations. In case some of these castes have already been listed as Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes in your State, please mention S.C. or S.T. in brackets against such castes.

(1) Cultivation of own land;

(2) Tenant Farming;

(3) Agricultural Labour;

(4) Vegetable Cultivation;

(5) Gardening;

(6) Cattle Rearing;

(7) Sheep Rearing;

(8) Fishery;

(9) Piggery;

(10) Hunting;

(11) Butchery;

(12) Tanning;

(13) Making Leather goods;

(14) Cotton Weaving;

(15) Wool Weaving;

(16) Silk Weaving;

(17) Dyeing;

(18) Mat making;

(19) Basket Making;

(20) Rope Making;

(21) Tailoring;

- (22) Cloth Washing;
- (23) Carpentry;
- (24) Black Smithy;
- (25) Hair Dressing (Barber);
- (26) Oil Crushing;
- (27) Pottery;
- (28) Toddy Tapping;
- (29) Utensil Making;
- (30) Scavenging (Sweeper);
- (31) Nursing;
- (32) Midwifery;

- (33) Ferry plying;
- (34) Salt Making;
- (35) Betel-wine cultivation;
- (36) Linx Burning;
- (37) Astrology;
- (38) Acrobats, Jugglers, etc.;
- (39) Dancing and singing.;
- (40) Fortune telling.

86. In their efforts for upward social mobility, some lower castes have adopted the caste labels of higher castes. Please give some such examples from your State, indicating both the original lower caste label and the new, higher caste label adopted in its place.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CENTRAL GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS

No. R/3/79-BCC

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

S. S. GILL

25th April, 1979

Secretary

Subject: Information regarding employees belonging to Other Backward Classes.

Ref. : D.D. letter No. 17020/5/79-SC & BCD-I dated 19th, March, 1979.

Dear Shri

In my D.O. letter under reference I had requested for the supply of information regarding the total number of employees belonging to Other Backward Classes working in your Ministry.

2. Though a number of State Government have drawn up lists of Other Backward Classes, no such lists have been compiled by the Central Government. In fact, the first term of reference of Backward Classes Commission pertains to the defining of criteria for determining Backward Classes. As the desired criteria could be evolved only after extensive field surveys and examination of data called from various agencies, the Commission itself is also not in a position to indicate specific and well considered criteria for defining Backward Classes.

3. In view of the above difficulties and looking to the urgency of obtaining information regarding the employment of members of Backward Classes under the Central Government, the Commission has decided to lay down the following rough and ready criteria on purely *ad hoc* basis.

4. Article 340 of the Constitution refers to "socially and educationally" backward classes. The following test may, therefore, be applied to determine socially and educationally backward classes :—

(a) In respect of employees belonging to the Hindu Communities,

(i) an employee will be deemed to be socially backward if he does not belong to any of the three twice-born (Dvij) 'Varnas' i.e. he is neither a Brahmin, nor a Kshatriya, nor a Vaisya; and

(ii) he will be deemed to be educationally backward if neither his father nor his grand-father had studied beyond the primary level.

(b) Regarding the non-Hindu communities

(i) an employee will be deemed to be socially backward if either,

(1) he is a convert from those Hindu communities which have been defined as socially backward as per para 4(b)(i) above, or

(2) in case he is not such a convert, his parental income is below the prevalent poverty line, i.e. Rs.71 per head per month.

(ii) he will be deemed to be educationally backward if neither his father nor his grand-father had studied beyond the primary level.

5. It may please be noted that an employee will qualify for membership of Other Backward Classes only if, both socially and educationally, he is found to be backward according to the above criteria.

6. It is further requested that, to expedite the work of compilation, the desired information may be sent in two instalments, i.e.

(1) Information regarding your Ministry/Department may be sent within a period of one month; and

(2) Information pertaining to the subordinate and attached offices and other organisations, as well as public sector undertakings, under the charge of your Ministry may be sent by the end of June, 1979.

7. A slightly modified pro forma for compiling the desired information is enclosed.

End;

All Ministries/Departments of
the Central Government.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/

(S. S. Gill)

PROFORMA

Number of employees belonging to 'OTHER' BACKWARD CLASSES working in—

Name of (1) Ministry/Department _____
 OR
 (2) Subordinate and Attached offices and other organisations _____
 OR
 (3) Public Sector Undertakings _____

	Total number of employees	No. of employees belonging to Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes	No. of employees belonging to 'Other Backward Classes' (Excluding SC/ST)
1. Officers/Supervisors			
2. Office Staff/Skilled Workers, etc.			
3. Class IV/Unskilled Workers			

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR GENERAL PUBLIC

NOTE : This Questionnaire deals with Other Backward Classes only and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be excluded from consideration.

1. In your opinion, what vital changes have taken place in the caste structure of your State since Independence ?
2. What should be the criteria for defining the socially and educationally Backward Classes ?
3. Should caste be made a criterion for determining backwardness ?
4. Caste being peculiar to the Hindu communities, what criteria should be adopted to determine social and educational backwardness among the non-Hindu communities.
5. (a) Has your State Government published a list of socially and educationally Backward Classes ?
(b) Are you satisfied with this list ?
(c) If not, please give reasons.
6. (a) Has your State Government extended any special facilities to the socially and educationally Backward Classes ?
(b) If so, what are these facilities ?
(c) Do you consider these facilities as adequate ?
(d) If not, please give reasons.
7. (a) Has your State Government made any specific reservation of posts in Government service and public sector enterprises for Other Backward Classes ?
(b) If so, do you consider this reservation as adequate ?
(c) Are these reserved posts generally filled by candidates belonging to socially and educationally Backward Classes ?
8. What practical steps can be taken to enhance the intake of candidates belonging to socially and educationally Backward Classes in Government services ?
9. (a) What are the social, civil and religious disabilities suffered by the Other Backward Classes in your State ?
(b) What steps have been taken to remove these disabilities ?
(c) To what extent these steps have been effective ?
10. (a) Do the candidates of Other Backward Classes face any particular difficulties in getting into :
(i) higher government posts; and
(ii) institutions of higher education (specially technical) ?
(b) If so, what steps should be taken to facilitate matters ?
11. (a) What is the extent of indebtedness amongst the Other Backward Classes ?
(b) What are its causes ?
12. What concrete steps should be taken to promote literacy among the Other Backward Classes ?
13. What specific steps can be taken to improve the social and financial conditions of Other Backward Classes ?
14. (a) Which are the dominant castes in your State ?
(b) What factors have led to this position of dominance ?
(c) How would you define a dominant caste ?
15. What is the relationship of the dominant castes with the Other Backward Classes ?
16. (a) Which voluntary organisations in your State are working for the welfare of various caste groups and classes ?
(b) What has been the impact of their activities ?
17. (a) What has been the shift in the occupational pattern of the Backward Classes of your State in the last three decades ?
(b) Please give reasons for your answer.
18. Whereas the Constitution of India contemplates special measures to improve the conditions of socially and educationally Backward Classes only, some people maintain that Backward Classes should be identified by applying 'economic' criteria. What are your views in the matter ?

Please send replies to the Questionnaire to the Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Government of India, No. 5, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi-110001.

APPENDIX V

LIST OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, PUBLIC MEN AND EXPERTS WHO APPEARED BEFORE THE COMMISSION FOR EVIDENCE

A. List of Members of Parliament of the 6th Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha

	Date of Meeting		
		NAGALAND	17-5-1979
		26. Smt. Rano M. Shaiza	
		RAJASTHAN	10-5-1979
		27. Shri Nathu Singh	
		28. Shri N. R. Mirdha	
		29. Shri Chaturbhu]	
		SIKKIM	17-5-1979
		30. Shri C. B. Chhetri	
		TAMIL NADU	27-4-1979
		31. Shri K. Ramamurthy	
		32. Shri K. T. Kosalram	
		33. Dr. P. V. Periasamy	
		UTTAR PRADESH	7-5-1979
		34. Shri P. L. Kurcol	
		35. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav	
		36. Shri B. P. Maurya	
		37. Shri Manohar Lal	
		38. Shri Daya Ram Shakya	
		39. Smt. Hamida Habibullah	
		40. Shri Mohan Lal Pipil	
		41. Shri Ram Lal Kurcol	
		42. Shri R. D. Shastri	
		43. Shri Chandan Singh	
		44. Shri Kanwar Mahmud Ali Khan	
		45. Shri R. S. Verma	
		46. Shri Roop Nath Singh Yadav	
		47. Shri Surendra Bikram	
		48. Shri Mangal Deo Vlshtarad	
		WEST BENGAL	17-5-1979
		49. Shri K. B. Chettri	
		DELHI	10-5-1979
		50. Shri Brahm Prakash Chaudhury	
		B. List of Members of Parliament of the 7th Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha	
			Date of Meeting
		ANDHRA PRADESH	1-7-1980
		1. Shri P. Shy Sivanekar	
		2. Shri S.R.A.S. Appalanaidu	
		3. Prof. N. G. Ranga	
		4. Shri P. Rajagopal Naidu	
		BIHAR	4-7-1980
		5. Shri N. E. Hore	
		6. Shri D. P. Yadav	
		7. Shri R. L. P. Verma	
		8. Shri A. K. Roy	
		9. Shri D. L. Baitha	
		10. Shri Ram Avtar Shastri	

		C. List of Public Men	
GUJARAT	2-7-1980		ANDHRA PRADESH
11. Shri Narsinh Makwana			26-7-1980 to
12. Shri B. K. Gadbavi			30-7-1980
13. Shri R. P. Gekwad			
14. Shri Navin Ravani			
JAMMU & KASHMIR	3-7-1980		
15. Shri G. R. Kochak			
16. Shri Mubarak Shah			
17. Shri G. M. Shami			
KARNATAKA	1-7-1980		
18. Shri B. Janardhana Poojary			
19. Shri S. B. Sidnal			
KERALA	1-7-1980		
20. Shri E. Balanandan			
MADHYA PRADESH	2-7-1980		
21. Shri N. K. Shejwalkar			
22. Shri Arvind Nigam			
23. Shri Munda Sharma			
MAHARASHTRA	(i) 2-7-1980 (ii) 4-7-1980		
24. Shri S. B. Chavan			
25. Shri Madhu Dandavate			
26. Shri Bapu Sahab Parulekar			
27. Shri S. B. Thorat			
28. Shri G. S. Kuchan			
MANTOUK	4-7-1980		
29. Shri Tompok Singh			
ORISSA	4-7-1980		
30. Shri C. M. Paudyal			
PUNJAB	3-7-1980		
31. Genl. Rajinder Singh Sanyal			
32. Shri Harbhajan Singh Suroot			
33. Smt. Rajinder Kaur			
34. Smt. Amrajit Kaur			
35. Shri Hakim Singh			
BIHAR	4-7-1980		
36. Shri P. M. Subba			
TAMIL NADU	1-7-1980		
37. Shri R. V. Swaminathan			
38. Shri Eru Anbarasu			
UTTAR PRADESH	4-7-1980		
39. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav			
40. Shri B. D. Singh			
41. Shri Narendra Singh			
42. Shri Ram Pyare Pantulu			
43. Shri Jai Pal Singh Khatiwala			
44. Shri Jai Kishan Verma			
WEST BENGAL	4-7-1980		
45. Shri Jyotindra Chakrabarti			
46. Smt. Gupta Anantakrishna			
GOA, DAMAN & DIU	2-7-1980		
47. Shri Eduardo Falcão			
		1. Shri T. Nagabhar Rao	
		2. Shri A. Chakrapani	
		3. Smt. Guntur Banumath	
		4. Shri Venkateswamy	
		5. Shri Laxman Rao	
		6. Shri Venkateswarlu	
		7. Dr. Challa Rama Rao	
		8. Shri Nagurula Venkat Rao	
		9. Shri Kanakala Yadav	
		10. Shri Prakasa Rao	
		11. Shri Augustin	
		12. Shri Kotiah	
		13. Shri E. Venkateswarlu	
		14. Shri K. Satyanarayana Murthy	
		15. Shri Laxmaiah	
		16. Shri Prasad	
		17. Shri Varada Raju	
		18. Shri Kanava Rao	
		19. Shri Sri Rama Murthy	
		20. Shri Haras Rao	
		21. Shri Rama Subba Rao	
		22. Shri Potluri Chitara	
		23. Shri Srinivasa Rao	
		24. Shri Vittal Reddy	
		25. Shri K. Venkatesham	
		26. Shri Sunder Lingiah	
		27. Shri Madhava Rao	
		28. Shri Balakrishna	
		29. Shri Angaramiah	
		30. Shri T. Narsiah	
		31. Shri T. Bairaj	
		32. Shri Babaiiah	
		33. Shri Narayana	
		34. Smt. Vijaya	
		35. Shri Venkatesh	
		36. Md. Jehangir	
		37. Shri Mellaiah	
		38. Shri Gouthu Lechanas	
		39. Shri Parasurama Naidu	
		40. Shri Y. Satyanarayana	
		41. Shri A. L. Malliah	
		42. Shri Balasanthu Bahurupi	
		43. Shri Surya Narayana	
		44. Shri Luxmi Narayana	
		45. Shri Sdraculu	
		46. Shri Papa Rao	
		47. Shri Prabhakar Rao	
		48. Shri Yellappa	
		49. Shri Balappa	
		50. Shri K. Narayana Raju	
		51. Shri Lakshminarayana	
		52. Shri Devara Rama Venkateswara	
		53. Shri M. Rangaiah	
		54. Shri Y. Rajkumar	
		55. Shri Venkateswaraya Yadav	
		56. Shri Koteswar Reddy	
		57. Shri J. Veneswamy	
		58. Dr. Fatmaik	
		59. Shri P. Vaikuntam	
		60. Shri Soyam Sunder Rao	
		61. Shri A. Veerappa	

62. Shri Shyam Sunder Rao
63. Shri Sreeramulu
64. Dr. M. Channa Reddy
65. Shri B. N. Ramn
66. Shri Joshi
67. Shri Seshant Raju
68. Shri R. Krishnababu
69. Shri P. Srirama Murthy
70. Shri Akbar Aji Khan
71. Shri G. Latchanna
72. Shri K. Rangadass
73. Shri M. Manik Rao
74. Shri K. B. Narsappa
75. Shri G. Narayana Naidu
76. Shri G. Siddayya
77. Shri P. Samson
78. Shri Chandra Prakash Varma
79. Shri Dwaraka Pershad
80. Shri Mannohan Parsahad
81. Shri Narsing Parsahad
82. Shri Mardhusudan
83. Shri Anand Raj Verma
84. Shri Prahlad Narayana
85. Shri Jai Prakash
86. Shri Shankar Singh
87. Shri Jai Raj Singhji
88. Shri Vijay Singh (Late)
89. Shri S. K. S. Rana
90. Shri Uday Singh
91. Shri Kishan Singh
92. Shri Veender Singh
93. Shri Tulja Singh
94. Shri Sureshwar Singh
95. Shri Raghunath Singh
96. Shri B. Prabhakar Rao
97. Shri Laxmi Narayan
98. Shri D. V. Subba Rao
99. Shri P. Balappa
100. Shri Babu Rao Varma
101. Shri A. Rajaram
102. Shri J. Yadagiri
103. Shri G. Kumaraswamy
104. Shri Ramulu
105. Shri Kalyan Das Godale
106. Shri T. Lohi Das
107. Shri M. Ramachandran
108. Shri P. E. Vijayan
109. Shri N. Surya Prakasha Rao
110. Shri M. A. Ansari

NOTE :—55 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

BIHAR

26-5-1979 to 30-5-1979
&
11-9-1979 to 18-9-1979

1. Shri Vinayak Prasad Yadav
2. Shri Barar Lal
3. Shri Jagan Nath Mishra
4. Shri Narendra Narain Yadav
5. Shri Bhola Prasad Mehta
6. Shri Kapil Dev Mandal
7. Shri Rajendra Babu
8. Shri Kaleshwar Mandal

9. Shri Lakshmi Narain Mandal
10. Shri Sada
11. Shri Nageshwar Yadav
12. Shri Rajendra Vishwas
13. Shri Jayanandan Yadav
14. Shri Yaduvansh Kumar Yadav
15. Shri Ram Vilas Yadav
16. Shri Dev Narayan
17. Shri Ram Yatan Paswan
18. Shri Madhu Sudan
19. Shri Narendra Narayan Yadav
20. Shri Mohanmed Islam
21. Shri Rameshwar Yadav
22. Shri Mahavir Singh
23. Shri Brahm Dev Mandal
24. Shri Sivnand Singh
25. Shri Ramotar
26. Shri Nand Lal Gool
27. Shri Ram Chandro Yadav
28. Shri Chaman Lal Mehta
29. Shri Khada Prasad Mandal
30. Shri Ravindra Yadav
31. Shri Rajindra Kumar Singh
32. Shri Gaurishankar Mandal
33. Shri Khanta Prasad Yadav
34. Shri Shashi Nath Jha
35. Shri Ramchander Shah
36. Shri Dayanand Shah
37. Shri Rajendra Prasad Yadav
38. Shri Sushil Kumar
39. Shri Motilal Sharma
40. Shri Brij Kishore Yadav
41. Shri Sita Ram Yadav
42. Shri Jaikishan Yadav
43. Shri Ramachandra Choudhari
44. Shri Bajrang Choudhary
45. Shri Anant Prasad Mandal
46. Shri Suraj Narayan Yadav
47. Shri Kuleshwar Yadav
48. Shri Suresh Chand Yadav
49. Shri Hari Krishan
50. Shri Ranjit Kamat
51. Shri Mishra Lal Chandoor
52. Shri Laxmi Narain Mandal
53. Shri Suresh Prasad Yadav
54. Shri Tej Narayan Yadav
55. Shri Parasmani Mandal
56. Shri Shambu Nath Jha
57. Shri Bhola Chandhari
58. Shri Chandra Sekhar Yadav
59. Shri Goswami Prasad Yadav
60. Shri Chuni Lal Shah
61. Shri Laxmi Prasad Yadav
62. Shri Anirudh Prasad Singh
63. Shri Bhupendra Yadav
64. Shri Ram Krishna Mandal
65. Shri Siyaram Yadav
66. Shri Narhari Modi
67. Shri Satya Narayan Mandal
68. Shri Ram Krishna Poddar
69. Shri Daroga Prasad Mandal
70. Shri Yoganand Mandal
71. Shri Jagdish Prasad
72. Shri Dinabandhu Yadav
73. Shri Mahavir Prasad Yadav

74. Shri Nand Kishore Prasad Mandal
75. Shri Sachidanand Yadav
76. Dr. Arjun Prasad Singh
77. Shri Bhomi Prasad Mandal
78. Shri Narayan Prasad Singh
79. Shri Jai Krishna Yadav
80. Shri Mahesh Chand Yadav
81. Shri Rameshwar Prasad Yadav
82. Smt. Madhuri Jaiswal
83. Shri Kapi Dev Mandal
84. Shri Adhiklal Poddar
85. Shri Shivneshwari Prasad Yadav
86. Shri Mahavir Prasad Mandal
87. Shri Govind Prasad Yadav
88. Prof. Koshal Kishore Mandal
89. Shri Hazl Mohammad Usmani
90. Shri Jagal Rishi
91. Shri Tribhuvan Singh
92. Shri Hari Prasad Yadav
93. Shri Narayan Prasad Yadav
94. Shri Upendra Yadav
95. Shri Virendra Kumar Singh
96. Shri Mahesh Yadav
97. Shri Jagdish Yadav
98. Shri Sahitanand Yadav
99. Shri Rajendra Chowdhary
100. Shri Ranjeshwari Mehta
101. Shri Rajendra Prasad Yadav
102. Shri Anand Prasad Yadav
103. Shri Janardan Prasad Yadav
104. Shri Kadam Lai Shah
105. Shri Aular Ur Rahman
106. Shri Kishore Yadav
107. Shri Govind Prasad Yadav
108. Shri Bindeswari Yadav
109. Shri Jaikumar Singh
110. Shri Murchant Mandal
111. Shri Ajudhya Sahu
112. Shri C. R. Ram Yadav
113. Shri Anugrah Ram
114. Shri Hari Prasad Yadav
115. Shri Nngeshwar Prasad
116. Shri Anant Prasad Mandal
117. Shri Suraj Narayan Yadav
118. Shri Surendra Prasad
119. Shri Tej Narayan Yadav
120. Shri Parashmani Mandal
121. Shri Ram Krishna Mandal
122. Shri Yoganand Mandal
123. Shri Mahavir Prasad Acharya
124. Shri Narayan Prasad Singh
125. Shri Ishwari Prasad
126. Smt. Kisbori Devi
127. Shri Ramsunder Dass
128. Shri Mitakesh Kumar
129. Shri Upendra Narayan Yadav
130. Shri Virendra Singh
131. Shri Sachchidanand Yadav
132. Pt. Kulnand
133. Prof. Sachchidanand
134. Shri K. K. Mandal
135. Shri Sudhir Prasad Yadav
136. Shri Sant Kumar Singh
137. Shri Parmanand Mandal
138. Shri Hira Kishore Yadav

139. Shri R. P. Vishwas
140. Shri Abdul Mazid
141. Shri Baldeo Saraf
142. Shri Raghunath Mandal
143. Shri Kalikant Chaudhry
144. Shri Hari Shankar Yadav
145. Shri Sahdev Mahto
146. Shri Mohammad Ilyas
147. Shri Vasudeo Sahni
148. Shri Mujibul Rehman
149. Shri Rajkumar Sahni
150. Shri Shivmuddin Sahu
151. Shri Sita Ram
152. Shri Madhusudan Rani
153. Shri Narendra Prasad Yadav
154. Smt. Rajubala Julaka
155. Shri Ram Bahadur Yadav
156. Shri Mahavir Rao
157. Shri Ram Shankar Mishra
158. Shri Satnam Prasad
159. Shri Jagdish Pathak
160. Shri Raghunath Mahto
161. Shri Nitayan Chaudhry
162. Shri Shivkumar Prasad
163. Shri Ramesh Prasad Singh
164. Shri Harihar Chaudhry
165. Shri Ram Babu Srivaslava
166. Shri Kamta Prasad Gupta
167. Shri Adhik Lal Kharva
168. Prof. R. K. Thakur
169. Shri Bhola Prasad Mehta
170. Shri Srikishan Bagi
171. Shri Avinash Chandra
172. Shri Jagdish Mahto
173. Shri Yogendra Prasad Yadav
174. Shri Phoolswar Yadav
175. Shri Jagdish Prasad Mandal
176. Shri Rajendra Prasad Singh
177. Shri Damodar Prasad Yadav
178. Shri Dev Narain Yadav
179. Shri Kailash Pati Mishra
180. Shri A. N. Sinha
181. Shri Surendra Kumar Chaudhry
182. Shri Janardan Rai

Note :—4 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

GUJARAT

18-9-1980 to 21-9-1980

1. Shri Sheik Abdul Rasheed
2. Shri N. D. Zaveri
3. Shri C. D. Modi
4. Shri Mohanbhai Gurjar
5. Shri Dayasingh Lodha
6. Shri Joseph Makwana
7. Shri Babubhai Ishwarbai Patna
8. Shri Ramanandi Bawas
9. Shri Kanabhai Laxmanbhai Abir

Note :—47 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

HARYANA

15-5-1979 to 16-5-1979

1. Shri Darshan Lai
2. Shri Mahavir Thakur
3. Shri Om Parkash

JAMMU & KASHMIR

14-10-1979 to 17-10-1979

4. Shri Anant Ram Kashyap
5. Shri Neki Ram
6. Shri J. N. Verma
7. Shri Jag Nandan Lohar
8. Shri Ram Panchal Lohar
9. Shri Chandrabhan
10. Shri Sibi Chand
11. Shri Dev Chand
12. Shri Munni Singh
13. Shri Jiti Nandan
14. Shri Hargopal
15. Shri Chatur Singh
16. Shri Arund Surup Bhardwaj
17. Shri Salbir Singh Hoodu
18. Shri Chet Ram Salni
19. Shri Radhe Krishan
20. Shri Raj Kumar Panchal
21. Shri Shanti Rathi
22. Shri Ram Chauder
23. Shri Duli Chand
24. Shri Phool Singh
25. Shri Hari Singh Dukkot
26. Shri Brijinder Singh Tarkka
27. Shri Ran Birendra Singh

NOTE: 6 Persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

HIMACHAL PRADESH

29-9-1980 to 2-10-1980

1. Smt. Sunita Mukherji
2. Shri Gian Kashyap
3. Shri Amar Singh
4. Shri Ram Chand
5. Shri Rattan Chand Hoje
6. Shri Iwari Lal Balmiki
7. Shri Kishan Lal
8. Shri Med Ram
9. Shri Vidya Bager
10. Shri Yadav
11. Shri Mouji Ram
12. Shri Satyadev Bushahari
13. Shri Chander Kumar
14. Shri Madan Choudhury
15. Shri Vidya Bhusban
16. Shri Brij Lal
17. Shri Sarup Singh Thakur
18. Thakar Kamal Singh
19. Shri Mia Ramji
20. Shri Hari Dutt
21. Shri Chaitu Syant
22. Shri Pandya
23. Shri Mehar Chand
24. Shri Raj Kishore Gaud
25. Shri Roshan Lal
26. Shri Surinder Kumar
27. Shri Ram Nath
28. Shri Sita Rani
29. Shri Raj Kishor
30. Shri Jagl Ram
31. Shri Naval Thakur
32. Shri Raj Kishore
33. Shri Keshav Ram
34. Shri Anwar Chand
35. Shri Satya Paul

1. Shri Chonghai Diwan
2. Shri Dharampal Sharma
3. Shri Parmanand
4. Shri Wazir Mashushal
5. Shri Chhajju Ram
6. Shri Chaman Lal
7. Shri Madan Lal
8. Shri Nathi Ram
9. Shri Samuel Peter
10. Shri Rana Mahmood
11. Shri Sanjhu Ram
12. Shri Noor Mohd.
13. Shri Ajit Singh Sangotra
14. Shri Koonda Ram
15. Shri Tarachand Mangotra
15. Shri Balraj Puri
17. Shri Krishna Lal
18. Shri Tarachand Kesari
19. Dr. R. S. Modi
20. Shri Onkar Seth
21. Shri Milkhi Ram
22. Shri Hazi Baland Khan
23. Shri Bhim Singh
24. Shri Banarsilal
25. Shri Balak Ram
26. Shri Om Prakash
27. Shri Munshi Ram
28. Shri Ram Chandra
29. Shri Krishan Lal
30. Shri Julaka Ram
31. Shri Jhanda Singh
32. Shri Satish Bukshi
33. Shri Wakil Singh
34. Shri Balraj Kumar
35. Shri Bhakur Das Chanutam
36. Ch. Sukardin Azad
37. Smt. Wazira Begam
38. Shri Abdul Wahid
39. Shri Dhim Singh
40. Ch. Mohd. Shaif Qureshi
41. Shri Abdul Salam Deva
42. Shri Gulam Quadir Gaurasi
43. Shri Mohd. Shaif
44. Shri Azad Hula Harshi Harish
45. Shri Abdul Gafoor
46. Shri Gulam Quadir Tandee
47. Miss Sushuma Chandhuri
48. Shri Ali Mohd. Sheikh
49. Shri Rahim Sheikh
50. Shri Malik Gulam Din
51. Shri Mohd. Khalil Johar
52. Shri Mohd. Dilwar Loni
53. Shri Gulam Mahim Diwan
54. Ch. Kanwar Deep
55. Shri Mujahid Mohd. Abdulla
56. Shri Abdul Rahman
57. Shri Azad Kapur
58. Shri Gulam Mohammed
59. Shri Gulam Mohammed
60. Shri Mohd. Ahmed Zafar
61. Shri Abdul Ghani Siraj
62. Shri Gulam Mohammed

63. Shri Mohd. Amin
64. Shri Thakur Singh Jasli
65. Shri G. M. Shih
66. Shri D. D. Thakur

NOTE: 2 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

KARNATAKA

9-4-1979 to 11-4-1980

1. Shri Krishnamurthy
2. Shri B. E. Choudhury
3. Shri M. K. Nimbargi
4. Shri Shiva Sharnappa Khyabajonda
5. Shri K. F. Anakalgi
6. Shri H. A. Bagalkot
7. Shri S. T. Baraker
8. Shri S. B. Khedri
9. Shri U. B. Ramadurgakar
10. Shri Jangappa
11. Shri M. M. Hundekar
12. Shri N. L. Chandarker
13. Shri N. R. Mishri Koli
14. Shri Vasanth Gollar
15. Shri M. B. Paril
16. Shri Ambi
17. Shri J. M. Rajawalker
18. Shri S. P. Ravali
19. Shri Nnravate
20. Shri G. S. Bhat
21. Shri P. T. Huhil
22. Shri V. M. Ghospade
23. Shri Y. C. Damani
24. Shri V. J. Kuninar
25. Shri A. M. Patunkar
26. Shri L. B. Linganoudar
27. Shri B. H. Mutli
28. Prof. A. S. Dharamchandraiah
29. Shri S. M. Yodeyar
30. Shri K. P. Chaloi
31. Shri Havanur
32. Shri Gulam Mohd.
33. Shri D. V. Nagamore
34. Shri M. Raju
35. Shri Rao
36. Shri Puttawali
37. Shri M. Shrinivak
38. Shri Narsinghappa
39. Shri Kiravedi
40. Shri U. R. Kulkarni
41. Shri Hanumanth Rao Sindhu
42. Shri R. Narayan
43. Shri Vishvanath Nimallogu Aradhya
44. Mrs. Mayana
45. Shri Sri Rama
46. Shri Bura Gauda
47. Shri R. L. Vasudeva
48. Dr. K. Nazir Ahmed
49. Shri G. K. Puttaswamy
50. Shri Lakshmi Narasimhalal
51. Shri E. L. Chikram
52. Shri Devaraju
53. Dr. (Mrs.) Parvati Ahim
54. Shri Shetty
55. Shri Y. Ramachandru
56. Shri N. Rashiya

57. Shri Hanumanthalya
58. Shri Kurusima Shetty
59. Shri Prebhakar Telkar
60. Shri L. G. Pattaran
61. Shri K. R. C. Naidu
62. Shri Rujashekera Shetty
63. Shri V. V. Pattar
64. Shri Manohar Mani
65. Shri M. S. Venugopalan
66. Shri Siddappa
67. Shri M. S. Rajacharya
68. Shri B. R. Krishnamurthy
69. Shri G. P. Gandi
70. Shri Arun Kumar
71. Mrs. Chundrabal Narayan
72. Shri A. S. Dandadre
73. Shri S. L. Baruja

NOTE: 14 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

KERALA

23-6-1979 to 25-6-1979

1. Shri O. V. Abdulluh Koya
2. Shri P. M. Abubacker
3. Dr. P. Subramaniam
4. Shri P. Vijayan Pillai
5. Shri A. K. Krishna Mader
6. Shri P. K. Manikoya
7. Shri Sadannandam
8. Shri T. Govindan
9. Shri B. N. Qanpail
10. Shri Venugopalan
11. Father Mathew Puthollam
12. Shri K. M. Raman
13. Shri C. P. Baban Valdyam
14. Shri P. K. Gopalakrishnan
15. Shri K. T. Achuthan
16. Shri N. K. Kuttiraman
17. Shri O. S. Ramakrishnan
18. Kumari Sraswathy
19. Shri E. S. Velayudhan
20. Shri M. A. Krishnamurthy
21. Shri Padma Stephan
22. Shri T. K. Vasudevan
23. Shri Kamalasanam
24. Shri Kuttam
25. Shri Disakaran
26. Shri K. K. Ramakrishnan
27. Shri Pattavallam
28. Smt. T. P. Rajamow
29. Shri K. V. Vijayamou
30. Shri Raghavur
31. Shri Sundararam Nair
32. Shri A. N. Nadar
33. Shri K. P. Sankaran Nair
34. Shri A. Esudhin
35. Shri K. Vasudevan
36. Prof. P. S. Achuthan Pillai
37. Shri K. Murthidharan
38. Shri M. C. Chettiyar
39. Shri P. Subramaniam

NOTE: 5 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

MADHYA PRADESH

13-8-1980 to 20-8-1980 and
4-10-1980 to 8-10-1980

1. Shri Bhanwar Lal
2. Shri Bhagwat Shab
3. Shri Panna Paw Songar
4. Shri Goutam Pradhan
5. Shri Hari Singh
6. Shri Gulsar Ahmad
7. Shri Dadul Ahir
8. Shri Ramooli
9. Shri Nikhal
10. Shri Namba
11. Shri Jagu
12. Shri Babu Lal
13. Shri Babboo
14. Shri Babji
15. Shri Mangala
16. Shri Jagdish Prasad Tiwari
17. Shri Tanta
18. Shri Chhedil Lal
19. Shri Gopal
20. Shri Kishore Lal
21. Shri Govind Prasad
22. Shri G. S. Sachdeo
23. Shri K. K. Selhi
24. Shri Prakash Namasmudra
25. Shri Chet Ram Yadav
26. Shri Gautam Singh Thakur
27. Shri Narsingh Mandal
28. Shri Thakur
29. Dr. B. D. Sharma
30. Shri Raghunath Prasad Agarwal
31. Shri Vishwanath Singh
32. Shri Tosan Singh
33. Shri Noor Mohamed Mansoori
34. Shri Bharat Prasad Jain
35. Shri Bhaswar Prasad
36. Shri Ram Narain Singh
37. Shri Jagan Nath Yadav
38. Shri P. D. Sondhia
39. Shri Rajendra Singh
40. Shri Gian Singh Sarpanch
41. Shri Bhatya Lal Nag
42. Shri Jairam Singh Jay
43. Shri Prem Kushwaha
44. Shri Man Mohan Dass
45. Shri Matadin
46. Shri Jenmii Ahmed Ansari
47. Shri Lakshmi
48. Shri Devi Prasad Chaudhary
49. Shri Gopal Prasad
50. Shri Ram Charan Bhoire
51. Shri Ram Pal
52. Shri Guiah Singh Mazasi
53. Shri Shyam Bhoire
54. Shri K. L. Gorelia
55. Shri Ramun Patel
56. Shri Akaldas Manikpuri
57. Shri Chote Lal Kanaujia
58. Shri Jairam Singh Jain
59. Shri Bhejram
60. Shri Bhabanlal Soni
61. Shri Ram Chaturash
62. Shri Ram Charan
63. Shri Ganesh Prasad Chaurasia
64. Shri Sharda Prasad
65. Shri Bihari Das
66. Smt. Banu
67. Shri Babu Lal
68. Shri Suba Ram
69. Shri Kalu Ram
70. Shri Jaura
71. Shri Shiv Pujan
72. Shri Basant Lal
73. Shri Moti Lal Malviya
74. Shri Ishwar Das Loria
75. Shri Babu Lal Solanki
76. Shri Sarnam Singh Dhuriya
77. Shri Karahiya Lal Ahasia
78. Shri B. N. Khatodia
79. Shri Shyam Lal
80. Shri Sri Ram Patel
81. Shri Moharaj Singh
82. Shri Ram Prasad
83. Shri Sahab Lal Kodio
84. Shri Bhopa Prasad Gosor
85. Km. Gomli
86. Shri Lakshmn Patel
87. Shri Ramgopal Varma
88. Shri Narayan Singh Yadav
89. Shri Nazir Ahmed
90. Shri Ram Singh Saugar
91. Shri Rattan Lal Panika
92. Smt. Kanti Devi
93. Dr. B. D. Sharma
94. Shri Chib
95. Shri Ram Chander Lodwal
96. Smt. Muni Bai Chauhan
97. Shri Shambhu Dayal Varma
98. Shri Sunder Lal Chauhan
99. Shri Krishan Lal Kunalire
100. Shri Gopi Krishan Gaur
101. Shri Radha Krishan Butmiki
102. Shri Ramesh Chand Kashyap
103. Shri Chandu Lal Chaudhary
104. Shri Madhukar Marmath
105. Shri Kaohiya Lal Khadiwala
106. Shri Sant Yug, Raj Das
107. Shri Mudan Singh Sakha
108. Shri Bhatt
109. Shri S. C. Kansal
110. Shri Varma
111. Shri Mustafa
112. Shri Amar Singh Ahir
113. Shri Onkar Lal
114. Shri Rama
115. Shri Om Prakash Vaishnav
116. Shri Kishan
117. Shri Tikka Ram Yadav
118. Shri Ramji Mahajan
119. Shri Ram Singh Sarpanch
120. Shri Khundi Lal
121. Shri Mimgi Lal Patel
122. Shri Nathu Lal
123. Shri Prem Singh Gharia
124. Shri Kishan Lal
125. Shri Nursing Charan
126. Shri Ram Kishan
127. Shri Gopal
128. Shri Umaru

129. Shri Bhagnath
130. Shri Ghisa Lai
131. Shri Bhagirath
132. Shri Lalu Singh Suren
133. Shri Kanhiya Lai
134. Shri Harish Chander
135. Shri Amba Ram
136. Shri Shankar Lal Rathore
137. Shri Ghansham
138. Shri Jagannath
139. Shri Mool Chand Chaura
140. Shri Balwant Singh
141. Shri Mukund
142. Shri Krishan Lal Sharma
143. Shri Quazi Azmatullah
144. Shri Mohd. Sharif Khan
145. Shri Mayan Lai
146. Shri B. D. Shukla

NOTE : 22 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

MAHARASHTRA

20-7-1980 to 23-7-1980

1. Shri Atma Ram Jadhav
2. Shri Shiv Singh Daulat Singh
3. Shri Gangurde
4. Shri Kadarn
5. Shri Harish More
6. Shri Nevahale
7. Dr. Bedge
8. Shri A. P. Raut
9. Mrs. Umhre
10. Shri Doulatrao Bhonsle
11. Shri B. S. More
12. Prof. O. L. Dongre
13. Shri R. S. Pathare
14. Shri R. S. Sangve
15. Shri P. C. Lohat
16. Shri R. N. Biloiikar
17. Shri Krishna Rao Maruti
18. Shri M. C. Mahulkar
19. Shri N. G. Pardeshi
20. Shri K. J. Rana
21. Shri M. M. Yastam
22. Prof. Suma Chitnis
23. Smt. Tarabai N. Vartak
24. Shri Anil Kumar
25. Shri A. B. Baig
26. Prof. D. B. Bijwe
27. Shri T. B. Kudam
28. Shri R. S. Bundal
29. Shri S. S. Devraj

NOTE : 35 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

ORISSA

30-6-1980 to 22-6-1980

1. Shri Rajendra Prasad Sahu
2. Shri Bidyadhar Sahu
3. Shri Suryamuryuo Sahu
4. Shri Gandharbu Barik
5. Shri Bansidhar Barik
6. Shri Prasad Kumar Das
7. Shri Suklarsan Das

8. Shri Umesh Chandra Chanul
9. Shri Prafulla Kumar Behera
10. Shri Akulananda Behera
11. Shri Sulev Maharana
12. Shri Subhash Chandra Panda
13. Shri Bal Ram Sahu
14. Shri Nageshwar Das
15. Shri Kesab Chandra Das
16. Shri Harekishan Sahu
17. Shri Peramanda Pilai
18. Shri Tareswar Sahoo
19. Shri Akulananda Behara
20. Shri Dibya Singh Behara
21. Shri Dola Govinda Pradhan
22. Shri Srikanta Panda
23. Shri M. C. Behari
24. Shri Kedar Nath Ojha
25. Shri Nayal Kishore Maharana
26. Shri Benudhar Sethy
27. Shri Dinabandhu Sahu
28. Shri Puran Chander Sahu
29. Shri Ishwar Sahu
30. Shri Fakir Charan Behara
31. Shri Bira Mandali
32. Shri Ghanshyam Naik
33. Shri Ghanshyam Sennapati
34. Shri Bhim Sen Barika
35. Shri Mahadev Maharana
36. Shri Rajkishore Naik
37. Shri Pilaves Naik
38. Shri Raghunath Behera
39. Shri Bansidhar Mekap
40. Shri Bhashkar Sahu
41. Shri Kelu Sahu
42. Shri Rajan Barika
43. Shri Sudershan Misra
44. Shri Hari Lal Sampat
45. Shri Mishra
46. Shri K. S. Dass
47. Shri Mohan Naik
48. Shri Bir Bhadar Singh
49. Shri R. K. Patra
50. Shri Basanta Behera
51. Shri Rama Chandra Valaka
52. Shri Mishra

PUNJAB

4-10-1980

1. Shri Bhagat Singh
2. Smt. Rupeni Devi Bajaj
3. Shri Joshi
4. Shri Darbara Singh
5. Shri Harbaosh Singh Nirmal
6. Shri Hans Raj
7. Shri Sohan Singh Parwana
8. Shri Nirmal Singh
9. Shri Sohno Singh
10. Dr. Parkash Singh
11. Shri Bhagat Singh
12. Shri Garbhajim Singh Kattan
13. Shri Mohinder Singh
14. Shri Walter Poll
15. Shri Chhajoo Kam
16. Shri Nirmal Singh Nirmal
17. Shri Hari Dev
18. Shri Rhal Chand Rasthyup

19. Shri Jyoti Singh Kunc
20. Shri Sujan Singh Mehra
21. Shri Jahangir Khan
22. Shri Lakha Singh
23. Shri Uma Kant Tiwari
24. Shri Ranji Dass
25. Shri Baldev Singh Bhatti
26. Shri Swarup Singh
27. Shri Mahendra Singh
28. Dr. Zahariah
29. Shri Mehtab Singh
30. Shri Muni Lal
31. Shri Sharda Ram
32. Shri Pura Ram Shrivastava
33. Shri Pura Singh
34. Shri Ganu Ram
35. Shri Mungai Ram Muskeen
36. Shri Harbhajan Singh
37. Shri Ram Lubhaya
38. Shri J. M. Bhatti
39. Shri Krishna Chandra
40. Dr. R. L. Joshi
41. Shri Dal Chand
42. Shri Krishnar
43. Shri Surat Singh
44. Shri Shyam Lal Kanaujia
45. Father Gulam Peter
46. Shri Vaishnav Bhardwaj
47. Shri Surinder Singh Pradhan
48. Shri Hans Raj Kashyap
49. Shri Amrit Singh
50. Shri Om Prakash
51. Gurmukh Singh
52. Choudhary Prabhati Ram
53. Shri Om Prakash
54. Choudhary Ram Singh
55. Shri Amar Singh
56. Shri Jaswant Singh Barpai
57. Shri Avtar Singh
58. Dr. Zakharla

Note :- 3 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

RAJASTHAN

26-8-1980 to 30-8-1980

1. Shri Davial
2. Shri Mali Ram
3. Prof. Kamal
4. Shri Samant Singh Bardwari
5. Shri Mali Ram Sen
6. Shri Ganga Singh Karwar
7. Master Ram Singh
8. Capt. Sampuran Singh
9. Shri Dhana Ram
10. Shri Tejpal Ahir
11. Shri Rungopal Yadav
12. Shri Prahlad Singh Pathore
13. Shri Mamuddin
14. Shri Mahadeo Verma
15. Shri Ram Swarup Jaisaf
16. Shri Mohan Lal Dadarwal
17. Shri Dinesh Kumar
18. Shri Gulakh Chand
19. Shri Kanwar Lal
20. Shri Goru

21. Shri Sitaram
22. Shri Gyasi Lal
23. Shri Madan Lal Parikh
24. Shri Hanuman Prasad Raigar
25. Shri Yadao
26. Shri Ram Swarup Nath
27. Shri Madan Singh
28. Shri Gopi Chand Kalai
29. Shri Nathi Singh
30. Shri Krishan Lal Ramroli
31. Shri Sadhu Ram Sain
32. Shri Balaji Panna Kohliarag
33. Shri Jitendra Nath Yadav
34. Shri Prithvi Singh
35. Shri Kalyan Choradia
36. Shri Dhalia Ram
37. Shri Wazir
38. Shri Pawan Chauhan
39. Shri Bhagirath Badoos
40. Shri Om Prakash Parmar
41. Shri Shankar Lal
42. Shri Kambha Ram
43. Shri Ashu Ram Dhawal
44. Shri Dhanraj Verma
45. Shri Ram Kishore
46. Shri Bhabhut Ram Vakil
47. Shri Babar Lal
48. Shri Sunilal Bhari
49. Shri Ummed Ram Kushwa
50. Shri Himmat Malavi
51. Shri Sunder Singh
52. Shri Abhaya Singh
53. Shri Om Prakash Parmar
54. Shri Bactao Singh Soianki
55. Shri Jhailu Ram
56. Shri Ram Singh
57. Shri Surinder Theira
58. Shri Som Dutt
59. Shri Amrit Lal
60. Shri Mool Chand
61. Shri Kishan Giri Goswami
62. Shri Goverdhan Saini
63. Shri Jagdish Prasad
64. Shri Haridas
65. Shri Bhim Raj Talik
66. Shri Hari Ram Bedi
67. Shri Ram Chander
68. Shri Madho Prakash
69. Shri Douth Raj
70. Shri Parasmani Jangra
71. Shri Moti Singh
72. Shri Champa Lal Dakar
73. Shri Rattan Lal
74. Shri Mangal Prasad
75. Shri Bansi Lal
76. Shri Madho Prakash Patel
77. Shri R. S. Dhariwal
78. Shri Govind Singh
79. Shri Joshi
80. Shri Sahai
81. Shri Parwar
82. Shri Joshi

Note :- 3 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

SIKKIM

21-5-1980 to 23-5-1980

1. Shri D. P. Rajan
2. Shri Subbu
3. Shri Johar Mai Rai
4. Shri Abirman Tamang
5. Shri Chel Kumar Pradhan
6. Shri Pampo Thindup
7. Shri Marke Bahadur Gurang
8. Shri Motilal Ram
9. Shri Beelbelamany
10. Father Joseph Cannath
11. Shri Sham Chaman Limbo
12. Shri Pradeep Yong-Zang
13. Shri Pradhan

Note :—5 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

TAMILNADU

26-6-1979 to 30-6-1979

1. Shri Latif
2. Shri K. Kasalram
3. Shri Arunachalam
4. Shri Muthusamy Karyalar
5. Shri Anbalgam
6. Shri Lakshminarayana
7. Shri Dakrishnan
8. Shri A. R. Raghwan
9. Shri Chidabaram
10. Shri Sundara Rajan
11. Shri S. S. Veeramatti
12. Prof. Devarajan
13. Shri V. P. Chettiar
14. Shri Sundara Murthy
15. Shri S. Ganeshan
16. Shri Veera Annai Muthu
17. Shri Thyagarajan
18. Shri Krishna Swamy
19. Shri P. Vishwanathan
20. Shri S. Mangabandhu
21. Shri A. K. Aranganathan
22. Shri Chandran
23. Shri Annamalai
24. Shri V. K. Muthuswamy
25. Shri P. C. S. Vallyapuri
26. Shri M. Paruatharajan
27. Shri R. Govindarajam
28. Shri Sundara Rajan
29. Shri Periaswamy
30. Shri Govindan
31. Shri Swayam Prakasani
32. Shri E. Devaraja
33. Shri Kodapillai
34. Shri S. Yesudasan
35. Shri Govindarajan
36. Shri P. V. Srinunghau
37. Shri Sridharanathan
38. Shri K. Subaya Kumar

Note :—15 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

UTTAR PRADESH

6-9-1980 to 12-9-1980

1. Shri Chhedil Lal Sathi
2. Shri Roop Nath Singh Yadav
3. Shri V. P. Yadav
4. Shri Charan Singh Mohaniya
5. Shri Shankar Lal Pragnpai
6. Shri Chandarwal Bharti
7. Shri Raghubar Dayal Verma
8. Shri B. D. Khan
9. Shri Ali Mohd. Ravi
10. Shri Bahu Lal
11. Shri Ram Swarup
12. Shri Ram Kishan Verma
13. Shri D. N. Singh Verma
14. Shri Badan Singh
15. Shri Nathi Lal Bhauri
16. Acharya Divakar Prohit
17. Shri Mahipal Singh
18. Shri S. C. Rustogi
19. Shri T. C. Vatsa
20. Shri Mohan Swarup
21. Dr. B. L. Gupta
22. Dr. S. N. Mehrotra
23. Dr. R. P. Pande
24. Shri Rajeshwar Prasad
25. Dr. Kusam Pathak
26. Smt. Sushila Rohtagi
27. Dr. J. Prasad
28. Shri Tara Chand Rohera
29. Shri Jagdish Avasthi
30. Shri Siya Ram Singh
31. Shri Ram Narain Tripathi
32. Shri Jagdish Verma
33. Shri Ram Gulam Sahu
34. Shri Badri Prasad
35. Shri Ved Prakash Arya
36. Shri Mahavir Prasad
37. Shri Banwari Lal
38. Shri Shayam Lal Sharma
39. Shri Devki Nandan
40. Shri Rajan
41. Shri S. V. Verma
42. Shri Kamolar Sharma
43. Shri Mohi Lal Dehnavi
44. Shri Ram Prasad
45. Shri Guru Prasad
46. Shri Rajendra Kushwah
47. Shri Ramswarup Nulk
48. Shri Abdul Gani
49. Shri D. R. Singh Pal
50. Shri Bhajan Lal Klokak
51. Shri Mange Singh Kostlia
52. Shri Bhagwati Prasad
53. Shri Mangli Prasad
54. Shri Gunga Ram
55. Shri Ram Gopal
56. Shri Mallu
57. Shri Kamta Prasad
58. Shri Raja Ram
59. Shri C. L. Sahu
60. Shri Ram Singh
61. Shri Shiv Prasad
62. Shri Mahabir Prasad

64. Dr. Raj Kamal Yadav
65. Shri Madan Kumar Tripathi
66. Shri Madhu Prasad
67. Shri Banwari Lal Yadav
68. Shri Ram Deo Prasad
69. Shri R. K. Prasad
70. Shri Dinesh Mishra
71. Shri Lal Chand Nishad
72. Shri Shafiqullah
73. Shri Saryu Prasad
74. Shri Srikant Tripathi
75. Shri Srikrishan Yadav
76. Shri Adya Prasad Yadav
77. Shri Rajender Nath Mishra
78. Shri Shyam Sunder
79. Shri Sewak Ram
80. Smt. Kishori Shukla
81. Shri Harihar Prasad
82. Shri Paras Nath
83. Shri Ghanshyam Yadav
84. Shri Rantavur
85. Shri Nand Lal
86. Shri Dina Nath Tathara
87. Shri Lallan
88. Shri Subhash
89. Shri Shiv Shankar Punde
90. Shri Bal Ram
91. Shri Ramakant
92. Shri P. L. Shukla
93. Shri A. K. Mishra
94. Shri S. K. Khare
95. Shri Ram Lakhan
96. Shri S. S. Yadav
97. Shri Parmanand Yadav
98. Shri Loknath Singh
99. Shri Chet Narain Prasad
100. Ch. Lalita Prasad
101. Shri Ram Lakhan Seth Shastri
102. Shri Ram Rattan Bind
103. Shri Vijay Kumar Viskarma
104. Shri Akshay Nand Singh
105. Shri Babu Lal
106. Shri Kailash Nath
107. Shri Ramji Gupta Dhira
108. Dr. Ved Prakash
109. Shri Jagannath Yadav
110. Shri Madan Lal
111. Shri K. C. Bansal
112. Shri Harish Chander
113. Smt. J. Chandra
114. Shri C. P. Singh
115. Shri Bhairo Prasad
116. Shri K. C. Gupta
117. Shri Shayam Lal
118. Shri Rajendra Kumar
119. Shri M. Jubed
120. Shri Ram Bachan Yadav
121. Shri Jilil Ahmed
122. Shri Badru Ram Rasiq
123. Shri S. D. Singh Chaurasia
124. Shri Ashok Yadav
125. Shri Kesho Ram Verma
126. Shri Nepal Singh Kasbyap
127. Shri Shom Nath
128. Shri Ramved
129. Smt. Kamla Saini
130. Shri Malik Qureshi
131. Shri Venath Pal
132. Shri Nirankar Nath Savita
133. Shri Gopal Das Palwa
134. Shri Siya Ram Yadav
135. Shri Remautar Pal
136. Shri Chandan Singh Lunla
137. Shri Shiv Prasad Yadav
138. Shri Ramesh Kumar Pal
139. Shri Mchendra Singh
140. Shri Ashok Khurana
141. Shri M. P. Singh
142. Shri R. B. Sexena
143. Shri Indu Prakash Arora
144. Shri Kumar Inqllabi
145. Shri Nand Prasad
146. Shri Noor Ahmed
147. Shri Mohd. Yasin
148. Shri Shiv Raj Giri
149. Shri Lnkhu Singh
150. Shri Ramswnrup Sahdev
151. Shri Shiv Narain Singh Negi
152. Shri B. Rohman
153. Shri Syed Ahmed
154. Shri Bhagi Ram
155. Shri Abdul Gaffur
156. Shri Abdul Hamid Ansari
157. Shri Shakir Bharti
158. Shri Shyam Lal Verma
159. Shri Behari Lal
160. Shri Shivkumar Sharma
161. Shri Ramesh Dutt Sharma
162. Shri Sudesh Pant
163. Shri N. S. Napukhyal
164. Shri D. D. Kapri
165. Shri K. C. Sharma
166. Shri B. R. Gupta
167. Shri N. S. Mathur
168. Shri Zamir Zaffar Ali
169. Shri Vafa-ur-Rahmau
170. Shri Roop Nath
171. Shri Devi Lal Shah
172. Shri Nimayat Hussain
173. Shri Govind Lal
174. Shri Jagdish Joshi
175. Shri Mathura Nath
176. Shri Bashir Ahmad Ansari
177. Shri Jivan Nath Goswami
178. Shri Daya Shanker Tamta
179. Shri Hurl Charan Balmiki
180. Smt Sarawati Tamta
181. Shri D. K. Verma
182. Shri B. P. Singh
183. Shri R. N. L. Gupta
184. Shri R. C. Paul
185. Shri L. N. Agarwal
186. Dr. D. S. Kannaataka
187. Shri R. S. Bhandari
188. Shri S. K. Das
189. Shri Banabir Singh
190. Shri Muhesh Chandra Trivedi
191. Shri K. R. Gupta

WEST BENGAL.

23-6-1980 to 26-6-1980

1. Shri Subhendu Mandal
2. Shri M. Shah
3. Shri Pashupati Mishra
4. Shri P. Mahato
5. Shri M. K. Sarkar
6. Shri H. K. Saha
7. Shri M. C. Sarkar
8. Shri Raja Ram Singh
9. Shri D. N. Mandal
10. Shri Asutosh Ghosh
11. Shri Bijay Mandal
12. Shri Khudai Ram Mahato
13. Shri Gyanendra Nath Mahato
14. Shri Pashupati Mahato
15. Shri Gour Chand Mandal
16. Shri Ishwar Majhi
17. Dr. K. C. Chaudhary
18. Pt. C. C. Panda
19. Shri Mohini Mohan Pandey
20. Shri Udaseen Mahajan
21. Shri A. Roy
22. Shri Nabari Gour
23. Shri Ram Kundu
24. Shri Pawan Chand Dey
25. Shri Narayan Chaudhry
26. Shri Tarun Kanti Ghosh
27. Shri Shambo Nath Ghosh
28. Shri Bholu Nath Layik
29. Shri A. K. Sadhukhan
30. Shri Gopal Sadhukhan
31. Shri Durga Dass Sinai
32. Shri Devender Kumar Lahi
33. Shri N. K. Karanekar
34. Shri Satya Sadhu Dey
35. Shri Subhe Chander Lal
36. Shri Saiba Dass
37. Shri Bimal Kumar Mandal
38. Shri Manik Chand Hazara
39. Shri Panchu Ram Parokait
40. Shri Ram Prasad Mandal
41. Shri Gulam Mustafa Mandal
42. Shri Bal Ram Pramanik
43. Shri Subroto Kumar Ghosh
44. Smt. Khairun
45. Shri Abdul Kiammuhi
46. Shri Seth Daulat Ali
47. Shri Zaman
48. Shri Abdul Kamil Zaman
49. Shri A. N. Saha
50. Shri Sarat Mallik
51. Shri B. Nath
52. Shri Krishna Swami
53. Shri Neel Rattan Saha
54. Shri Shubranjan Dass
55. Shri Valshyo Kapil
56. Shri Gour Mohan Sheir
57. Shri Ram Krishna
58. Shri Umi Kumar
59. Shri Vidhya Charan
60. Shri Samar Hajaral
61. Shri A. K. Maitra
62. Shri Shambhu Nath Paul

63. Shri N. G. Sinha
64. Shri Basant Kumar Biswas
65. Shri Kishi Kumar Halder
66. Shri Gopi Krishna Mazumdar
67. Shri Profulla Kumar Bharami
68. Shri Bhabani Mitra
69. Shri Mohamad Abdul Mallick
70. Shri Deo Prakash Rai
71. Shri P. R. Pradhan
72. Shri Prem Akya
73. Dr. G. S. Yonzohc
74. Prof. I. B. Rai
75. Smt. Snehalata Mahato
76. Shri Ramesh Mahato
77. Shri Pankaj Kumar Mandal
78. Shri Sukdeb Bhounik
79. Shri A. N. Saha
80. Shri Pasupati Mahato
81. Shri Rajaram Singh
82. Shri P. R. Mahato
83. Shri Renupada Garal
84. Shri Ranjit Mandal
85. Shri Anil Kumar Sadhukhan
86. Shri Monomajan Roy
87. Shri Monomohar Deb Nath
88. Shri Bhupali Majumdar
89. Shri Nagendra Kumar Bhunik
90. Shri Pashupati Mahato
91. Shri Satya Ranjan Das
92. Shri Gour Mohan Sarkar
93. Shri Padma Lochan Dey
94. Shri Shusthi Charan

NOTE :—2 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

CHANDIGARH

14-5-1979

1. Shri Virendra Singh
2. Shri Verma
3. Shri Shanker Lal
4. Shri R. K. Salni
5. Shri Ram Nivas Verma
6. Shri Kundan Lal Verma
7. Shri S. D. Bhambril
8. Shri Virendra Nath
9. Shri Kalaria
10. Shri Krishan Lal
11. Shri M. P. Verma
12. Shri R. K. Verma
13. Shri Bal Krishan

NOTE :—2 persons who gave evidence did not identify their names.

DELHI

18-5-1979

1. Shri Satya Narain Bansal
2. Shri Anil Rao
3. Shri Ram Lal
4. Shri Mehar Chand Yadav
5. Shri Radha Krishan Guru
6. Shri Vijay Kumar Jain
7. Shri Man Raj
8. Shri Ranji Lal

9. Shri Rullshyam Ichanna
10. Chaudhary Brahm Prakash
11. Shri Madan Lal Khorann
12. Dr. Prasant Kumar
13. Shri Shyola
14. Shri A. K. Jain
15. Chaudhary Bharat Singh
16. Shri Prem Sukh
17. Shri Shyama Charan Gupta

GOA, DAMAN & DIU

23-7-1980

1. Shri Agha Ashraf
2. Shri Ferdino Rebello
3. Shri Guru Shirodkar
4. Shri Joaquim Fernandes
5. Shri Rao
6. Shri Balram Nipalankar
7. Shri Narayan V. Mandrekar
8. Shri Edward Faluro
9. Shri J. C. Alencido

PONDICHERRY

28-6-1979

1. Shri Sugawandam
2. Shri Amalorpavan
3. Shri Ramalingam
4. Shri Kabeeruluss
5. Shri Mohd. Hassan
6. Shri Subramaniam
7. Shri Neekantan
8. Shri Ganeshan
9. Shri Prasad
10. Shri Natarajan
11. Shri Duraisamy Ansari
12. Shri C. Narayana Sany

OTHERS

Date of Meeting

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Shri Samar Brahm Choudhury | (I) 10-3-1980 | 16. Shri Kawal Krishna | 23-9-1980 |
| 2. Shri Charan Narzary | (II) 11-3-1980 | 17. Shri Shaik Ahmed | 23-9-1980 |
| 3. Lt. B. K. Basumatari | (I) 10-3-1980 | 18. Shri Tota Ram | 23-9-1980 |
| 4. Shri K. C. Basumatari | (II) 11-3-1980 | 19. Shri Goverdhan Das | 23-9-1980 |
| 5. Shri P. Brahma | (I) 10-3-1980 | 20. Shri Mohd. Saddik | 23-9-1980 |
| 6. Shri Shyam Manohar | (II) 11-3-1980 | 21. Shri Madan | 23-9-1980 |
| 7. Shri Basant Kumar Bhat | 24-9-1980 | 22. Shri Balkar Chaud | 23-9-1980 |
| 8. Shri Ravi Dayal Meena | 24-9-1980 | 23. Shri Bodh Ram | 23-9-1980 |
| 9. Shri Om Prakash Batham | 24-9-1980 | 24. Shri Ram Pal Singh | 23-9-1980 |
| 10. Shri Hira Lal Meena | 24-9-1980 | 25. Shri Debi Singh Jadodia | 23-9-1980 |
| 11. Shri N. C. Meena | 24-9-1980 | 26. Shri Jokhai Prasad | 23-9-1980 |
| 12. Shri Kailashi Lal Bhagat | 24-9-1980 | 27. Shri Jokhan Prasad | 23-9-1980 |
| 13. Shri Jothi Mur | 23-9-1980 | 28. Shri Jagwant | 23-9-1980 |
| 14. Shri Sohan Pat Singh | 23-9-1980 | 29. Shri Pyara Singh | 23-9-1980 |
| 15. Shri Mahavir Prasad | 23-9-1980 | 30. Shri Budh Ram | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 31. Shri Mehfooz Ahmed | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 32. Shri Aziz Ahmed | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 33. Shri Mohemmod Tahir | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 34. Shri Khalil Ahmed | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 35. Shri Shoukat Ali | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 36. Shri Hukam Chand | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 37. Shri Chandra Bhan | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 38. Shri Chheda | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 39. Shri Bhagwan Das | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 40. Shri Bal Kishan | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 41. Shri Bisheembar | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 42. Shri Munjoor Ahmed | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 43. Shri Sagar Mai | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 44. Shri Sampat Ram | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 45. Shri Suraj Bhan | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 46. Shri Lachman Das Sathl | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 47. Shri Prasad Singh | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 48. Shri Pyara Singh | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 49. Shri Purnad Singh | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 50. Shri Onkar Mai | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 51. Shri Laxman Das Shastri | 23-9-1980 |
| | | 52. Dr. S. V. Subramaniam | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 53. Shri T. Manivannan | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 54. Shri P. V. S. Mani | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 55. Shri C. K. Shanmugam | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 56. Shri V. G. Ramadas | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 57. Shri T. Ayyasami | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 58. Mrs. Lakshmi Kanthamma | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 59. Mrs. Lakshmi Subramaniam | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 60. Shri C. K. Chinnasari | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 61. Shri R. Dhakalina Murthy | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 62. Shri B. Muthu | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 63. Shri C. Velusami | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 64. Shri B. Prasada Rao | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 65. Shri M. B. Kumar | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 66. Shri V. M. Ramesh | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 67. Shri M. S. Narasimha | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 68. Shri K. Venkata Swamy | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 69. Dr. Nirmala | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 70. Shri Ch. Gopaiiah | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 71. Shri K. Yellainih | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 72. Shri J. Narasimha | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 73. K. Mallalah | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 74. Shri E. Jungaiah | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 75. Shri T. Sunkaraiah | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 76. Shri P. Yellainih | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 77. Shri M. Makaiiah | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 78. Shri A. Narahari Rao | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 79. Shri K. Ramulu | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 80. Shri D. Sullu | 8-10-1980 |
| | | 81. Shri T. Sivalingam | 8-10-1980 |

82. Shri T. R. Raju	8-10-1980
83. Shri R. Sanjeevi	8-10-1980
84. Shri Krishna Kunta, Giriyolkur	8-10-1980
85. Shri M. Vijayagopal	8-10-1980
86. Shri M. Shanmugam	8-10-1980
87. Shri M. S. Narosh	8-10-1980
88. Shri D. Venkateshwarlu	8-10-1980
89. Shri S. K. Jeyaraj	8-10-1980
90. Smt. T. R. Raju	8-10-1980

D. List of Experts

1. Prof. M. S. A. Rao	18-4-1979
2. Prof. S. N. Rangde	18-4-1979
3. Dr. K. D. Gangarade	18-4-1979
4. Dr. B. V. Basiskar	18-4-1979
5. Dr. Badgoyan	18-4-1979
6. Dr. V. C. Chanana	18-4-1979
7. Prof. Marwahá	18-4-1979
8. Prof. J. S. Bhandari	18-4-1979

Date of Meeting

9. Prof. J. D. Melra	18-4-1979
10. Prof. V. V. Jenu	18-4-1979
11. Prof. Bhalla	18-4-1979
12. Shri D. K. Goyal	18-4-1979
13. Shri S. P. Kaul	18-4-1979
14. Shri K. Guha	18-4-1979
15. Shri P. D. Khara	21-4-1979
16. Shri J. S. Yadav	21-4-1979
17. Prof. M. N. Srinivas	16-7-1979 to 20-7-79
18. Dr. Inder Deva	16-7-1979 to 20-7-79
19. Dr. M. S. A. Rao	16-7-1979 to 20-7-79
20. Dr. Roy Burman	16-7-1979 to 20-7-79
21. Shri L. G. Havanur	16-7-1979 to 20-7-79
22. Prof. Pradhan Prasad	16-7-1979 to 20-7-79
23. Dr. S. Bheemappa	(i) 12-5-1980 to 14-5-80 (ii) 18-11-1980

SC/ST CANDIDATES SELECTED FOR THE IAS/IPS ON MERIT BASIS FROM 1969-78

Copy of D.O. letter No. 13011/11/80-AIS(I) dated 30th June, 1980 from Shri D. C. Mishra, Director, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms to Shri S. S. Gill, Secretary, Backward Classes Commission :-

Please refer to your D.O. No. 5/10/79-BCC dated the 20th June, 1980 regarding representation of SC/ST candidates in the All-India Services during the last ten years. The information required by you in respect of Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service is given below :-

1. Indian Administrative Service

Year of Exam	Name	Whether SC or ST	IAS Rank	Rank of last General Candidate
1969	A. K. Jadhav	SC	28	81-C
1970	—	—	—	—
1971	Smt. C. T. Dawood	ST	67	122-A
	Km. Sushma Dayal	ST	118	122-A
1972	J. P. Dange	SC	91	106-C
	Sukhbilas Barmu	SC	102	106-C
1973	Piara Ram	SC	53	135
	S. S. Kapur	ST	117	135
1974	V. Gunasekaran	SC	110	118-B
1975	D. C. Lakha	SC	81	136-B
1976	—	—	—	—
1977	—	—	—	—
1978	Km. Emily Das	SC	48	111-A

2. Indian Police Service

Year of Exam	Name	Whether SC or ST	IPS Rank	Rank of last General Candidate allotted to IPS
1969	D. R. Bhatti	SC	96	86
1970	—	—	—	—
1971	S. P. Kazal	SC	97	136
1972	—	—	—	—
1973	Lalthara	ST	20	152
1974	—	—	—	—
1975	K. V. S. Murthy	SC	31	Supplementary —12
	Ashok Thakur	ST	83	Supplementary —12
1976	—	—	—	—
1977	—	—	—	—
1978	C. Thangthum	ST	111	92

CRITERIA FURNISHED TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OFFICES FOR IDENTIFYING O.B.C. EMPLOYEES FOR BOTH HINDU AND NON-HINDU COMMUNITIES

No. 83 79-BCC

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION**

S. S. GILL

Secretary

25th April, 1979

SUBJECT : Information regarding employees belonging to Other Backward Classes:

Ref : D.O. letter No. 17030/5/79/SC&BCD-I dated 19th March, 1979.

Dear Shri

In my D.O. letter under reference I had requested for the supply of information regarding the total number of employees belonging to Other Backward Classes working in your Ministry.

2. Though a number of State Governments have drawn up lists of Other Backward Classes, no such lists have been compiled by the Central Government. In fact, the first term of reference of Backward Classes Commission pertains to the defining of criteria for determining Backward Classes. As the desired criteria could be evolved only after extensive field surveys and examination of data called from various agencies, the Commission itself is also not in a position to indicate specific and well considered criteria for defining Backward Classes.

3. In view of the above difficulties and looking to the urgency of obtaining information regarding the employment of members of Backward Classes under the Central Government, the Commission has decided to lay down the following rough and ready criteria on purely ad-hoc basis.

4. Article 340 of the Constitution refers to "socially and educationally" backward classes. The following test may, therefore, be applied to determine socially and educationally backward classes :—

(a) In respect of employees belonging to the Hindu Communities

(i) an employee will be deemed to be socially backward if he does not belong to any of the three twice borne (Dvija) 'Varnas' i.e. he is neither a Brahmin, nor a Kshatriya nor a Vaishya; and

(ii) he will be deemed to be educationally backward if neither his father nor his grand father had studied beyond the primary level.

(b) Regarding the non-Hindu Communities

(i) an employee will be deemed to be socially backward if either

(1) he is a convert from those Hindu communities which have been defined as socially backward as per para 4(a)(i) above, or

(2) in case he is not such a convert, his parental income is below the prevalent poverty line, i.e. Rs. 75/- per head per month.

(ii) he will be deemed to be educationally backward if neither his father nor his grand father had studied beyond the primary level.

5. It may please be noted that an employee will qualify for membership of Other Backward Classes only if, both socially and educationally, he is found to be backward according to the above criteria.

6. It is further requested that, to expedite the work of compilation, the desired information may be sent in two instalments, i.e. :

(1) Information regarding your Ministry/Department may be sent within a period of one month; and

(2) Information pertaining to the subordinate and attached offices and other organisations, as well as public sector undertakings, under the charge of your Ministry may be sent by the end of June, 1979.

7. A slightly modified proforma for compiling the desired information is enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(S. S. GILL)

All Ministries/Departments of
the Central Government

STATEMENT No. 1

REPRESENTATION OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES, SCHEDULED CASTES/SCHEDULED TRIBES IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SERVICES

	Class I			Class II			Class III & IV			All Classes		
	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC
1. Ministries/Departments.	11707	840 (7.18)	303 (2.59)	43803	5985 (13.66)	1742 (3.98)	17829	5518 (30.95)	1900 (8.41)	73339	12343 (16.83)	3545 (4.83)
2. Autonomous Bodies Attached & Subordinate Offices	81325	5399 (6.64)	4147 (5.09)	503337	91431 (18.16)	59079 (11.74)	322948	67118 (20.78)	67786 (20.98)	907610	163948 (18.06)	131012 (14.43)
3. Public Sector Under- takings	60994	3652 (4.51)	3719 (4.59)	365785	68566 (18.74)	36242 (9.91)	143910	45646 (31.72)	22689 (15.77)	590689	117864 (19.95)	62650 (10.61)
4. Total	174026	9891 (5.68)	8169 (4.69)	912925	165982 (18.18)	97063 (10.63)	484687	118282 (24.40)	91975 (18.98)	1571638	294155 (18.72)	197207 (12.55)

Note : Figures in brackets represent percentages.

STATEMENT No. 2

REPRESENTATION OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES, SCHEDULED CASTES/SCHEDULED TRIBES IN CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT SERVICES
(MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS)

Ministry/Department	Class I			Class II			Class III & IV			All Classes		
	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC
1. President's Secretariat	49	4	..	162	24	..	96	19	..	307	47	..
2. Vice-President's Secretariat	7	..	..	16	1	1	11	4	..	34	5	1
3. Prime Minister's Office	35	2	1	117	13	4	61	19	2	213	34	7
4. Cabinet Secretariat	20	1	1	115	19	13	61	18	8	196	38	22
5. Agriculture and Irrigation	261	15	13	220	15	3	73	19	3	554	49	19
6. Atomic Energy	34	..	..	82	1	..	214	42	4	330	45	4
7. Commerce, Civil Supplies and Cooperation	61	11	..	211	32	..	63	20	3	335	63	3
8. Communications	52	3	..	130	8	..	43	7	1	225	18	1
9. Defence	1379	48	9	7752	803	187	2127	604	131	19258	1455	327
10. Education and Social Welfare	259	17	4	851	96	23	278	76	12	1388	189	39
11. Electronics	92	1	2	198	46	5	55	29	2	345	76	9
12. Energy	641	39	20	2332	253	132	1449	335	276	4422	627	428
13. External Affairs	649	60	1	1889	162	5	460	73	10	2998	295	16
14. Finance	1008	66	1	2724	306	11	821	202	13	4553	574	25
15. Health and Family Welfare	240	19	..	1506	163	..	288	72	..	2034	254	..
16. Home Affairs	409	19	13	1301	140	27	1164	272	33	2874	431	71
17. Industry	169	16	3	510	42	8	252	103	11	931	161	22
18. Information and Broadcasting	2506	212	124	9416	1795	740	4583	1653	483	16505	3660	1547
19. Law, Justice & Company Affairs												
(i) Legal Affairs	143	18	5	725	112	25	319	96	30	1187	226	60
(ii) Legislative Affairs	112	14	2	263	41	7	104	27	15	479	82	24
(iii) Company Affairs	247	23	6	1114	151	53	320	80	23	1681	254	82
20. Labour	74	4	..	274	20	1	101	18	1	449	42	2
21. Parliamentary Affairs	18	1	..	68	11	1	26	8	1	112	20	2
22. Petroleum and Chemicals	121	9	..	97	9	..	3	16	..	254	34	..
23. Planning	1262	137	72	4657	614	234	298	226	52	6917	977	358
24. Science and Technology	101	5	1	175	21	1	33	28	7	351	54	17
25. Shipping and Transport	103	6	1	426	66	3	143	43	1	672	115	5
26. Space	19	..	..	49	3	7	20	10	3	88	13	10
27. Steel and Mines	128	11	3	370	31	..	131	49	4	629	91	7
28. Supply and Rehabilitation	103	6	1	426	66	3	143	43	1	672	115	5
29. Tourism and Civil Aviation	1187	61	20	4830	845	251	3178	1275	290	9185	2181	541
30. Works and Housing	218	10	..	807	78	9	136	32	80	1181	120	89
TOTAL	11707	840	303	43803	5985	1742	17829	5518	1500	73339	12143	3545

STATEMENT No. 3

REPRESENTATION OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES, SCHEDULED CASTES/SCHEDULED TRIBES IN AUTONOMOUS BODIES, ATTACHED AND SUBORDINATE OFFICES

Ministry/Department	Class I			Class II			Class III & IV			All Classes		
	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC
1. Accountant General Central Revenues	12437	1330	844	37967	9030	3288	7534	2236	831	57958	12996	4963
2. Agriculture and Irrigation	4274	351	173	8786	1604	773	7816	2399	1423	20876	4356	2369
3. Atomic Energy	658	4	11	228	2	11	1581	353	88	2467	359	110
4. Central Vigilance Commission	75	9	12	40	6	16	34	17	15	149	31	44
5. Commerce, Civil Supplies and Cooperation	702	80	6	3215	495	75	1697	339	38	5614	914	119
6. Communications	474	39	6	2293	517	166	616	238	134	3183	794	306
7. Education and Social Welfare	6722	283	218	16594	1399	1373	14676	4107	1838	37992	5789	3427
8. Electronics	101	1	2	137	25	4	15	6	..	253	32	6
9. Election Commission of India	26	..	1	134	21	1	54	21	..	214	42	2
10. Energy	589	24	10	708	73	20	173	33	12	1470	130	42
11. External Affairs	93	3	4	799	143	37	187	73	37	1076	219	78
12. Finance	9155	764	379	55546	9309	3722	22858	5243	3805	87559	15316	7906
13. Health & Family Welfare	3550	179	47	13820	1175	498	16693	3720	720	34063	5074	1265
14. Home Affairs	5187	334	113	189250	34407	20593	19538	7723	2650	213975	42464	23356
15. Industry	6721	197	641	49332	16103	14718	120982	15862	36188	177035	32162	51547
16. Information & Broadcasting	1745	212	124	6694	1358	746	3481	1346	491	11920	2916	1361
17. Labour	2373	214	118	9869	1363	1013	4553	1345	691	16795	2922	1822
18. Petroleum and Chemicals	802	23	7	1842	133	78	653	190	71	3297	306	136
19. Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe Commission	10	1	..	16	1	..	5	5	..	31	7	..
20. Science and Technology	7390	202	242	21805	3117	1897	11445	3250	1928	40640	6569	4067
21. Shipping and Transport	4092	271	705	27295	2722	5918	56484	10126	12925	87071	13119	19548
22. Space	3193	14	184	5044	294	764	1336	363	183	9573	671	1131
23. Steel and Mines	2495	121	73	9510	1299	434	5375	783	455	17380	2303	962
24. Supply and Rehabilitation	1238	99	42	9873	1371	544	4991	991	442	15202	2461	1028
25. Tourism and Civil Aviation	1553	208	38	4136	703	442	1585	531	224	7274	1444	704
26. Union Public Service Commission	163	12	3	732	134	18	256	113	22	1151	259	43
27. Works and Housing	3490	421	143	27672	4625	1932	19230	5745	2575	52392	10793	4650
TOTAL	81325	5399	4147	503337	91431	59079	322948	67118	67786	907610	163948	131012

STATEMENT No. 4

REPRESENTATION OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES, SCHEDULED CASTES/SCHEDULED TRIBES IN PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

Ministry/Department	Class I			Class II			Class III & IV			All Classes		
	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC	Total	SC/ST	OBC
1. Agriculture and Irrigation	1146	77	66	4258	521	428	3405	838	518	8809	1436	1012
2. Atomic Energy	58	2	..	107	..	1	2390	1059	171	2555	1061	172
3. Commerce, Civil Supplies and Cooperation	1724	95	66	4375	536	558	1130	234	180	7229	865	804
4. Communications	4474	260	371	12143	2323	2333	4806	1798	419	21423	4281	3125
5. Education and Social Welfare	707	12	125	1297	110	325	603	192	218	2607	314	668
6. Energy	5070	178	41	13086	677	920	9258	1934	767	27414	2789	1728
7. Health and Family Welfare	35	2	..	480	72	..	222	61	..	737	135	..
8. Industry	2041	161	88	6054	781	551	2709	781	371	10804	1723	1010
9. Petroleum and Chemicals	16217	785	323	41464	4307	3204	16326	4082	1856	74007	9174	5383
10. Science and Technology	348	3	2	509	82	30	93	30	10	750	115	42
11. Shipping and Transport	3044	142	116	11536	1365	1150	47516	6310	9228	62096	7817	10494
12. Steel and Mines	37877	1297	2451	250164	54843	26390	43403	24010	8714	331444	80150	37555
13. Tourism and Civil Aviation	7923	605	59	18995	2801	341	11305	4084	237	38223	7490	637
14. Works and Housing	530	33	9	1317	248	11	744	233	..	2591	514	20
TOTAL	80994	3652	3719	365785	68566	36242	143910	45646	22689	590689	117864	62650

LIST OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO ATTENDED THE MEETINGS HELD FROM 31ST MARCH TO 6TH MAY, 1979

Andhra Pradesh

1. Shri B. Radhabal Ananda Rao
2. Shri Chadalavada Venkateswarao
3. Shri K. S. Narayana
4. Shri G. Mailkarjuna Rao
5. Shri B. P. Maurya
6. Shri M. Nageswar Rao
7. Shri S. R. A. S. Appala Rao
8. Shri T. Balakrishnaiah

Assam

9. Shri I. H. Khan

Bihar

10. Shri Hukamdeo Narayan Yadav
11. Shri Ramakrishna Prasad Gupta
12. Shri Ramnand Yadav
13. Shri Vinayak Prasad Yadav

Gujarat

14. Shri Ahsan Jafri
15. Shri Chhittubhai Gar
16. Shri H. B. Mahida

Haryana

17. Smt. Chandraswati
18. Shri Manohar Lal Jaini

Jammu & Kashmir

19. Smt. Parvati De

Karnataka

20. Shri B. Janardhana Pojjary
21. Shri K. B. Choudhary
22. Shri L. R. Naik
23. Shri G. Y. Krishnan

Madhya Pradesh

24. Shri B. R. Manhar
25. Shri Bharat Singh Choudhary
26. Shri Govindram Miri
27. Smt. Jamuna Devi
28. Shri Narhari Prasad Sai
29. Shri D. P. Shah

Maharashtra

30. Shri V. P. Naik

Madhya Pradesh

31. Shri Kaiho

Meghalaya

32. Shri Alexander Warjri
33. Shri H. S. Lyngdoh
34. Shri P. A. Sangma

Nagaland

35. Shri Khyonw Lotha
36. Smt. Rano M. Siniza

Orissa

37. Shri C. M. Sinha
38. Shri K. Pradhani

Rajasthan

39. Shri Chaturbhuj
40. Shri Nathu Singh
41. Shri N. R. Mirdha

Sikkim

42. Shri C. B. Chhetri
43. Shri L. S. Saring

Tamil Nadu

44. Shri K. Ramamurthy
45. Shri K. T. Kosalram
46. Dr. P. Y. Periasamy
47. Shri R. Kolanthavelu

Tripura

48. Shri B. C. Deb Burman
49. Shri S. L. Singha

Uttar Pradesh

50. Smt. Hanifa Habibullah
51. Shri Chandan Singh
52. Shri Daya Ram Shakya
53. Shri F. A. Ansari
54. Shri Manohar Lal
55. Shri Mangal Deowlsharad
56. Shri Kunwar Mahmud Ali Khan
57. Shri Mohan Lal Pipil
58. Shri P. L. Kureel
59. Shri Ram Lal Kureel
60. Shri R. D. Shrestri
61. Shri Ram Kinkar
62. Smt. Mohsina Kidwai
63. Shri R. S. Verma
64. Shri Roop Nath Singh Yadav
65. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav
66. Shri Surendra Bikram

West Bengal

67. Shri Krishna Choudin Halder
68. Shri K. B. Chettri
69. Shri Mukunda Mandri

Delhi

70. Shri Brahm Prakash Chaudhary

Goa, Daman & Diu

71. Amrut Kansar

Pondicherry

72. Shri V. P. Munusamy

LIST OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO ATTENDED THE MEETINGS HELD FROM 1ST TO 4TH JULY, 1980

Andhra Pradesh

1. Shri B. Rajagopala Rao
2. Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy
3. Shri G. Swamy Naik
4. Shri N. G. Ranga
5. Shri P. Rajagopal Naidu
6. Shri P. Shiv Shankar
7. Shri S. R. A. S. Appalaraidu

Bihar

8. Shri A. K. Roy
9. Prof. Ajit Kumar Mehta
10. Shri C. S. Singh
11. Shri D. L. Baitha
12. Shri D. P. Yadava
13. Shri N. E. Horo
14. Shri Ramvatar Shastri
15. Shri R. L. P. Verma
16. Shri Seth Hembram

Gujarat

17. Shri Amar Singh Rathawa
18. Shri B. K. Gadhasvi
19. Shri Ishwarbhai K. Chavda
20. Shri Moti Bhai Chaudhuri
21. Shri Nar Singh Makwana
22. Shri Navin Ravani
23. Shri R. P. Gackwad

Jammu & Kashmir

24. Shri G. M. Shawl
25. Shri G. R. Kochak
26. Shri Mubarak Shah

Karnataka

27. Shri B. Jansardhana Poojary
28. Shri S. B. Sinal

Kerala

29. Shri E. Balanarandan
30. Shri E. K. Imbickibava
31. Shri George Joseph Mundackal
32. Shri G. M. Banatwalia
33. Shri M. Rumauna Rai
34. Smt. Susela Gopalan
35. Shri V. S. Vijayaraghavan

Madhya Pradesh

36. Shri Arvind Nalam
37. Shri Baleshwar Dayal
38. Shri Mundar Sharnin
39. Shri N. K. Shejwalkar
40. Shri Paras Ram Bharadwari
41. Shri R. P. Neekhra

Madhya Pradesh

42. Shri A. J. Patil
43. Shri Bapusaheb Parulekar

44. Shri G. S. Kuchad
45. Shri Madhu Dandavate
46. Shri R. K. Mhalgi
47. Shri Ratan Singh Rajda
48. Shri S. B. Chavan
49. Shri S. B. Thorat
50. Shri Shivaraj V. Patil
51. Shri Vilas Mutterwar

Manipur

52. Shri Tompok Singh

Orissa

53. Shri C. M. Panigrahi

Punjab

54. Smt. Amarjit Kaur
55. Shri Hakam Singh
56. Shri Har Kishan Singh Surjeet
57. Smt. Rajinder Kaur
58. Gen. R. S. Sparrow

Rajasthan

59. Shri Jal Narain Roat
60. Shri Satish Aggarwal

Sikkim

61. Shri P. M. Subha

Tamil Nadu

62. Shri C. Palaniappan
63. Shri Era Anbarasu
64. Shri K. Arjunan
65. Shri M. Kandaswamy
66. Shri R. V. Swaminathan

Uttar Pradesh

67. Shri Asfaq Husain
68. Shri B. D. Singh
69. Shri Doongar Singh
70. Shri Jal Pal Singh Kashyap
71. Shri Jai Ram Varma
72. Shri Narendra Singh
73. Shri Ram Pyare Panika
74. Shri Raghunath Singh Verma
75. Shri Shyam Lal Yadav
76. Smt. Usha Verma

West Bengal

77. Shri A. K. Saha
78. Shri Basudeb Acharia
79. Smt. Bibha Ghosh Goswami
80. Smt. Geeta Mukherjee
81. Shri Jyotirmoy Bose
82. Shri Mukunda Mandal
83. Shri Rupchand Pal
84. Shri Saiyasadhan Chukraborty

Goa, Daman & Diu

85. Shri Eduardo Faleiro

LIST OF STATES/UTs VISITED BY THE COMMISSION

S. No.	Name of State/UT	Date of tour	S. No.	Name of State/UT	Date of tour
1.	Andhra Pradesh	26-7-1980 to 30-7-1980	12.	Punjab	4-10-1980 to 7-10-1980
2.	Bihar	(I) 26-5-1979 to 30-5-1979 (II) 11-9-1979 to 18-9-1979	13.	Rajasthan	26-8-1980 to 30-8-1980
3.	Gujarat	18-9-1980 to 21-9-1980	14.	Sikkim	21-5-1980 to 23-5-1980
4.	Haryana	15-5-1979 to 16-5-1979	15.	Tamil Nadu	26-6-1979 to 30-6-1979
5.	Himachal Pradesh	29-9-1980 to 2-10-1980	16.	Uttar Pradesh	6-9-1980 to 12-9-1980
6.	Jammu & Kashmir	14-10-1979 to 19-10-1979	17.	West Bengal	23-6-1980 to 26-6-1980
7.	Karnataka	9-4-1980 to 13-4-1980	18.	Chandigarh	14-5-1979
8.	Kerala	23-6-1979 to 25-6-1979	19.	Delhi	18-5-1979
9.	Madhya Pradesh	(I) 15-8-1980 to 20-8-1980 (II) 4-10-1980 to 8-10-1980	20.	Goa, Daman & Diu	25-7-1980
10.	Maharashtra	20-7-1980 to 23-7-1980	21.	Pondicherry	28-6-1979
11.	Orissa	20-6-1980 to 22-6-1980	22.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	22-9-1980 to 23-9-1980

REPORT OF THE RESEARCH PLANNING TEAM OF THE SOCIOLOGISTS

The Research Planning Team consisting of the following members met at Delhi during 12th to 14th June, 1979 to draw up a plan of studies and researches which should be undertaken/ sponsored by the Backward Classes Commission for determining in a scientific and objective manner the criteria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes.

List of the Members :

1. Prof. L. K. Mahapatra
2. Prof. N. S. Reddy
3. Prof. Laxa Dube
4. Dr. A. K. Danda
5. Shri N. K. Banerjee
6. Shri S. S. Gill
7. Prof. B. K. Roy Burman

1. The Study Team after considering the context in which the provisions in respect of socially and educationally backward classes have been made in the Constitution as well as the actual wording of the Constitution felt that these relate to socially recognisable and persistent collectivities and not to individuals.

2. As a corollary to the fore-going it implies that, that type of social backwardness which is more relevant to the present enquiry pertains to ascriptive status and not achieved status.

3. The Study Team felt it necessary to consider the problem of relationship between social backwardness and educational backwardness. While social backwardness refers to ascriptive status, educational backwardness refers to achieved status. It is obvious that the former can change only over a length of time, while faster change is possible in case of the later. Hence, while determining the criteria of socially and educationally backward classes, social backwardness should be considered to be the critical element and educational backwardness to be the linked element, though not necessarily derived from the former.

4. In the Indian context the task of identifying collectivities with ascribed socially backward status, can be achieved from two vantage positions which, however, very frequently tend to overlap. The first is to identify the castes or ethnic groups which are traditionally assigned a low status (Other than the Scheduled Castes). The second is to identify the traditional occupations which are assigned a low status but which are also linked with specific castes or ethnic groups. These ethnic groups may belong to any religion. Once the collectivities are identified in terms of the traditional frame-work, one is to examine what changes have taken place in their social and educational status under the impact of the various forces in modern society.

5. As regards identification of castes with traditional low status, considerable amount of data are available in the Census Reports upto 1931. Similarly, for ascriptive status of occupation also the earlier Census Reports provide considerable information. Caste index of 1891 gives information about the distribution of the various castes in sixty occupational categories. 1901 Census gives a ranking of castes and also an indication of the social privileges and disabilities associated with them. The subsequent Censuses upto 1931 give an indication of the social mobility movements among the castes and process of change in their respective status. If a comparative statement is prepared indicating the baseline data available in 1891 and 1901 Censuses and the subsequent changes, the same will give a fairly clear picture of the pattern that had taken shape in the pre-independence period.

6. As regards educational status of the castes or ethnic groups or of the population engaged in various traditional occupations in the pre-independence period, some information is available in the early Census reports. While it is recognised that a large number of people belonging to the different castes do not at present adhere to their traditional occupation or occupations, it is assumed that in most cases the bulk of the population engaged in the traditional occupations embodied in the pre-industrial technological nexus still belong to the castes or ethnic groups which have been associated with such occupations for generations. Some information about the educational status of the persons practising the various traditional occupations is available in the earlier Census reports. This is required to be compiled.

7. (a) The problems of determination of current social and educational status of collectivities that can be identified as backward on an examination of early source materials can be considered both at the conceptual and empirical and statistical levels.

(b) The problems of approach at the conceptual level would be considered later. At the empirical and statistical level the following sources and procedures are noted :—

- (i) Cross-tabulation of occupation data of the Census;
- (ii) Village and Town studies and craft studies of the Census Agro-economic Research Centres and a number of other institutions and scholars;
- (iii) Studies specially conducted by Anthropological Survey of India on the Weaker Sections of the population;
- (iv) Studies sponsored by ICSSR;
- (v) Reports of Seminars organised by Backward Classes Federation and Other Agencies;
- (vi) Sample surveys to be specially sponsored by Backward Classes Commission.

(c) (i) A special mention is to be made of the problems of cross-tabulation of census data and of the sample surveys to be sponsored by the Backward Classes Commission. As regards cross-tabulation of occupation and education data it is to be noted that currently such data are available only upto three digit code of the NCD. But most of the traditional occupations with low ascribed status would not come out in the three digit code. For this it will be necessary to get special cross-tabulation done at the five digit code based on 1% sample slips computerised at the national level; 10% slips computerised in respect of Urban areas, and 5% slips computerised for rural areas of some parts of the country.

8. As regards sample surveys to be sponsored by the Backward Classes Commission, the important question is that of the unit. Risley has listed more than 5,000 castes in India the first B.C.C. has listed more than 2,000 other backward classes. If a sample survey is conducted with reference to territorial units only, most of the numerically small castes which are likely to be more backward, may not be covered. If such surveys are to be done with caste as the unit the sample frame will not be available without a time-consuming and costly operation of enumeration of all castes throughout the country.

9. It seems that it will not be possible to go in for a single dimension sample survey. It will be necessary to make multi-prong approaches to gain an insight into the situation in a general way, rather than for identifying the actual conditions

prevailing along all the specific collectivities that deserve to be treated as socially and educationally backward classes. The vantage points of multipronged approaches would be as follows:—

- (a) From an analysis of the census data upto Taluk level, it will be possible to identify areas where SC/ST constitute insignificant proportion of the population and where at the same time level of literacy is low. Sample surveys will be carried out in such areas to examine the factors of educational backwardness and also to find out to what extent, social backwardness is associated with the same.
- (b) From an examination of the village survey monographs, it will be possible to prepare an inventory of communities which have been found to suffer from social disabilities and which are at the same time educationally backward. Sample surveys can be conducted in these areas on the basis of purposive sampling.
- (c) On examination of the traditional craft survey reports as well as in consultation with Handicrafts Board and Khadi and Village Industries Commission information can be obtained about social and economic conditions and mobility movements of the population engaged in these traditional crafts and industries which are graded as backward. The District Census hand books of 1961 Census also provide information about the distribution of different household industries at the village level. Studies may be conducted in respect of some of them on the basis of purposive sampling.
- (d) Ex-criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee and Nomadic Tribes Inquiry Committee provided information about a good number of communities and about the areas where they are to be ordinarily found. Some of them should also be covered by the survey.
- (e) LOKUR Committee set up by the Home Ministry has provided a list of communities who represented for being included in the list of SC and ST, but who had to be left out. The report gives some indication of the social status of many of these communities. Similar representations received from time to time by the Home Ministry and Commissioner for SC and ST and the Commission for SC and ST for being treated as SC and ST which have not been found to satisfy the criteria for inclusion in one of these categories of SC and ST, may be taken for examination about their social and educational status.
- (f) The Communities already listed as OBCs in several States can also be studied on a sample basis to ascertain their actual social and educational status and also the

impact of the various measures adopted for amelioration of their condition.

10. The team considered that the studies conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India on Weaker Sections would be very much helpful in gaining a conceptual insight about the process of generation of backwardness or of persistence and change of the same. The report of these studies may be carefully examined.

11. While empirical and statistical data collected in the foregoing manner will help in identifying the current social and educational status of a number of castes and communities and other collectivities (traditional occupation groups) a perspective about the long-range trend and the future will also be necessary. For this purpose as well a conceptual framework appears indispensable.

- (a) It can be assumed that the factors and processes of generation, persistence and change of backwardness would differ in different historical formations and social situations. For instance, in the areas pre-dominantly inhabited by the tribals ritual disability may not be an important criterion for determination of backwardness for the non-tribal minorities residing there. In their case access to centres of political power may be a more important factor. Similar differences can be noticed in the enclaves of semi-feudal or capitalistic economy and society.
 - (b) Significance of some of the prevailing attributes of social and educational backwardness would be very much different in areas where social mobility movements have taken place among various castes and communities and traditional occupation groups, from the areas where no such movements have taken place.
12. While designing empirical studies extent of prevalence of the following variables may be taken into account:—
- (a) Socio-ritual services extended by other ethnic groups.
 - (b) "Low" status of occupations of the category concern.
 - (c) "Low" self-evaluation compared to other ethnic groups in the region (Gram Panchayat/Block/Taluqa).
 - (d) Literacy rates in relation to other neighbouring groups in Gram Panchayat/Block/Taluqa.
 - (e) Occupations requiring investment of child-labour (upto 15 years).
 - (f) Economic levels of castes and communities.
 - (g) Representation in public or private sector services or in professions.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF EXPERT PANEL.

1. Dr. B. K. Roy Burman,
Professor of Anthropology,
Vishwa Bharti,
P.O. Sriniketan-731236
Birbhum (West Bengal).
2. Dr. Indra Deva,
Professor of Sociology and Dean Students' Welfare,
Ravishankar University,
Raipur (Madhya Pradesh).
3. Professor Muhammad Anis,
Professor of Geography,
Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh).
4. Dr. Moin Shakir,
Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
Marathwada University,
Aurangabad (Maharashtra).
5. Prof. M. N. Srinivas,
Anikere,
78-A, Benson Cross Road,
Bangalore-560046 (Karnataka).
6. Prof. Pradhan H. Prasad,
Professor of Economics,
A. N. S. Institute of Social Studies,
Patna-800001 (Bihar).
7. Prof. Yogendra Singh,
Centre for Study of Social Systems,
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi-110057.
8. Prof. M. S. A. Rao,
Department of Sociology,
University of Delhi,
Delhi-110007.
9. Prof. J. S. Yadava,
Indian Institute of Mass Communications,
D-13, New Delhi South Extension, Part-II,
New Delhi-110049.
10. Dr. R. K. Sharma,
Centre for Study of Regional Development,
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi-110057.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
26 If working whether working within the village/town or outside the village/town (within-1. Outside-2) यदि कार्य कर रहे हैं तो क्या गाँव/शहर के भीतर अथवा गाँव/शहर के बाहर कार्य कर रहे हैं (भीतर-1, बाहर-2)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	613-620
26 Place of work (Code) कार्य करने का स्थान (कोड)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	621-628
27 If not attended School, Why? (Code) यदि स्कूल नहीं गए तो क्यों? (कोड)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	629-630

PART IV/ भाग 4

DESCRIPTION OF ASSETS/ वस्तुत्वति का विवरण

(Actual number and value to be recorded in the squares provided)
(वास्तविक संख्या और मूल्य वर्गों में करें)

A	(To be filled in the case of Rural areas only) (केवल ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के मामलों में करें)	Number/ संख्या	Current value (in Rupees) वर्तमान मूल्य (रुपयों में)		
28 House/ मकान		<input type="checkbox"/> 637	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	638-643
29 Agricultural tools/ कृषि के औजार					
Mostly wooden/ अधिकतर लकड़ी के		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	644-648
Mostly Iron अधिकतर लोहे के		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	649-650
30 Fodder Chopper/ चारा काटने की मशीन		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	654-655
31 Thrasher/ धेरा		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	656-658
32 Pump Sets/ पम्प सेट		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	659-660
33 Tractor/ ट्रैक्टर		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	665
34 Draught animals कार-बाही पशु		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	666-669
35 Milch animals/ दुग्धक पशु		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	670
36 Sheep & goat/ बछे और बकरी		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	676-677
37 Poultry/ मुर्गीपालन		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	678-682
38 Bullock Cart/ बैलगाड़ी		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	683-684
39 Pigs/ सुअर		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	685-688
40 Tools used by artisan & servicing class (List the items & give total value only) कारीगरों के काम आने वाले औजार और उनकी संख्या करने वाला वर्ग (केवल वस्तु की सूची और कुल मूल्य बताएं)		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	689-692
(i) _____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	698-700
(ii) _____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	706
(iii) _____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	707-711
(iv) _____		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	712-713
			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	714-717
			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	718-722

41 Other Material Objects/अन्य सामान वस्तुएँ	Number/ संख्या	Current Value/in Rup वर्तमान मूल्य (रुपयों में)
(i) Cycle/ साईकिल	<input type="checkbox"/> 723	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 724-727
(ii) Radio/Transistor/ रेडियो/ट्रांजिस्टर	<input type="checkbox"/> 728	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 728-732
(iii) Scooter/Motor Cycle/ स्कुटर/मोटर साईकिल	<input type="checkbox"/> 733	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 734-737
(iv) Others/ अन्य	<input type="checkbox"/> 738	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 738-742
42 Assets of Trade & Commercial/ व्यापार और वाणिज्य परिसम्पत्तियाँ		
(i) Shop/ दुकान	<input type="checkbox"/> 743	
(ii) Kind of shop/ दुकान की किसिम (Owned-1 Rented-2) (मिली-1 किराये की-2)	<input type="checkbox"/> 744	
B. (To be filled in the case of urban areas only) (केवल शहरी क्षेत्र में यापनों में भरें)		
43 House/ मकान	<input type="checkbox"/> 745	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 747-751
44 Furniture & other material objects/ कर्मोपकरण एवं अन्य सामान वस्तुएँ		
(i) Cycle/Motor Cycle/Car साईकिल/मोटर साईकिल/कार	<input type="checkbox"/> 752	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 753-757
(ii) Radio/Transistor/T.V. रेडियो/ट्रांजिस्टर/टी.वी.	<input type="checkbox"/> 758	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 759-763
(iii) Dining Table/ खाने की मेज	<input type="checkbox"/> 764	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 765-769
(iv) Sofa Set/ सोफा सेट	<input type="checkbox"/> 770	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 771-775
(v) Refrigerator/ रेफ्रिजरेटर	<input type="checkbox"/> 776	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 777-781
(vi) Telephone/ टेलीफोन	<input type="checkbox"/> 782	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 783-787
45 Assets of Trade & Commerce व्यापार और वाणिज्य परिसम्पत्तियाँ		
(i) Shop/ दुकान	<input type="checkbox"/> 788	
(ii) Kind of Shop/ दुकान की किसिम (owned-1. Rented-2)(मिली-1 किराये की 2)	<input type="checkbox"/> 789	
46 Other Assets/ अन्य परिसम्पत्तियाँ		
(i) Milch animals/ दुग्ध पशु	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 790-791	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 792-796
(ii) Pigs/ सूअर	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 797-798	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 799-802
(iii) Other animals/ अन्य पशु	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 803-804	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 805-809

PART V/ काल बांध

INDEBTEDNESS ऋणधरता

47 Have you taken any loan during the last 3 years
(Yes-1, No-2)

क्या आपने पिछले तीन वर्षों में कोई ऋण लिया है ?
(हां-1, नहीं-2)

 809

48 If yes, Total amount of loan taken (in Rs.)
यदि हां, तो लिये गये ऋण की कुल राशि (रुपयों में)

 810-815

49 Main reasons for taking loan (Code)
ऋण लेने का मुख्य कारण (कोड)

 816

50 From whom taken (Code)
किससे लिया गया (कोड)

 817

51 Amount of loan outstanding (in Rs.)
बकाया ऋण की राशि (रुपयों में)

 818-823

Date _____
दिनांक

(Name of the Investigator)
अभ्येक्षक का नाम

**BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

विछड़ा वर्ग आयोग
भारत सरकार

VILLAGE SCHEDULE
ग्राम-सूचिका

Part-I GENERAL
भाग-1 सामान्य

Name of the Village..... Tehsil/Taluka.....
 ग्राम का नाम..... तहसील/तालुका.....
 District..... Population (1971 Census).....
 जिला..... जनसंख्या (1971 की जनगणना).....
 Population of village on the date of Survey covered..... No. of hamlets.....
 किरा गण सर्वेक्षण की तारीख को ग्राम की जनसंख्या..... ग्रामों की संख्या.....
 किरा गण सर्वेक्षण की तारीख को ग्राम की जनसंख्या..... ग्रामों की संख्या.....

Part-II VILLAGE AMENITIES
भाग-2 ग्राम सुविधाएँ

A. Sl. No. क्रम सं.	Distance from nearest निम्न स्थान से दूरी	In respect of the main village (Give Code) मुख्य ग्राम के बारे में (कोड लिखें)	In respect of the Hamlets if any give their names (Give Codes) ग्रामों के बारे में यदि कोई है तो उनके नाम बताएं (कोड लिखें)				
			4	5	6	7	8
1.	Railway Station रेलवे स्टेशन						
2.	Mertalled Road मरती मडक						
3.	Bus Stop बस स्टॉप						
4.	Post Office डाक घर						
5.	Telegraph Office तार घर						
6.	Telephone, Public Call Office टेलीफोन/पब्लिक कॉल कार्यालय						
7.	Hospital/Dispensary पथनगार/चिकित्सालय						
8.	Primary Health Centre प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केंद्र						
9.	Primary School प्राथमिक स्कूल						
10.	Middle School मिडिल स्कूल						
11.	High/Higher Secondary School/ Intermediate College उच्च/उच्चतर माध्यमिक स्कूल/इंटरमीडिएट						
12.	College कॉलेज						

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13.	Temple मंदिर						
14.	Mosque मस्जिद						
15.	Church चर्च						
16.	Gurudwara गुरुद्वारा						
17.	Other places of worship (Specify) पूजा के अन्य स्थल (लिखें)						
18.	Bank बैंक						
19.	Cooperative Society सहकारी समाज						
20.	Main source of drinking water पेने के पानी का मुख्य स्रोत						
21.	Veterinary dispensary पशु चिकित्सालय						

110

Codes for indicating the distance :—

दूरी बताने के लिये कोई कोड लिखें

Within the village — 0

ग्राम के भीतर

1.0 to 2.0 Km. — 3

1.0 से 2.0 कि० मी०

More than 5 Km. — 6

5 कि० मी० के अधिक

Within 0.5 Km. — 1

0.5 कि० मी० के भीतर

2.0 to 3.0 Km. — 4

2.0 से 3.0 कि० मी०

0.5 to 1.0 Km. — 2

0.5 से 1.0 कि० मी०

3.0 to 5 Km. — 5

3.0 से 5 कि० मी०

B. Is there any place of worship exclusively meant for any specific 'group of people' if so, give details.

क्या केवल किसी विशेष 'ग्रुप के लोग' के लिये कोई पूजा स्थल है, यदि ऐसा है तो बताने दें।

(a) In the Main Village :

मुख्य गाँव में

(b) In the Hamlets :

पुस्तकों में

1

2

3

4

5

PART-III
भाग-3

(a) Predominant Castes/Hereditary Groups/Religious Groups living in the village.
गांव में रहने वाली प्रमुख जातियाँ/विरासती समूह/धार्मिक समूह :

Sl. No. क्र. सं.	Name of Caste/Group etc. जाति/समूह इत्यादि का नाम	Whether included in : क्या शामिल है ?			No. of House- olds in the village गांव में परिवारों की संख्या	Traditional Occupation, if any परम्परागत व्यवसाय, यदि कोई है	Whether nomadic स्था स्थान- बदलने वाला है	Remarks टिप्पणी-
		SC अनु. जाति	ST अनु. जनजाति	OBC अन्य वि. वर्ग				
1.								
2.								
3.								
4.								

(b) Organisations/Associations active in the village (to be filled in for voluntary/non-official organisations/associations engaged in social work/upliftment of economic/educational conditions/safeguarding of interests of particular groups/running of Institutions).

संगठनों/गणों में सक्रिय (संघिक/संघिक/अन-सरकारी संगठनों/सामाजिक कार्य में सक्रिय एसोसिएशनों/आर्थिक उत्थान/शैक्षणिक उत्थान/विशेष वर्गों के हितों की रक्षा तथा सेवा संस्थाएं चलाने के बारे में भरना चाहिए।)

Sl. No. क्र. सं.	Name of Organisation संगठन का नाम	Whether local to the village or branch of a larger body क्या गांव का स्वतंत्र संगठन है या किसी बड़े संगठन की शाखा है	Main function मुख्य कार्य	Group/community catered to or for a particular community/caste and/or for women/children/destitutes/occupation etc. जाति/समुदाय जिसके लिए काम-काज का प्रबंध करने है क्या यह किसी विशेष समुदाय/जाति/बच्चों/अशक्तों/व्यवसाय इत्यादि के लिए है (लिखें)	Whether running any institute such as school/dispensary/place of worship etc. (specify) क्या स्कूल/डिस्पेंसरी/पूजा के स्थान इत्यादि किसी संस्थान को चला रहे हैं (लिखें)	If running an Institution specify group/class/caste/community/women/children/destitutes etc. for which the institution is being run यदि कोई संस्थान चला रहे हों तो लिखें कि वह किसी विशेष समुदाय/जाति/समुदाय/बच्चों/अशक्तों/व्यवसायों के लिए चलाया जा रहा है

LIST OF VILLAGES AND URBAN BLOCKS SURVEYED

Sr. No.	Name of the District	Name of villages	Name of Urban Block	Sr. No.	Name of the District	Name of villages	Name of Urban Block
ANDHRA PRADESH							
1.	SRIKAKULAM	(1) Bankili (2) Pedankalan	Srikkulam	5.	SIBSAGAR	(1) Saratgati (2) Khotickhoff	Golaghat
2.	VISAKHAPATNAM	(1) Jaggannapola (2) Gobbaru	Visakhapatnam	6.	LAKHIMPUR	(1) Bamchenia (2) Norlakhipathar	Dhamaji
3.	EAST GODAVARI	(1) Savaram (2) Vernavaram	Kakinada	7.	MIKIR HILLS (KARBANGLONG)	(1) Baithafangso (2) Bulipathar	Diphu
4.	WEST GODAVARI	(1) Naidigampadu (2) Kovvaseellipudi	Eluru	8.	NORTH CACHAR HILLS	(1) Mailongproper (2) Mohur Bazar	Hafong
5.	KRISHNA	(1) Alurupadu (2) Raperla	Mechilipatam	9.	CACHAR	(1) Bororampur (2) Fuleroti Purje	Silchar
6.	GUNTUR	(1) Kawali (2) Dantapur	Guntur	10.	DIBRUGARH	(1) Lephotkita Kachori (2) Abhuyakisiri Bangli	Dibrugarh
7.	PRASASAM	(1) Chheinaobed (2) Leilapalli	Ungota	BIHAR			
8.	NELLORE	(1) Allvebi (2) Dubagunta	Nellore	1.	SIWAN	(1) Harihar Pur (2) Baraso	Melrajgaj
9.	CHITTOOR	(1) Keelapally (2) Medumur	Chittoor	2.	ROHTAS	(1) Kusahi (2) Sonbarsa	Dehri
10.	CUDDAPAH	(1) Gudemururu (2) K. Yentichareka	Cuddapah	3.	AURANGABAD	(1) Hemla (2) Nasharamba	Aurangabad
11.	ANANTPUR	(1) Yeldurthi (2) Velawkar	Ahanipur	4.	NAVADA	(1) Manjhila (2) Rajamdh	Navada
12.	KURNOOL	(1) Cheroopalli (2) Edurupedu	Kurnool	5.	NALANUA	(1) Eshakpur (2) Baswan	Blharshirif
13.	MAHABUBNAGAR	(1) R.K. Puram (2) Pulandoddi	Mahabubnagar	6.	PATNA	(1) Chaimpur (2) Fatehpur	Danapur
14.	RANGAREDDY	(1) Yenekepally (2) Sathamrai	Kikarabad	7.	GAYA	(1) Darhyapur (2) Amora	Gaya
15.	MEDAK	(1) Burugpally (2) Bairandibba	Sangareddu	8.	BHOJPUR	(1) Baruna (2) Kusumba	Dunson
16.	NIZAMABAD	(1) Jagriyal (2) Pocharam	Nizamabad	9.	SARAN	(1) Pramanandchapt (2) Mamupur	Ravalganj
17.	ADILABAD	(1) Jafrapur (2) Wallegam	Adilabad	10.	CHAMPARAN	(1) Mahuawa (2) Rupdi	Motehi (Muzaffarpur)
18.	KARIMNAGAR	(1) Takka/luppally (2) Masthanpch	Karimnagar	11.	MUZAFFARPUR	(1) Parasawminath (2) Jagdishkantel	Gannipur
19.	WARANGAL	(1) Kachikal (2) Nasapur	Warangal	12.	DARBHANGA	(1) Gadsri (2) Kiralpur	Alimager
20.	KHAMMAM	(1) Ammapela (2) Laxminagar	Khammam	13.	MONGHYR	(1) Khajurlo (2) Kharar	Jamaipur
21.	NALGONDA	(1) Padmavall Sourcu (2) Meimilic Maduva	Nalgonda	14.	BHAGALPUR	(1) Paharpur (2) Gervadhindik	Bhagalpur
22.	HYDERABAD	—	Hyderabad City	15.	SAHARSA	(1) Beidara (2) Laukahy	Madhepura
ASSAM							
1.	GOALPARA	(1) Lela (2) Matia	Goalpara	16.	PURNEA	(1) Siktihar (2) Chehbacha	Purnea
2.	KAMRUP	(1) Gobardhanana (2) Chenga	Barpeta Road	17.	SANTHALPARGANAS	(1) Bahadur Chuh (2) Barwa	Dunka
3.	DARRANG	(1) Behall (2) Madurahi	Tezpur	18.	PALAMAU	(1) Khap (2) Dulhar	Daltonganj
4.	NOWGONG	(1) Kamargaon (2) Kawcimari	Nowgong	19.	SAMASTIPUR	(1) Karihara (2) Ilmnsnagar	Samastipur
				20.	VAISHALI	(1) Akhtarpur (2) Ranpurjhruth	Motias

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Name of villages	Name of Urban Block
21.	CHAMPARAN (West)	(1) Hardiya (2) Patilchauri	Nayatala
22.	SITABHARI	(1) Singhia (2) Barabjeeta	Sitamarhi
23.	BEGUSARAJ	(1) Chakmuzzafar (2) Sankhu	Keghari
24.	HAZARIBAGH	(1) Ambadhi (2) Jambhya	Ramgarhchandi
25.	RANCHI	(1) Kumburiga (2) Gona	Khanji
26.	DIHNBARI	(1) Nayadih (2) Koradhi	Kurkendu
27.	SENTHAL	(1) Bagri Sai (2) Jargo	Chaitasa
28.	MADHUBANI	(1) Durgapalli (2) Gangauli	Madhubani
29.	KATIHAR	(1) Ramdin Khurd (2) Madani	Mauhari
30.	GONDIA	(1) Godi (2) Jardo Bagi	Jarandhi
31.	GOPALGANJ	(1) Dewapur Tola Moharyanga (2) Balhadra Purani	Barali
GUJARAT			
1.	JAMNAGAR	(1) Sivrajpur (2) Chudswar	Kalavad
2.	RASKOT	(1) Bakthoi (2) Bhajgun	Wankover
3.	SURENDRANAGAR	(1) Vadla (2) Aufgati	Thangodh
4.	BHAVNAGAR	(1) Koteja (2) Bhuteshvar	Gadhoda
5.	AHMEI	(1) Kheri (2) Samediala	Amrell
6.	JUNAGADH	(1) Kringudli (2) Panedala	Mohamadpur
7.	RUTCH	(1) Lakhgodh (2) Bharadhi	Gandhidha
8.	BANASKANTHA	(1) Kolhala (2) Sodarpur	Mallvas
9.	SABARKANTHA	(1) Moti Bafar (2) Amodora	Idar
10.	MAHISANA	(1) Navai (2) Jelani	Mansa
11.	GANDHI NAGAR	(1) Mboym Kathed (2) Pafpajpur	Gandbi Nagar
12.	AHMEDABAD	(1) Vanku Soghda (2) Rahtnlu	Bavnla
13.	KHEDA	(1) Vanku (2) Porda	Sajitra
14.	PANCH MAHALS	(1) Goli (2) Limbadia	Kalol
15.	VADODRA	(1) Karnet (2) Surkhetra	Dishoi
16.	BIHARUCH	(1) Augreshwar (2) Kuywudi	Rajpipla
17.	SURAT	(1) Limboi (2) Pamiari	Barodari
18.	VALSAD	(1) Hivadli (2) Anali	Parajy
19.	THE DANGS	(1) Gondal Vibir (2) Godhivi	

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of villages	Name of Urban Block
HARYANA			
1.	BHIWANI	(1) Gignau (2) Badara	Qadri
2.	FARIDABAD	(1) Manjhivli (2) Anshop	Palwal
3.	AMBALA	(1) Saphera (2) Bharog	Kalka Block
4.	KARNAL	(1) Phusgarh (2) Kabri	Karnal Block
5.	ROHTAK	(1) Ladian (2) Kharak Jattan	Bahadurgarh
6.	GURGAON	(1) Silam (2) Janolpur	Nah
7.	MALHENDRAGARH	(1) Bhalkhi (2) Rewasa	Narnaul
8.	HISSAR	(1) Mayar (2) Chamrckhera	Hissar Block
9.	JIND	(1) Paoli (2) Suchakhera	Narwana Block
10.	SUNEPAT	(1) Barauli (2) Kasandi	Gohana
11.	KURUKSHETRA	(1) Lohar Majra (2) Dhurala	Kaithal
12.	SERSA	(1) Pohrokan (2) Khurian Malkan	Dabwali
HIMACHAL PRADESH			
1.	CHAMBA	(1) Badrolbe (2) Palur	Chamba
2.	KANGRA	(1) Kohara (2) Gadiara	Dharampur Sofu
3.	MANDI	(1) Naitala (2) Bausji	Mandi
4.	KULU	(1) Blasai (2) Jauri	Kulu
5.	LATAUL AND SPTI	—	—
6.	BILASPUR	(1) Kullarni (2) Galasin	Chatu
7.	SOLAN	(1) Bhenakav (2) Jadal Jemoli	Solan
8.	SIMLA	(1) Ruchol (2) Mandloi	Theog
9.	SIRMAUR	(1) Karipur (2) Dangl	Nahan
10.	KUNYAUR	(1) Parbani (2) Ramani	—
11.	HAMIRPUR	(1) Sawaha (2) Bari	Hamirpur
12.	UNA	(1) Bagri (2) Daghua	Una
JAMMU & KASHMIR			
1.	ANANTNAG	(1) Trali (2) Chughani	Dajlgnd
2.	BADGAN	(1) Wala Ratu (2) Nashroo	Badgson
3.	BANAMULLA	(1) Dangsoreo (2) Ginal	Bandipara
4.	LLI	(1) Tegmudlik (2) Tewragun	Chubiyansi
5.	JODA	(1) Scripal (2) Thopal	Udru
6.	SRINAGAR	(1) Cheerwan (2) Wakora	Srinagar

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of villages	Name of Urban Block
7.	KARGIL	(1) Karmba (2) Saqjall	Kargil
8.	KUPWARA	(1) Kachhawa (2) Eollosa	Kupwara
9.	UDHAMPUR	(1) Gonedali (2) Barvdi	Udhampur
10.	JAMMU	(1) Didikabo (2) Gabhinainn	Kjammu
11.	KATHUA	(1) Daugruuli (2) Chakiala	Kathua
12.	RAJOURI	(1) Khablan (2) Rajnagar	Nowhera
13.	PONCH	(1) Ochhad (2) Mangnor	Surankote
14.	PULWAMA	(1) Pohama (2) Barapora	Trul

KARNATAKA

1.	BANGALORE	(1) Dodelakallasaura (2) Kanagonnabic	Hoskoll
2.	BELGAUM	(1) Yallapur (2) Tummugardi	Tumigole Anigol
3.	BELLARY	(1) Bosepura (2) Gulhigaur	Sirugguppa
4.	BIDAR	(1) Hnnalli (2) Jhall	Bidar
5.	BIDAR	(1) Chanaguri (2) Hachyal	Bajapur
6.	CHIKMAGALUR	(1) Gorrura (2) Kanpawkailli	Kadur
7.	CHITRADURGA	(1) Kadhguddu (2) Farchalli	Koialkra
8.	SOUTH KANARA	(1) Inlgodu (2) Bannady	Mangalore
9.	DHARWAD	(1) Kolnur (2) Hiremagur	Kundagal
10.	GULBARGA	(1) Mandarwad (2) Kandagal	Gulbarga
11.	HASSAN	(1) Chuilavahali (2) Marur	Alur
12.	KODAGU (COORG)	(1) Kowabaladalu (2) Nilivagilu	Vimjpet
13.	KOLAR	(1) Muduvadi (2) Padmehalli	Kolar
14.	MANDYA	(1) Kiragpur (2) Chidgal	Mandya
15.	MYSORE	(1) Kuntur (2) Marathu	Nanjangwd
16.	RAICHUR	(1) Kholabal (2) Ohairapu	Deodurga
17.	SHIMOGA	(1) Kolimallur (2) Maviraker	Rolar
18.	TUMKUR	(1) Obolapura (2) Madapura	Turavekero
19.	NORTH KANARA	(1) Bakuikodla (2) Talwani	Karwar

KERALA

1.	IDUKKI	(1) Elappara (2) Sothupone	Mavakkad
2.	KOZHICHOPE	(1) Chlyyar (2) Feroke	Vapuvanchugi
3.	MALAPPURAM	(1) Vazhayoor (2) Perovollur	Mallappuram
4.	PALOHAT	(1) Puducode (2) Attayempthy	Mounarghat

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of villages	Name of Urban Block
5.	TRICHUR	(1) Anurly (2) Mampilly	Kunnamkukam
6.	ERNAKULAM	(1) Venkankunnu (2) Piramandon	Cochisicorp
7.	KOTTAYAM	(1) Vellore (2) Vakafhaal	Kottayam
8.	ALLEPPEY	(1) Kollutaku (2) Pathyoor Thotia	Chengannor
9.	QUILON	(1) Punnakhad (2) Cheanapucher	Quilon
10.	TRIVANDRUM	(1) Thruvallau (2) Kulathoor	Neyythrus
11.	CANNANORE	(1) Thrikkanamp (2) Chemani	Thrikkanamp

MADHYA PRADESH

1.	MURENA	(1) Torkumbe (2) Galpara	Morena
2.	BHIND	(1) Chitol (2) Chorai	Bhind
3.	GAWALIOR	(1) Samudan (2) Badera Futkar	Gwalior City
4.	DATIA	(1) Kolara (2) Chitwa	Datia
5.	SHIVPURI	(1) Majhera (2) Alswaya	Shivpuri
6.	GUNA	(1) Behtaghat (2) Banseerwas	Guna
7.	TIKAMGARH	(1) Alara (2) Bahar Khund	Tikamgarh
8.	CHHATARPUR	(1) Ghindchi (2) Roganti	Chhatarpur
9.	PANNA	(1) Vishrawganj (2) Tiduol	Panna
10.	SATNA	(1) Maschi (2) Dhanhara	Satna
11.	REWA	(1) Kotwa Khas (2) Basani	Rewa
12.	SHAHDOI.	(1) Ghangheri (2) Gohandra	Shahdol
13.	SIDHI	(1) Asni (2) Barhai	Sidhi
14.	MANDSAUR	(1) Atwankalan (2) Gordhampur	Mandsaur (Mall Chowk)
15.	RATLAM	(1) Bhuteda (2) Bata Kheda	Ratlam
16.	UJJAIN	(1) Banjari (2) Nauganva	Ujjain
17.	JHABUA	(1) Bhwikand (2) Badgaon	Jhabua
18.	DHAR	(1) Kathodia (2) Khardli	Dhar
19.	INDORE	(1) Panod (2) Khajaraya	Gangawpore
20.	DEWAS	(1) Lohar Pulpofa (2) Mujal	Dewas
21.	KHARGONE (W. NIMAR)	(1) Dolnra (2) Salon	Khargouri
22.	KHANDWA (E. NIMAR)	(1) Darghat (2) —	Khandwa Ward Panara
23.	SHAJAPUR	(1) Bheelwada (2) —	Shajapur

# No.	Name of District	Name of Village	Name of Urban Block	Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of Village	Name of Urban Block
5.	TURBANI	(1) Nokyan (2) Sangsomong	—	5.	ALWAR	(1) Jadoli (2) Mostabad	Alwar
6.	PHER	(1) New Phok Village (2) K. Bauf	—	6.	BHARATPUR	(1) Nagala Bhua (2) Nohardu	Bharatpur
7.	MON	(1) Chbi (2) Shlyong	—	7.	SAWAI MADHOPUR	(1) Jakhoda (2) Gostubad	Sawai Madhopur
ORISSA				8.	JAIPUR	(1) Somadabak (2) Patli	Jaipur
1.	SAMBALPUR	(1) Barabanka (2) Kalangupti	Sambalpur	9.	SIKAR	(1) Harwas (2) Taysar Kheyroli	Sikar
2.	SUNDERGARH	(1) Ranglamunda (2) Sikkhant	Sundergarh	10.	AJMER	(1) Silvtingar (2) Mangla	Ajmer
3.	KONKAR	(1) Bisdopal (2) Kurnulbahali	Toda	11.	TONK	(1) Borkhandikhur (2) Ramchandra	Tonk
4.	MAYURBHANJ	(1) Kasibada (2) Bandhemundir	Baripoda	12.	JAISALMER	(1) Dalalar (2) Mehrojodh	Jaisalmer
5.	BALASORE	(1) Tartva (2) Junagabada	Basudevpur	13.	JODHPUR	(1) Sawantah (2) Beeraul	Jodhpur
6.	CUTTACK	(1) Dalbhaga (2) Tikanpera	Cuttack	14.	NAGOUR	(1) Thanoo (2) Karkeri	Nagaur
7.	DHONKANAL	(1) Jankokpur (2) Digardar	Dhonkanal	15.	PALI	(1) Sunderby (2) Puelwale Twfa	Pali
8.	PHULBANI	(1) Patingla (2) Gandagam	Boudh	16.	BARMER	(1) Khudashg (2) Sajyali	Barmer
9.	BOLANGIR	(1) Bhimil Kign (2) Desuri	Bolangir	17.	JALORE	(1) Korawa (2) Mohoopur	Jalore
10.	KALARANDI	(1) Kallimati (2) Charvati	Bhawani Ptns	18.	SIROHI	(1) Roda (2) Ker	Sirohi
11.	KORAPUT	(1) Gajigoo (2) Peikodjikulanguda	Gudari	19.	BHILWARA	(1) Gokulpura (2) Gari Rana	Bhilwara
12.	GANJAM	(1) Seua Sadara (2) Pangidi	Bhanjanagar	20.	UDAIPUR	(1) Selu (2) Fatcgad	Udaipur
13.	PURI	(1) Jhal (2) Alisi	Jitani	21.	CHITTORGARH	(1) Gurli (2) Soaulpalhar	Chittorgarh
PUNJAB				22.	DUNGARPUR	(1) Modara Pritbevi- pur (2) Manpur	Dungarpur
1.	GURDASPUR	(1) Majithi (2) Chhalla	Dharampura	23.	BANSWARA	(1) Pipalai Dada (2) Kolanagri	Banswara
2.	AMBTEAR	(1) Kamoka (2) Uggar Aulakh	Taran Taran	24.	KOTA	(1) Bilkhewal (2) Nalodiya	Kota
3.	FEROZEPUR	(1) Machhi Bugara (2) Khusa Dal Singh	Fazilka	25.	BUNDI	(1) Barghm (2) Inderpur	Bundi
4.	LUDHIANA	(1) Khmmano Khurd (2) Jalipura	Quilla Mehalla	26.	JHALAWAR	(1) Ambula (2) Matyakheri	Jhalawar
5.	JULLUNDUR	(1) Choak Kalun (2) Solruu	Nalodar	SIKKIM			
6.	KAPURTHALA	(1) Akala (2) Sujokulia	Kapurthala	1.	SIKKIM WEST	(1) Singhing (2) Tickjeck	Gayalshing
7.	HOSHARPUR	(1) Satka (2) Gashi Mulu	Subhasnagar	2.	SIKKIM NORTH	(1) Phoding Tunlung (2) Chung Thong	Mangem
8.	ROPAR	(1) Maneti (2) Huipur	Ruopnagar	3.	SIKKIM SOUTH	(1) Gunpa Churpsey (2) Lingove Tokdey	Namchi Boga
9.	PATIALA	(1) Hazipur (2) Fatehgarh	Rajpura	4.	SIKKIM EAST	(1) Nasylam (2) Tarpin	Rangpo
10.	SANGRUR	(1) Bhadshwad (2) Kalagher	Dhuri Block	TAMIL NADU			
11.	BILATINDA	(1) Narindrapura (2) Kartar Singh Wala	Ranipura	1.	MADRAS	(1) Vitekanand Puram (2) Adayar Aicut (3) Cheriai Na- gar (4) V. Gurusamy Nagar (5) G. T. Naidu Nagar	
12.	FARIDKOT	(1) Nangal (2) Goscal	Moga				
RAJASTHAN							
1.	GANGANAGAR	(1) 37 G.B. (2) 8 G.B.	Ganganagar				
2.	BIKANER	(1) Nokhe Doyyo (2) Dsaka Marle	Bikaner				
3.	CHURU	(1) Berasar Bura (2) Bhoja Soru	Churu				
4.	JWUNBHUNU	(1) Malsar (2) Goth	Jwunbhunu				

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of Village	Name of Urban Block	Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of Village	Name of Urban Block
2.	CHENNAI	(1) Vedal (2) Panrutt	Trivellur	14.	SHAHJAHANPUR	(1) Ram Pur (2) Satwan Kburd	Shahjahanpur
3.	NORTH ARCOT	(1) Chinnathottalam (2) Venkatapuram	Arni	15.	DEHRADUN	(1) Semmy (2) Sudhona	Dohradun
4.	SOUTH ARCOT	(1) Aykuppam (2) Dhavamallum	Villipuram	16.	SAHARANPUR	(1) Khatakheri (2) Rehmanpur	Gaugah
5.	DHARMAPURI	(1) Majoedgallahalli (2) Boothanalli	Palacode	17.	MUZAFFAR NAGAR	(1) Nagla Mubari (2) Bijorpura	Muzaffar Nagar
6.	SALEM	(1) Narayanaspiyam (2) Jongamasamundram	Namakkal	18.	MEERUT	(1) Kalland (2) Mafur	Meerut
7.	COIMBATORE	(1) Chinnu Kumara- polayan	Vallalore	19.	BULANDSHAHAR	(1) Ibrahimpur (2) Bahadur Pur	Khurja
8.	NILGIRI	(1) Amikara Namel (2) Sata Cola Villomalli	Uthaganandani Ward (VII)	20.	ALGARH	(1) Rollau Garhi (2) Tipas	Allgarh
9.	MADURAI	(1) T. Kuddupattu (2) Eranlam	Maidurai	21.	MATHURA	(1) Bakalpur (2) Seras	Mathura
10.	TIRUCHURAPPALLI	(1) Umayai Puram (2) Nagamangalam	Manapurai	22.	AGRA	(1) Gunki Mundl (2) Bhsai	Agra
11.	TRANAVUR	(1) Agaryellan (2) Nallichin	Patukotini	23.	ETAW	(1) Baraulla (2) Margaya	Kasganj
12.	RAMANATHAPURAM	(1) Thulukkapatti (2) Pkodikoiam	Kandam	24.	MAINPURI	(1) Blon (2) Anjaul	Mainpuri
13.	TIRUNELVELI	(1) Vagakkulam (2) Alwancri	Amhasanundram	25.	FARRUKHABAD	(1) Bharauli (2) Faridpur	Karnalij
14.	KANYA KUMARI	(1) Kola Ram (2) Nallur	Pachinathsha- puram	26.	ETAWAN	(1) Kiratpur (2) Murajat	Jaswant Nagar
15.	PUDUKKOTTAI	(1) Pillivalam (2) Moolampatti	Arnthangi	27.	KANPUR	(1) Kowariya (2) Barokhera	Kanpur
16.	PERIYAR	(1) Kothamanglam (2) Senapethypalyan	Bhavavinimaa- poly	28.	FATEHPUR	(1) Simra (2) Haritawa	Fatehpur
TRIPURA				29.	ALLAHABAD	(1) Urali (2) Jorwat	Aliabad
1.	WEST TRIPURA	(1) Barkauthalia (2) Meghipora	Agulala	30.	JALAU	(1) Bhadau (2) Kushmara	Orai
2.	NORTH TRIPURA	(1) Sembwehera (2) Jerculhera	Kaifastahar	31.	JHANSI	(1) Ram Nagar (2) Slone Khand	Jhansi
3.	SOUTH TRIPURA	(1) Bagabasa (2) Karaishera	Beluria	32.	HAMIR PUR	(1) Bharkharl (2) Pachhara	Mahoba
UTTAR PRADESH				33.	BANDA	(1) Aumilla (2) Kurakhud	Banda
1.	UTTAR KASHI	(1) Chandall (2) Malla	Utta Kashi	34.	KHERI	(1) Baragaon (2) Sunderbal	Lakhimpur
2.	CHAMOLI	(1) Kulsari (2) Mithana Chhatu	Joshi Muth	35.	SITAPUR	(1) Narainpur (2) Bibipur	Sitapur
3.	TERHU GARHWAL	(1) Chakrera (2) Jundaua	Tchri Town	36.	HARDOI	(1) Shekhanpur (2) Rahimpur	Hardoi
4.	GAHWAL	(1) Nawautala (2) Chauath	Pauri Town	37.	UNNAO	(1) Atawa (2) Unchagaon	Unnao
5.	PITHORAGARH	(1) Tarigaon (2) Satyalgaon	Pithoragarh	38.	LUCKNOW	(1) Mandauli (2) Bergadikola	Lucknow
6.	ALMORA	(1) Thafwalgaon (2) Aray	Almora	39.	RAE BARELI	(1) Lghu Bamar (2) Bigua	Jals
7.	NAINI-TAL	(1) Sadhu Nagar (2) Malti-Divi	Ram Nagar	40.	BALLIAICH	(1) Dsoakha (2) Chichu	Chandapura
8.	BUNOR	(1) Jahawabad (2) Maudera	Bijnor	41.	GONDA	(1) Nowdih (2) Kohar Goddi	Morbimotuban
9.	MORADABAD	(1) Dewar Kbed (2) Shahpur	Moradabad	42.	BARA BANKI	(1) Amdaha (2) Lalpur	Peer Vatan
10.	BADAUN	(1) Karanpur (2) Chhatuyya	Ujjhawl	43.	FAIZABAD	(1) Oyampur (2) Udhal	Faizabad
11.	RAMPUR	(1) Har Nagla (2) Chikna	Rampur W,253	44.	SULTAN PUR	(1) Durgapur (2) Baidupara	Sultan Pur
12.	BAREILLY	(1) Nagaria Sadol (2) Gajraula	Bareilly	45.	PRATAF GARH	(1) Somawa (2) Jogapur	Maiwli
13.	PILIBHIT	(1) Magrasa (2) Jora Kalyanpur	Pili Bhit	46.	BASTI	(1) Mahulghat (2) Jangal Kala	Basti
				47.	GORAKHPUR	(1) Baskari (2) Senbersa	Gorakhpur
				48.	DEORIA	(1) Kotwa (2) Babmanli	Deoria

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of Village	Name of Urban Block
49.	AZAMGARH	(1) Sodipur (2) Bhawanpur	Azamgarh
50.	JAUNPUR	(1) Kalwari (2) Bhagwanpur	Jaunpur
51.	BALLIA	(1) Paidhara (2) Kharicha	Ballia
52.	GHAZIPIUR	(1) Dharwara Kalan (2) Bhadrasesw	Gazipur
53.	VARANASI	(1) Phulia (2) Kusera	Varanasi
54.	MIRZAPUR	(1) Perba (2) Barasur	Mirzapur
55.	LALITPUR	(1) Khilwasi (2) Terai	Lalitpur
56.	GILAZIABAD	(1) Fazilpur (2) Khora	Hapur Block
WEST BENGAL			
1.	DARJEELING	(1) Pajong Khas Mahal (2) Pajigata	Darjeeling
2.	JALPAIGURI	(1) Paschim Satoli (2) Utra Aitagram	Donohari
3.	COOCH BEHAR	(1) D.K. Gopal Pur (2) Toofan Ganj	Mokkli Ganj
4.	WEST DINAJPUR	(1) Bodra (2) Prabatpur	Gangrampur
5.	MALDA	(1) Sikatal (2) Talani	English Bazar
6.	MURSHIDABAD	(1) Sulgadda (2) Pasai	Coosulin Bazar
7.	NADIA	(1) Ichapur (2) Bahadurpur	Bagula
8.	24-PARGANAS	(1) Srikrishnapur (2) Sarberia	Krishnapur
9.	HOWRAH	(1) Kausua (2) Gangaram Pur	Mantikpur
10.	CALCUTTA	—	(1) I.U. No. 129 Block 6 (2) I.U. No. 21 Block 6 g (3) I.U. No. 47 Block 19 (4) I.U. No. 120 Block 13 (5) I.U. No. 75 Block 6 Aram Bagh
11.	HOOGLY	(1) Copinathpur (2) Hooghly	Aram Bagh
12.	BURDWAN	(1) Keota (2) Kayadaaga	Daulhai
13.	BIRDHUM	(1) Dalikuri (2) Beoguri	Saathia
14.	BANGURA	(1) Lazman Kata (2) Dakul Kamalpur	Khatra
15.	MIDNAPUR	(1) Dhangri (2) Khas Mulda	Amlagora
16.	PURULIA	(1) Nanna (2) Goshi Kocha	Raghnathpur

Sl. No.	Name of District	Name of Village	Name of Urban Block
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS			
1.	ANDAMAN	(1) Tugapur (2) Fozurganj	Delanipur
2.	NICOBAR	(1) Gandhinagar (2) Jacyoti	—
ARUNACHAL PRADESH			
1.	KANING	(1) Lower Dyong (2) Khalibok	Bondita
2.	SURANDELI	(1) Togo (2) Siro	—
3.	SIANO	(1) Jonlomangkul (2) Pobdi	Along
4.	LOBIT	(1) Jeko (2) Mammaru	Teru
5.	TOLAP	(1) Lopman (2) Zeowa	—
CHANDIGARH			
1.	CHANDIGARH	(1) Khudo Alishaha (2) Dada Maira	Chandigarh
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI			
1.	DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	(1) Amboli (2) Morkhal	—
DELHI			
1.	DELHI	(1) Chandan Mowla (2) Khampur	(1) Kailash Nagar (2) Bhupa Na- gar (3) Sunlight Co- lony (4) Safdarjung Colony (5) Chandni Chowk
GOA, DAMAN & DIU			
1.	GOA	(1) Ibrampur (2) Maujunguri	Vasco
2.	DAMAN	(1) Parairi	—
3.	DIU	(1) Bocharvada	—
LAKSHADWEEP			
1.	LAKSHADWEEP	(1) Chellat (2) Agatti	—
MIZORAM			
1.	CHHIMTULPUR	(1) Bulapai (2) Lungbet	—
2.	AIZAWL	(1) Helmen (2) Lungeng	Sadar
3.	LUNGLAI	(1) Haovuang (2) Theriat	Lunglei
PONDICHERRY			
1.	KARAIKAL	(1) Pottai (2) Kharimbareur	Karaikal
2.	MASEE	—	Masee
3.	PONDICHERRY	(1) Mepari Kapallac (2) Odiampet	Pondicherry
4.	YANAM	—	Yanam

SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FILLING-IN OF SCHEDULES

A. GENERAL :

1. Under this Survey two sample villages and one urban block will be covered from each district in the country. All the households in the selected areas are to be covered.

2. As far as possible the schedule could be filled in English. Hindi may be used only where investigators have no knowledge of English.

3. All entries may be made in ink in neat and legible hand-writing.

4. Figures should be given in Arabic numerals only.

5. The 'Household Schedule' is meant both for Rural and Urban areas. The words 'Rural' and 'Urban' have been printed on the first page (right-hand top corner) of the Schedule. While canvassing these schedules for Rural areas, the word 'Urban' may be deleted and, for the Urban, the word 'Rural' may be deleted. Part IV-A of the schedule pertains to Rural areas only and Part IV-B to Urban areas only.

6. For this Survey, a 'household' may be defined as a group of persons commonly living together and ordinarily taking their meals in a common kitchen. A servant satisfying the above criteria will form a member of the household. Every household in the village should be covered irrespective of the fact whether it formed a part of the 'census house' or not.

7. Assuming that normally a household will not have more than ten members, ten squares have been placed against items where particulars about each member are required to be entered separately. Under such items, several possible answers bearing code numbers have been given in Annexure II. Select the code number applicable to each member and enter it in the relevant squares. Items numbered 11, 12, 17, 18 and 19 of Part II of the schedule are illustrative of this point.

8. If the number of members of a household exceeds ten, a separate schedule may be used and attached with the main schedule.

9. For the State, district, tehsil, village or town, the codes will remain as given in the economic census (1977) of the State. These may be entered in the squares provided against these items at the beginning of the schedule.

10. After canvassing all the schedules in the village or urban blocks, an inventory of all castes covered may be prepared and sent alongwith the filled-in schedules.

B. PART I HOUSEHOLD PARTICULARS

[Note : Item numbers in these instructions correspond to item numbers of the household schedule.]

1. If more than one investigator is employed to cover a village or an urban block, item I pertaining to 'Serial Number of household' should be left blank in the beginning. After covering all the households in the village or urban block, the schedules should be numbered serially starting from 1, in one go.

Items under 2(d) and 2(e), names of castes/Hereditary Groups/Sub-Castes may be written in block letters in the row of squares provided against each item. While doing so, only one letter may be put in each square.

2(d)(1) 'Hereditary Group' is applicable to non-Hindu households only. It may be defined as a distinct group, which generally follows some common social conventions or follows some traditional occupation.

2(a)(i) Sub-caste will be applicable to Hindu households only.

2(g)(ii) Under this item may be indicated the actual names of one, two or three occupations, as the case may be, which are traditionally associated with the caste of the concerned household. It does not matter that no member of that household is presently engaged in any of these occupations.

A list of common traditional occupations with code numbers is given at Annexure I. The relevant code numbers from this Annexure may be given in the squares provided against this item.

4(a) A 'hut' could be a temporary kuchha structure. House may be both kuchha or pucca but would be of permanent nature.

4(h) A 'pucca house' would be one which is constructed out of standard materials such as bricks, stones, timber, lime and bonded together by cement, mortar etc.

In respect of items No. 2(a), 2(f), 4(f) (i), 4(f) (ii), 4(g), 4(h), 4(i), 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 24(b), 26, 27, 49, and 50 codes against each item are given in Annexure II. These codes cover, as far as possible, the possible answers to the concerned item. In the square provided against each item, only the relevant code number may be entered.

The following example may be useful. Item No. 4(f)(i) pertains to the source of drinking water supply and seven possible sources bearing code numbers have been mentioned under this item. In case the source is 'Handpump', code No. 4 may be entered in the square placed against this item.

C. PART II PARTICULARS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS

10. Age should be given in completed years only. For all individuals exceeding 99 years, the age may be recorded as 99, as only two squares have been provided against this item.

14. A 'worker' is a person who does economically productive work through physical or mental activity.

Under the 'Main' and 'Subsidiary' work, the two digit code given in Annexure III to be followed. The code number of the occupation followed by an individual may be separately entered in the individual square provided for each member of the household. (Two squares have been provided for each of the ten members of the household as the code runs into two digits).

16(a) In case of wage earners, the actual daily wage may be given in rupees only separately for 'main' and 'subsidiary' occupations. Two squares have been provided for each of the ten members of the household. Earnings in rupees may be entered in these squares.

20. Here 'sacking work' means that the person concerned should have made conscious and demonstrable effort to get employment.

D. PART III APPLICABLE TO NON-STUDENTS BETWEEN 5 TO 15 YEARS

21. The corresponding S. No. given in Part II of the schedule for children between 5 to 15 years may be entered here. Space is provided for eight children only. In case the actual number exceeds eight, another schedule may be attached to the main schedule.

LIST OF TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

S. No.	Traditional Occupation	Codes	S. No.	Traditional Occupation	Codes
1.	Cultivation of own land	01	19.	Black-smithy	19
2.	Tenant farming	02	20.	Gold-smithy	20
3.	Agricultural labour	03	21.	Barber	21
4.	Vegetable & Fruit cultivation and selling	04	22.	Oil crushing	22
5.	Gardening, growing and selling of flowers.	05	23.	Pottery making	23
6.	Cattle rearing	06	24.	Toddy Tapping	24
7.	Sheep rearing	07	25.	Scavenging	25
8.	Fishery	08	26.	Nursing and Midwifery	26
9.	Piggery	09	27.	Lime burning	27
10.	Butchery	10	28.	Astrology, Palmistry and fortune-telling	28
11.	Hunting	11	29.	Masonry	29
12.	Tanning and Skinning of hides and making of leather goods	12	30.	Stone cutting.	30
13.	Weaving of cotton, wool or silk	13	31.	Bangle making	31
14.	Tailoring	14	32.	Water Carriers	32
15.	Dyeing and printing of cloth	15	33.	Religious and temple services	33
16.	Cloth washing	16	34.	Bird Catching	34
17.	Mat, rope and basket making	17	35.	Attending to funeral rites	35
18.	Carpentry	18	36.	Money lending	36

LIST OF CODES

(House hold Schedule)

Item	Codes	Item	Codes
2(c) Religion	Hinduism —1 Islam —2 Christianity —3 Sikhism —4 Buddhism —5 Jainism —6 Others —7	Graduate and above in Medicine —8 Graduate and above in other subjects —9 Others (specify) —10	
2(f)	Scheduled Caste —1 Scheduled Tribe —2 Other Backward Classes —3	12. Marital Status	Unmarried —1 Married —2 Widowed —3 Divorced/Deserted —4
4(f)(i) Main source of drinking water	Well —1 River and Canal —2 Pond —3 Handpump —4 Tank —5 Tap —6 Others (specify) —7	17. Distance of place of work	At home itself —0 Less than 0.5 km. —1 Between 0.5 km. to 1.0 km. —2 Between 1.0 km. to 3.0 km. —3 Between 3.0 Kms. to 5.0 kms. —4 Between 5.0 kms. to 10.0 kms. —5 10 kms. and above —6
4(f)(ii) Distance of source of water from the house	Within premises —0 Outside premises— Less than 0.5 Km —1 Between 0.5 Km. to 1.0 Km. —2 Between 1.0 Km to 3.0 Kms. —3 More than 3 Kms. —4	18. Employment Status	Employer —1 Employee —2 Self-employed —3 Family worker —4
4(g) Main source of lighting in the house	Electricity —1 Kerosene —2 Diya —3 No light —4 Others —5	19. Sector in which employed	Government (Factory) —1 Government (Other) —2 Non-Government (Fac- tory) —3 Non-Government (Other) —4
4(h) Main source of fuel for cooking	Cowdung —1 wood —2 Kerosene —3 Coal —4 gobargas —5 Gas —6 Electricity —7 Others —8	24(h) Reasons for dropping	Lack of Interest: In studies —1 Poor performance in the School —2 No money to pay for fees, books, etc. —3 Joined the labour market to supplement family income —4 Illness of parents or self —5 For assisting the family in agricultural work or business —6 Own marriage —7 Difficulties of commu- tation the educational institutions being si- tuated at a far off distance —8 Other (specify) —9
4(i) Toilet facilities	Dry —1 Water-borne —2 Public —3 Open air Latrine —4	26. Place of work	On the farm —1 Household industry —2 Organised Industry —3 As shop assistant —4 As domestic/hotel servant —5 Others (specify) —6
11 Educational Standards	Illiterate —1 Literate but below primary —2 Primary —3 Middle —4 Secondary —5 Graduate and above in agriculture —6 Graduate and above in Engineering and Tech- nology —7		

Item	Codes
27. Reasons for not attending School	Too young to go to School --1
	School facilities not available in the neighbourhood --2
	Not interested in education --3
	Compelled to participate in economic activities --4
	Other reasons (specify) --5
49. Reasons for taking loan	For meeting family obligation --1
	For business purpose --2
	For education of children --3

Item	Codes
50. Source from which loan taken	For meeting expenses on medical treatment --4
	For construction of house --5
	For construction of tubewell --6
	For purchase of seeds & fertilizer --7
	For purchase of land --8
	Others (specify) --9
	Banks including Co-operative bank --1
	Cooperative Credit Society --2
	Registered money lender --3
Others (specify) --4	

LIST OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Sl. No.	Codes	Sl. No.	Codes
1. Cultivation	01	22. Manufacture of tobacco products	22
2. Agricultural labourer	02	23. Carpet and dacee making	23
3. Plantation	03	24. Cotton ginning, cording processing and baling	24
4. Vegetable growing	04	25. Handloom weaving	24
5. Gardening	05	26. Cloth printing	26
6. Dairy farming	06	27. Hosiery and embroidery work	27
7. Poultry farming	07	28. Manufacture of pulp and papers, card board, paper toys by hand	28
8. Bee keeping and rearing of silk worm	08	29. Making of coir mats	29
9. Orchard growing	09	30. Carpentry including manufacture of wooden furniture, basket making, canning of chairs, making of chikks, khas rattics, etc.	30
10. Livestock farming	10	31. Manufacture of leather and leather products	31
11. Pottery	11	32. Tailoring, dress making and upholstery work	32
12. Black-smithy	12	33. Tool making	33
13. Goldsmithy	13	34. Electrical works	34
14. Carpentry	14	35. Making of rubber, chemicals, plastics and their products	35
15. Forestry	15	36. Combination work	36
16. Hunting	16	37. Trade and commerce	37
17. Fishing	17	38. Transport, storage and communication	38
18. Mining	18	39. Other services	39
19. Quarrying	19		
20. Production of Foodstuffs	20		
21. Production of liquor, toddy and other beverages	21		

Supplementary guidelines for filling-in of Village and Household Schedules—Socio-Educational Survey of the Backward Classes Commission

The following points relating to the Village and Household Schedules I of the Socio-Educational Survey of the Backward Classes Commission are clarified in the light of the discussions in the Contact Officers Conference held on the 9th and 10th January, 1960.

These clarifications would supplement the Instructions already issued in regard to the filling up of the Schedules.

The State Contact Officers/District Statistical Offices are requested to pay particular attention to these points while briefing the field investigators:—

1. VILLAGE SCHEDULE

1. Part I—General

No entry is to be made by the Investigators against the items population of Village on the date of Survey covered.

2. Part II—Village Amenities

(a) The amenities entered in part II of the Village Schedule shall be for the entire village and not for the households covered in those cases where only part of the households of the village are being covered. (This will arise only in those cases where a village is not being fully covered as decided in the Contact Officers' Conference).

(b) Where information in regard to the village amenities are readily available from the economic survey carried out recently, the information from the Economic Survey is to be incorporated in part II of the Schedule. This will apply to those villages where the Economic Survey had actually been completed by the date of the canvassing of the Village Schedule.

3. Part III(a)

(a) *Pre-dominant castes/Hereditary groups/religious groups living in the village*—Only Col. 2 (name of caste/group, etc.) and Col. 8 (whether nomadic) are to be filled up and the rest of the columns are to be left blank. All the castes surveyed to the village are to be indicated in Col. 2 and the corresponding entry in Col. 8 (in the form 'Yes/No') is to be made. In the case of a caste group following 'Jhoom cultivation', the entry in Col. 8 would be 'Jhoom cultivation'.

4. Part (b)

Organisation/Association Active in the Village—This table will include voluntary/Non-official organizations/associations engaged in social work/upliftment of economic/educational conditions/safeguarding of interests of particular groups/running of institutions and would also include Government, Semi-Government or Government Sponsored agencies of a similar nature.

B. HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

1. *Location Codes*—The Codes for the State, District, Taluk/Tehsil, Village/Mauza/Town, Ward/Moballa may be given as per the Economic Census codes of the respective States. (This refers to Code Square 1-11).

2. Part (J)

(1) Item 2 (d) (i)—Caste will be entered in the name of Hindus and Sikhs only and in the case of other religious communities/hereditary group is to be entered (Code Squares 18-42 for castes, and 43-67 for hereditary groups).

If a particular caste/hereditary group is known by a multiple name, the full multiple name with a 'dash' between each name is to be entered. The 'dash' will be entered separately in one square between the separate names, e.g. in the case of a Brahmin Gaddi, the entry would be "BRAHMIN-GADDI"; in the case of Sunni Gujars, the entry would be "SUNNI-GUJAR".

3. (2) (f)—(Code Square 193)—

The information here should be based on the Statutory lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, for other Backward Classes, the State lists where officially notified, is to be used. Where no State list for other backward Classes exists, no entry is to be made.

4. Item 3 (Code Square 202)—

Cultivable land is to be defined as net area sown plus current fallows with reference to the year preceding the date of the Survey.

5. Item 4 (e) (Code Square 265)—

A 99 year lease of the land on which the house is constructed should be classified as 'owned'.

Item 4 (d) (Code Square 266) —

A 99 year lease is to be considered as 'owned'.

6. Item 5 (Code Squares 274—278)—

Where the total household income is Rs. 1,00,000 and above, the figure 99,999 is to be recorded. (Income will also constitute remittances received from abroad, interest on securities etc.).

PART (II)

7. Item 11 (Code Squares 309—328)—

Where educational standard is classified as "others" (Code 10), only "10" may be entered in the respective square and the nature of the educational standard is not to be specified.

8. Item 13 (Code Squares 339—358) —

Age at marriage is to refer to age at first formal marriage only.

9. Item 14 (a) (Code Squares 359—378)

The main occupation is to be entered with reference to the occupation in which the maximum amount of time has been spent with reference to the year preceding the date of the survey.

10. Item 16 (a) (Code Squares 409—428 and 429—448)—

The wage rate per day would be the average daily wage rate during the year.

11. Item 18 (Code Squares 519—524)—

(f) An employer (Code 1) would be a person having at least one hired worker; self-employed (Code 3) would be a person who does not employ a single hired employer.

A person who works himself and at the same time, takes the assistance of another person in return for wages either in cash or kind, would not be classified as self-employed, but would be classified as an employer.

- (ii) In the economic activity Codes given in Annexure 3 of the Instructions, Code 36 is to be read as "construction work" and not as continuation work.
- (iii) Where the economic activity cannot be defined in terms of the Code structure given in the list, a residual Code "40" may be entered (This has reference to items 14 and 16 of Part II).

12. Part III

Part III will apply to those categories of non-students who have dropped out of the educational system completely, but who may at the time of the Survey be engaged in learning music, dance, or other similar artistic skills at home without attending a formal institution. Non-students will, however, not include any one between the age group 5-15 years who is undergoing training in any craft (e.g. weaving, carpet making/poistry etc.) in any recognised or unrecognised institution.

13. Part IV (General)

Under description of 'assets' Part A and Part B are not to be considered as mutually exclusive. In case a household living in the rural sample unit has property in any urban area, part B is to be filled up. Similarly, in case of a household living in a sample urban block has property in any rural areas, Part A is also to be filled up.

14. Item 44(i) (Code Squares 752, 753, 757)—

The total number of units irrespective of category (i.e. Cycle/Motor Cycle/Car) is to be given in Code Square 752. The total

value of all the units is to be given in Code Squares 753 and 757. However, it would be useful if the particular mode of conveyance is also tick marked against the description given in 44(i) (e.g., if a household owns one Cycle only, the appropriate entry in Code Square 752 would be '1' and tick mark may be made over the word "Cycle"; if a household owns 2 Cycles and 1 Motor Car, the appropriate entry in Code square 752 would be '3' and a tick mark each may be made over the words "Cycle" and "Motor Car".

15. Against Item 44 (iv) (Code Squares 782, 783—787)—

No entry will be made regarding value in Code Square 783-787.

16. Part V Intebtedness (General)

Loans taken from Government sources for construction of houses and/or purchase of conveyance etc., may also be included; the value being indicated against Code Squares 810-815 (Item 48).

17. Against Item 49

If loan has been taken for purchase of conveyance, Code '9' is to be used without specifying the nature.

18. Against item 50 i.e. (Code Square 817)—

If the source is Government, Code 4 relating to others is to be used without specifying the source.

BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

Special instructions regarding scrutiny of Schedules

The following table is to be used by the supervisors at the District level. Each household schedule should be checked in accordance with the following points, immediately after it is handed over by the Investigator in the field. Discrepancies, if any, requiring removal by recourse to further investigation in the field may be completed before the schedules are sent to the BCC Hqs at New Delhi by the stipulated date.

SERIAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

2. It is important that the serial numbering of households covered in a village or urban block is made properly since more than one investigator is likely to work in a village/urban block. The serial numbering should be done in advance of the survey starting from No. 1 in one go for all households of a particular village/urban block and not investigator-wise. The serial No. of household for a particular village/urban block should, therefore, be unique. This may be checked when all the household schedules for a village/urban block are turned in after completion by all the investigators working in the same village/urban block.

LOCATION CODES

3. This is important to ensure that no household is covered more than once. Check that the right Economic Census codes have been used for description of State/District/Taluq/Tehsil/Village/Moza/Town/Ward/Mohalla, in code boxes 1-11.

RURAL/URBAN HOUSEHOLDS

4. In top right-hand corner of the household schedules, the word "Rural" or "Urban" is to be scored out, as the case may be. Check that in case of rural household code boxes 5 & 6 pertaining to Taluq/Tehsil and Code boxes 7 to 9 pertaining to Village/Moza are filled in correctly.

5. If the word "Rural" is scored out, check that the appropriate entry has been made from the Economic Census Code for town in code Boxes 7 to 9 and for Ward/Mohalla in code boxes 10 & 11.

PART I

6. Question 2(b) (Code boxes 15-16), check size of household entered against actual number of members given in part II questions 6 and 7.

7. Question 2(c) (Code box 17) : regarding Religion, if entry is 'Hindu', hereditary group is crossed out in question 2(b) and name of caste (Code boxes 18-40) is entered; if in 2(c) the entry is of a non-Hindu religion, check that 'Caste' is crossed out in question 2(b) and the appropriate hereditary group is entered in code boxes 41-67. Similarly, check if code boxes 114 to 142 are filled in question 2(c) only if entry regarding religion in 2(c) is Hindu (i.e. Code 1).

8. Question 2(a) (Code Box 194) : If answer is 'no' (Code 2) Check that code boxes 195-200 in question 2(g)(1) are not filled in.

9. Question 3 (Code box 203) : If answer is 'no' (Code 2) check that questions 3(a) (b) (c) (d), (Code boxes 203-262) are not filled in.

PART II

10. Question 14 (Code boxes 359-378, 379-398). Check whether appropriate boxes (399-408) are filled in.

11. Question 15(a) (Code boxes 409-428, 429-448); If Code in boxes 399-408 used is '2' (working for others) check whether a response to question 16(a) (Code boxes 409-428, 429-448) has been filled in the appropriate box. Similarly, there should be a corresponding entry in question 16(b) (Code boxes 449-478) and (479-508).

12. Question 18 (Code boxes 519-528) : If self-employed is reported (Code 3), check that no entry is made in question 16(a) in the appropriate box and code 1 (working for himself) is used.

13. Question 19 (Code boxes 529-538) : If codes 1, 3 & 4 are used in any of the boxes in question 18 (boxes 519-528), Code No. 1 in question 19 (code boxes 529-538) should not have been reported.

14. Question 20 (Code boxes 539-548) : Check that entries are made in question 20 (code boxes 539-548) only when no entry exists under that particular serial number in questions 14-19.

PART III

15. Question 21 (Code boxes 549-564) : Check if Sr. Nos. of household members tally with Sr. Nos. in question 6 part II. Check also that serial number entered in question 21 do not include any member of the household in whose case in question 10 para 2 (code boxes 289-308) age has been recorded below 5 or over 15.

16. Question 24(a) (Code boxes 589-604) : Check that entry of drop-out age has a corresponding entry regarding reasons in question 24(b) (code boxes 605-612).

17. Question 25 (Code boxes 613-620) : Check entry with entry in question 14. If in question 14, "Worker" has been reported entry in question 25 should be present.

18. Question 27 (Code boxes 639-646) : If entry has been made Check if corresponding entry exists in question 22 (Code boxes 565-572) and the entry is 'no' (Code 2).

LIST OF MEMBERS OF SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

1. Prof. J. K. Roy Burman
Vishwa-Bharti,
Sriniketan,
Birbhum,
West Bengal.
2. Prof. Yogendra Singh
Centre for Study of Social Systems,
Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi.
3. Sri O. A. Kulkarni
Central Statistical Organisation,
New Delhi.
4. Dr. N. R. Parthasarathy
Joint Director,
Backward Classes Commission,
New Delhi.

BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

(Socio-educational Survey)

FINAL LIST OF TABLES

Note : At the end of each table it is necessary that :

(1) The State totals and average wherever necessary should be provided; and

(2) For each caste sub-totals must be provided and necessary averages and percentages should be worked out in sub-categories as well as the caste.

Table : 1. Distribution of households by village/urban block and by district.

2. Names of castes with alternative names.
3. Castewise distribution of number of households, number of persons by sex and average size of the household and percentage of households considered backward by others.
4. Castewise distribution of households with size of land holdings under different levels of education of the head of the household.
5. Castewise distribution of households in different traditional occupations and ownership of land.
6. Castewise distribution of ownership of homestead land, house type by broad category and constructional material by traditional occupation.
7. Castewise distribution of sources of drinking water with educational attainment of the head.
8. Castewise distribution of distance of main sources of drinking water for each traditional occupation.
9. Castewise distribution of workers and non-workers.
10. Population by Religion/Caste/Hereditary group/ educational attainment, age and sex.
11. Number and percentage distribution of population under different educational attainment groups by sex for each caste.
12. Population by Religion/Caste/Hereditary group/ Main Economic Activity and sex.
13. Population by Religion/Caste/Hereditary group/ Subsidiary Economic Activity and sex.
14. Religion/Caste/Educational attainment and work participation rate by sex.
15. Population by Religion/Caste/Hereditary group/ age at marriage and sex.
16. Population by Religion/Caste/Hereditary group/ educational attainment/age at marriage and sex.

17. Percentage of Manual labourers, working for themselves/for others, by religion/caste/hereditary group/main Economic Activity and sex.
18. Percentage of manual labourers working for themselves/for others by religion/caste/hereditary group/ educational attainment of household members and sex.
19. Wage-rates for males and females by Main and Subsidiary Economic Activity.
20. Days of Economic Activity per year in different occupations by sex.
21. Workers by employment status by religion/caste/ hereditary group and traditional occupations.
22. Religion/caste/hereditary group/occupation/non-students between age 5—15 years having never attended a school by no. of years of schooling.
23. Religion/caste/hereditary group/occupation, non-students between age 5—15 years having never attended a school by reasons.
24. Religion/caste/hereditary group/educational attainment of the head/drop-outs among non-students between age 5—15 years having even attended a school by reasons for dropping out and average age at drop out.
25. Religion/caste/hereditary group/traditional occupation, non-students between age 5—15 years having never attended a school by reasons.
26. No. of tools owned by religion/caste/hereditary group and occupation.
27. Average value of assets per household by religion, caste/hereditary group and traditional occupations.
28. Households taking loan with the size of loan by religion/caste/hereditary group/educational attainment of the head, size of loan and per capita indebtedness.
29. Sources from which loan taken by religion/caste/ hereditary group by reasons and traditional occupations.
30. Caste/Traditional occupation, educational attainment of the members of the household and their present occupation.
31. Religion/caste/no. of households; percentage following traditional occupation and their literacy levels.