

PUBLIC POLICY IN INDIA :
A STUDY OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND
SCHEDULED TRIBES.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts
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P R E F A C E

By this time about five decades have passed after the attainment of India's Independence. The cast of India and various State Governments have adopted the reservation policy in different respects. In spite of administrative bottlenecks, success has been achieved but in order to get more success, the programmes should be taken in more depth and only then real success will come.

The first chapter of thesis deals with the theoretical perspective on public policy of S.C., S.T. and O.B.C. Attempt has been made to throw light on various factors Instrument and Models in public policy that are responsible for making and understanding clearly of general conception and classification of public policy. The second chapter of the thesis means an attempt to clearly elucidate several research questions. It also includes a review of literature consisting of the books and journals which are relevant for the study. Methods of data collection and analysis has also been included in this chapter.

The third chapter of the thesis touches upon the changing dimension of policy making process, Governmental planning and image factors in public policy. The crux is based on Administrator, bureaucrats. New thinking on public policy that has imported a new dimension to public policy making process and Governmental planning.

The fourth chapter throws light on the origin, definition of caste and tribal and on the factors of caste and politics. It also surveys the reservation of the depressed classes during the period(1919-1950).

In the fifth chapter it has been tried to bring out as to what changes could be effected in the reservation policy without disturbing its broad frame and without eclipsing the ideal of social justice. It reveals the evaluation of the reservation policy and hurdles it had to cross. It evaluates its implementation in various sectors and sub-sectors. It analyses the reasons of its faulty implementation and also recommends what measures should be taken for its efficient and effective implementation.

The sixth chapter of the thesis examines changes brought forth by the reservation policy under five year plans in the educational and economic fields and the improvement of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of five year plan programmes of the Scheduled Castes have been analysed and measures have been suggested for improvement. The case for providing special facilities for the tribal development programme as enlisted by West Bengal Tribal development co-operative Corporation Limited. A profile of the 8th five year plan including the Annual plan 1990-91 of West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation in West Bengal has been included in chapter seven.

The eight chapter is on the extent of main report and recommendation of Backward Classes commission, Supreme Court's Mandal Commission case 1992, Report of the Backward Classes Commission, a summary of cases under Article 15(4). It also explains clearly in arguments in favour and against the reservation policy, the critical assesment of reservation policy in the involveent of politics in reservation policy.

The last chapter of the thesis offers an outline summary and critical appraisal of all the chapters that has been dealt here. It derives conclusions from the fore going ones.

Herein I shall be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my debt to various persons who extended their helping hand for preparing the thesis.

I owe my debt of gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Manas Chakraborty of the the Department of Political Science, University of North Bengal who had been a constant source of inspiration during the entire course of the study. I expresses my gratitude to the Librarian and Staffs of the Central Library, University of North Bengal who were always helpful in my pursuit. I also express my thanks to the computer operator Ramchandra Paul who took the trouble of making the thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE
THEORIZATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

From the Political Perspective, a policy is a public need assuming importance and as far as possible, appropriately assessed for its actual fulfilment. It involves an identified and definite public problem and the preparation of the State to meet it in a particular style. It conceives a line of action to achieve a certain result negative or positive or disclose a resolve to refrain from acting on a specific issue or matter. "Policy as a rule is the product of extensive study and intensive analysis of available data and information therefore, it is apparently believed to be superior function confined to the top echelons of administration".

Equality of status and of opportunity "the rubric chiselled in the luminous preamble of our vibrating and pulsating constitution radiates one of the arrowed objectives in our Sovereign, Socialist and Secular Democratic Republic. In every free country which has adopted a system of governance through democratic principles, the people have their fundamental inalienable rights and enjoy the recognition of inherent dignity and of equality analogous to the rights proclaimed in the 'Bill of Rights' in U.S.A., the 'Right of Man' in the French Constitution of 1791 and 'Declaration of Human Rights' etc. Our constitution is unquestionably unique in its character and assimilation having its notable aspirations contained in Fundamental Rights (in part - III) through which the illumination of constitutional rights comes to us not through an artless

window glass but refracted with the enhanced intensity and beauty by prismatic interpretation of the constitutional provisions dealing with equal distribution of justice in the Social, Political and economic spheres.

1.2 WHAT IS PUBLIC POLICY

The size and complexity of modern government make it necessary for citizens to understand what policies in certain areas are, how those policies are made and changed and how to evaluate the effectiveness and morality of the policies. Government is complex and becoming more complex everyday. The institutions of government are also becoming more complicated and numerous. (1) The subject matter of government policy is more complex and technical now than it was years ago. Government must make decisions about the risks of nuclear power plant accidents, the reliability of technologically sophisticated weapons systems and the management of a huge economic system.

The essence of public administration is policy making. Policies are vital for planning a course of action. They supply necessary guidelines which help planning implementing and realising desired objectives and is keeping the activities of the objectives within a prescribed framework of action. Policies thus give meaning and form to objectives. Although public policy has been a major concern of social scientists and the general public for a long time, there is considerable disagreement over what public policy is and what it is not. There are two standard definitions of public policy - one broader and one narrower than the first. The narrower definition of public policy focuses on

the direct impact of specific governmental decisions The more comprehensive definition includes. The governmental and non-governmental factors influencing those decisions.

The term is often confused with rule, customs and decision making. While both rule and policy in being more specific and rigid. A custom can be defined simply as "habitual course of action". A distinction is also made between policy and methods or procedure. While the former is concerned with basic issues, the latter deal with the way of giving effect to the policy. The terms goal, purposes, policies and objectives are often used synonymously. Goals and purposes refer specifically to broad intents for the realisation of which policies and objectives are formulated e.g. removal of poverty is a goal which is sought to be achieved by gearing rural, urban and industrial development policies in that direction i.e. policies are instruments for realising definite goals, the former is the means for realising the end(goals). Objectives are mere concrete ends to be achieved by following specific policies. As public policy studies are now popular everything government does is labelled a part of a study of public policy and adopt a more restrictive definition of public policy, but not too much more restrictive. Stated most simply, public policy is the sum activities of governments whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of citizens.

THREE LEVELS :

Within that definition, we can determine three level of

citizens. At the first level, we have policies choices, decisions made politicians, civil servants or others and directed toward using public power to affect the lives of citizens. Presidents, Governors, administrations, and pressure groups, among other make such policy choices. What emerges from all those choices is a policy in action. At the second level, we can speak of Policy outputs - policy choices - being put into action. At this level the government is doing things, spending money, hiring people or promulgating regulations that will affect the economy and society. Outputs may be virtually synonymous with the term, program commonly used in government. Finally, at the third level we have policy impacts - the effects of policy choices and policy outcomes on citizens. (2)

1.3 INSTRUMENT OF PUBLIC POLICIES :

Our definition recognizes the complexity and interorganizational Characteristics of public policy. Few policy choices are decided and executed by a single organisation or even a single level of government. Rather, policies interm of their effects emerge from a large number of programs, legislative intentions, and organisations interactions to affect the daily lives of citizens. The question posed many years ago Harold Lasswell ; "who gets what ?" is still useful in understanding public policy.

Government have a number of instruments by which they can influence society and the economy and produce changes in the lives of citizens. The choice of which to employ in any particular instance may depend on the probable effectiveness of

the instrument, its political palatability and tradition. And some policy instruments may be effective in certain areas but not in others.

Law :

Law is a unique resource of Government. It is not available to private actors who have access to the other instruments of policy we will discuss. Governments have the right to the legitimate power of the state. In most instances, simply issuing the law is sufficient to produce compliance, but at times monitoring and enforcement are crucial to the effectiveness of this instrument. Citizens daily obey many laws without thinking about them, but both the policies and the agencies that monitor environmental control, occupational safety, and product safety are also busy trying to ensure proper enforcement of legislation.

We should make several points about the use of laws as instruments of policy. First laws are used as a means of creating the most important output government for citizens in society. Second the laws to regulate economic and social conditions to the ⁽³⁾ much greater extent than most other countries do. Third law can be used to create burdens as well as benefits. In effect any action of government needs a legal hook on which to hang, but the ability of a simple piece of paper to create both rights and obligations is one of the essential features of public society.

Services :

Governments also provide a number of services ranging from defence to education to recreation. In terms of employment,

education is by far the longest directly provided public service,
(4)
employing.

Money :

Government also provide citizens, organisations, and other governments with money. All money collected in taxes to support their actives. Transfers for citizens range from social security and unemployment benefits to payments to farmers to support the prices of certain commodities. The use of money to attempt to promote certain behaviours is in many ways an inefficients means of reaching policy goals. The money paid out in social security benefits, for example, in intended to provide the basics of life for the recipients, but nothing prevents the recipients from buying food for their pets rather than food for themselves. The use of money dispersed to other levels of government in both
(5)
restricted and unrestricted.

Taxes :

The government giveth and the government taketh away. But the way in which it chooses to take away may be important in changing
(6)
the distribution of burdens and benefits in society. The use of the tax system as a policy as well as revenue collection system is perhaps evenless certain in its impact than are expenditures, for the system in essentially providing incentives rather than mandating activities. Citizens have a strong incentive to buy homes of their own, but no program is established to construct housing. Taxes may also be used more directly to implement policy decisions. For examples, there are proposals to substitute taxes

on pollution for direct prohibition and regulation of pollution. Tax incentives are a subset of all incentives available to governments to encourage or discourage certain activities. The argument for their use, as well expressed by Charles Schultze, is that private interests (e.g., avarice) can be used for public purposes. (7) If a system of incentives can be structured effectively, then demands on the public sector can be satisfied in a more efficient and inexpensive fashion than through direct regulation. Clearly, this form of policy instrument is applicable to a rather narrow range of policies, mostly those that are now handled through regulation, but even in that limited range the savings in costs in governments and the costs imposed on society may be significant.

Other Economic Instruments :

Government has a number of other economic weapons at its disposal. (8) Governments supply credit for activities such as farmers purchases of land and supplies. When it does not directly lend money, government may guarantee loans, thus making credit available (e.g. for the Chrysler Corporation) when it would otherwise not be. Governments can also ensure certain activities and property.

Suasion :

When all other instruments fail, governments can use moral suasion to attempt to influence society. Government as a whole or particular political officials are often in good positions to use such suasion. They have the ability to speak in

the name of public interest and to make those who oppose them appear unpatriotic and selfish. Suasion, however, is often the velvet glove disguising the mailed fist, for governments have formal and informal means of ensuring that their wishes are fulfilled. Suasion is an affective instrument as long as people regard the Government as a legitimate expression of their interests. Governments have a number of instruments with which they try to influence the economy and society. Using these instruments they distribute what they have at their disposal. The most fundamental things that governments distribute are rights. These are largely legal and participatory, but with the growth of large entitlement programs that distribute benefits to citizens, rights may now be said to include a number of cash benefit programs as well. Governments also distribute goods and services. They do this directly by giving money to people who fall into certain categories (e.g. unemployed) or by directly providing public services such as education. They also do this less directly by providing incentives to individuals to behave in certain ways and to make one economic decision rather than another. A huge amount of money flows through the public sector where it is shuffled around and given to different people. Finally, governments distribute burdens as well as benefits. They do this through taxation and through programs such as conscription, which take from individuals physically rather than taking from them financially. Like expenditures, taxes, are distributed broadly, especially state and local taxes. Even the

poorest citizens must pay a sales tax on what they buy, and the must pay social security taxes as soon as they begin to work. In other words, every one in society benefits from the activities of government, but every one also pays the price.

1.4 THE ENVIRONMENT OF PUBLIC POLICY :

Several characteristics of the political and socio-economic environment influence the nature of the policies adopted and their effects on citizens. Policy is not constructed in a, it is the result of the interaction of all these background factors with the desires and decisions of those who make policies. Neither individual decision makers nor the nature of "the system" appears capable alone of explaining policy outcomes. Instead, policy emerges from the interaction of a large number of forces.⁽⁹⁾

Conservatism :

American politics is relatively conservative in policy term. The social and economic services usually associated with the mixed economy welfare state are generally less developed than those Europe.

Participation :

Another attitudinal characteristic that influences public policy in the United States is the citizens desire to participate in government. A natural part of democratic politics, participation has a long tradition in American politics.

Pragmatism :

The reference to ideological desires beliefs another cultural characteristic of American policy making that is

usually, and quite rightly applied. This characteristic is pragmatism, the belief that one shall do whatever works rather than follow a basic ideological or philosophical system.

Wealth :

Another feature of the environment of American public policy is the great wealth of the country. This great wealth is threatened by two factors. First, the U.S. economy is increasingly dependent on the rest of the world. This is true in terms of financial and monetary policy, but it is especially true in terms of raw materials. We are all familiar with this nation's dependence on foreign oil, but the economy is also heavily dependent on other countries for a range of commodities necessary to maintain its high standard of living.

Diversity :

American society and economy are also diverse. This at once provides a great richness and strength to the country and presents policy problems. One of the most fundamental diversities is the uneven distribution of wealth within society. Diversity of racial and linguistic backgrounds is also a significant policy problem in the United States.

World leadership :

Finally, the United States is an economic, political and military world leader.

1.5 FACTORS IN THE MAKING OF PUBLIC POLICY :

Policy making is a function which no government can escape, whether it is democratic, autocratic or monarchical. Policy decisions are necessary because the socio-cultural needs

and environment to society keep on changing, ideologies change, goals and objectives change, and with it a respective change occurs in programmes and policies. Policy is, thus, dynamic and subject to a continuous process. It is subject to the influence of a number of factors like constitutions provisions and limitations ; legislative laws ; influence of public opinion, pressure groups and international law ; concurrence of other agencies etc. Lastly, policy making is a co-operative endeavour involving the efforts of many agencies, e.g. the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, the chief executive, various levels of the hierarchy, political parties, pressure groups etc. E.N. Gladen identifies four different levels of Policy making - Political or general policy framed by Parliament ; executive policy framed by the Cabinet ; administrative policy, the form in which the will of the government is carried out, and technical or operational policy, that the day-to-day policy adopted by officials in the working out of the administrative policy. (10)

The success of the policy depends upon these factors :

- (1) Administrative - The politician who is the source of all decisions has to depend upon administration for efficient guidance and information. Efficiency of the public policy depends upon the efficiency of administrative advice which in turn depends upon the availability of human resources, the quality of administrative ability, capacity of the administrative system to attract and retain competent personnel and upon traditions. (2)
- Organisational - While an organisation owes its shape to the

degree and kind of policy making that goes with it, the actual form of policy making depends upon the nature of the aims and functions of the organisation. (3) Public Opinion - Public opinion is fundamental to the life and death of policy making, for such of the modern administrative effort depends on active co-operation of the citizens.

According to Gladden, much help will be needed from numerous sources and many factors will have to be taken into account in shaping final plans of action. (11) These factors may be classified into four broad categories - party, official, non-official, general or external.

1. Party : i.e. Political Party :

It is external Non-official body, formed by two or more bodies constitutionally, and contending for power. This is a modern innovation for providing programmes and manpower to the government. Because of the complexity of modern public administration and the need for wide spread acceptance of the policy to be implemented, the political party, as a programme - making body, is essential to effective government.

2. Official :

Numerous administrative and officially conceived outside bodies assist the government in policy making. These are - (a) Permanent Officials : They are professional assistant of the government, organising and running the administrative services. They give advice at all stages of policy-making and also ensure the availability of vital information and research

services. Their other responsibilities includedrafting bills and devining the administrative structure and methods of carrying out of policy. (b) Advisory bodies : Their need always has been felt both for policy making and administration. They usually consist of experts, representatives of the citizens or knowledgeable citizen, depending upon the field of operation. This makes consultation with experts, politicians, citizens etc. possible, irrespective of the fact whether they have any official standing or not. The plannning commission, judiciary, national development council, standing labour committee, central advisory board of education, Indian labour conference, import and export advisory committee etc. are example of such bodies. (c) Inquests and Inquiries : Governments, when faced with a problem, tend to appoint committees or commissions of inquiry. Their reports help the government in taking necessary action.

3. Non-Official :

These factors include (a) Publicity - It means dissimination of information vital to the health of the community, and essential for effective policy formulation. It is, therefore, necessary that the press should be free. (b) Pressure groups - Lobbying is a well-known device for effecting policies and pressure groups are groups of citizens sharing common interests and fighting for the protection and realisations of these interests. While political parties from the most important pressure group, there are other also such as trade unions, employees associations, students unions, farmers unions, lawyers'

association etc. (c) Citizens' participation - The success of a policy depends no whether or not it is accepted by the people. This is the assense of democracy.

4. General or external :

It would be suicidal for politicians and administrators to frame policies without taking cognisance of : (a) Traditions and meterial context : History, traditions and the socio-economic environment of the country influence government activities, and cannot be ignored by policy makers. (b) Philosophies - Ideologies have the most profound inflouence of policy-making. The teaching of Marx, and the concepts of democracy, liberalism, and socialism, have tremendous influence on policy-making, (c) External - International relations and world economic trends are important consideration policy making. All favourable and adverse reactions have to be anticipated and considered while formulating a policy.

Policy making in India:

The basic policy choice is given by a committee which encourage wide public participation, and commissions specialists, if necessary. The committee is assisted by a secretary and secretriare. At times projects are assigned to outside agencies as well.

The ministry directly concerned with that policy influences policy choice in two ways - formation of the committee, and secretriare assistance to the committee. The minister keeps himself abreast with the development in policy

choice by holding discussions with the committee, and then gives the necessary information to the prime minister.

The Prime Minister intimates as well as reacts to certain suggestions in plans or policies. Prime Minister's note originate either in private discussion or in points brought forward in cabinet meetings ; in political circles or in discussions with leaders ; or through contact with the public or in discussions with people around him.

Evaluation of Policy making in India :

The areas of criticism are : (1) The data available is general and diffused. The committee has to pick and choose, while the committee's report provides valuable data for policy making, no continuity is maintained once the committee completes its task. (2) Vast consultation and participation in policy formulation increases the acceptability of the policy, but does not necessarily help in achieving results intended in the policy because committee's suggests improvements rather than innovations, no single specialists can study complex policy issues alone, and perspective is segmented because schemes and policies are not examined relatively but in isolation.

valuation of Public Policy :

The System of built-in checks is as old as the organisation itself. Earlier organisation, being simple, made use of more direct and informal means of control while modern organisations rely on indirect and formula methods. The advance in science and technology has helped in the development of more

sophisticated mechanism of control mainly in the form of reporting and evaluation. For implementation public policy is broken up into different programmes, projects and activities. The success of a policy, programme, or project depends on an efficient system of reporting, analysis and evaluation. (12)

Follow-up-Action :

Much of the value, importance and utility of evaluation is lost for lack of follow-up-action. The number of evaluation studies are piling up. Therefore, vigorous follow-up-action is essential if the efforts at evaluation are not to go waste. Each evaluation report should be submitted to the sponsoring agency. Much time should not be lost between the completion of the study and the submission of the report to the sponsoring agency. Evaluation organisations should submit annual reports to their respective legislatures showing the action taken by them on the recommendations of the evaluation organisation. Results of evaluation should be published in the simple language which a layman can easily understand.

1.6 MODELS OF PUBLIC POLICY :

There are different ways of looking at public policy. These are of course not mutually exclusive. Each has a distinct focus and each suggests specific things about public policy. (13)
Following the classificatory scheme of Dye the models can be presented in the following way :-

1. Institutionalism :

According to this view, Public Policies have their origin in government institutions. "Government lends legitimacy to

policies". Also policies assume universalistic character because of their governmental origin. Government politics are thus applicable to everybody in a society.

The institutional approach has been the traditionally accepted way of looking at policy formulation in government. It assumes that institutional arrangements have their impact on public policy. So, structural changes in government are often attempted to bring about policy changes. In India, institutional changes such as the small farmers Development Agency have been introduced to improve the economic condition of small and marginal farmers. Such structural changes may not always produce the desired consequences. Environmental forces may stand in the way institutional functioning the even direct the operations in such a way that the intended policy impact would become negligible.

2. Group Theory :

According to the group theorist, public policy at any point of time reflects the equilibrium reached in the group struggle. As different interest groups struggle among themselves to influence public policy, actual policy making in government tend to tilt toward the groups that are gaining in influence. By contrast public policy moves away from the demands of the losing groups. To quote Earl Latham, "what may be called public policy is actually the equilibrium reached in the group struggle at any given moment, and it represents a balance which the contending factions or groups constantly strive to tip in their favour....."

The legislature referees the group struggle retifies the victories of the successful coalition, and records the terms of the surrenders, compromises and conquests in the form of statues." (14)

3. Elite Theory :

Another way of looking at public policy is that it reflects the preferences of a governing elite. A policy is sought to be given a public character, as if it is the result of accommodation of people's demands. Actually, the people as a whole do not care such for government policy, nor do they have adequate knowledge about what goes on in government. They are led and manipulated by the elites. Public policies do not therefore, arise out of the demands of the masses. These flow from the top and do not move up from the bottom.

The elite theory has close resemblance with the group theory, as both refer to policy generation through pressure from specific interests in the society. Group theory, however, is basically pluralistic, whereas elite theory is essentially monistic.

4. Rational Model :

A policy is rational when it is most efficient. In calculating efficiency, all social, political and economic values achieved or sacrificed by a public policy have to be considered. Maximisation of 'net value achievement' is thus the hall mark of a rational policy. 'Net value achievement' means that in framing a policy all relevant values should be expolietely taken into account and sacrifices of some values must be more than

compensated by the attainment of some other values. As Herbert Simon defines it, "rationality is concerned with the selection of preferred behaviour alternatives in terms of some system of values where by the consequences of behaviour can be evaluated." (15)

In formulating a rational policy, the processes will be as follows :-

- (i) all the societal value relevant for the policy in question should be identified and weightage should be given to each;
- (ii) all the alternative courses of action (policy alternatives) should be considered ;
- (iii) all the consequences of each alternative course of action should be identified and evaluated which would mean calculating the ratio between the values achieved and those sacrificed in respect of each policy alternative ; and
- (iv) selection of one alternative the probable consequences of which would be preferable in terms of the most valued ends.

(16)

According to Simon, three kinds of activities are involved in a rational policy making process : intelligence activity, design activity, and choice activity. As he describes the process :

" The first phase of decision-making process - searching the environment for conditions calling for decision - I shall call intelligence. The second phase inventing, developing,

and analysing possible courses of action - I shall call design activity. The third phase - selecting a particular course of action from those available - I shall call choice activity".

Prerequisites of rational policy-making are many, Firstly, an adequate understanding of societal values is extremely important. Secondly, data and information regarding the alternative courses of action must be readily available. Thirdly, there must be a definite decision making system in the organisation with adequate capacity to identify relevant data, analyse them properly and predict the consequences of alternative courses of action.

As Meyerson and Banfield concluded in their study of Chicago public housing, "obviously no decision can be perfectly rational choice since no one can ever know all of the alternatives open to him at any moment or all the consequences which would follow from any action. Nevertheless, decisions may be made with more or less knowledge of alternatives, consequences, and relevant ends, and so we may describe some decisions and some decision-making processes as more nearly
(17)
rational than other."

"We believe that neither science, nor an 'optional' system in policy formulation could replace the decision maker's wisdom, experience, judgement and sensitivity for the environment like Indis would have to be concerned with both acceptability and optimality. For without a judicious mix of these two, a policy
(18)
may fail to have the anticipated impact."

To sum up, rational policy making is more a desired 'thing' than what actually goes on in the government system. In reality, the process of policy making is beset with many problems and pitfalls - institutional, personal, environmental and ethical. To conclude with Martain Rein, "we need a combined standard for judging the desirability of policies able to pass the tests of what is politically fessible, ideologically acceptable, and rationally compelling ; and such a common standard can never be developed."⁽¹⁹⁾

5. Incrementalism :

The incremental model acknowledges the practical difficulties in rational comprehensive policy making and draws attention to several genuine constraints on administration. Such as constraints of time, cost, intelligence and politics. The incrementalist disclames is best represented in the statement of Charles Lindblom, and eminent economist. Commenting on the rational model, Lindblom writes :

"It assumes intellectual capacities and sources of information that men simply do not possess, and it is even more absurd an as approach to policy when the time and money that can be allocated to a policy problem is limited as is always the case of particular importance to public administrators is the fact that public agencies are in effect usually instructed not to practice (this) method. That is to say, their prescribed function and constraints - the politically or legally possible restrict their attention relatively few values and relatively few alternative policies."⁽²⁰⁾

According to Lindblom, policy makers always start with the accepted programmes and budgets and then try to add new programmes and policies to the existing ones. What actually goes on in government is "incrementalism" in the sense that past activities are virtually continued with certain modifications. Two concepts used by Lindblom (with Braybrooks) are 'marginal incrementalism' and 'portisan mutual adjustment' to explain the actual policy process in government. The first concept explains the limited and fairly conservative change of policy which is feasible in a specific situation. The second underlines the importance of accommodation of divergent viewpoints and interests in a particular decision situation. The emphasis is more on the practice of "adjustments" of opinions and interests than merely rational and comprehensive decision-making as a scientific method. Policy making is looked at realistically as marginal and uncoordinated adjustments in situations of conflicting demands and interests and in the face of unforeseen consequences of decisions. Hence it takes the character of "disjointed incrementalism".⁽²¹⁾

Lindblom's incrementalist model is diametrically opposite to the rationalist model of Simon and Dror. Criticising the incrementalist stance, Dror points out that in facing a challenging situation, no historical base exists for a good policy making and the incrementalists is essentially oriented towards stability. To quote Dror, "such models (become) continually less useful for deciding what to do. When the results

of past policies have been unsatisfactory, those results count for little in deciding what to do next. Since incremental changes in them cannot produce significantly better results."

An intermediate model has been suggested by the social scientist, Amital Etzioni that combines the elements of both rational comprehensive model and disjointed incrementalism. Two kinds of decision processes indentified by him are :

(a) fundamental policy making that sets basic directions, and (b) allied incremental process that prepare fundamental decisions and develop them further after these have been arrived at. Etzioni's mixed scanning method provides both by first scanning the entire subject area in question very broadly and not it great detail, and then concertrating on those aspects revealed that call for more detailed, in-depth scrunity.

6. Game Theory :

In situations of conflict, as in international ralations for instance, game theory has been in use as a method for the study of decision making. The individual decision unit in a game situation may be an individual, a group, or a whole nation, which is not in complete control of other decision units with which it has to interect. Each decision unit has its own goals or objectives. Each must consider how to achieve as much as possible, ye~~t~~ each has to take into account that there are others whose goals differ from its own and whose actions have an effect on all other involved in the situation. The decision units or participants in a game are so situated that there may by many

possible outcomes of their actions with different values to them. Decision makers are thus involved in a situation of interdependence. All have to make their independent choices, but the outcome would be conditioned by the choices made by each participant. Game theory is applicable to policy making where there is no independently 'best' choice that one can make where the 'best' outcome depends upon what others do.

As an analytical tool game theory has been used by social scientists to explain social behaviour in conflict situations. In public policy making its use is not so common, as the conditions of a 'game' are rarely present in public administration.

As Thomers Dye sums up, "Game theory is an abstract and deductive model of policy making. It does not describe how people actually make decisions, but rather how they would go about making decisions in competitive situations if they were completely rational. Thus, game theory is a form of rationalism, but it is applied in competitive situations where the outcome depends on what two or more participants do".⁽²²⁾

7. System Theory :

A very broad 'systems' view of public policy characterises policy decisions as outputs of the political system. According to David Easton,⁽²³⁾ the political system stands for those distinctive structures and processes in a society that are "predominantly oriented toward the authoritative allocation of values" for the society. The boundary of the system has to be

delineated with reference to the activities and processes that are identified as 'political'. The system is embedded in an "environment" with which it is in constant interaction. 'Inputs' are received into the political system from the external environment in the form of demands and supports. The demands seek to activate the process of policy making with a view to getting an authoritative decision. These can be directed towards reduction in prices, prohibition, abrogation of a law and similar other public needs. Supports are indicative of acceptance of public policies and results of actions like elections, tax imposition etc.

The authoritative allocations of Easton's formulation are policy decisions. Systems theory thus conceives of public policy as an output of the political system. The systems view has been widely accepted as a useful way of looking at the policy process as it actually works out in government. Policy analysis in terms of both formulation and impact evaluation is greatly facilitated by the systems approach.

Summing up :

The 'goals' or 'end-states' define the objectives of an organisation. The policies are formulated to achieve the goals. The activities that the organisation undertakes and tasks that are assigned to its different parts flow from the policies that are deliberately adopted.

Public Policy analysis has been emerging as an important sub-area of social inquiry, as every society is engaged

in reshaping and regulating itself with the help of board range, imaginative policy interventions. How policies are actually made have therefore attracted attention. The different models discussed in this chapter represent attempts at understanding the reality of policy formulation. These are explanatory devices to find out the causes and consequences of public policy. Hopefully such attempts at models building will eventually lead to the growth of a policy science, as Dror has envisagen it. (24)

1.7 SEVERAL POLICIES AND THEIR ELEMENTS AS :

1. Originated Policies :

These policies owe their origin to objectives defined by the constitution, legislative or cabinet. They are board in scope allowing the administrative officials wide descreation to define them clearly.

2. Implied Policies :

They develop where no clear policy exists. Having no experience or example to work from executive officers adopt their guidelines either by interpreting the action of their superriors or by taking into considerarion the spirit underlying the original policies.

3. Appealed Policies :

Policies stemming from appeals made by subordinates are called appealed policies. As appeals are taken upwards and decisions made, a kind of common law originates setting a precedent which guides future managerial action.

4. Externally imposed Policies :

These policies are the result of external influences on

policy making, e.g. political parties declare their policies through election manifestoes. The party coming to power influences or pressurises the government to implement these policies. Similarly, the opposition parties influence policies by criticising the shortcomings of the present policy and arousing public opinion against certain of its aspects.

ACCORDING TO E.N.GLADDEN, Public policies may also be classified as

1. Political Policy :

When political parties, legislature and the cabinet ministers participate to define the major activities to the government, in the socio-economic field, a political policy is said to have been framed.

2. Administrative Policy :

The framing of administrative policy is generally the work of top management, i.e. ministers heads of the departments and divisions. It seeks to provide a broad framework for action by defining the main objectives, the interdepartmental policies and linkage of departmental policies and programmes with the governmental policies.

3. Programme Policy :

It is a detailed plan for executing programmes in specified departments. Its success depends upon its administrative practicability.

4. Operational Policy :

It is also known as the work policy and is chiefly

concerned with a systematic analysis of an authorised programme, and with working out means of implementing it. This work is mostly done by sectional heads and supervisors who are lectrical experts. By means of an effective suggestions scheme, every members is enabled to contribute his knowledge and experience to policy making.

(26)

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CHAPTER TWO
METHODS OF ENQUIRY

2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS / OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY :

The present study seems to answer the following research questions :

1. What was the reservation policy for upliftment of the Depressed classes during 1919-1930 ?
2. What are the tribal development programmes undertaken by the Government ?
3. What was the role of the West Bengal Tribal Development co-operative corporation for their upliftment ?
4. What are the main recommendations of the Backward Class Commission ?
5. What is the nature and dimension of the Supreme Courts judgement on the Mondal Commission case ?
6. How far the report of the Backward Class Commission has been implemented ?
7. What is the nature and dimension of the compensatory discrimination ?

2.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE :

1. Public Administration, Structure, Process and behaviour written by Mohit Bhattacharjee has mentioned in many ways on original contribution to the study of Public Administration. Its focus is an political management of Public Officers and the illustrations are drawn almost wholly from India and the developing countries.

2. The size and complexity of Modern Government make it necessary for citizens to understand what policies in certain areas are how to evaluate the effectiveness and morality of the policies - mentioned by B.Guy Peters ; "Ameridan Public Policy",

Affiliated East West Press Pvt. Ltd.

3. As a generalisation, Civil Servants have tended to find policy work more glamorous and more interesting than management work. Here also emphasis on policy making has late been increasing. In service training programmes in Policy - making have begun to be organised for Civil servants and are in demand ; and universities have also started introducing policy sciences in their syllabi - mentioned by S.R.Maheswari, "Public Policy making in India".

4. The meaning of Public Policy and its term and Models of Public Policy Factors of Public Policy are mentioned by Gurmut Kapoor - Public Administration ; Macmillan - 1966.

5. The Dynamics of Public Policy occupy key position in the field of Different system of Government -as mentioned by S.N. Sadasivan ; "Dynamics of Public Policy".

6. The estimated money has been distributed in different aspects of welfare projects with regard to S.T. and S.C. - mentioned by Tribal Sub Plan 1990-95.

7. The prevailing dichotomy between tradition and modernity has created a curious cognitive luistus - in ideological thinking as well as in much of Social Science theoresing - between society on the one hand and policy on the others.

The Studies include :

1. Rajani Khotari - Caste in India Politics New Delhi, 1970 ;
2. Rajani Khotari - Politics in India (New Delhi), 1970.
8. Marx's century old socio-political analysis of present

nations and of India's traditional village and caste society, because it captures so much of contemporary social and political analysis, provides a convenient framework for critical discussion and evaluation of the relationship between traditional society and modern politics in India - as mentioned by Rudolph and Rudolph in *The Modernity of Tradition. The Democratic Incarnation of Caste in India*, 1960.

9. The relationship between caste and voting behaviour had received considerable attention in a volume edited by M. Weiner and Rajni Kothare, "Indian Voting Behaviour" (1969). F.G. Bailey in *Politics and Social Change in Orissa in 1959* (1963 B) has made a comprehensive study of the pattern of political participation of the people of Orissa at the village

constituency and state levels in the 1957, General Election.

The role of caste and caste association in politics also received scholarly attention.

Caste forms the basis of politics in Bihar. All the parties in the field recognise the force of casteism and at election time. N.K. Singh - *Many Faces of Caste Politics, Bihar*, April 8, 1972.

10. The relationship between caste and politics in India (after 1947) has been the dominant theme of the various studies conducted by cultural anthropologists and political scientists.

On the strength of empirical surveys, it is asserted that caste is not only playing a very useful role in democratising and secularising the polity but also providing meaningful

content to the political processes. In that stages Moureen Ratterson, Seling Harison and Srinivas discussed in a series of articles, how caste consciousness was strengthened at the State level in the context at the Parliametary Politics.

Economic and Political weekly is the main platform for a series of articles on this issue :

(I) Caste in Bihar Politics (Volume - V, No.1 January, 3, 1970).

(II) Caste and Bihar Politics (Volume - XXVI, No.18, May 4, 1991).

(III) Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes (Volume - IV No.3, January 1989) etc.

(IV) Politics of Minorities, Ajanta Publication, 1980, New Delhi

11. Most striking is these papers in the complexity of India's systems of stratification and the corresponding complexity of the statesments which may be correctly made about mobility within them. No single or simple analytic scheme can suffice even for one locality. Previous analysis of India stratification by M.N. Srinivas and other have pointed out the variety of models, indigenous and western, towar which mobility may be oriented in regarding with James silveege - Social Morality.

12. The problem -The systery of caste is a hard problem for a foreigner to understand.

I doubt whether a man who has not stayed a long time in India would be able to understand this problem even if he reads my book.

Even the man who stays in India for a long time does not understand what caste is mentioned by S.V.Detkari - History of Caste in India, Jaipur, 1979.

13. The general feature of politics in all democratic socialise is that it intervenes to influence social reality (as mentioned by C.P.Bhambhari - 1988, Politics in India, 1947 -1989, Juug para, New Delhi) And other important explanations are :

- (1) Politics of Minorities
(M.Shakir : 1980)

Here he includes that caste is a limiting factor and it is like language and class - and no political functionaries along caste lines can convert national politics into caste politics ;

14. State in Politics in India case study of Bihar

(Kiran Sukla : 1987) has given a mutual influence of caste and Politics on each other in Bihar.

This study's looks upon caste as a living ; flexible, adoptive social structure enabling to absorb the disruptive effects at political changes.

15. Caste is a peculiarly Indian institution which has no counterpart elsewhere. In this effort to describe its dimension, M.N.Srinibas has listed several feature of the caste system national associations, restrictions of food, drink and smoking distinction in custom, dress and speech, pollution, ritual and other privileges and disabilities, caste organisations and caste mobility or discussed by S.L.Sikri - India Government and Politics, New Delhi.

16. The theme is the unity and diversity of Indian society, and I wish to consider as one of its aspects the role of caste in local politics. How important a factor is caste distinction, and what influence does it have compared to other factors ?

This view is mentioned by Menon Philip - India and Ceylon.

17. The significance of the study of casteism in the politics of our country is borne out by this fact that caste and politics affect each other that previous abundant material for collection, by hypothesisation and empirical analysis. Caste in contemporary India Society plays a very important role behind the factors of Parliamentary system dealt with J.C. Johari - Government and Politics of South Asia Caste, Class and Politics (Anil Bhatta : 1971) all attempts to show an interaction between traditional social structures and modern political discussion.

Through this study, he clearly mentions that an individual's socio-economic and political life to-day is not entailed by his caste position in any significant measure but also combinations of caste, class and political positions in India to-day, 'Caste model' at social stratification becomes manifested predominant and specialised.

Caste as a ideology in politics to achieve political power and caste leaders as brokers of politics has been mentioned in politics in India 1942-87 (C.P. Bhambri : 1988).

18. Several writers are of the opinion that caste or caste like groups are found even beyond India in such widely scattered

areas as Arabia, Polynesia, Africa, Guatemala, Japan and the United States, Particularly in the South.

To them, the caste system with its unique aspects is a peculiar feature of India social structure and the qualities caste shares with rigid systems of social stratification are not found elsewhere. The debate on the issue whether caste system is a peculiar feature of Indian social structure or caste like institutions are also found is ubiquitous, fundamental for life, caste, is first and foremost a fact and feature of Indian Society or mentioned by Dr. Rayendra Pandey - The Caste system in India, New Delhi, Mayapuri.

19. In the ideal caste dominated society, each of the individuals positions his economic position, his positions in terms of politics power, in terms of ritual respect, in terms of access to facilities, and so forth - systematically linked to his caste position.

The pioneering work "Caste Race and Politics (Ghurey 1969) has dealt with the relation of caste consciousness in political behaviour.

20. The public keepings in view of the tremendous importance and significances of the special Bench decision of the Supreme Court on the matter to Reservation in the services of the State arising out of the official Memorandum dated August 13, 1990, based in the Mondal Commission Report.

The Supreme Court Mondal Commission Case, 1992, by Surender Malik, 1992 Eastern Book Company, Lucknow.

21. Mr. Asghar Ali Engineer, a beared Scholer has complied different views of academicians political activities, Journalists, Social Workers, in the present books including his own writings and a long ineroduction.

In further discusses the desig~~ns~~ns of implementing Report and hesitation of congruent garment nit to implement the report and steps, a largest democracy in Asis, should take to promile justice to all citizens in the country.

Asghar Ali Engineer - Mandal Commission Controvesy - Ajanta Publication - New Delhi, 1991.

22. There are seversl Reports and Recommendation in relating to Backward Classes Commission of Government of India.

Study prepared by Indian Law Institute - and by the Talk Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, 1980.

23. Recently it has sharply brought before the country the danger of national destegration the secessionist movement, caste conflicts land also cities entire servation agitation, the rise of communal forecessare manifestations of this deintegration in relations to reservation policy of S.T. and S.C. - B.T. Renadive - Castiyclan and properly Relation, Calcutta, 1991.

24. The main aspect of feature of the casti system, nature of the caste group, political development of the institution through different age origins of the caste system, caste and politics and Foucher by G.S. Ghurge - J.S. Shuraye - Caste and Race in India - Bombay, 1990.

The litureture on Indian Caste system is extensive

and includes general ideological discussions as well as specific carried out in different social disciplines. Certain studies are directly concerned with the phenomenon of caste - Politics interaction. As part of their general research pursuit they make important observations about how the caste system is responding to the process of representational politics. These studies include :

1. M.N.Srinivas's work on the Social Structure of a Mysore Village (Chicago : 1953) ;
2. M.N.Srinivas - India Village (Bombay : 1960) ;
3. M.N.Srinivas Caste in Modern India and other Essays (Bombay : 1962).

25. A.K.Vakil examines the reservation policy with constitutional ideological and further perspective and further with its details of implementation.

It covers other issues like atrocities on S.C. It evaluates the success of the reservation policy.

A.K.Vakil - Reservation Policy and Scheduled Castes in India - New Delhi, 1985.

26. The purpose of these is to bring out an analysis out of the multidimensional implications of a caste - ridden society that resulted in many uneasy turns in our struggles for freedom.

The Caste Reservation and Electoral Politics - by Niranjana Roy Choudhury and Bhattacharya - Calcutta 1992.

From the above discussions, it is evident that castes adjust itself to the political democracy and political role in the social structure. However, certain gaps stand out signifi-

cantly ; (i) there is lack of interregional comparative study on the basis of collaborative field research or on the basis of published materials, (ii) What has been happening to the scheduled castes since independency ; (iii) To what extent the caste system as an instrument of social and economic exploitation and oppression ? It is hoped that this micro-study will be able to fill up these important gaps that prevails in under standing or regional politics.

27. This book deals with "Most of the contributors approach the subject of caste by examining the extent to which the social organisation of a particular non-Hindu group is based on caste as an organising principle. Some of them also compare it with Hindu Society on the basis of specific features of the caste system. For logical coherence, the papers are arranged in accordance with numerical dimension of the Indian population for each of the five non Hindu Groups - Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jews, respectively. There groups and the specific aspects with which the contributors deal.- CASTE AMONG NON HINDUS IN INDIA - Harjinder Singh, National Publishing House, New Delhi - 1977.

28. This Book deals with, to get and still more to keep labour is becoming yearly a more and more vital factor in the prosperity of the Tea Industry and the duty of a Manager to study the habits and customs of his heterogeneous labour force cannot be too strongly exphasised. The Industrial development of India is annually bringing fresh competitors into the Labour market and as the competition which The as an Industry has to face become

keener, so also exercise an increasing influence on their supply of labour.

It, therefore, has become increasingly necessary for all Managers to devote their serious attention to the problem and a close study of this book will prove of great assistance to them. It clearly discuss with caste and their occupation, primitive man and the Emergence of Religion, Marriage. The Races of India and their probable origin, their speaking, medical opinions relating to the settlement and acclimatization of labour - TEA DISTRICTS LABOUR ASSOCIATION. Hand Book of Caste and Tribes - printed by a Rome at the Chatolic Orphan Press, 3 & 4 Portugues Church Street, Calcutta, 1924.

29. He wrote on the Hindu system of Caste in the Province of Bengal in India in 1942. He was especially impressed with the descriptions of castes in the Indian Census Volumes especially in those form 1901 to 1931. He found in these reports parterns of social mobility which did not seem to coincide with the stereotyped image of the unchanging and oppresive qualities of the Indian Caste system. He discussed Historical perspectives and How caste has been defined. The segmental structure of caste, the system of caste Hierarchy, caste in the Urban areas etc. - CASTE DYNAMICS AMONG THE BENGALI HINDUS - Jyotirmayee Sarma, Calcutta - 1990.

30. Here he deals with the Background of Caste, Southern India, Western, Central and Eastern India, Northern India. The structure of caste, its sanctions, its functions, origins

Analogous institutions elsewhere. The traditional origin and its implications, other theories, factors in the emergences of caste - CASTE IN INDIA ITS NATURES, FUNCTIONS & ORIGINS - J.N. Hutton, Fourth Edition - 1963, Oxford University Press.

31. This book notes on the spelling of caste names, the flexibility of caste principles in Kandyan Community. The system of social stratification in Swat, North Pakistan. General map showing the coercion of Tanyore, Taffna Terutenue and Swat. The organisation of agricultural activities and the hierarchy of castes in Swat - CAMBRIDGE PAPERS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY & ASPECTS OF CASTE IN SOUTH INDIA, CEYLON AND NORTH PAKISTAN - Edited by E.R. Leach, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London New York Melbourne, 1970.

32. This book notes on Class organisations, instruments to abolish caste, towards the destruction of caste and classes, Association for study and destruction of caste. Roots of caste problem, anti caste, backward classes and tax on 62 acres. - THE CASTE SYSTEM, Ram Mohan Lohia, Navahind Prakashan Hyderabad India, First Published, 1964.

33. The four papers collected here all concerned with caste ideology and caste interaction in different localities of South Asia. R.L. Stirrat describes the rich ambiguity of caste markers selectively invoked in a Sinhalese Catholic fishing village. Dennis Me Gilvray - Challenges - both Dumont and ethno sociologists in his study of a matrilineal Srilankan Tamil Caste system where ideals of caste purity are replaced by a strongly Kingly model of

ranks. Stephen Rvinson presents a lingnishi analysis of India - Tamil - inter caste verbal difference, revealing, among other things, the operation of allied caste blocks. Geoffray Howthon Surveys theories of Caste in Indian politics since 1943 - CAMBRIDGE PAPERS IN SOCIAL AUTHROPOLOGY - 9 CASTE IDEOLOGY AND INTERACTION, Edited by - B.Me Gilvray, Cambridge University Press, London, New York - 1982.

34. Specifically, it is instance for a distinguished investigation of caste attitudes, self images, inter caste and others - prejudices candidly expressed by student in a University setting. This was his judgement in a major forward step in understanding of the changes giving on in - CASTE PREJUDICE AND THE INDIVIDUAL, A.C.Peran pe. 1. Alvani Publishing House, Calcutta - 1970.

35. This book includes - How caste is explained, identification of the Surdas position of the Sutras in Vedic days colour and caste distinction, Evolution of the Brahmanas, changes in the status of the Brahmanas, The smritis and caste, The Totemic Origin of the Tati caste, The Racial element in India, Munde and Dravidian contribution to caste system, Untouchability and unapproachability, The Democratic aspects of caste, how caste is maintained, caste as a National Asset, Caste and Religion, Caste and Ancestor Worship, Caste and Socio religions Rities. - INDIA WITHOUT MISREPRESENTATION BOOK - 3, ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE - G.K. Pililal, Kitab Mahal Delhi - 1959.

36. Opinions have differed concerning the merits and

demerits of the caste system in India. Few persons outside India have an extensive knowledge of the way in which the caste system operates in every day life, e.g. what are its injunctions and prohibitions, what actions constitute offences against its moral law and social honour, what are the means by which breaches of that code are adjudicated and what are the penalties inflicted on offenders. The purpose of this book is to make all these workings objectively clear.- INDIAN CASTE CUSTOMS - By L.S.S.O.Malley, London Curzson Press, Rowman and Little Field Totowa, N.J.- 1974.

37. The Volumes on the caste and Tribes of Cochin, which form the present State of Kerala, by the famous anthropologist L.K. Anatha, Krishna Iyer are a rich and Varied collection of data on the numerous castes which habit this area. The first volume gives a descriptive account of the hill and Jungle tribes and other Low castes of this part of the country in the ascending order of social status. The Second and Third Volume of this most important monograph on a part of the country which is most fortunate in possessing an assemblage of Tribes and castes which is without parallel elsewhere in an areas of equal size, deals with other groups which are higher in social grade - THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF COCHIN, VOL - III, L.K.Anatha Krishna Iyer, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi - 110002, 1981.

38. The first volume contains the history of caste in India from its vague origins in the Vedic Era upto the period when it took a standard shape - Division of Brahmanas in Bengal Rise of New Professional caste, Abolition of Kshatriya and Vaishya Varnas

- ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA, VOL II Nripendra Kumar Dutt. Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta - 1969.

39. This book deals with primarily to be an introductory book which attempts to understand certain important aspects of Indian society such as continuity and change in caste, economic classes, status of wome, status of Harijans, Village politics, overseas Indians, and casteism and Tribalism. Its theoritical interest is to explain the dynamics of social ineualities in Indian society.- CASTE AND CLASS DYNAMICS OF INEQUALITY IN INDIA SOCIETY,- Raja Jayaraman, Hindustan Publishing Corporation India (1981), Delhi.

40. The author has discussed in detail the origin of caste, racial influence, influence of occupation, religious influence Domicile and Language, Caste in process of evolution, Primitive, elements, Irregular Unions, birth, marriage and Death ceremonies, Tree marriages, authropometrical operations some typical castes, such as Vanis, Marathas, Lingayatas, Bhils and Kolis. The whole work is organised alphabetically and has numerous plates illustrating the way of life of the people - THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF BOMBAY, VOL - II, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1975.

41. Sociological studies on social change in rural india have acquired a great significance in the post independence period.

Using the conceptual framework Raymond fifth this study analyses the social change in rural India to discover the reality. The critical group relations constituting social structure are identified as inter caste relations are examined by

taking into account the sub-structures (social economic, religious, political and educational) of rural social system. The study also raises a vital question about the alternatives to be adopted in transforming the Traditional India rural social structure to meet the growing needs of a secular and sociolistic social order, a dream cherished by the founding father's Indian Constitution.- THE DYNAMICS OF CASTE RELATIONS IN RURAL INDIA - L.S. Ainapur - Ruwat Publications Jaipur, 1986.

42. This book notes in an area presenting so great variety and with such a high degree of fertility and productivity. It is natural to find a rich tradition of culture. A number of tribes and races have their homes in these plains and mountains. It would not be possible to study them all in this brief compass and it will suffice to present to the reader the customs, beliefs and characteristics of some of the most prominent of them.- CASTE, TRIBES AND CULTURE OF INDIA - VOL. II - ANDHRA PRADESH, Madhya Pradesh and Maharastra - K.P. Bahanur, Ess Ess Publications, Delhi - 1977.

43. Volume one was mainly concerned with basic conceptual orientation and empirical aspects of the origin of caste, and with showing how successfully the Brahman priest had made a religion out of the pre industrial social order and occupation system.

Volume Two carries the study into the modern times. It deals with the Hindu Caste system's adoptive responses to the pressures and strains of the modernising Indian Society. It

show how the ~~sanskrit~~ization of a social order has been the principal background against which all social change has taken place in India.- THE HINDU CASTE SYSTEM, VOL-2 CASTE ADAPTATION IN MODERNIZING INDIAN SOCIETY, Chanakya Publication, Delhi, 1988.

44. This study throws new light on the Santal efforts of establishing a kingdom for the Tribe. The social engineering aspects of the Tribe that at once stopped social disintegration, allowing for internal solidarity and preparing the Society for both defensive and aggressive roles. The gap between the Santal rebellion of 1955-56 and Tharkhand movement.

The rise of a charismatic leader in one of the districts of Bengal (Malda) in the early twenties whose advent was through a religious sect foureled by him. How a muth develops around the ruins of a mosque projecting it to be an erstwhile place of Ramchandra of Yore.- STATE FORMATION AMONG TRIBALS - A QUEST FOR SANTAL IDENTITY-A.B.Chandhuri - Gyam Publishing House - New Delhi 1993.

45. The author has made a real contribution to the existing literature on Scheduled Castes from the Sociological point of view and brought out the real break down of occupational barriers and has analysed patterns of social inter action. The author has found that there are Variations of Occupational impact on life styles of Scheduled Caste. The urban occupation do tend to bring about the change.- SCHEDULED CASTES SOCIO - ECONOMIC CHANGES, BY Nirupama Prakash, Chugh Publications, Allahabad - India, 1989.

46. This book presents mainly a delincation of the numerous Hindu, inferior, and aboriginal Tribes of the North Western Provinces and auth.- HINDU TRIBES AND CASTES- An account of the Mahomedan Tribes of the North-West Frontier and of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces BY Rev. M.A.Shewring VOL-II, Cosmo Publications, Delhi-6, India, 1974.

47. This books tries to fill gaps in our knowledge about the structure and functioning of the system of social stratification among the Muslims, with special reference to Caste, on the basis of field studies carried out by sociologists and social authropologists in different parts of India during the past few years - CASTE AND SOCIALSTRATIFICATION AMONG MUSLIMS IN INDIA - Intiaz Ahmed, Monohar Publication, New Delhi - 1978.

48. The attempt here is to be sketch something like a full dimensional picture of public administration and that indicate it it great although subordinate, significance. The picture is not intended in any sense to be a defence of Govt. although it will often have that appearances. Rather, the purpose is to assert that Govt. particularly executive Govt. general resumbles the picture. Many questions involving degrees to which and places at which the descriptions apply and concerning possibilities for improvement in goverance should be suggested by the picture, but it is believed that there will be questions more relevant to reality than many others commenly raised -POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION -Paul H.Appusy, Oxford and Ibtt. Publishing, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, 1949.

49. This book is designed to stimulate the interest of students and general readers concerned with recent trends in Govt. and public administration. It will immediately be cause clear that administration and politics are connected in a way that makes the study of one without the others. meaningless. The Administrative process must be analysed within the broad context of the political system and the fact that the administration branch is often the dominant force in policy making requires that its relationship to congress, the Presidency, and the courts be clarified in any attempt to understand the character of these traditional branches of our Govt. - PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY, Petes Woll. Harier Torch Books, The Academy Library, Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, 1966.

50. Chapter 3 describes how public policy making is becoming the new central Core of the discipline of public administration, largely as a result of the need to improve existing public policies to meet contemporary societal challenges and of the failure of alteranative social~~ist~~ institutions to public bureaucracies to provide a continuel flow of wakable, public policies. Whereas the prépepression would dependon political institutions to direct public administration. The post depression would largely depends on public administration to suggest alternative from which political leaders can choose. The academic response has been to focus attention first on decision making there a problem solving and finally on policy analysis as an aid to the practitioners. - THE DYNAMICS OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION,

Auideslines to current Transformation in theory and practice -
GERALD E. CAIDEN, University of California at Berkelay, Hinsdale
Illionois Dryden Press, 1971.

51. Policy analysis includes the examinations and improvement of the policy making progress resort, as well as the evaluation of policy choices and out comes. No absolute distinction can be made between policy making and decision making, because every policy determination is a decision. Policy, however, establish course of action that guide the numerous decisions made by Govt. in deciding what substantive programmes to understeke - the most important decisions as far as the public is concerned.

Chapter 11.

Decision making is analysed within the organizational context and a interms of the personalities, perceiving Values and other factors conditioning the decision made by officials in carrying out their roles within their organisation.

Chapter 4

We consider in detail two aspect of responsible administrati-
on, Formulation of Policies, and application of policies, to
individual parties - MODERN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR. Felix A. Nigro,
Lloyal A.Nigro. And Harper and Row Publishers, New York,
Cambridge, Sanfransisco, Fifty Edition, 1984.

52. Our problem is no to do what is right. President
Jhonson declared in 1966, Charactrising the national choices of

the White House. Our problem is to know what is right. The study of Policy Formation is an articulate and coherent response to confession of the dilemmas of policy formation. Prof. Baueer and Gergen have made a major contribution to the study of the complex social process by bringing together nine empirically oriented, previously unpublished papers. The essays are sub-divided into three categories. The first four are theoretical in character. They provided critical reviews of several approaches to policy formation and suggest a number of departments. The next two are oriented towards the methodology of research on policy making. The last three papers are substantive and deal with several arenas of decision making, applying a number of ideas set down in the earlier sections. The contributors show how intellectual and scientific development in the areas of decision making power structure, and formal organisation lend themselves to study in the field, pointing out present limitations and signaling areas, where additional knowledge is needed. Further they develop a number of fresh ideas - both on the theoretical and empirical plans. Special emphasis is placed on theories of economic decision making.- THE STUDY OF POLICY FORMATION - Raymond A. Baner and Kenneth J. Sergen, THE FREE PRESS NEW YORK, Collier Macmillan Limited, London, 1968.

53. MODERN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION,

Felix a Nigro and Ilodg Nigro Harper International Edition,

Harper & Row Publication, New York Evanston Ian Fran-

cisco London, 1973.

THE GROWTH OF ADMINISTRATION DISCRETION - Latest Phase
of Administration Policy making.

NEW CHALLENGE FOR ADMINISTRATION DISCRETION.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BREACH AND GOAL CONFLICTS.

TWO RECENT DEVELOPMENT LIMITATION OF LEGISLATION
ABSENCE OF POLICY POWERS.

54. The essays included in the volume cover twenty years development of the author's research and thought in social inequality and social justice in India and Cross Culturally. They issue from the premises that inequality within and among nations is a major social problem. The author holds that institutionalized inequality is a major cause of human anguish and conflict. His own observation and experience in the notorious Alabany USA brought home to him the inequities working of the social malaise. This is the work of a person for whom social inequality is not a matter of closed door, academic research but something that touches his deepest convictions. Assembled from widely Scattered Sources. Proceeds through empirical and theoretical essays on various systems of inequality, rigid and flexible, rural and urban, small scale and large and concludes with social inequalities. -"CASTE AND OTHER INEQUITIES ESSAYS ON INEQUALITY". Gerald D. Berreman. Ved Prakash Vatuk, folklore Institute, 35/1, Kailash Puri, Meerut.

55. In the work Dr. Wilson, Scottish missionary and orientalist examines the origin, development, character and results

of the caste in India. This book which is based on the labour of about twenty years is in Two Volumes. Volume I entitled what caste is contains a comprehensive discussion of the Institution of the caste as it set forth and as it later evolved, in ancient Hindu texts from the Vedas to the Puranas, and also as it was viewed by early Buddhist and Greek Writers. Volume II entitled what castes are deals with Brahmanical or the priestly Caste that comes on the Top of the Caste hierarchy, in all its bewildering variety. - INDIAN CASTE, VOL.I & II, Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1976, According different views and the Epics.

56. The book requires the social stratification and social mobility in a detailed fashion. After giving an elaborate discussion on the traditional social stratification through intra caste relations. The book throws light on the various factors responsible for social mobility and the consequent social stratification. The changing pattern of political economic and occupational relations with reference to changing pattern of social stratification is presented in the book lucid manner. - CHANGING PATTERN OF CASTE AND CLASS RELATIONS IN SOUTH INDIA.

2.3 JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY :

To achieve the above objectives, the Government have enacted innumerable Social Welfare Legislations and geared up Social Reformative measures for uplifting the Social and Economic Development of the disadvantaged sections of people. True, a rapid societal transformation and profusion of other progressive changes are taking place, yet a major section of the people

living below the poverty line and suffering from social estracism stillstand for behind and lack in every respect to keep pace with the advanced section of the people.

Keeping this in mind, the present work seeks to take up the different aspects of Public Policy making in India in general and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in particular. There is no denying the fact that although the Government of India and different State Governments have taken several policy measure to uplift the backward Sections, still they are Lagging Behind. This study would take up the different aspects of Public Policy making in India in this dimensions. Therefore, this study answers a great justification from this point.

2.4 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS :

Date for the present study have been collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources data have been collected from Government Reports and Recommendations and other sources. Secondary sources of data have been collected from books, journals, periodicals etc.

CHAPTER THREE
PUBLIC POLICY MAKING
IN INDIA

3.1 PUBLIC POLICY MAKING IN INDIA :

Normative Frame-work of Policy Making in India Ideology .

Public policy making is necessarily shaped within the frame work of a country's constitutional system of which three features stand out most prominently in the case of India : the parliamentary form of government, federalism and a broad band of social, economic and political philosophy articulated in the preamble, the directive principles of state policy and the fundamental rights. The five year plan of the country acquires finality only after parliament has accorded its approval. Similarly, parliament has over a period of time passed a number of policy resolutions such as the Industrial policy Resolution, Policy Resolution on Science and Technology, Resolution on National Education Policy etc. and these policies thus come to acquire sanctity of the highest level.

Today, the legislative leadership has undisguisedly shifted into the hands of the Executive and this process has been further reinforced and strengthened in India by the long continuing single party dominance system of the country, particularly by the congress culture of functioning. The sub-servience has become much more deeply marked since 1984 under the prime ministership of Rajiv Gandhi. The passage of the Muslim (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986 by the parliament in the face of stiff nationwide opposition is an evidence of the Executive controlled status of the people's elected body, the initiative firmly moving elsewhere notably in the direction of the Prime Minister's House.

Policy-making process in India has equally to contend

with the federal form of the country's policy. Indian federalism, which has evolved out of extreme unitarism is marked by some unique features, while the constitution attempts a division of functions between the two levels of government. All 'line' or substantive functions remain entrusted with the state government. Most subjects, which constitute the ingredients of development administration are constitutionally within the states' direct jurisdiction : agriculture, education, housing, industries, public health and sanitation, family planning, water supply, animal husbandry, minor irrigation, forests, fisheries and local government, while many others like electricity, labour, economic and social planning etc., are in the concurrent list, subject to state as well as Central jurisdiction with the Centre exercising over-riding power but effective one nonetheless remaining with the states. Because the financial resources are concentrated in the Central Government the States have necessarily to look to the Centre for funds.

The Social, Political and economic message of the Indian constitution is enshrined in the preamble, the fundamental rights and the directive principle of state policy. The judiciary of the land does take into account the directive principles of the state policy while interpreting the fundamental rights and even other issues and thus the dichotomy between them has been rightly put to rest. Both levels of the government are thus under an obligation to formulate public policies so as to work towards the realisation of the directive principles. Thus

the constitution of India provides enough policy options and can accomodate even a redical government within its frame work as is the case in West Bengal and Tripura.

Yet it must be admitted that the socio-economic provisions of the constitution can be made to operate only by the political processes and dynamics of the land. How irrelevant the directive principles can be is proven in the case of the Govern-ent's determination to push through the Muslim (Protection of Rights of Divorce) Act in 1986 in total defiance of the Supreme Court's earlier verdict in the Shah Bano Case, the directive principles and even public opinion.

Policy Making : Institutions:

Although the Indian policy is federal in character, the administrative system is highly integrated, the state governments acting as implementing agencies of the centre in a large variety of matters. Public policy cannot be made by one or few individuals however exalted by their station. Nor can it be separated from administration. Public policy necessarily involves a large number of persons and institution operating in hierarchi-cal order or otherwise such as ministers civil servants, parliamentarians, politicians, pressure groups, professional etc. Policy making functionaries are the Prime Minister and his office (1) including his advisers, ministers and the secretaries. Consula-tions with the state governments take place on a wide variety of matters all the time : and committees are formed, conferances convened to develop consensus and acceptance, so necessary in a

federal system. Third world countries are unusually sensitive to international policy thoughts and many of these are deeply influenced by the current thinking in the west. India's public policies in relation to poverty, women's rights, environment etc. is largely a consequence of fall out of debate in the west. The party system is itself a source of policy making in many democracies, especially the western ones. In India, however no such claim can be seriously made. The Congress party which has been the dominant party and perhaps the only most powerful one in the country, has no recognisable organ within itself to undertake systematic investigations and researches to formulate in coherent terms policy alternatives and strategies for adoption.

The Cabinet :

Policies acquire final approval at various levels of governance depending on their import and nature. Certain proposals are required to be brought before the cabinet for its decision and the cabinet may take them up either directly or may refer them to one of its sub-committees for a more detailed examination. The Cabinet functioning on the principle of collective responsibility in the top policy-making body in the government but only major proposals are taken to it for its decision, other matters being disposed of by the minister at his own level. Much more systematically powerful as policy making mechanisms are its sub-committees, particularly the political affairs committee and the Economic Affairs Committee, both presided over by the Prime Minister and consisting of key ministers.

The Prime Minister and His Office :

The President of India is the titular head of State and the Prime Minister exercises executive authority in regard to matters of governance. The Prime Minister always enjoys a special position in the realm of policy making and other ministers play varying levels of subordinate role. The subservice on the part of other functionaries has always persisted except for brief periods when the Prime Minister was not very powerful. Jawaharlal Nehru was rendered rather less effective after the humiliation suffered in the Chinese war in 1962 and Parliament emerged as a powerful body from then onwards till his death in 1964. He was succeeded by a then uncertain Lal Bahadur Shastri who was still consolidating his position but death removed him from the scene. Indira Gandhi became the third Prime Minister was not very powerful in the beginning depending on the older members of the Congress. In 1969 she caused a split in the Congress Party, making her wing - the Congress(R) - depend on other non-Congress(O) - opposition parties, which had the effect of restricting her options and manoeuvres in policy making. Rather some other parties on which she depended for parliamentary support were seen to ride on her wings and influencing policy making. She became powerful after the 1971 election which gave a massive victory to her party. From this time onwards Indira Gandhi became the single most powerful person engaged in policy making. The present Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, who occupies the central and most crucial position in the entire policy making process, did not hesitate in

covering subjects which are even the state's direct responsibility. He appoints and removes the ministers, allocates work to them, and the ministers survive in their position on his goodwill. To-day, he stands peerless and all major policies are either initiated by him or endorsed by him. There is a high level of centralisation of policy initiative and policy making, at least so far as major ones are concerned, and what is more, nearly all functionaries and institutions involved in policy making have implicitly accepted the position by quietly submitting to it. The Prime Minister has appointed some advisers such as Adviser to the Prime Minister on Administrative Reform (the post is vacant at the moment, its incumbent having resigned to become a member of the Rajya Sabha), Adviser to the Prime Minister on Economic Affairs, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Science and Technology, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Cultural Affairs etc. Besides, an Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister exists since early eighties.

The Planning Commission :

A mention even though brief, must have to be made of the Planning Commission which has emerged as a policy making organ of key importance on a wide range of subjects, especially developmental and what is more, for both the levels of Government. The terms of reference which the commission functions includes formulation of the five year plans for the most effective and balanced utilisation of the country's resources and 'working out of priorities in the plan', which delineates very

clearly the policy making functions of the commission. The commission works in consultation with the central Government ministries and departments as well as State governments, and the five year plan which it prepares after discussion and consultation with both the levels of government becomes the national policy register of the union valid for a five year term.

The Seceratriate :

Of the policy making organs in the Government of India the Secretariat stands at an exceptionally high pedestal. Indeed, it is designed as the policy making organ, being the seat of the Government of India.

Technically speaking, the Government of India does not possess a permanent civil service of its own, except the Central Secretariat Service. It has always been the official policy to fill the middle and higher management level positions at the headquarters of the Government -- the Secretariat -- by deputation of officers from the state governments as well as from the various Central Services, controlled as they are by their respective departments, the only exceptions being the External Affairs, Railways and Posts and Telegraphs Ministers. Such an arrangement was always defended and even when the federation - creating Government of India Act 1935 was enacted, no departure was permitted.

The principal argument advanced in favour of the staffing arrangement is that higher civil servants engaged in policy-making experience of working in the field to keep the

actions and decisions of the Central Government as close to reality and as meaningful to the people possible.

The Secretariat of the Government of India is a collective noun as it were, and today it includes as many as sixty ministries and departments. The identification of major policy-making organs in the Government, is not a sure proof of their compulsory involvement in the exercise. The perceived gravity of a proposed policy is a factor, but not the only one, determining which agencies are to be consulted, in which order and with what weightage. Sponsorship is itself critically important; if the Prime Minister or his office proposes a policy it may not be thoroughly discussed in all the units on this network and in the process some organs may even get completely by passed, their consent having been assumed. Behind policy making operate many interests, many factors, many perceptions and the map is not necessarily the same or similar even with the same or similar problem emerging again. The definition of rationality is ever varying. Indeed a top level policy-maker in India told the present author : "Policies are seldom framed the way we read in books. Krishna Mohan (a left oriented political leader who was close to Jawaharlal Nehru and was even the defence minister for some time during his term) once told me, what we read in Sir Ivor Jennings works and other treatises are hardly observed while making policies." Policy-making experience additional constraint under a coalition as in the case of the Janata Party (a coalition in disguise) rule in the past (1977-79) or the united front rule

in West Bengal. The Chief executive does not occupy that commanding height nor can his writ run all over the government, he being viewed more in the nature of a Chairman or Primus inter pares. A coalitional government generally leaves out for policy making those areas where the collaborating parties have disagreements.

3.2 POLICY MAKING PROCESS : A CRITIQUE :

Absence of systematic study and Research :-

In 1918, the Machinery of Government Committee, popularly known as the Haldane committee after the name of its Chairman Viscount Haldane of cloan had observed that Britain had no arrangement or provision for systematic application of thought as parliamentary to policy formulation and implementation. The committee pointed out 'It appears to us that adequate provision has not been made in the past for the organised acquisition of facts and information and for the systematic application of thought, as preliminary to the settlement of policy and its subsequent administration. In India, the Administrative Reforms Commission's study team on the Machinery of the Government of India and its procedures of work suggested in 1968 the creation of an 'office of planning and policy' in each ministry for purposes of over-all planning and also a 'the unit for formulation of policy in the ministry in the strategic field. This suggestion is yet to be implemented. The necessary research and enquiry should be out or supervised by a separate department specially charged with this responsibility but working in the closest collaboration with the administrative departments concerned with its activities. Also special attention should be

paid to the recruitment methods of personnel for such specialised work. Equally necessary the senior officers in all departments must debate, which they presently do not do, an adequate amount of time to enquiry, research and reflection and initiate meaningful inter-action with researchers which at present is negligible. Mention may here be made of an advisory mechanism, called by policy Advisory Committee, attached to the Cabinet Secretariat and consisting of the Minister of State for External Affairs, the Minister of State in Internal Security the Minister of State for Defence Research and some Senior Civil Servants and experts, in existence since April 1986 (4) for a constant assessment of major developments and for ensuring an integrated response to critical problems. Postings in the Secretariat are governed by the Central Staffing Scheme under which the doors are theoretically open to all higher Civil Services. In practice, however, there has emerged a group of officers which has developed inordinate liking for Central postings, in ministries and agencies managing economic affairs, with the ultimate aim of moving to an international organisation like the World Bank or its subsidiaries. These imbalances and distortions are of a grave nature, especially in the context of the increasing range, level and volume of public responsibilities as well as mounting expectations of the people from the Government. A beginning must be made by immediately reinstating the first principles of the personnel system by ensuring a rhythmic operation of the tenure system. The Secretariat as operation today suffers from other weaknesses also. A need for

strengthening policy planning mechanisms in it is acute. Modern side made available by advances in technology should be widely used in streamline decision-making. Many other structural and procedural reforms in the Secretariat appear to be over due. It is also happening that new positions and organs within the public bureaucracy are being created ostensibly for policy-making purposes. What is more, some of these position directly advising the political chief executive are seen in practice to develop their own hierarchy causing a needless proliferation of structures. Apparently, the original motivating force was to improve the quality of policy-making and cut down delays, these have in effect created fresh problems of coordination and added to delay.

Departmentalism:

A Hindrance to Policy-Making Public Policy Making suffers from yet another weakness, in that it tends to be formulated very narrowly to fit into a narrowly specialised perception set. Each department of the government has its peculiar viewpoints which makes it difficult for it to see beyond its narrow specialism. Indeed, departmentalism hinders sound policy making and obstructs implementation. The British Government in India was aware of the evils of departmentalism; and to encourage policy makers to rise above it, it devised the nomenclature of 'Secretary of the Government of India.' The device has not been very availing as the Secretariat tend to think and act a excessively in narrow idioms of their individual departments. In his famous Report known as 'Reports on the Re-organisation of the

Central Government. R. Tottenham emphasised in 1946 the need for the secretaries to think in government wide, not narrow departmental terms. He observed 'Our Secretaries are Secretaries to the Government of India as a whole and not to any particular Member (that is, minister) of it. It would be a good thing if this could be given more practical recognition than appears to be the case'. He continued : 'I confess that I have been somewhat shocked by the intensity of the departmental feeling that I have come across in the course of my investigations'. The problem has got aggravated since Tottenham wrote in 1946, and today it is a serious impediment both at the policy making and implementation stages.

Information Gap

Policy making, necessarily, is based on data, and in India data in many spheres of social action is weak and unreliable. Most of the information on which policies at higher levels are made emanates from the district collector and this may not be trustworthy. One noted Russian economic historian, G.C. Kotovsky, has publicly declared agricultural data in India, particularly in regard to agricultural labourers, as 'bogus'. Information base of policy making must have to be made sound and authentic.

Centralism in Policy-making:

In the Indian federal system the states carry nearly all programmatic responsibilities, and no less significant is the fact that the centre itself depends on them for implementation of many of its own tasks. Broadly speaking, the state Governments are the implementing agencies of the centre. It is here, moreover,

that impact of public administration is felt and the policies tested out. Truly speaking, the embryo of basic public policies is born and takes shape in the states. All India services are common to both the levels of government; and the Indian Administrative Service is manifestly designed to occupy policy making positions at both the Centre and in the States. The need is for decentralisation so that the grass root may get charged with life and thousand points get strengthened the extreme centralist culture pervading at present has a stifling influence all round. Communication system, especially bottom up one, is weak and intermittent citizen participation remains at best a ritual.

A consequence of the present centralist cult is that the national objectives are not always defined in clear terms and policies suffer from deliberately planted ambiguity and ambivalence. Local need remain unaccounted for in policy making, and local resources, both men and material, remain neglected. Inevitably the policy so conceived is destined to be a failure, to cover up which another set of policies, again employing the same worn out methodology, get formulated. Often, we hope from the failure to another and rarely look at the feed back. A genuine effort must be made to strengthen state, districts and block administration, and popular local level popular institutions must be endowed with adequate resources and power.

Poor Implementation:

Implementation of policies is generally lackadevisical and is deeply enmeshed in local politics. In India, the pressure

groups are not as vocal and active at the stage of policy making as at that of implementation. Very often, this strategy pays them also. A consequence could be that implementation of socio-economic policies gets ultimately determined by local political interests pressures and in the process the underlying policy remains frustrated and benefits get concerned by other than the target groups. Monitoring of programme implementation is weak. (6)

3.3 THE POLICY PROCESS AND GOVERNMENTAL PLANNING:

In a strategy of Decision Braybrooke and Lindblom argue, as against Simon's ideal, that it is both inevitable and desirable policies should be made within a very narrow spectrum of possible alternatives their concept of marginal incrementalism, contends that an actor in any situation cannot at best achieve more than a very limited and non-radical change of policy and direction he prefers. Their other notion of partisan mutual adjustment assert that the various view-points or interests which ought to be considered in a decision will be better rerued through the accommodation reached between partisan protagonists, than through the determinations of some supposedly unbiared and comprehensive decision-maker, These authors conclude that policy-making involves no more than limited and mostly on co-ordinate adjustments to an existing situation, with decision-makers responding seriatism to the proposals of other protagonists, or to unforeseen consequences of their decisions (disjointed incrementalism). This apparently is as it should be there is a, therefore, no scope or need for the ideal of comprehensive decision-making, which is unworkable in a situation of

competing interests and view-point and would work hardly in a non
(7)
-competitive one.

These theories are of course very general. They can be porited of relations organisations as well as between them and they clearly assume a democratic pluralist system. Even on this basis, the concept of incrementalism and partisanship are necessarily very broad, despite attempt by the authors to give them precision. For example, would the Redetiffe - Maud proposals for the reform of english local government come within the limits of merginal incrementalism ? One would assume not. The require a drastic break with the existing local government system, and the creation of require new areas and types of authority.

The theorists of marginal incrementalism might view these very facts as suggesting a probability that the Maud Report will not be implemented, as his indeed proved to be the case. What then was the purpose of the commission in making such implausible proposals? The answer might be that the commission hoped to bring about marginal changes by proposing more drastic ones, although this does not seem to have been their their intention since they proposed a comprehensive plan which was very difficult to modify. The conservative Government's revised proposals (1971) were less redical than the Maud ones, but even so will entail the abolition of most of the substantial powers which large towns (country bor-oaghs) have accumulated in England over several centuries. Is
(8)
this or is that not merginal incrementalish ?

The British army, navy and air departments were highly

partisan before they were merged into the ministry of Defence. Each wished to develop its own specification of increasingly expensive weapon systems, and mutual adjustment mainly took the form of accepting unwillingly such arbitrations and economic as the Cabinet managed to improve. The creation of an integrated ministry did not remove this partisanship, but it did reduce it. Initially, the Central planning staffs of the ministry were swollen by the presence of many representatives from such departments, who stressed the claims of their respective service. Subsequently, the ministry introduced a functional system of organisation, which introduced on intermediate level of organisation concerned with strategic planning ; weapon systems ; and logistic personnel but separate organisations for the services continued at a lower level, although their partisanship was modified gradually through the imposed requirements of cooperation. Thus even through going administrative centralisation does not exclude a good deal of partisan mutual adjustment; More to the point perhaps, it seems very difficult to state in general terms how much partisanship desirable.

The Braybrooke - Lindblom thesis has a certain explanatory appeal to participants in the policy process. It corresponds very much better with the experience of most officials than does the rationalist thesis of Harbert Simon (which is of course anyhow an ideal), and perhaps officials feel comforted and flattered to be told that procedures which they supposed merely unavoidable are in fact the best possible. Yet the thesis is too

broad and loss to be of such use as description and marginal incrementalism cannot really be bent to cover the sudden increase of public expenditure of switches of public policy which occur from time to time.

As a prescriptive theory, this thesis as flatly pragmatic as the Simon view is Utopian. Essentially, it amounts to a recommendation for as much polycentricity as possible for example multiplication of separate points of decision or of effective influence upon eventual decisions. Collective decision, such as these made by a Cabinet, in principle seem preferably to unitary decisions, for example by according to Lindblom, a polycentric pattern of budgeting whereby the budget is shaped by bargains struck between multiple decision centres, willenable all relevant interests to be expressed and accommodated in the most satisfactory way; and the American budgetary process as described by Saron Wildavsky ⁽⁹⁾ conforms very well with this specification. This polycentricity occurs primarily because the president's Bureau of the Budget does not, as happens in almost every other country, produce a definitive budget which the legislature must accept, but a document which is unsticked and re-assembled by the appropriations committees of the House of Representatives and the Senat. The president's budget is stilla broadly endorsed, but the actual budget is stiched up according to lastminute bargains reached within and between the two chambers of Congress, and the Scope for Congressional revision also causes for stronger and more overt bargaining within the executive branch than would otherwise occur.

All participants in the budgetary process perform a useful function, while each adjusts his role from experience of those of other participants. The spending agencies submit estimates which reflect their priorities. The secretaries of the large departmental policy, while not offending the constituent agencies unduly. The Bureau of the Budget reflects the President's policy priorities, where known as well as searching for economics. The appropriation committees of House Representatives typically make economy cuts, while those of the Senate often act as a sort of Court of appeal for dissatisfied agencies. Many other interests, for example client groups, appear at several stages of the process, while there is also ample scope for such special view points as the wish of some Congressional groups to spend money more freely than the relevant department. The argument is that these specialised, incremental fragmented and sequential budgetary procedures (10) maximise total satisfactions much better than would a more centralised and comprehensive system of budgeting. Clearly such broad arguments are difficult to judge, but two points need to be stressed. One is that the satisfactions felt by participants in the budgetary process ought not be equated with those received by the ultimate public. The system is sensitive enough to prominent Congressmen who want Federal benefits extended to their areas or Federal Offices and other facilities located therein; and towards client organisations who will benefit from the expansion of some agency's work; but is less sensitive towards the general

interests of consumers and taxpayers in avoiding an uneconomic or inconvenient location of facilities, or a wasteful duplication of services. It is indeed the special duty of the President, whose constituency is nation-wide, to reflect these broader interests, but the price of Congressional support and of harmony within the Executive branch is numerous concessions to the American political systems is no argument for saying that they maximise final benefits from public expenditure.

The second point is that while all valuation of public expenditure are in a sense political, political costs and benefits can themselves to some extent be measured objectively. For example, one can analyse the probable effects of various subsidies upon the incomes of different groups of farmers, or the likely effects upon unemployment levels of alternative ways of allocating a given quantum of assistance. Since these factors can be measured according to a variety of methods and assumptions, full objectivity is impossible, but objectivity should at least increase as the view-point becomes more general and less influenced by special interests. Those urging the need for a comprehensive decision stress that important environmental effects will be overlooked, because they occur relatively slowly and do not fall within the purview of the authority initiating action. The polycentric theorists could suggest that if important interests are being overlooked the proper course is not to centralise the decision but to secure a more effective voice for the mining interests. This could be done in two ways, either of which will

depent upon achieving sufficient public and political support.

One method would be to place part at lease of the indirect social costs caused by a decision upon the agency responsible; for example, a noise tax could be lived upon the airports authority (and indirectly upon the airlines), which would influence the authority's choice towards less noisy sites and provide funds for comprehensive. This method has the great advantage of preserving the freedom of organisations to meke their own decisions within known financial constraints - Leaving aside difficulties of assessment and implementation, the limitation of this methods is that it can cover clea effects of a decision which can be isolated and measured, but not outcomes of a more uniquekind which result only partially or indirectly from the decision, yet this outcomes may be important.

The secondmethod would be to strengthen to powers of those authorities whose influence is considered inadequate, or to introduce an additional authorty for example, a body pledged to the reduction of noise. The limitation of this method is that the multiplication of powers and authorities is inclined to produce deadlocks or prolonged delays. The 'polycentric' model works smoothly, whether or not it works well, when the initiation authority has reasonable freedom of action. subject to the necessity of co-operating with other authorities upon appropriate points, but if other authorities can block a decision which is not their direct responsibility, and whose postponment may for them be a matter of indifference, the system breaks down. One

need not hypothesise in this instance, since it has recently proved impossible to find any cite for a major airport within about forty miles of New York which is acceptable both to the airports authorities, and to local government and local opinion, and the consequent congestion at the existing New York airports has dislocated air service throughout the world.

Yet the problem is not really so formidable. First, the experience and views of interested bodies will be available to, indeed thrust upon, the review agency; in this sense: partisan mutual adjustment continues. Secondly, an expert team can be assembled by the review body. Its skill will probably be more numerous than those available to any previous participant, and tainly will be deployed within less partisan and limited terms of reference. The intellectual contribution of such a team will certainly assist the reconciliation of institutional conflicts.

A difficulty throughout this whole discussion has been that the administrative system is so complex and inter-related that conflicts between "polycentricity" and planning or between autonomy and control are often subtle question of degree. In general, the development of modern administration is away from the polycentric and self-regulating model, and towards complex forms of administrative co-origination and planning. It is not much use offering general support or disapproval for this trend unless the analysis is related to certain typical situation which occurs in government. This has been attempted in a limited way in the case of the airport.

Since we have been dealing with only one type of comprehensive decision, it is useful to conclude with a summary of three ways in which such decisions may be brought about.

a) Thread-hoc resolution of a complex single issue, such as the airport case. In this case, Central Planning is confined to a single important decision, after which all bodies concerned revert in principle to their previous roles.

b) The imposition of a central policy or plan which binds within its terms all decisions taken by organisations. In this case the autonomy of participating agencies is permanently limited while the plan remains operative.

c) Full integration of all or many of the organisation concerned into a single agency. In this event, problem of internal co-ordination and planning are substituted for external relationship the legal and organisational scope for comprehensive planning is increased, but the elimination of independent viewpoint may reduce the equality of decisions.

The results have been some interesting empirical studies throwing a little light upon particular aspect of organisational behaviour, but a complete failure of grand theory. In the end, one is left with a great diversity of partial explanations of organisational behaviour with no rear academic way of synthesising them or choosing between them when they conflict. The most honest position frequently is accepticism, as is nicely illustrated by the test pages of Simon's own book organisations (written with Jems March), when the authors can not abide how

much truth exists in Adam Smith's old belief in the motive of self improvement. (11) In this situation, it is not uncommon for a writer to make a shopping list of all the experts of organisation which should be identified for study. But however long the list, it remains somewhat idiosyncratic and yet not comprehensive because the possible modes of analysis are illimitable. These writers make the mistake of supposing that any distinctions that are intellectually possible may be interesting or useful. (12)

Simon's rationalism is basically of the same kind though more complicated, only paradoxically he expects still more of it. By taming the famous principles of organisation into diagnostic criteria he makes their practical use dependent upon the nature of organisational objectives. Thus a still greater load is placed upon this notion of objectives than occurs to even Gulick or Urwick.

The scientific administration, human relations and systems theories schools share one important general characteristic. Their general concern is with problems of management, and their usual view-point is that of the manager. (13) True, the human relations group may claim to be more humanist, and system theorists more genuinely scientific, than their predecessors but this does not alter the point. This modern management theories can draw electrically upon contributions from all three schools without running into inevitable contradictions. Knowledge of human relations can be used to assist the goals of managers, without involving any necessary rejection of some of the older

principles of organisation and prescriptions about decision-making and communication can be added on to prescriptions about organisation and co-ordination of work. It is true that such a synthetic brew becomes rather weak and tasteless, but so long as it provides a loose rationale for the practical work of consultancy, it may be considered by the consultants to have done enough.

This implicit understanding, as Baker explains, depends upon the ability of officials to make variable judgements about the policy implications of cases. Now it may be that this is the result of an underivable degree of political indeterminacy, but a fully explicit treatment of organisational relations may not be desirable either. In the Report of the Fulton committee on the British Civil Service, these political factors treated by the Committee's consultants as a series of barriers to the adoption of management by objectives; it does not occur to the consultants that the barriers may be so large as to vitiate their prescriptions.

(14)

Secondly, one turns to the interesting switch of view point introduced by the theories of Bray books and Lindblom. Organisations are there judged not for their responsiveness to the goals of managers, but for their congruence with modes of policy-making in a democratic society. The focus shifts from the impact of goals upon organisations to the policy outcomes of various organisational systems (a political criterion). One need not agree with the theories of marginal incrementalism to appreciate the value for government administration of this second approach.

One can carry the same approach to the study of the internal structure of organisations. Thus Blau and Scott attempt a classification of organisations according to the taste of which principal ~~ities~~ efficiency each one ought to serve. On this basis, business concerns exist primarily to serve their owners; social science agencies to serve their clients; commowalth organisations (such as army as policy) to servs the public-at-large and mutual benefit associations (parties, unions clubs, sects) to serve their members.

(15)

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CHAPTER FOUR
**CASTE, TRIBES AND
POLITICS**

4.1 ORIGIN OF THE CASTE :

INTRODUCTION :

Since it first invited research, the problem of the origin of castes has often been re-examined, and from several angles. Many theories have been advanced. Among attempts recent enough to be completely well informed several groups stand out prominently. It will suffice to show their tendencies by giving examples. This will not be a mere idle exercise, for such a summary view will enable us to clear the ground, and, if only by a process of elimination, to make out approach to probable solutions.

Explanatory Theories, the Traditionalist :

If the Hindus have confused the two ideas and the two terms 'classes' and 'castes', there are those among us who have followed in their erring footsteps with regrettable docility. Representatives of the philological school, they obey an almost irresistible preference to regard the problem from this traditional aspect. The Brahmanic theory is, as it were, their native atmosphere, and literary chronology the invariable starting point.

The hierarchic division of the population into classes is practically universal, but the caste-system is a unique phenomenon. That Brahmanic ambition has taken advantage of it in order the more firmly to established its domination is possible but not obvious. A caste-system is not the necessary basis of the ocracy. If theory has confused the two sets of ideas, this is a fact of secondary importance, as we have actually seen when

dealing with tradition. In order to understand the historic development we must distinguish carefully between the two ideas; remembering, however, to investigate how they came to be finally combined. Sacerdotal speculation has obscured the facts by means of an artificial system, and we must be careful not to mistake the curtain which hides them from our view for the facts that are hidden.

It may appear very simple to derive, in the Brahmanic manner, an infinite number of groups from the successive breakings-up of large primitive categories. Who can fail to recognize that this subdivision is prompted by interests and a bias directly opposed to the class-spirit, which tends naturally to closer unity? Caste, subject to varying principles of unification, geographical, professional, sectarian, etc., shows itself consistently insensible to considerations of a general nature. Class-spirit takes no heed of any of the peculiarities and scruples which constitute the foundations of caste, and sets up, even between groups belonging in a general way to the same class, so many lofty barriers.

These systems, therefore, state the matter badly; they start from an arbitrary principle which they do not demonstrate, and which is obviously inadequate. This is not all. Their excessive respect for the so-called evidence of literature compels them to advance the beginnings of the system to an unduly late period, when everything indicates that the life of India was already firmly set in its final mould. Yet another improbability'. An institution so universal in Hindu society, endowed with a

vitality so elastic as to appear almost indestructible, cannot fail to be attached to the very roots of national development. Were it of late growth, it would at least, if destined to attain such sovereign power, have left clearer traces of its beginnings.

One trait is common to all the systems belonging to this category, they are too apt to lose sight of existing facts and to ignore the comparisons and ideas which are evoked by the life of those peoples imperfectly or recently assimilated to the predominant Hinduism.

This consideration holds, on the contrary, a place of honour in works animated by leading ideas of another kind, and deriving either from sociological doctrines or from anthropology.

Occupation as the Basis of Caste Nesfield and Ibbetson :

Nesfield is obsessed by general ethnographic views; his faith in positivist classifications is uncompromising to a degree quite astonishing in an age which has largely renounced all dogmatism. He is at least perfectly clear in his conclusions; we may hesitate to follow him, but we know where he is going.

Common occupation is, in his eyes, the foundation of the caste; it is the centre round which it has grown up. He admits no other origin; he deliberately excludes all influence of race and religion. In his eyes it is pure illusion to distinguish in India distinct currents of population, Aryan and aboriginal. The wave of invasion was early absorbed in the mass; unity was very soon established, and was already acquired more than a thousand years before the Christian era. Only the constitution of

Castes succeeded in introducing a disturbing factor, thanks to Occupational speciality.

The castes would otherwise have developed according to an absolute order, the order which the march of human progress follows in life, in agriculture, in the industries; the social rank assigned to each would be precisely that occupied in this sequence by the particular trade which it practices. (1)

Thus, among the artisan castes he perceives two great divisions : the first corresponds to the trades before metal-working -- this is the lower; the second and higher one represents the metallurgical industries, or is contemporaneous with their development. He has expended remarkable ingenuity in establishing on analogous basis within the group to which the group to which it belongs the precedence of each caste, as determined in his view by Hindu usage. The groups are thus ranked according as they are more particularly concerned with the hunting, fishing, pastoral pursuits, landed property, manual trades, commerce, servile occupations, or sacerdotal functions. (2)
To use his own words.

Each caste or group of castes represents one or other of those progressive stages of culture which have marked the industrial development of mankind, not only in India, but in every other country in the world. The rank of any caste as high or low, depends upon whether the industry represented by the caste belongs to an advanced or backward stage of culture; and thus the natural history of human industries affords the chief

clue to the gradations as well as to the formation of Indian castes.

According to this theory, the caste-system springs from the regular evolution of social life, starting at its lowest level and following in its slow progression. How he can reconcile this with the relatively late date to which, on the other hand, he refers the constitution of the castes, I do not pretend to understand. What likelihood is there that a thousand years before our era the Hindus were still barbarians, devoid of the most rudimentary elements of civilization ?

Ibbetson's thesis, less complete, and, if I may venture to say so, less forced than that of Nesfield, is based on the same date. Endowed with a mind less systematic and more readily impressed by shades so changeable as to discourage generalisations, he is beset with reservations.

He nevertheless summarizes in the following words the stages which he discerns in the history of the caste : (1) the organization of the tribe, common to all primitive societies; (2) the guilds founded on heredity of occupation; (3) the exaltation, peculiar to India, of the sacerdotal function; (4) the exaltation of Levitical blood by the importance attributed to heredity; (5) the consolidation of the principle by the elaboration of a series of entirely artificial laws, derived from Hindu beliefs, regulating marriage and fixing the limits within which it may be contracted, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure, and determining the conditions and extent of the relations

permitted between the castes.

We see what importance is again attributed here to occupation and the constitution of the tribe; but this time the role of the Brahmans is reversed. Eager to consolidate a power which was at first founded on their religious learning, but for which this basis was becoming too fragile, they found, according to Ibbetson, in the division of the people into tribes, and the theory of the heredity of occupation which they took full advantage. From it they derived that network of restrictions and (4) inhibitions which beset a high-caste Hindu from birth. The Brahmans are thus represented as contributing to the spontaneous organization of the country.

Race as the Basis of Caste Risely :

It is the in race, and the enemies born of race, that Risley, here in direct contradiction of Nesfield, seeks the soul of caste. According to him the existing hierarchy is the social consecration of the ethnological ladder from the Aryans, who have retained their purity in the highest castes, down to the humblest aboriginals herded together in the lowest. Race is now substituted for profession as the generating principle. 'The nasal index' is the formula for the proportions of the nose, and is, it appears, the most unerring criterion of race. Risely ends by making the following somewhat singular assertion : "It is scarcely a paradox to lay down as a law of the caste-organization in Eastern India that a man's social status varies in inverse (5) ratio to the width of his nose. Who among his readers would not be a little sceptical ?

It must at any rate be admitted that up to the present the theories claiming to sum up the ethnographical position in India have become inextricably entangled in contradictions and difficulties. There is plenty to inspire mistrust on the part of the ignorant; so perfect an agreement, given the profound and quite accidental interminglings of so many elements -- and Risley recognizes them himself -- would strict agreement which he discovers between social status and the supposed sequence of industrial evolution.

Caste and the Aryan Constitution of the Family :

The caste is the framework of the whole Brahmanic Organisation. In order to become Brahmans, the aboriginal peoples form themselves into castes and accept the atrict caste-rules; this phenomenon goes back to very early times. Now Brahmanism may have adopted foreign elements, and it may, in the course of history, have been subject to external influences, but, generally speaking, it remains in India the representative of Aryan tradition. Without in any way excluding the possibility of subsidiary influences, we are justified in first seeking Aryan sources for an institution which appears to us so intimately bound up with Brahmanic doctrine and life.

The history of the old Aryan societies rests on the evolution, which varies according to locality, of the ancient family-constitution, so far as we can divine its character by a comparison of the traits scattered throughout the various branches of the race.

By the idea of relationship which premeats caste; by the jurisdiction which somewhat tyrannically regulates private life, marriage, food, ceremonial usages, by the habitual practice of certain special cults, and by its corporate organisation, the caste-system does in fact recall the family-group such as we observe it in its various degrees in the family, in the gens, and in the tribe. Its original features are no less clearly defined. There is scarcely a single feature, however, which, if examined closely, will not reveal germs of this past, although the common elements may not elsewhere have developed either on the same lines or with the same degree of diffusion. Fundamentally it is the same phenomenon of which India gives us so many other examples. In almost all matters which provoke comparison with cognate branches of the Aryan stock, we mean with the most exact resemblances hand in hand with profound differences. The relationship penetrates even to those elements which have evidently been shaped here in a new mould.

There are abundant proofs that the repast has kept a religious meaning for the Hindus. The Brahman avoids eating at the same time or out of the same vessel not only with a stranger or an inferior, but even with his own wife and his yet uninitiated sons. ⁽⁶⁾ This is so definitely a matter of religious scruple that it is forbidden to share the food even of a Brahman, if, for some cause or another, although accidental and involuntary, he is suffering from a defilement. ⁽⁷⁾ Even a Sudra cannot without contamination eat the meal of a defiled dvija.

The invited Brahmans must be chosen with a care which recalls the law of purity imposed on primitive guests. If Brahmans are substituted for relations, the novelty is sufficiently explained by the encroachment of sacerdotal power. (8) Commentators similarly assert that even the acquittal of a murder case, shall be turned to the profit of the Brahmans. (9) In the Aryan past, however, it was undoubtedly paid to the family of the deceased. The insistence shown by the law-books on reserving the sraddhas for the Brahmans betrays the tendency which they followed. (10) (11) But there is always a place reserved for the relations. What clearly emerges from these very restrictions is that in current practice the sraddhas were the occasion of actual common meals. The Hindus hold various kinds which are in no way connected with funerals. (12) Some purificatory sraddhas (goshth-israddha) seem to be the ritualistic reflection of feasts celebrating the readmission of an offending member. In incorporating them in the series it was remembered that they were intimately related by their significance to the ancient family-repast.

Genesis of the Hindu Castes :

Everything brings us back to the elements of the old family constitution; the true name of the caste is jati, which means 'race'. Here again we must be precise. The family was not the only social organism at the time when the Aryans of India separated in order to follow their own destinies. It was included

in larger bodies; in the clan and the tribe. Its existence is certain, although it is not easy strictly to define the facts, which are variable and doubtful.

The reciprocal relationship of different groups and the order in which they were formed have been somewhat confusedly discussed. It is sufficient that these concentric circles, which embrace a wider and wider area, are in the Aryan world conceived upon a common type, for us to be able to consider the clan and the tribe, whatever names they may take in different countries, as no more than expansion of the family, the organisation of which they copy and extend. Their genealogy is at bottom of little importance to us the fact is that their respective constitutions are strictly analogous; in speaking of the family constitution it is, by the same take, the constitution of the tribe and of the clan which I have in mind.

The terms here correspond very adequately gens, curia, tribe in Rome; family, phratia, phyle in Greece; family gotra, caste in India. The general harmony is striking and all the more instructive since in the beginning, to judge by all the analogies, the most essential difference between the clan and the tribe, as between the section and the caste, is summed up in the fact that the more restricted group is exogamous while the larger is endogamous. Even at the somewhat late epoch when the classical countries are well known to us, political organization has merely undermined or displaced certain customs; it has, for example, substituted as regards the rule of endogamy the whole city for

the mere tribe. If there is anything to cause surprise, it is the fact the guiding principles have on both sides so obviously survived the separation, which even then was already ancient, of the ethnical branches wherein we trace their destiny.

It can be neither by chance nor by some modern revival that caste, precisely covers the whole domain of the old gentile law. Still less is it by chance that its most peculiar practices are exactly related to primitive ideas, the spirit of which they keep alive. The whole is complete, perfectly consistent, and closely welded to the past, and this in a matter which exercises supreme dominion over life and its most intimate concerns. It is, therefore, an organic institution drawing its vitality from very deep sources.

The Vedic hymns are all too indefinite concerning the details of external and social life. We at least see from them that the Aryan population was divided into a number of tribes or small peoples (janas), subdivided into clans united by the ties of kinship (Visas) which in their turn were split up into families. The terminology of the Rig-Veda is in this respect somewhat indecisive, but the general fact is clear. ⁽¹⁴⁾ Sajata, that is to say, 'Kinsman' or 'fellow in 'jati' of race seems in the Atharva-Veda to denote fellow in clan (vis). Jana, which assumes a wider significance, recalls the Avestic equivalent of the clan, the Zantu, and the Jati or caste. A series of terms, Vra, Vrijana, Vraja, Vrata, appear to be synonyms or subdivisions either of the clan or of the tribe. The Aryan population then

lived at the epoch to which the hymns refer under the rule of an organization dominated by the traditions of the tribe and the lower or similar groupings. The very variety of names indicates that this organisation was somewhat unsettled; it was all more easily shaped into the definite forms that circumstances were to impose on it in India.

General Survey : The Caste System and the Hindu Mind:

For a long time it was believed, on the evidence of Plato and Herodotus, that Egypt must have been governed by the caste-system. This view is abandoned today by the best judges and appears to be definitely contradicted by indigenous records. The Greeks, little used to vast hereditary organisms united by privilege of rank or community of function, might, when they met with more or less distinct types, easily exaggerate their importance and extent. Upto the present India alone has revealed a universal caste-system in the sense in which we have observed and defined it. At most, only accidental traces and germs of analogous institutions are found elsewhere; they are nowhere generalized or Co-ordinated into a system.

Let us now summarize the essential points of this investigation.

We take the Aryans on their entry into India. They lived under the influence of the old laws common to all the branches of the race. They were divided into tribes, clans, and families varying in size, the groups were all governed by corporate organizations whose general traits were identical and

whose was an increasingly close consanguinity. The age of equalit, pure and simple, between clans and clan, tribe and tribe, was past; military and religious prestige had begun their work. Certain groups favoured by birth and by good fortune in war, joined to form and aristocratic class which laid claim to power. Religious rites grew in intricacy, so that special skill and technical training were necessary. A Sacerdotal class was born which based its pretensions on the more or less legendary genealogies connecting its branches with illustrious sacrificers of the past. The rest of the Aryans were merged in a single category, in the midst of which the various groups operated in their own autonomy and under their own corporate laws. From the beginning religious ideas dominated the whole of life, and an already powerful priesthood now redoubled the strictness and importance of religious scruples.

Caste in Historical Perspective:

The word 'Caste' is derived from the portuguese word 'Casta' signifying breed, race of kind : humem de boa Casta is "a man of good family". The first use of this work in the restricted sense dates from 1563 when Garcia do Orta wrote that "no one changes from his father's trade and all those of the same case of shoe-makers are the same". To define a caste is more difficult than to give the derivation of the term. Risley defines it as "a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name : claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary calling; and

are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community".⁽¹⁵⁾ The caste name is generally associated with a specific occupation. A caste is almost invariably endogamous to the extent that it is further divided into a number of smaller circles each of which is endogamous, so that a Brahmin is not only restricted to marrying another Brahmin, but to marrying a woman of the same sub-division of Brahmins. The words 'Caste' and 'Sub-Caste' are not absolute but comparative in significance. The larger group will be called a caste while the smaller group will be called a sub-caste.

According to Hindu tradition the caste system owes its origin to the four Varnas. derived from the Brahmin, who sprang from the mouth of the deity; the Kshatriya who was created from his arms; the Vaishya, who was formed from his stomach; and Sudra who was born from his feet.⁽¹⁶⁾

Caste In Modern Perspective :

The relationship between caste and politics reveals the politicised nature of caste in the context of Indian politics.

Caste provides an extensive basis for organisation of democratic politics. The need to organise and articulate support in an open polity inevitably turns those engaged in political competition towards organisations and solidarity groups in which the masses are found.

According to Rudolph and Rudolph, the relationship that caste bears to politics can best be understood in terms of three types of political mobilization, such suggestive of different

phases of political development; vertical, horizontal and differential, Vertical mobilization is the marshalling of political support by traditional notables in local societies that are organised and integrated by rank. mutual dependence and the legitimacy of traditional authority. Horizontal mobilization involves the marshalling of direct or indirect political support by political parties from visible but internally differentiated communities through parallel appeals to ideology, sentiment and interest. The agent of mobilization in this case is the political party rather than the local notable or community association. (17)

Political Dimensions of Caste : Rajni Kothari's Approach :

In the context of interactions between caste and politics, Rajni Kothari has pointed out that three aspects of the caste system call for special attention :

The first is what may be called the secular dimensions. In emphasizing caste as a stratification system in which distances are rigidly maintained through endogamy, pollution and the legitimacy of rituals, caste as a system of conflict and interaction has received sparse attention. Yet the fact is that factionalism and caste cleavages, patterns of alignment and realignment among the various strata, and a continuous striving for social mobility have always been prominent features of the caste system.

Second, there is the integration dimension. The caste system not only determines the individual's social station on the basis of the group to which he is born but also differentials and

assigns occupational and economic roles. It thus gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration. At the same time, it is an integration structure of a specific type, namely, one that is more intense in its small group orientation and particularistic loyalties and where wider loyalties operate only when they are structured through the prevailing differentiations. This aspect is important in understanding the structural impact of democratic nation-building. For the competitive style of democratic politics involves group action and cohesion; democratic politics is as much a process of fusion as of fission.

Third, there is the dimension of consciousness. Caste enters politics through the 'Consciousness aspect' highlighted by its symbolism and value structure. This is where symbolic gestures for cultural mobility such as 'Sanskritisation', 'Westernisation' and 'Secularisation' assume or disguise political overtones in their manifestation. According to Rajni Kothari, 'It is not politicized'. The operation of competitive politics has drawn caste out of its a political context and given it a new status and identity.

Caste, Elections and Political Parties :

India, being a democratic state, the administrative machinery is operated by representatives elected by the people. The method of election has done much to encourage the caste system because the candidates want to achieve their ends by propagating casteism among the voters. In practice, people are

ask to vote for their Caste candidate and thus casteism is maintained by the elected leaders after the elections are over. Political parties also choose such candidates for election from the caste having significant voice in the constituency. In this way, the Indian political system, though 'modern' and 'democratic' in form, is not so in its working and content.

The political behaviour of the people of the members of different political parties and of the members of the Government is Caste-oriented or is influenced by the caste considerations. Their attitudes are caste-based and their values are the values of the caste society. While admitting that caste influences political parties, the members of the Government and the administration, it can be argued that politics also influences caste. When we say that caste affects political behaviour, we usually refer to the following types of behaviours.

- (i) People of a caste vote en_block for a candidate of the same or different caste, either in pursuance of the decision of the caste panchayat or of a meeting of caste members or even without a formal decision.
- (ii) Even when they do not vote en_block, they prefer a candidate of their own caste to other candidates irrespective of the merits or demerits of the candidates.
- (iii) The selection of the candidates for a constituency is based on whether he will be able to get the support of a particular caste or castes.
- (iv) In recommending candidates, the caste of those

recommending plays an important role.

(v) When a single caste is not likely to be effective, alliances are formed on caste basis by the candidates or by the voters.

(vi) The Office bearer of a party are appointed on the basis of caste to please, or not to displease a caste group in the party and in the constituency.

(vii) If the caste candidate happens to belong to the caste in majority having large voters, it is presumed that he will be selected, because of his association with such caste. If he is selected, he is presumed to have been supported by the caste in majority. If he is not elected it is presumed that the caste did not support him, or the voters of all other castes united to defeat him.

In the general elections of 1962, in Gujarat the Kshatriyas joined the Swatantra Party on the basis of the appeal to their unity as a caste. In the Lok Sabha elections of 1971, most of the political parties appeared to be influenced by considerations of caste in the selection of candidates. (18) Barring Maharashtra, Assam and to some extent West Bengal, Casteism was prevalent in all the States in one form or another. Delhi, being the country's Capital and most voters in its seven parliamentary constituencies being educated, there was very little scope for caste consideration. But in outer Delhi constituencies complexed of Jats, Ahirs, Brahmins and Harijans the caste factor was decisive.

The Jana Sangh and the Congress had, therefore, selected Jat Candidates to contest in this rural constituency. Even in Karol Bagh constituency of Delhi, the role of 'Rehagar' caste is dominant. Generally, the REhegars vote on_block or according to the wishes of their leaders. For long they have been the supporters of Congress. The Jana Sangha victory in the 1967 elections was partly because Regahar votes were divided between the Congress and the Republican candidates. In 1971, Congress victory was mainly with the united support of this castes.

In Kerala, it is known that in most districts of Malabar, only a Muslim or one supported by Muslims, has changes of winning an election because they are numerically strong and are living in tight clusters in those districts. It is also well known what role the Muslim League with its tight hold on its community has played in the twists and turns of Kerala politics. The Latin Catholic are supporters of the Marxists and even the CPI(M) have to be careful about putting up only Latin Catholic candidates. The Ezhave community is behind the CPI(M) and the Nairs with the Congress.

The Madhya Pradesh casteism has always been the bane of Politics. Candidates for the Assembly are more intimately connected with caste groups and sub-groups than those standing for the Lok Sabha. Even in selecting their nominees for the Lok Sabha almost all parties in the State take into account the caste pattern of the constituency. Besides other political considerations if Tulsidas Jatav was considered for the Betul

seat in 1971 elections, one of the factors was that he is a
(19)
'Kunbi' and there is a sizable population of Kunbis in the area.

If the Raja of Bhadawar was to contest the Bhind seat, the reason was that he will be able to muster the support of a large number of Bhadoria Rajputs in the area. One of the considerations for putting up Shakir Ali Khan as the CPI candidate from Bhopal, besides his own popularity was that there were a larger number of Muslim voter in the area.

In Punjab, the caste-community role is found on a different pattern. Among the Hindus, the general attitude is that if a Hindu knows that a Jana Sangh candidate can win the election, he will prefer him but if he has the slightest doubt about his success he would vote for a Congress candidate whether a Hindu or Sikh. In this kind of political behaviour the principal motivation is to keep the Akalis in check. Similarly, Sikhs will prefer an Akali candidate but if he finds that he will not win, he would vote for a non-Akali Sikh; if need be even a communist, the principal idea again going to reduce Hindu influence.

Caste forms the basis of election strategy and politics in Bihar as well. It is interesting to note that when R. I. S. Yadav, a Congress leader, expressed his dissatisfaction (at the time of 1972 States Assembly election) at the way in which party tickets had been distributed for the elections it was because he felt that they favoured the upper castes, particularly the Brahmns, and left the Yadavs in the cold. New Delhi responded by asserting that no favour had been shown to any particular caste

and the castewise "quota" was given as follows: Brahmins: 28, Rajputs : 34, Bhumi-hars : 26, Yadavs : 33, other backward castes: 40, Harijans : 45, Adivasis: 29 and Muslims: 26. The point is that in doing so the Congress was merely revealing the new strategy in caste-based politics.

The selection of candidates and their elections in Harayana is influenced by the Jats and the Ahirs, in Rajasthan by Rajputs and Jats, in Karnataka by the Vokkalige and the Lingayat. In Tamil Nadu it is almost axiomatic that only a Naidu candidate can be expected to win from a predominantly Naidu area, a Mudaliar from a Mudaliar area, a Vanniar from a Vanniar area.

Caste is a determining factor at all the levels of government structure in India—Central, state and local. Caste considerations play a decisive role in the formation of the Central Cabinet. It has been a convention to include at least one or two ministers from communities like Harijans (Scheduled Caste), Tribals (Schedule Tribe), Sikhs, Muslims, Kayasthas, Brahmins, Rajputs, Jats, Reddis and so on. These ministers have direct links and contacts with their caste associations. Some of them are even supported and proposed for party tickets and for minister-ship by their respective caste associations. Currently caste politics happens to be most pronounced in U.P. and Bihar and selection of Mulayam Singh Yadav and Lalu Prasad Yadav as Chief Ministers in respective States denotes the importance of their solid caste base. India Today writes : The 1990 verdict has, however, signalled the coming to power of intermediary castes and

post 1947 born leadership). For the first time two Yadav Chief Ministers rule almost one-fourth of the nation's population in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. While at the centre, there are three ministers who belong to yet another intermediary caste- the Jats"

Role of Caste in State Politics :

State politics in India has been particularly the hot bed of political casteism. Andre Bettille very candidly observes : "Caste centres much more directly into the composition of political elites at the State level..... Thus, the Mysore cabinet is dominated by Lingayats and Okkaligas, the Maharashtra cabinet by Marathas and some have referred to the Madras cabinet as a federation of dominant castes." (20)

Michael Brecher remarks : "Caste plays a major role in State and local politics but it is marginal at the all-India level. (21) Tinker observes : "..... State politics will be caste politics throughout most of India for many years to come."

Bihar :

Politics in Bihar has been mostly organised on the basis of caste. All those parties which happen to have multicaste membership have powerful factions. This was true of the undivided Congress as much as it is true of the Congress(I), the Bharatya Janata Party, another major parties. The caste orientation of parties and groups does not mean that they are motivated only by caste interests of their members or that persons from other castes are completely barred entry or that the parties or groups actually serve any special or general interests of the caste.

These are not service organisations for their castes but power machines which use caste labels for building loyalty around some personalities. In other words, the caste gets politicized and becomes a means in the elite politics of securing or retaining power.

The single case of Bihar is adequate to prove the (22) thesis that caste considerations are vital in political matters. Almost all the top leaders of Bihar Congress Party have been connected with their respective caste associations. Rajendra Prasad, who held office President of India, was for three decades connected with the All-India Kayastha Conference and had presided over its Jaunpur Session in 1925. A.N.Sinha, another prominent leader, was connected with the All-India Kahatriya Mahasabha. S.K.Sinha's association with the Bhumihar Brahmin Mahasabha, and his use of it to put political pressures, are also well known.

Initially, there were six groups in the Bihar Congress, viz. The Bhumihar group led by S.K.Sinha, the Rajput group led by A.N.Singha, the two factions of Brahmins, one led by L.N.Mishra and the other by Binodanand Jha, the Kayastha group led by K.B.Mishra and backward castes led by R.L.S.Yadav. These groups were not altogether at peace among themselves. For instance, while the L.N.Mishra faction of Brahmins was supporting the powerful Bhumihar group. Pandit Binodanand Jha was supporting the Rajput faction. K.B.Sahay, the Kayastha leader was supporting the Bhumihars till 1957, but after that he defected to the Rajput group. The backward castes leader R.L.S.Yadav has the political

disciple of Sahay and his loyalty used to change with Sahay's. After the death of S.K.Sinha, Binodananda Jha became Chief Minister. In the meantime, A.N.Singh had died too, and the leadership of the Rajput faction was conferred on his son S.N.Singh. In the same manner, M.P.Sinha inherited the leadership of the Bhumihars from his father. While the Rajputs supported the 'Brahmin Raj' led by Jha, the Bhumihar, the L.N.Mishra faction of Brahmins, the Kayasthas and the backward castes opposed it. The Jha Ministry could not face such a strong opposition and the Chief Minister had to resign under the Kamraj Plan. 'Kayastha Raj' followed with K.B.Sahay as head. He successfully won over the Rajputs and the new power equation thus was Kayasthas, backward castes, a faction of Brahmins, Rajputs vs. Bhumihars and the Binodanand Jha faction of Brahmins.

The Congress split in 1969 meant a realignment. While all the established leaders of the Rajput, Bhumihar and Kayastha communities, viz. S.N.Singha, M.P.Sinha and K.B.Sahay remained with the organisational wing, the backward castes, who had by then split into two factions - one led R.L.S.Yadav and the other by his young competitor Daroga Rai as well as the Brahmins switched their loyalties to Congress (R) (Indira Gandhi's Congress). At the moment there are four caste groups within the ruling congress, viz. Brahmins led by J.N.Mishra, Daroga Rai and R.L.S.Yadav factions of the backward castes, and the Harijans group led by Jagivan Ram.

Non-Congress parties have by no means had clear, non-

caste basis. In the fact till 1967, under Congress domination, their attitude towards the ruling party depended on who, representing which caste, was in power. For instance, when Bhumihar S.K.Sinha was Chief Minister, the then leader of the PSP Legislative Wing, Ramananda Tewari was very critical yet when Binodananda Jha came to power, Tewari's attitude softened even as Baswaan Singh a Bhumihar. Thakar Prasad, the Jana Sangha Chief, used to maintain a lukewarm attitude towards the Government headed by K.B.Sahay, both were Kayasthas. At the time of the Congress split, too, the so-called ideological discussion inside each political party was actually guided by caste considerations. While the Brahmins and the backward castes of most of the opposition parties fall for 'progressive ideas' of Indira Gandhi, the Bhumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas, supported the old Congress.

Bihar, in fact, represents the scene of a clash among four castes, viz. Rajputs, Brahmins, Kayasthas and Adivasis. The Adivasis or the backward tribal people of Bihar-Orrissa border organised themselves into the Jharkhand Party which in the elections of 1957 had been able to capture most of the seats reserved for tribal and backward sections of the society and with its increased strength intensified the demand for a separate tribal State (Jharkhand) comprising all tribal areas of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. It afforded a potential challenge to the Congress Party. In order to face this situation, the Congress High Command deputed a Christian lady, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, to go to the tribal areas in order to wean away many tribesmen

(particularly those converted into Christianity) from the influence of this new organisation. The Congress succeeded in depleting the ranks of this party which in a truncated form is now known as the Hul-Jharkhand.

The influence wielded by the Raja of Ramgarh - a Rajput by caste - over his area and in Bihar politics as a whole despite all his acts of corruption, misappropriation, etc., has been most extraordinary. The Raja and his family interests for a decade have been a cancer of Bihar politics. In the post 1967 period, his group acquired a balancing position in as much as its support or denial there of could make or unmake many of the coalition governments.

Cases of Kayasthas (Sinha) struggling for power against the Brahmins (Jha) have also come to light particularly at the time of Ministry-making or selecting the leader of the legislature party.

The articulation of the sentiments of the backward castes during the tenure of Chief Minister K.B.Sahay and, more especially, since the time of the distribution of the Congress tickets for the general election of 1967 helped mobilize the lower-middle farmer castes of the State. It was not a mere coincidence, therefore, that of the nine governments formed in five years between the two elections as many as seven were led by leaders belonging to backward or Harijan castes. In fact that most Chief Ministers since 1967 did not belong to the 'forward castes' came to operate by 1970 as an important parameter of

State politics in Bihar. The Loksabha elections of 1971 only sharpened the crystallization of the 'backward' sentiment and further depended the process of mobilization of the backward classes, especially of the Yadavas, Kurmis and Koiris. Politics in Bihar has, thus, come to be articulated in terms of the backward vs. the forward.

In Bihar, instead of trying to attend to the pressing problems of the people, the Janata Chief Minister, Karpoori Thakur, chose in early 1978 to introduce a controversial measure for reservation of government jobs for the backward castes. It was a highly emotive issue at a time of widespread unemployment among the educated youth. There were demonstrations and counter-demonstrations and caste riots on mass scale. The real reason behind the reservation issue was precisely a desire to create riots and caste conflicts so that there should be a polarisation between the so-called backward and forward castes. In this way, Karpoori Thakur thought he could become the leader of the backward castes and could find a solid base of supports among them. Thus, the caste riots were viewed with profound satisfaction in circles close to Thakur. They hoped that the deeper the caste cleavage, the more permanent will be their influence among certain castes.

(23)

Kerala :

In Kerala also caste considerations have played an important role in state politics, As Selig Harrison remarked :

The success of the Kerala Communist Party as the first regional communist party in India to capture control of a State

Government can be explained, above all, to its ability to manipulate politically strategic caste lobbies within linguistic boundaries ---- as in Andhra. The Kerala Communists were able to transform economic despair into a legislative majority because their footing on regional caste grounds, notably among the numerous Ezhavas provided the necessary margin of block strength (24) in the necessary number of constituencies.

According to the 1971 Census, the Hindus number 59.4 per cent and the two minorities, the Muslims and the Christians, account for 19.5 and 21.1 per cent respectively. It is generally held that four major groups are contending for a dominant place in the political life of the state : Nairs, Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims. Numerically Ezhavas lead with 26.4 per cent, followed by Christians with 21.17 per cent, Muslims with 19.5 per cent and Nairs with 12.5 per cent.

The Hindus account for 59.4 per cent of Kerala's population and caste ranking places the Namboodiri Brahmins at the peak of the Hindu hierarchy. Numbering less than 5 per cent of the population, the Namboodiris remain primarily a landowning community. But despite the number of political leaders from this caste, such as the Left Communist E.M.S. Namboodiripad and Communists have had little political power. A far more potent political force is the Nair Community - the traditional warrior of Kerala. As a land-owning and mercantile community today, the Nairs, numbering 17 per cent of the population, are a pivotal force in Kerala politics. They have traditionally held the balance, making or

breaking a government by shifting sides. Economically subservient to the Nairs are the Ezhave or Tiyyar as they are called in Malabar. With 25 per cent of the population, however, the economically depressed Ezhavs are perhaps the single most powerful community in Kerala. In addition to the mutually antagonistic Nairs and Ezhavas, the Christian community ranks as a major political power in Kerala. The Christians account for 19.5 per cent of the population, divided among the Syrians, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. It is the Catholic community that numerically dominates and holds the locus of political power, largely through the organisation of the Church. The Muslims, with 18 per cent of the population and represented by the Muslim League, are a major factor politically, particularly in the Malabar region of northern Kerala where Muslims are dominant community.

Just as the Muslims are concentrated in certain areas of Malabar, each of the other communities dominate a particular region of Kerala. The Christians are concentrated primarily in Ernakulam and Kottayam districts. The Nairs form the dominant community in the area of Trivandrum district, and the Ezhavas are particularly strong in Palghat. Each political party in Kerala must, therefore, seriously consider the dominant community, or as the communists prefer to call it 'the social base' in the selection of its candidates. That each party tends to choose its candidates from the dominant community, however, does not cancel out community as a factor. Although there are elements of each

community in all parties (except for the Muslim League), the parties in Kerala have come to be associated with particular communities, and within each party, factionalism expresses the divisions of religion and castes. Indeed, the politics of caste form a fundamental reality of political life in Kerala.

The Nairs and even the Namboodiri Brahmins, soon followed in the creation of caste associations, the first of these being the Nair service society, followed by the Uthana Karala Nayar Samajam in Malabar and Namboodiri's Yogakshema Sabha. Caste quickly became politicised when political parties began to form. In Malabar, the lower castes (like the Ezhavas) opposed the Congress as being Nair dominated. After Independence, the Congress became increasingly a party of Christian domination, just as the Praja Socialist Party was regarded as a virtual Nair preserve. The Muslim League commands allegiance from most Muslims of Kerala, and the Communist party has drawn its strength primarily from the Ezhavs and untouchable communities. The district in which the Communists have maintained their strongest hold, winning more than 40 per cent of the vote in each election since 1957, is Palghat, the only district in Kerala with an Ezhava majority.

In Kerala, the elaboration of caste ranking and the generally common economic position shared by members of a caste, together with the high correlation between caste rank and economic position, have given rise to a political situation in which the most significant actors are castes and communities.

While these communities are by no means wholly united, there is nevertheless a tendency toward an alignment of major communities with different parties. These socio-political constellations, reflecting a supreme position of ritual rank, social status, and economic position, represent essentially a class orientation. This is particularly evident in the social base of the Communist parties in Kerala. The Communists draw support from the poorer classes of each community - Nairs, Christians and Muslims. While the majority of the depressed Ezhavas may support the party, the middle classes and the SNDP itself, have leaned toward Congress - especially during the period of Sankar's leadership in the early 1960s. The 1965 election campaign, for example, was in large part fought by the Congress and the Communists to secure the affection of the Ezhavas. The failure of any party to secure a majority, however, only emphasised the fact that while the politics of Kerala may be caste-bound no party can rule with the support of one community alone.

Andhra Pradesh :

Caste politics in Andhra Pradesh seems like a game of cock-fighting between the Kammas and Reddys. The important castes in the state are Brahmins, the Reddys, the Kammas, the Harijans, the Velamas, the Rajus and the Kapus. Politically, the Reddys and the Kammas are regarded as the dominant castes for they are numerically the strongest in the village or local area and economically and politically exercise a preponderant influence. The most important source of their power is their control over

land. As the major landholders and occupants of important positions in the villages, they control the village political life. The two castes cultivated feelings of jealousy and rivalry as a result of which while the Reddys joined the Congress Party, the Kammas lent their support to the Communists. It is owing to this that Andhra Communists struggled heavily to stage Telengana rebellion in 1948. Support of the Kammas to the local Communist leaders in the first general elections became alarmingly noticeable and the Congress had to take note of this fact on the eve of second general elections in 1957 when the official High Command nominee, S.K.Patil tactfully requisitioned the support of Kamma leader N.G.Ranga and "matched caste with caste in the choice of candidates".

In Andhra Pradesh, the landed castes and particularly the Reddy rural gentry constituted the back bone of the Congress party. The Communist rebellion in Telengana, and later, a Communist bid to form the Ministry soon after Andhra State was formed in 1953, frightened the dominant castes so much that they gave extensive support to the Congress. Both the national and the state leadership of the Congress party tried to reach the voters not directly but through local influentials belonging to the dominant castes. This arrangement worked extremely well given the social status and economic power of the dominant castes and the low political consciousness of the other castes. The composition of the cabinet has reflected the same phenomenon. The Reddys, the Velmas and the Kammas held between them 45 to 58 per

cent of the seats in the State cabinet, with the Reddys being the single largest group (28 to 38 per cent) till 1971. During the same period the representation of the backward classes and Scheduled Castes in the cabinet remained below 25 per cent.

After the 1969 Congress split an attempt was made to restructure the support base of the Congress Party. The upper middle class, landlord and peasant caste support structure of the party was considered to be a hindrance to bringing about socio-economic changes, which the new Congress, in a radical mood, was talking about. With P.V.Narasimha Rao as the Prime Minister, changes, started. Though a Brahmin, but not from a landed caste, Narasimha Rao initiated the policy of giving greater representation to the backward classes and weaker sections in the legislature and the Council of Ministers. In the 1972 Assembly elections, a large number of tickets were given to backward classes and minorities. The 26-member Ministry formed under his Chief Ministership had the largest number of persons belonging to the weaker sections (4 Harijans, 6 from the backward classes, 1 Girijan, 2 from the minorities -- total 13). The upper castes had for the first time a markedly lower representation with only 4 Reddys, 2 Kammas and 3 Brahmins (total 9).

After the formation of the Janata Party, the buld of the prosperous agriculturists draws from different peasant castes were attracted towards it. Its support came ovwrwhelmingly from the Reddy community.

If caste politics in the states of the Indian Union is

examined from a comparative stand point, it appears that Andhra Pradesh occupies the most conspicuous place. Harrison comments : "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 representation institutions." (25) A very notable feature of caste politics in Andhra Pradesh finds place in its blending with the forces of regional politics. It has added much height to the politics of the Telengana agitation. The people of a particular caste living predominantly in a particular region have given a caste-cum-regional complexion to an issue in question. Obviously, this kind of relationship between a caste and a region is widespread in Andhra Pradesh as a result of which regional claims" are often only a disguise for caste claims." (26)

Haryana :

Next to Bihar, caste exercises the single most important influence on politics in Haryana. Some of the classes and castes have a more or less set pattern of political behaviour. In a population of a little over about 10 million in the State of Haryana, Hindus are 89 per cent, Muslims less than 4 percent and Sikhs 6.5 per cent. The four major caste groups among the Hindus are : Brahmins 12 per cent, Jats 23 per cent, Ahirs 8 per cent, Rajputs 5 per cent, and Baniyas 8 per cent. Castewise, the Jats are the toughest and constitute the single largest group with the Scheduled Castes coming next. The latter are sharply

sub-divided between the Charmars, the weakers and the sweepers. Of these, the Charmars are the more numerous (18) per cent and the more privileged in as much as they always obtained a greater share of political spoils. Among the higher castes, the Brahmins, for reasons of traditional caste superiority and higher level of literacy exercised a tremendous influence and occupied many positions of power quite disproportionate to their numbers.

Besides being the most numerous caste group, the Jats are the land-owning class, they supply the largest number of recruits to the army. They are traditionally imbued with the ambition of love of power and they have been basically anti-Congress, particularly because of the influence of the Unionist Party. But now there is a slight change in their voting behaviour. The vote not for a political party but for a candidate and in this respect the sub-castes become more important than caste considerations. An Ahir in the Gurgaon-Mahendragarh areas, for example would not easily vote for any Party unless its candidate happens to be an Ahir. The same holds good for other caste groups in other parts of the state. There is a very telling local slogan heard during the election which says : "Jat ki beti jat ko, Jat ka vote Jat ko." In other words, just as a Jat's daughter should be married only to a Jat, a Jat's vote should go only to a Jat. The Ahirs and Brahmins, by a large (exceptions apart) are pro-Congress or anti-Congress according to the directives of Rao Birendra Singh and Pandit Bhagwat Dayal. The refugees, by and large, were with the Jana Sangh but like the

Jats, they also vote for the candidate. If the contest is between a refugee and a refugee and a non-refugee candidate, they will, by and large, vote for a refugee candidate whatever may be his party. If the contest is between the non-refugee candidates, then they prefer a Bharatya Janata^{Party} candidate. The caste influence is not confined to Hindus alone. The Meo-Muslims have their own "gotras" and they also prefer to vote for the candidate of their own gotra unless a Meo has to be supported against a non-Meo.

The result of the 1967 elections soon after the formation of Haryana in November, 1966 gave enough proof of this caste-based voting. This was again the main feature of the mid term elections to the State Assembly in 1968 in which voters did not vote for various candidates on the basis of policies and programmes of the political parties. Even the candidates also contested elections not on the basis of election manifestoes but on the basis of caste, sub-castes, agriculturists vs. non-agriculturists, local vs. refugees and among refugees, on the basis of the place of migration.

Thus Jats as a community had been a political force in Haryana. They constitute about 23 per cent of the total population of the state and have a commanding position. As a community, the Brahmins have tried to challenge their leadership. About Brahmins, it should be noted that their representation in the legislature is not very large but at the same time in the elections they have a substantial influence because in the first instance they are found practically in every village and such

they can exercise some influence. This is all the more because as a community they are more united than others and non-agricultural communities at the village level and in every constituency. About the Jats, it should be noted that as a dominant community, they do not mind the leadership of other agricultural communities coming up except that of Brahmins. One of the reasons why they are not prepared to tolerate Brahmins leadership is that there is a basic conflict between these two communities at the village level. In the Jat majority areas, the Brahmins try to organise the other communities against them in the elections which neither the Jats nor other agricultural communities would like them to do.

Caste in other States :

In the case of Karnataka, the tug of war is between two dominant castes - the Lingayats and Okkligas - and this mutual rivalry is colouring every matter, whether it be appointment to government posts or reservation of seats in colleges or election to local bodies and legislatures. In Maharashtra, also there are three main castes viz. Marathas, Brahmins and Mahars (untouchables), which have played an important role in the politics of the state. In Punjab, the conflict is not between castes but between two systems of castes - the Hindus and Sikhs. The Hindu-Sikh conflict took on the guise of a linguistic conflict.

C O N C L U S I O N :

The above account clearly illustrates the dominant role of caste in state politics. What is true of these states is also

ture of other states of the Indian Union. The Indian party system and the electorate clearly reflect the caste divisions. Jats vs Rajputs in Rajasthan, reflect the dominant role of caste in Indian Politics.

Caste loyalties and other ethnic factors and not ideological differences really divide the Indian political parties. Election campaigns are run along caste lines and pool violence is usually caste bases violence. Prof. Srinivas while accounting for role of caste holds that "The power and activity of caste had increased in proportion as political power passed increasingly to the people from the rulers". Politics has become caste riddled and castes have got politicised Caste groups use politics as the means to secure their interests. People belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes use politics to keep intact their constitutional protections and privileges or the reservations of Seats, jobs and educational opportunities. The political parties use caste divisions for nurturing their support based in the society. Morris Jones rightly remarks, "The central discovery is that Politics is more important to caste and castes are more important to politics than before". The educated and illiterates, the rich and the poor, in fact the people living in all parts of India still remain attached to their castes despite liberalisation of restriction on diets, marriage and residences. The caste factor continues to be a determinant of Indian politics. Rudolphs rightly conclude, "within the new content of political democracy caste remains a central element of India's

society even while adopting itself to the values and methods of democratic politics. Indeed it has become one of the chief means by which the Indian mass has been attached to the process of democratic politics". The continued presence of caste based political parties, caste associations and caste federations, caste tensions and conflicts, caste violence, caste based leadership, caste based grass-root politics, caste based election campaigns and caste based voting behaviour all combine to compell the conclusion that caste is and destined to remain a factor of politics in India.

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4.2 DEFINITION AND CONCEPT OF CASTE :

The Term of Caste :

Caste has been predominant aspect of social and political life in India. Its position as one of the most ancient

and deeply rooted feature of Indian social system has been a major factor in the structures and functions of Indian political systems. It has emerged, as J.P.Narayan once observed, as the most major political party in India. Caste is a determinant of political participation, voting behaviour and almost all other aspects of Indian politics. Despite several changes arising out of the emergence of a developing industrialised society, caste continues to play a major role in Indian Politics. Rajni Kothari in her well known book "Caste and Indian Politics" nicely observes that politics is a competitive enterprise, its purpose is the acquisition of power for the realisation of certain goals, and its process is one of identifying and manipulating existing and emerging allegiances in order to mobilise and consolidate positions. The important thing is organisation and articulation of support, and where politics is mass-based the point is to articulate support through the organisations in which the masses are to be found. It follows that 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. "Political parties and leaders use caste to secure their objectives in the process. Caste determines the nature, organisation and working of political parties, and interest groups, legislatures and bureaucracies and in fact all political structures and their functions.

Meaning and Nature of Caste :

The word 'caste' is derived from the Spanish 'castes'

meaning breed, strain, or a complex or hereditary qualities. It was applied by the Portuguess to the particular Indian institution known by the name of Jati.

Many definitions of the term caste have been given by different authors. The definitions differ from author to author. Some have viewed caste as a somewhat special type of social stratification, others have treated it as an "ethnographic category" relevant only to Hindu India; still others consider it a "Structural phenomenon" not of "world-wide application" but one that is "indissolubly linked with the Pan-Indian civilization". The manifold meanings of the term have created a serious confusion.

1. E.A.H.Blunt describes it as "an endogamous group, or collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary; imposing on its members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse; either following a common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin; and generally regarded as forming a single homogenous community."

2. M.N.Srinivas defines caste as a hereditary, usually localised group, having a traditional association with an occupation, and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed among other things by concepts of pollution and purity, and generally, maximum commensality occurs within the caste.

3. Karve defines caste, "as an extended kinship group

in which every member is either an actual or a potential kin of another."

Caste and Sub-Caste :

Both these terms should not be confused with each other. Sub-caste, signifies a sub-division of a larger caste. In cases where a caste group has split into several similar endogamous groups, the use of this term for the latter is justified. But where the new group is the result not of the fission but of the fusion of two different groups it would be incorrect to call it a sub-caste.

Weber holds that to-day one caste frequently contain several hundreds of sub-castes. In such cases, these sub-castes may be related to one another exactly or almost exactly as are different castes. If this is the case, the sub-castes, in reality, are cases in which the caste name common to all of them has merely a historical significance.

Caste and Indian Democracy :

Let us begin the examination of Role of Caste in, Indian Politics by referring to the views of some well known authorities.

(i) Views of Pranjpe : Caste plays a significant role in Indian politics. Pranjpe has beautifully explained the role of caste in Indian politics. He observes, "Since majorities make a Government in democracies, many small groups must joint to form a majority in a constituency. Certain caste groups comprise a sizeable proportion of voters in a constituency so that these

castes can gain a working majority compromising with some other caste groups. Further more, it is observed that in many constituencies, the sub-castes, or endogamous jati groups, are too small to form an effective majority, whereas the Varna groups of caste are large enough to do this. This might explain the apparent paradox that politics is weakening sub-caste while it is strengthening caste (Varna groups).

(ii) Views of Rajni Kothari : Rajni Kothari holds the view that by drawing the caste system into its web of organisation, politics finds material for its articulation and moulds it into 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 the interacting structures are the real actors, the new contestants for power, Politicians mobilise caste groupings and identities in order to organise their power. They find in it an extremely well articulated and flexible basis for organisation, something that may have been structured in terms of status hierarchy, but something that is also available for political manipulation, and one that has a basis in consciousness. Where there are other type of groups and other basis of association, politicians approach them as well, and as they everywhere change the form of such organisations, they change the form of caste as well.

(iii) Views of Rudolphus : Prof. Rudolphus says that within the new context of political democracy caste remains a central element of India's society even while adopting itself to the

values and methods of democratic politics. Indeed, it has become one of the chief means by which the Indian masses have been attached to the process of democratic politics.

(iv) Views of Morris Jones : According to Prof. Morris Jones, the central discovery "is that politics is more important to castes and castes are more important to politics than before". Emphasising this point he said that the top leaders may proclaim the goal of a casteless society but " the newly enfranchised rural masses know only the language of traditional politics which so largely turns about caste. Behind the formal life of party candidates nominated for the contests, there is probably an inside story of careful calculation in terms of caste appeal."

The caste has also exercised a librating influence. 'Apart from the divisive the factional aspects of the system, there is a cohesive element of caste that should be looked into. When a nation is changing so fast and when tensions are generated at a very high pitch, when we face problems that cannot be solved, when the lag between performance and expectation is increasing, when all this is happening, there is a great need for social structure which would absorb a lot of these tensions for the individual. The caste system does precisely this. This should not be taken as a plea for revival of the caste system. The objective is only to emphasise that it is a unique feature in India that the prevailing social structure allows us to proceed with mass programmes without creating the usual feature of an amorphous mass upon which some adventurist or demagogue can work.

Specific Role of Caste in Indian Politics :

The role of caste in Indian politics can be specifically discussed as under :

(1) Caste factor in Political Socialisation and Leadership Recruitment. Different caste groups have their loyalties behind different political parties and their ideologies. Right from his birth and Indian citizen inherits a caste and grows up a member of a particular caste group. He belongs either to one of the High Castes or to Scheduled Castes. In the process of picking up his political orientations, attitude and beliefs, he naturally comes under the influence of caste groups and casteism. 'Caste values' and caste interests influence his socialisation and consequently his political thinking, awareness and participation. He banks upon caste solidarity for occupying and performing a leadership recruitment role. Caste influences the process of leadership recruitment. This is particularly true of 'Caste conscious' people of States like Haryana, Bihar, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. In Haryana the leadership comes either from Jats or from Bishnois or Brahmins. In Andhra Pradesh and Reddys, Kammas and Valamas provide state leaders.

(2) Caste and Party Politics : Caste factor is a constituent of Indian party system. Some of the political parties have direct caste basis while others indirectly bank upon particular caste groups. In particular, the regional political parties stand predominantly influenced by the caste factor. The DMK and AIADMK are non-Brahmin rather anti-Brahmin political

parties of Tamilnadu. In Punjab Akali Dal has a community identity. It stands influenced by the issue of Jats Vs non-jats. All political parties in India use caste as a means for securing votes in elections. BSP banks upon the support of Scheduled Castes, while BJP largely banks upon its popularity among high caste Hindus.

(3) Caste and Elections : The caste factor is an important factor in electoral politics in India. All political parties give great weight to the caste factor in selecting their candidates, in allocating constituencies to their candidates and in canvassing support for their nominees in the election. In constituencies predominated by Muslims, Muslim candidates are fielded and in areas predominated by Jats, Jat candidates are fielded. Even secularist parties like Congress, Janata Dal, CPI and CPM take into consideration caste factor in selecting their candidates.

In the election campaigns, votes are demanded in the name of caste. Caste groups are tapped for committed support. No one can disagree with N.D. Palmer when he observes that "Caste considerations are given great weight in the selection of candidates and in the appeals to voters during election campaigns". In elections, caste acts as the most important political party.

(4) Caste as a divisive and cohesive force in India Politics : Caste acts both as a divisive and cohesive force in India politics. It provides a basis for the emergence of several interest groups in the Indian system each of which competes with

every other group in the struggle for power. At the times it leads to unhealthy struggle for power and acts as a divisive force. However, it is a source of unity among the members of groups and acts as a cohesive force. In rural India, where the social universe of the rural power is limited to an area of 15 to 20 km. caste acts as a unifying force. It is the only social group they understand. However, the existence of two or three big caste groups also leads to factionalism. Caste as such is a factor in India politics and it acts as a cohesive as well as divisive factor.

(5) Caste and Organisation of Government : Since caste is a major feature of Indian society and acts as an important factor in various process of politics, it also plays a basis role in the decision-making process. Even the issue of reorganisation of states was handled with an eye upon the prevention of undue predominance of a caste group in a particular territory. Caste factor influences the policies and decisions of the state governments. The party in power tries to use its decision-making power to win the favour of major caste groups. Congress has always tried to nurture people belonging to Scheduled Castes as its vote banks, Regional political parties, whenever these get the chance to rule their respective states, always use political power for furthering the interests of the, caste groups which support or can support their regimes. Recruitment to political offices is mostly done with due considerations for the Caste of the persons. The Constitution of India provides for a single unified

electorate and epitomises the spirit of casteismfree politics and administration. However, the caste factor always acts as a determinant of people's voting behaviour, their political participation, the party structure and even of the government decision-making.

(6) Caste Factor & Panchayati Raj : The role of caste in the working of panchayati Raj and other institutions of local self-Government has been a recognised reality. We can go to the extent of recording that caste based factionalism in rural areas of India has been the most major hindering factor in the organisation and effective working of Panchyati Raj.

(7) Caste and Indian Constitution : Though the spirit of secularism stands clearly affirmed in the constitution, yet the constitution, in a limited and indirect way recognises the caste system in the form of providing for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Union Parliament and the state legislative assemblies (Art. 330 and 332). It also provides for the office of commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with the responsibility to investigate matters relating to the various safeguards provided by the constitution these castes and tribes. The provision for the appointment of minister-in-charge for looking after the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes in the State of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, also reflects indirect recognition of caste factor. Art. 331 and 333 provide for the reservation of seats in Lok Sabha and state legi-

slatures for the anglo-Indian community. Reservation of jobs and seats in government offices, schools, colleges, universities and other public sector undertakings also reflects this feature. The emergence of strong pro-reservation and anti-reservation groups in India has been the direct consequence of these provisions of the constitution. The repeated tenures for the continuation of "reservation" for these classes and tribes too has been a major political issue.

Definitions of a caste by other writers :

They may be found in the various volumes of the Census of India for 1901. M.Senart has written an admirable book in French. In his book,"after reminding his readers that no statement that can be made on the subject can be considered as absolutely true. That the apparent relations of the facts admit of numerous shades of distinction, and that only the most general characteristics cover the whole of the subject, he goes on to describe a caste as a close corporation, in theory at any rate regorously hereditary; equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation including a chief and a council, meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less planary authority and joining together at certain festivals; bound together by common occupations, which relate more particularly to marriage and to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction the extent of which varies, but which succeeds in making the authority of community more felt by a sanction of certain penalties and, above all, by

(6)
final irrevocable exclusion from the group." All that may be said in favour of the above cited words is that they are not a bad description of caste, though the use of some of the principal words, like "close corporation", might be questioned. Again, all castes do not have councils.

Nesfield defines a caste as "a class of community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither intermarry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community". Here Nesfield has given only one essential of a caste.

Sir H. Risely defines a caste as follows :

"A caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestors, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community."

Definition of a caste : A caste is a social group having two characteristics : (1) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (2) the members are forbidden by an enexorable social law to marry outside the group. Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called. Several of such small aggregates are grouped together under a common name, while these larger groups are but subdivisions of groups still larger which have independent names.

Origin of Caste : This phrase has no meaning. As long as we use the abstract noun "caste" in a variety of senses and the words "caste system" as one expression to denote a group of phenomena, the expression "origin of caste" can have no meaning. The theory of four classes (varnas) in society has its origin; sharp lines between various layers of society have their origin; assendency of a priests and their exclusiveness have their origin; association of purity and impurity to various objects also has its origin. We can even conceive of the origin of endogamy. If historical psychology should ever be worked out it may give us the origin of pride and of feelings of superiority and inferiority.

Caste and tribe : When a wild tribe of India got itself adapted into Hindu society by becoming endgamous and by accepting Brahmins as its priests and by worshipping Hindu Gods, then it became a caste. When the tribe is in process of transition the rule of endogamy is vary lax.

Caste and Occupation : To-day a man can take to any occupation without changing his caste. The only exceptions are that nobody of a good caste would like to take to the occupation of shoe-maker or scavenger, and no man who is not born a Brahmin would be accepted as a priest in the community.

REFERENCES :

1. Their (of Nabatheens) caste is wittge in winning of substance Fardle Facious II, i.118.

2. Faun and Ulloa's Voyages to South America (1772) I,1,IV 29.
 3. Examples of use in this sense are - The Banians Kill nothing and there are thirtic and old several castes of there. Purchase Pilgr, i.485 (Y) (1613 A.D.). The common Brahmins have eighty two castes or tribes, Lord Benion,1630. A.D.
 4. Her manners had not that repose which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere [Tennyson's Lady Clara Vere de Vere].
 5. The castes are connected together finely graduated varieties. Parwin's Origin of Species, ii. 36 (1836 A.D.).
 6. Report of the Census of India for 1901 Vol. I. To my Knowledge senart in his book, less castes dons I" Inde published at Paris has brought for the first time to the attention of the European world the fact that a caste and Varna are not identical.
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4.3 DEFINITION OF TRIBES :

There are two ways of setting about in search of definition of the term tribe. The first is to examine the existing definitions which have been worked out on general considerations. The second is to analyse the specific conditions in India and to find out the attributes which are distinctive of groups conventionally regarded as tribes. The difficulty here lies (1) in the making the two definitions meet.

The first definition of tribe is on a purely theoretical level. Such a definition should be based on the empirical character of a particular mode of human grouping found in different parts of the world. It should also take into account the fact that such mode of grouping represents a particular historical stage in social evolution. A tribe is in an ideal state, a self contained unit. It constitutes a society in itself. This has to be explained a little further. The anthropologist, Nadel defines a society in this way :

Societies are made up of people, societies have boundaries, people either belonging to them or not and people belong to a society in virtue of rules under which they stand and which impose on them regular determinate ways of acting towards and in regard to one another.

The boundaries of tribe as a society have been defined politically linguistically and culturally by various authors. The tribe is a society, the members of which have a common government share a common territory. The possession of a common government

and sets the frame for legal action within the society and for political action within the society and for political action within the society and for political action with other societies. The boundary maintaining functions of a government are important and deserve consideration.

The tribe as a society has a linguistic boundary. In fact the possession of a common dialect is considered by many as a decision test in demarcating the boundaries of tribal societies. Finally the tribe is as a collection of individual sharing common culture. Differentiation and specialisation both exist in tribal societies, but these have a particular character to begin with, they are based upon such purely biological factors as age, sex and kinship. The sexual division of labour appears to be inherent in the biological nature of man. Some sort of division of functions according to age would appear to be equality inevitable. Finally one finds a few instances of functional specialisation in terms of particular skills. But then almost always pertain to specific individuals and not to self perpetuating group or classes. The most typical examples are the priest and medium man.

The tribal is as a society with a political, linguistic and a somewhat vaguely defined cultural boundary, further as a society based upon kinship, when social stratification is absent.

In India today, therefore, tribes which answer to the anthropologist conception of the ideal type are rarely to be found, we find are tribes in transition.

However, the purest of the tribal groups, which have been resisting acculturation or absorption, possess certain features which can be considered common features if possessed by all the tribal groups. They are as follows :

- 1) they live away from the civilised world in the most inaccessible parts of both forests and hills;
- 2) they belong either to one of the three stocks - Negritos, Austrologids or Mongoloids;
- 3) they speak the same tribal dialect;
- 4) they profess a primitive religion known as 'Animism' in which the worship of ghosts and spirits is the most important element;
- 5) they follow primitive occupation such as gleaning, hunting, and gathering of forest produce;
- 6) they are largely carnivorous or flesh or meat eaters;
- 7) they live either naked or semi-naked, using tree barks and leaves for clothing; and
- 8) they have nomadic habits and a love for drink and dance.

A section of this category of tribes has been experiencing 'contact with the plains' and consequently has been undergoing change. This group class II of Elwin's classification, through retaining their tribal mode of living exhibits the following characteristics in contrast to the first group :

- a) instead of communal life, this group live a

village life which has become individualistic. Their communal life and traditions, are only preserved through their village dormitories;

b) in contrast to the class I tribes, the members of these of class II do not share things with one another;

c) are cultivation has ceased to be a way of life for them;

d) the members of these tribes are more contaminated by the life outside. They come in contact with the groups living on the periphery, who live a more complex, viz, civilised life;

e) the members of these tribes are less simple and less honest than the members of the tribes belonging to class. (3)

Anthropologists and workers who met at the Tribal Welfare Committee, under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social Welfare work at Calcutta many years ago, suggested the following classifications of the existing tribes;

1. tribal communities or those who are still confined to the original forest habitats and follow the old pattern of life;

2. semi-tribal communities or those who have more or less settled down in rural areas and have taken to agriculture and allied occupations;

3. accultured tribal communities or those who have migrated to urban or semi-urban areas and are engaged in modern industries and vocations and have adopted modern cultural traits;
and

4. totally assimilated tribals in the Indian
(4)
population.

The Government of the Indian Union has launched various projects for tribal welfare. Some of them we have mentioned earlier. We will briefly enemerate the principal projects :

1. A number of multipurpose blocks for the tribal for their intensive development.

2. Training-cum-production centers and subsidies for the development of cottage and village industries in tribal areas to provide employment.

3. Colonisation of the tribal (settling of the tribal who are practising shifting cultivation on land) and the introduction of improved methods of shifting cultivation which may bring more yield without doing harm to the soil.

4. Establishment of tribal cultural institutes for standing the various cultural problems affecting tribal life.

5. Reservation of posts in Government services for the tribals.

6. Educational facilities - scholarships, free studentships and other educational aids.

7. Encatement of Regulation Acts to counteract exorbitant rates of interest charges by money lenders.

8. Establishment of the office of the commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to enforce the safeguards provided for the tribals in the constitution and for the evaluation of various welfare schemes.

The second Five-Year Plan allocated Rs.91 crores for the welfare of the backward classes and about Rs.39 crores for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. It would be instructive to study the findings of the Reports of the commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes as well as the recently published Report of the study team on the Social Welfare of the Backward classes. (To my knowledge these are the only available official documents regarding this study). The salient points of these Reports are as follows :-

1. The achievements during the First Five Year Plan cannot be properly assessed because progress during the first two years was meagre and during the subsequent three years they could not be assessed as many State Governments had failed to submit progress reports.

2. The benefits of the scheme mostly accrued to the 'vocal section' of the population only.

3. The employment exchanges failed to provide jobs to a large number of educated and uneducated tribes enrolled in the register.

4. The tribal research institutes failed to play a functional role in bringing about the co-ordination of research with the formulation of welfare planning.

5. The exploitation of the tribals by money lenders and contractors persisted.

6. The training-cum-production centres were a total failure (in either providing successful training or even functioning as production units) and much money was wasted.

7. The provision of cultivable land and other facilities of settle the tribals was meagre.

8. Red-tapism and lack of co-ordination among different department resulted in the lapse of grants and the untimely supply of materials, etc.

The fundamental problems of the tribal population are economico-political. There are problems such as the security of job, a decent standard of living, easy accessibility to the resources of the civilised life, the acquisition of education which can enable them to decide what customs, what rituals and what aesthetic cultural elements they should retain, eliminates or absorb from their culture and various others. If the prevention of headhunting practices or human sacrifices (however organic they may be with their tribal life) could be justified on the grounds of natural justice, without raising the issue of relativity of morals than starvation, exploitation, the lack of clothes and disease should be prevented on the same grounds. The tribal problem is a problem which raises the fundamental issue - the issue of the establishment of a social order founded on equality of opportunities and the elimination of exploitation. (5)
The term 'tribe' generally connects in English, a word indicating a group of primitive barbaric clans under some recognised chiefs' (Oxford Encyclopaedia Dictionary : 1983), though the Romans conceived it as political divisions and the Greeks equated it with fraternities. The European colonial administration extended in many parts of globe and an idea about the autochthonese people

of their occupied territory connected with 'other' cultures' led to their description as 'native', and sometimes, in derogatory parlance, as 'savages' 'aboriginals' or the 'primitives'. Anthropology struck root in the other groups of people and culture. In general all these descriptions at the grass root level have ultimately been considered to be the subject of Anthropology. In course of time anthropology i.e. the science of man turned into a science for the service of man and, through the long process of march of time we find various changes both conceptually and methodically. However we the anthropologists are in a better position to interpret the term 'tribe' more meaningfully but in all the cases as it seems, it indicates a social group of simple kind the members of which speak a common dialect, have a single Government and act together for some common purpose, like warfare (Rivers 1932). The notes and queries (1981) defines 'tribes' as a politically or socially abherent and autonomous group coupling or claiming a particular territory. The Dictionary of Anthropology (1956) describes tribe a social group usually with a definite area dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation. It may include several sub-groups such as tribes or villages.

Peedington - 1960 considers :

Literacy and societal organisation on the basis of small social groupings done level of technological achievement social relationship being based on kinship and locality primarily and of economic specialisation and overlapping of social groups

as primary characteristic of primitive communities.

Das(1953) defines the term very fittingly in the following manner. A tribe generally has common name a common habitat, a common language, a common culture and a feeling of unity among its members as against members of other tribes. These common features give the tribe its individuality and thereby keep it distinct and different from the other tribes or advanced groups.

Mazumder (1967) defined 'tribe' as :

Collection of families, or group of families, having a common name members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality and obligations.

Bose (1971) in his recent deliberation stated :

Tribes have more or less retained their separate social identity and on the whole can be regarded as comparatively so late and economically backward and as such for administrative purposes. They have been Scheduled to enable themselves to get the benefits from our welfare state. However, Vidyrat (1976) attempted to classify Indian Tribes into five cultural types as given below :

1) forest hunting types - The tribals of this type live on hunting and forest collection. They also live in small groups in deep forests e.g. the Borhors the Korwa etc.

2) The hill cultivation type - These people live in

hilly areas and have adopted shifting cultivation. They have settled in different areas but with similar culture and ecology. They might have different historical backgrounds, e.g. the Maler, the Hill Kharia, the Khand, the Hage etc.

3) Plain agriculture type - These tribals live in undulating plantations and predominantly dependent on plough cultivation e.g. the Santal, the Munda, the Mo, the Oraon, the Gond etc.

4) Simple artisan and folk artist type - These tribals are engaged in doing handicrafts and their folk arts to keep their body and soul thought. The Karmalis, the Lohars, the Mahalis etc. are examples in point.

5) Industrial and Urban workers - The tribal who have accepted an industrial life style come under this category. They are subject to acculturation due to industrial belt population. After independent of India, our Constitution part XVI Sec.342 has laid down that : (1) the president may with respect to any state (or Union Territory) and where it is a state after consultation which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to the state (or Union Territory), as the list of Scheduled Tribes specified in a notification. The president of India has therefore the privilege of identifying some groups of people who were designated as aboriginal Vanyajati Adivasi, Girijama, Jana in different literatures but simple categorised. In a blanket term of weaker section as most of them are lagging behind from the major group of other people. We also

realise that the ancestors of the present day tribals were undoubtedly autochthonese so, it is safe to turn them as Bhumi Putra (i.e. son of the soil). However, before we get down to discuss the tribal situation during the by gone ares. It is imperative to state the same as similar groups of people are not scheduled everywhere. In the length and breadth of this country. For example the tribals (scheduled) of Assam are all the time considered as of Mongoloid origin. The Santals, Mundas, Kharies and those who went out for plantation work from Bihar, Bengal and other places to Assam are still considered as Scheduled Tribes to merit the Constitutional benefits. In West Bengal tribal origin is considered to be primary condition for scheduling even they converted to chsistianity. The Tamil Nadu Government Prefers to Scheduled tribal which follows primitive the tribal way of life and whose residence is less easily on the hills or is in remote inhospitable areas or the deep forests. many State Governmnts think that in the primitive ways of life or clinging to the animistic type of religion are the criteria to Scheduled Castes and Tribes Amendment Act (1976) was promulgate in West Bengal, the Bhumijis were considered as a Scheduled Caste. Even it was extended in the same way when the transferred terriotories of Bihar (e.g. Purulia etc.) were tagged on to West Bengal. The Bhumijis were treated as a caste in Purulia were as in other areas as tribe. Nevertheless, after the enactment of the said Act a uniformity has been achieved.

Indian situation demands specific consideration as we

have more than six hundred tribal groups (vide Background Person Tribal Development No.4) with identifiable characters. Of course, there are some major tribes among them (Sharma 1984) of which the Bhil, Bhillala, Patelia (52,31,359), Koya Ground (51,53,631), Santal (36,33,459), Oraon (17,92,663), Mina (15,38,324), Koli/Kolidhan/Kali Malter/Kali Mahada (5,47,281), Ho (5,38,126), Sevar /Saora/Sewar (5,19,862), Khasi/Khasia (4,63,369), as per 1971 Census Report.

Of course, we would rather prefer to mention in this place the ideas cherished by our late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1958), who formulated an idea of development and gave it the shape in the form of panch sheela, i.e. the five doctrines. The board principles practically weering round the Five Fundamental principles are. (7)

I. The people should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them from without we should try to encourage in every way their traditional art and culture.

II. The tribal rights on land and forests should be respected.

III. We should try train and build up team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be necessary especially in the beginning but we should avoid introduction too many outsiders into the tribal territory.

IV. We should not over-administer these areas or over-

held them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through and not in to their own social and cultural institutions.

V. We should judge the results not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is involved.

A comprehensive view of the tribal problems was once more considered during the Fifty Year Plan strategy (T.S.P). Of course, as per 1981 Census, the Scheduled Tribe population in the country was about 5.16 crores i.e. 7.76% of the country total population. In order to tackle this worst problem of all the countries properly a categorisation was made on the basis of

(a) Tribes residing in the areas of traditional tribal concentration areas.

(b) Dispersed tribal population.

(c) Primitive Tribes wherever they resided, whether in the areas of tribal concentration or outside. Certainly the main thrust was made during the sixth Five-Year Plan for the development of the tribal people in general by :

(a) Raising the productivity level in production fields

(b) Development of human resources and upgradation of education.

(c) Elimination of exploitation of the tribal in land, from the money lenders, debt-bondage, trade, excise, forest and

(d) Development of adequate infrastructure.

Naturally, we bind some special projects in the form of ITDP/ITDP and MADA (Modified Area Development Agency) etc. for the extensive betterment of the tribal people. In respect of examining the low growth rate criterion for the primitive Tribal Group (PIG) some other factors have also been added for consideration. They are :

- (i) pre-agricultural level of technology, and
- (ii) extremely low level of literacy.

Of course, these primitive Tribal Groups (PIG) have been referred to as the 'lowest layer' among the Scheduled Tribes as mentioned by Dhechbar Commission (1961). In this way till date we have the following primitive Tribal groups (PIG) in India. Report of the working Group on Development and Welfare of the Scheduled Tribes during Eighth Five Year Plan 1990-95(1989).

1. Andhra Pradesh (12) : (1) Bodo Gadaba, (2) Bondo-pojox (3) Chenchu, (4) Dongaria Khond, (5) Gutom Badoba, (6) Khondporoja, (7) Kodam, (8) Konda Reddy, (9) Khada Savara, (10) Kutia Kind, (11) Porengi Paroja and (12) Thodi.

2. Bihar (9) : (13) Asura, (14) Billhar, (15) Birja, (16) Hillkharia, (17) Koraswas, (18) Malpaharia, (19) Paharia, (20) Sauriapahario and (21) Sever.

3. Gujrat (5) : (22) Kathods, (23) Kotwalia, (24) Padhar, (25) Siddi and (26) Kolgha.

4. Karnataka (2) : (27) Jenu Kuruba and (28) Koraga.

5. Kerala (5) : (29) Chalanaikhyan (A section of Ku Hunaj chans), (30) Kadar, (31) Kuttunayakan, (32) Kurumbas and (33) Birhor.

6. Madhya Pradesh (7) : (34) Abhuj Maria, (35) Baiga, (36) Bharia, (37) Holl Korha, (38) Kamar, (39) Saharia and (40) Birhor.

7. Maharashtra (3) : (41) Karkaria (Kathodia), (42) Kolam, (43) Gond.

8. Manipur (1) : (44) Marrian Naga.

9. Orissa (17) : (45) Birhor, (46) Bonob, (47) Ridayi, (48) Dongriakhond, (49) Juang, (50) Kharia, (51) Katiakhond, (52) Lanjia Soura, (53) Lodha, (54) Mantadia, (55) Pauri Bhayan and (56) Sour.

10. Rajasthan (1) : (57) Seharía.

11. Tamil Nadu (6) : (58) Kattu Naikan, (59) Kota, (60) Kurumba, (61) Trula, (62) Poniyam and (63) Toda.

12. Tripura (1) : (64) Riáng.

13. Uttar Pradesh (2) : (65) Buxa and (66) Raji.

14. West Bengal (3) : (67) Birhar, (68) Lodha and (69) Toto.

15. Andaman and Nichobar Islands (5) : (70) Great Andamanese, (71) Jarens, (72) Dnge, (73) Sentan close and (74) Shompen.

It may mentioned in this concentration, that some tribes living in different states have the same privilege and as such the total number seems to increase so far as the group is concerned. Thus we find many attempts many projects the schemes to solve. Their problems as well as to raise their life style from time to time to give them a legitimate share in profit using

the available resources were taken in hand. But when all is said and done, we cannot just ignore the realities that their ancestors contributed jointly to develop the Indian civilisation and equalising the objects of co-operation for each other's causes either be left a stone, hill, mountain, river, ocean, all these were finely woven into their social life, taboos, restrictions which cramp them as well as their section pattern. Sometimes they appear as gods and sacred beings and thus all were tagged together in a coherent mass that were embedded in their different identities. Gradually some changes began to operate, viz. population explosion control over land, resources and power.

New political ideas with changing activities on the scene. Changes on the mutual relationship ways of action and new types of interactions and ideas crept in for the new strategy and a new philosophy appeared. It has been seen that through exploitation accumulation of power on the hands of the politicians, the defacto and de jure runners of the administration became a criteria of people. As stated above, a new survival strategy emerged, a feeling for a small ethnic or kins-oriented group become pre-dominant. And the passage of time some other interests surfaced lack of proper socialisation, defective pattern of education, various deficiencies, and the outlook in normal life began to change considerably and the nature-based people become ego-centric. But development or a feeling for all became the demand of the day. The Indian philosophy envisages a

feeling for all sharing the weal and woe with all and equating with all.

THE MOBILE Scheduled Castes : Rise of New Middle Class.

Caste system in India social structure is such an integrated and deep rooted social phenomenon that even today it is very difficult to understand the whole social system without the interpretations of the underlying principles of this specific social feature. Caste system in India, both in tracing out the origin as well as in focussing its functional perspectives, has been attracting the variegated scholars since long time past. There is no denying of the fact that the approaches to the study of the caste system made through time and are being adopted according to the centre of focus of the study proper. It is for this reason we get a large number of this social institution including their effect as well as the continuity in the changing societies during the present period. (8)

After the attainment of independence this endeavour has been accelerated and in the constitution of free India Various measures have been adopted to assist some specific caste groups. The economically and social background castes have been earmarked as Scheduled Castes and a number of benefits have been provided to them white the intention of their overall development. Thus in the present day India society the idea like Scheduled Caste has got a high spread and their nature. Status and change have been and are being discussed both in the administrative and scholastic spheres. For some specific reasons the matters relating to

Scheduled Castes have become the headlines in the daily news papers of the country.

Author's main point of discussion is centered on the process of social transformation and changing behaviour patterns of some sections of the Scheduled Caste people resulted from the various trends of social mobility. According to the policy of protective discrimination adopted by the national government there has been an intention to help these backward people to come in time with the general population to make the country free from tremendous type of inequalities of socio-economic. Author's main point of discussion is centred on the process social transformation and changing behaviour patterns of some sections of the Scheduled Castes people resulted from the various trends of social mobility. According to the policy to protective discrimination adopted by the national government there has been an intention to help these backward communities ameliorate their poor socio-economic conditions. Though the principal aim of that measures was to enable these backward people to come in line with general population to make the country free from tremendous type of inequalities of socio-economic status.

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It cannot be denied that this particular protective measure has brought some changes in the way of life of the Scheduled Caste people but there is no appreciable gain. In course of his discussion of the empirical of the Scheduled Caste people has been drawing benefit from the policy of protective discrimination and by this they have managed to achieve a better socio-economic status resting in the conspicuous social mobility in the class structure. This small section of people belonging to Scheduled Caste position by availing of the maximum for elicits arranged for the whole community and on course of time, they have given rise to what is called the elite section or neo-Brahmans' : The author prefers to call this phenomenon as the rise of a 'new middle class'. Thus he observes that this is a widening gap between the privileged and unprivileged sections of the Scheduled Castes - a conspicuous difference in living pattern and philosophy between the mobile and less mobile or immobile sections of Scheduled Castes. Seven chapters of the book in question have been engaged here to discuss different topics at this study.

There is an overview on the nature and extend of caste system in India, and these have been analysed in the background of social mobility. Various patterns of social mobility together

with their interpretations, have been discussed here in historical as well as present situations, then the problems and perspective of the study have been focussed to make the readers understand the actual intention of study principle and also to assist them in entering into the methodological procedures. In order to examine the particular trend of rising of new middle class amongst the mobile Scheduled Castes as has been resulted from the policy of protective discrimination.

Inspite of its revealed in this book, the traditional developments Kanpur still retains as has been revealed in this book, the traditional patterns of living characterised by norms, values and mental make-up of its population. The Scheduled Castes employed in the public sector in this city constitute the major beneficiaries of the policy of protective discrimination and they have been studied through the collection of empirical data. The respondents were selected from the different cadres of jobs like upper and lower divisions of clerks, supervisory technical staff, non-technical workers, peons and sweepers, and the Scheduled Caste groups involved in these were Balmiki, Khamar, Dhobi, Khatik, Kori Pasi and others. The physical, Industrial, Social and demographic lay out of the city of Kanpur has been put forward. In the third Chapter, in a very decent way to have a clear idea over the sample. In the following there successive chapters attempts have been made to analyse the factors resulting in the emergence of a new class in the existing social structure. How the various features like occupational

standards income and expenditure patterns, education have been creating the multi dimensional framework of social mobility amongst the benefited section are assessed here with the help of empirical findings. The study shows that the caste backgrounds of these people class status. It is very interesting to note that sweepers demand the some class as enjoyed by the class I Officers and there is no dispute in this. But the practicability of this trend in caste class structure is not beyond doubt.

While discussing the nature and extent of the rise of a middle class amongst the Scheduled Caste groups the author has tried to highlight the various concepts of middle class emerged in India during the education, political sphere and the like meant specific class the 'new middle class'. It is also interesting to note that inspite of the attainment of the new middle class characterised by the enhancement of social status. These people do not like to come out of the main body rather they are loyal to it because of the secured positioning gathering continuous benefits. The middle Scheduled Castes forming the new social class are conscious of their higher social status and they are always fighting for getting recognition from they are seen in a midway between the non-Scheduled Castes and the unprivileged Scheduled Castes. To the former section they are 'untouchables' and to the latter they are 'outcastes' and this particular situation has been encouraged them to search a new identity like formation of a new middle class which differs in character from
(9)
the middle class in general.

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4.4 PARTIES, ELECTION AND CASTE :

The history of the party system in India is linked with the struggle for freedom from British colonial rule. During the struggle for freedom, the Indian National Congress emerged as a kind of united front of all regions, religions and linguistic and caste groups : the nationalist leadership mobilised the Indian masses under that umbrella organisation. After independence, the Congress became a political party and regularly participated in the democratic electoral process. It now based its strategies on the experience that its leadership had gained during the struggle for national freedom. During the 1920s, it had extended its mass base and had come to terms with the social reality of India based on caste, religion and language. It had waged mass struggles in the 1920s, the 1930s and the 1940s based on mass mobilisation, and it had achieved such mobilisation by making use of caste, religious and linguistic groups. It did not, after independence, abandon the inherited strategy of mobilisation. Indeed it evolved a network of alliances with castes, religious and linguistic communities for fighting elections and maintaining its political power. During all the eight elections held for the Lok Sabha, the Congress party nominated its candidates on the basis of caste arithmetic. The leadership of the party judge the capacity of a candidate to win on the basis of the support he was likely to receive on account of caste loyalties. Even after nominating a candidate, it used the caste arithmetic to mobilize voters. It tried out all manner of permutations and combinations of caste groups to ensure the electoral victory of its candidates. It

mobilized caste leaders for influencing voters in the various constituencies. It thus used caste as a factor in nominating a candidate and in mobilizing voters. Even after winning the elections, the Congress Chief Ministers and Ministers, whether at the Centre level or at the State level, continued to operate on the basis of caste. The caste factor thus linked the party, the Government, and the elections. One's caste thus became a ladder by which one rose to the heights of power in politics.

The strategy of the Congress Party led to two consequences in the politics of India. First, it strengthened caste consciousness in politics and it solidified caste groupings for bargaining in politics. Caste leaders emerged as brokers in politics, and they used caste to influence public policies and decisions. Second, the development of caste consciousness in politics created inter-caste competitiveness, so much so that at every election, a new caste arithmetic had to be evolved in every constituency by the Congress leadership. Within each caste, there arose competition for leadership, with different groups competing with one another because of the political advantages acquiring from such leadership. The internal competition in each caste broke caste solidarity, and this process resulted in the emergence of a new phenomenon, viz., of segments of a caste making alliance with segments of other caste in electoral battles.

During the last thirty-eight years, the electoral strategy of the Congress has altered the role of castes in

(1)
society. A caste has ceased to be just a traditional structure of relationship between its members. Politics has added a new dimension to the role of caste in Indian society. Caste leaders have emerged as mobilizers of votes, as brokers in politics, and as pressure group leaders within the organisational structures of the Congress Party and the Central and State Governments run by the Congress Party. The hold of caste might have weakened in social relations, but its multi dimensional role in politics has increased. (2)

All other democratic parties have followed the path shown by the Congress, and they have competed in politics by following the electoral strategies of the Congress Party. One important reason for this fact is that the Congress was, so to speak, a school of political training for many of the leaders of the democratic parties in India, and the leaders who were not part of the Congress platform followed the model of Congress competitive politics. The Congress is multi-caste, multi-religious and multi-linguistic party, whereas the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Lok Das and the Janata Party are essentially based on narrow social constituencies. The BJP is essentially a party of high-caste Hindus, and the 'untouchable' castes have not been attracted towards it. The BJP derives its ideology from the Brahmanical cultural ethos, and, because of this, urban trading classes and other "high" castes are attracted towards this party. Unlike the Congress, which is an all inclusive party, the BJP is exclusivist, and it has rarely won the support of the Scheduled

Castes. It combines religion with the support of the 'high' castes in the urban towns of India; and, because of its restrictive social appeal, it has remained limited to some castes and a few regions of the country.

(3)

The Janata Party has an important component of the erstwhile socialists whose idologue was Dr. Ram Monohar Lohia. Dr. Lohia believed that a socialist transformation could be achieved in India by mobilizing the 'backward' and 'depressed' castes in the rural areas, and the Janata Party has adopted his strategy of caste mobilization. Karpoori Thakur, following in the footsteps of Dr. Lohia, has mobilized the 'backward' castes against the 'forward' castes in Bihar. Consequently caste polarization is quite conspicuous in Bihar politics.

(4)

The Lok Dal (earlier known as the Bharatiya Kranti Dal) was established by Charan Singh on the basis of "backward" peasant castes. With the spread of the Green Revolution, the agrarian social structure has witnessed many changes, and the emerging capitalist farmer and the surplus-generating peasant are participating in politics on the basis of caste. Charan Singh has posed a formidable challenge to the Congress in northern India by mobilizing the 'backward' peasant castes against the Congress unlti-caste coalition. He has provided an economic ideology of rural versus urban, agriculture versus industry, and village versus town. This ideology has an appeal for the rural rich who employ the caste strategy in elections. The 'backward' peasant castes under the leadership of Charan Singh want to

control political power for diverting public resources for rural development which in reality means more resources at the disposal of the rural rich in India.

The BJP, the Janata Party, and the Lok Dal, however, represent only sections of castes, and as such, in the elections they fail to match the multi-caste strategy of the Congress. One important compulsion of caste politics in India is that no single can come to political power, and caste alliances and coalitions have to be formed to win elections. Exclusive caste parties like the BJP, the Janata Party, and the Lok Dal are at a disadvantage when they confront complex multi-caste alliances formed by the Congress Party. If, during an election, the Congress caste alliances fail to appear to the voters, the exclusive caste parties also fail to win a majority of seats in the Lok Sabha or the State Assemblies because exclusive caste parties lead to a fragmentation of caste votes. Quite often caste alliances are not easily formed because caste antagonisms exist between the Scheduled Castes and the upper castes, and within 'touchable' castes, antagonisms exist between the traditionally 'high' castes and the 'backward' castes. All democratic parties have evolved their own technology of caste alliances, but the most successful has been the Congress party. The explanation for the success of the Congress lies in its multi-caste character; and the failure of other democratic parties is to be attributed to their limited caste base among some segments of castes.

Caste in India has been employed as a factor in

achieving political power. One consequences of this has been growth of competition and confrontation among the various castes. Since politics protects caste interests, the caste factor in politics has been solidified irrespective of its growing confrontational and competitive role.

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4.5 CASTE AND ELECTION :

Recent sociological work on caste has made it clear that the institution had never resulted in as closed and as immobile a unit as the jatis were usually thought to be and there had always been inter-caste mobility (though small in number) arising out of such factors like land-surplus and western education including improved means of communications during the pre-colonial and colonial periods respectively. But instances of such mobility being mostly rare, ranking of the Hindu society into four varnas usually furnished Brahminical orthodoxy with the bedrock on which it created its elaborate caste structure. The structure has held its justification from 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 twice born can take 'pakka' (cooked) 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 defiled not only the twice-born but any orthodox Hindu." (1)

Born in a lowly mali (gardener) caste of Pune, Maharashtra, Phool had received western education from a local Scottish Mission School and is said to have been greatly influenced by Tom Paine's Rights of Man. As a social worker he kept himself engaged in the work of promoting education mainly among the girls of the low caste families. He pleaded for the worth of man irrespective of the caste in which he is born. He also demanded representation

for all classes of the Hindu community in all the local bodies including the services and the institutions of the country. He declared that the Congress could not be truly national until its leaders showed genuine interest in the welfare of the lower class people.⁽²⁾

".....although the Governor-in-Council does not contemplate the introduction of low caste pupils into schools the expenses of which are shared with government by local contributors and patrons who object to such a measure, he reserved to himself, the full right of refusing the support of government to any particularly aided school in which the benefits of education are withheld from any class of persons on account of caste or race and further pointed that all schools maintained at the sole cost of government shall be open to all classes of its subjects without distinction."⁽³⁾

Towards the begging of the present century caste equality was sought to be achieved in another way. This is as per M.N.Srinivas' choice of a term known as Sanskritization.⁽⁴⁾ It means the growing tendencies under which facts often assert a higher status for themselves through imitating customs, manners and taboos of groups traditionally superior to them.

Historically speaking the first ever expression of a Backward Class consciousness came only after the reforms of 1909. For the first time, the census report of 1911 divided the Hindus into three categories e.g. (i) Hindus, (ii) Animists and tribals,

and (iii) the Depressed Classes or the untouchables. Such categorisation with special reference to the importance of the untouchables had added a new political dimension to their problem. In 1911 the basis adopted by the census commissioner was clearly stated for separating the different classes of Hindus into (i) those who were hundred per cent Hindus and (ii) those were not included in the circular issued by the census. Among those were not 100% Hindus were included castes and tribes which (i) deny the supremacy of the Brahmins, (ii) do not receive mantras from a Brahmin, (iii) deny the authority of the Vedas, (iv) do not worship the Hindugods, (v) are not served by good Brahmins as family priests, (vi) have no Brahmins priests at all, (vii) are denied access to the interior of Hindu temples, (viii) cause pollution by touch or even by their presence within a certain distance. (ix) bury their dead bodies and (x) eat beef and do not revere the cow. Here classes (ii),(v),(vi),(vii) and (x) are said to be the determinants that divided the Hindus from the untouchables. The Congress in its annual session of 1917 passed a resolution in which it urged upon the people of India the necessity and justice of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the Depressed Classes subjecting those classes to considerable hardships and inconvenience. (5)

Outside the domain of direct British administration attempts towards amelioration of the grievances of the Depressed Classes first started in Mysore in 1918 when the Maharaja appointed the Miller Committee to recommend steps for adequate represe-

ntation of non-Brahmins in the services of the native state. The report having been submitted, the Government of Mysore took measures for extension of special benefits to those classes in education and recruitment in the state services. It may be noted that even before such steps were taken the people of Mysore were caught in a wave of civil disturbances as the lower caste people had demanded that their women folk who were not permitted to cover their bosoms (like the high caste ladies) must be allowed to be dressed in a decent manner. Ultimately the Maharaja had to issue a Royal Prolamation which partially met the demands of the (6) people.

The poona Pact while retaining the system of joint electorate and safeguarding the material interests of the Depressed Classes also helped to build up a pluralist society envisaged by Gandhi. The caste groups hitherto remaining indifferent to the nationalist movement soon came to be welded together into the womb of all embracing Congress. Gandhiji endeavoured to convert the Congress into an instrument intended not only to fight for political freedom but also to reconcile the conflicting interests between the cross sections of the Hindu society. He realized that unless the deepseated harted against the lower castes was removed, mere political freedom would not free the Indian society of its evils. This is the reason why so much efforts were taken in the Constituent Assembly of 1947 for preservation of the rights of the Depressed Classes. The attitude of the constitution makers was effectively expressed in the solem declaration made by

G.B.Panth in a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly on January 29, 1947. "We find." Panth had assured the Assembly,

"that in our country we have to take particular care of the Depressed Classes, the Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes. We must do all that we can do bring them upon the general level and it is real necessity as much in our interests as in theirs that the gap should be bridged. The strength of the chain is measured by the weakest link of it and so untill every link is fully revitalized, we will not have a healthy body (7) politics".

The Draft Constitution was prepared by the Constitutional Advisor in October, 1947. It prohibited discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste or sex and assured for all men access to all public places. It also advised reservation of posts in favour of any class of citizens who, in the opinion of the state, were not adequately represented in the services under the State. However, when the Draft was submitted in order to qualify the work 'class of citizens' in the draft. A further modification was made in the draft constitution by making provision for reservation only for men belonging to the S.C./S.T. instead of the earlier provision for reservation of all categories of minorities.

A through probe into the making of the reservation policy in post-independence India cannot be meaningfully pursued without a fore knowledge of how the problem of Backward Classes

cropped up in a colonial-social setting superimposed on India's traditional, pre-capitalist, multi-cultural society. The incorporation or otherwise of the nationalist movement and the mode of the nationalist leadership's grappling with the problem at different stages of the national movement provide useful insights into the shaping of the issue in contemporary Indian society.

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4.6 CASTE IN INDIAN POLITICS :

Introduction

The prevailing dichotomy between tradition and modernity has treated a curious cognitive hiatus -- in ideological thinking as well as in much of social science theorising -- between society on the one hand and policy on the Other. The former is conceived, as if by definition, as 'traditional', the latter as 'modern' and 'developmental'.

Everyone recognises that the traditional social system in India was organised around caste structures and caste identities. Many of them would want to throw out both politics and the caste system. The alleged 'casteism in politics' is thus no more and no less than politicisation of caste. It is something in which both the forms of caste and the forms of politics are brought nearer each other, in the process changing both. By drawing the caste system into its web of organisation, politics finds material for its articulation and moulds it into 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.

Traditionally there were two aspects to the secular organisation of caste -- the government aspect (caste councils, village arbitration procedures, and so on) and the political aspect (within caste and inner-caste authority and status alignments and cleavages). These were buttressed or dissipated by the authority relationships of local elites with the central

political system or systems. Religion, occupation and territory provided the bases for secular mobility. These are still relevant for the generalised process of secularisation that characterises the major changes coming over caste society : only emphases and proportions have changed. Instead of allegiance to a monarch or the justification of a new monarchy through the rise of a new sect or the elevation of certain caste or territorial groupings, and instead of management of the civil aspects of society at a variety of levels. We now have more participatory and aggregative modes of mobility and a greater co-ordination between levels through the agency of electoral and party politics.

Second, there is the integration aspect. The caste system not only determines the individual's social station on the basis of the group to which he is born but also differentiates and assigns occupational and economic roles. It thus gives a place to every individual from the highest to the lowest and makes for a high degree of identification and integration. At the same time it is an integration structure of a specific type, namely one that is more intense in its small group orientation and particularistic loyalties, and where wider loyalties operate only when they are structured through the prevailing differentiations. This aspect is important in understanding the structural impact of democratic nation-building. For the competitive style of democratic politics is as much a process of fusion and aggregation as of fusion and segmentation. Similarly, the traditional emphasis in studies of the caste system on differen-

tiation and affirmed segmentation has neglected the 'agglomerative' dimension.
(1)

Third, there is the aspect of consciousness. Again, in their concern with stratification, sociologists have generally neglected the ideational underpinning that is inevitably associated with any social system. Thus the contest for positions between various jatis often follows some variation of Varna, either by approximating to the reality as in the case of Brahmins or by invoking a level as in the case of the claim of certain castes to be Kshatriyas. Indeed the very fluidity and nebulousness of the concept of Kshatriya, and yet its historically compelling symbolism for social mobility, has been an important lever in the secular struggles that have from time to time ensured in the various regions, following real shifts in the social and economic positions of different groups. The same holds true though in a lesser degree for the Brahminic symbol as well as the symbol of certain middle range castes.

The actual process of interaction between caste and modern institutions was necessarily selective : it impinged on certain aspects of caste more than on others. The first to be drawn into the modernisation stream was the power structure of the caste system. The second was the distribution of economic benefits. These two were closely related : the distribution of divisible benefits was interlinked with the nature of the power system operated. A third factor that tied in with these was what may be called caste consciousness and preceptions. All of these

were traditional components of the caste system that got drawn into the new processes of change.

Three stages can be noted in this process. The struggle for power and for benefits was at first limited to the entrenched castes in the social hierarchy. Secular involvement in the modern period has not only fostered new attitudes and offered new rewards; it has also exposed caste and communalities as by themselves patently inadequate and often prejudicial for the building of stable support. For one thing castes, where they are large, are not homogeneous and where they are small, not enough on numerical force. Second, too close identification with one caste alienates other castes. Third, political parties gain stability only by involving all major sections of the community. Finally, the politicisation of caste makes for outward looking, upward-moving orientations and as this results in the phenomenon of multiple memberships and overlapping identities, the result is highly secular for the polity as well as the society at large. And the same is happening, though more gradually, to communal and religious loyalties and even to minority group sentiments such as among the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

It is an extremely involved process of adjustment that we have tried to describe here. The process gets crystallised in three distinct but related forms. First, there emerges what can be called a dominant elite, which is drawn from different groups but shares a common outlook and a secular orientation, which is structured into a diffuse network of relationships that stretches

across social boundaries but yet continues to induct leaders from each important segment, which is homogeneous in terms of some of the values and rules of the game but is at the same time divided into so many special groups and various elite and sub-elite positions. Such an elite structure articulates special interests and meaningfully represents the more organised segments of society, while at the same time allowing the mass of society to have its own pace of change and make its own adjustments with the modern world.

Second, castes take on an openly, secular form for new organisational purposes. There are several such form such as (a) 'associations' of caste members ranging from simple hostels and recreational bodies to reform clubs and pressure groups, (b) caste 'institutions' or 'conferences' that are more broadbased and cover districts or even State, and (c) caste 'federations' composed of not one but several castes which may sometimes be socially homogenous but which may at other times simply have some specific interest or political objective in common.

Third, along side these new organisations, there has developed a vertical structure of factions along with the elite groups and their various support bases have got politically organised and through which channels of communication have been established between social and political forms. We have seen that such a factional structure is either fashioned along on going interrelationships that characterise areas dominated by peasant castes, or evolved through the operation of the political and

electoral systems on the antecedent social structure thus resulting in a new polarisation of solidarities and alignments.

No society lives without traditions and the essential challenge of modernity is not the destruction of tradition but the traditionalisation of modernity itself. In the context of caste and politics, this means two things. First, those elements in the caste system that have a secular and integrational potential should get strengthened at the expense of the more obscurantist and dysfunctional elements. This, we have seen, is already happening. Second, the new dimension that secular democratic politics has provided to the social system must themselves become enduring parts of India's traditions. This has yet to take place. The essential test of India's strategy of social change lies in this criterion of traditionalisation of modernity. And the rest of the great social system of India with its proverbial capabilities of absorption and tolerance also lies in the same criterion; will it prove pliable enough to imbibe the new system of values and institutions as vital traditions of Hindu society? It is a criterion that replaces the old dichotomy in which the old is sought to be wholly replaced by the new. The rejection of such a dichotomy forms the point of departure of the collection of papers presented in this volume.

Caste is peculiarly Indian institution which has no counterpart elsewhere. In his effort to describe its dimension. M.N.Srinivas has listed nine main features of the caste system, heirarchy, endogamy and hypergamy; occupational associations;

restrictions on food, drink and smoking; distinction in custom, dress and speech; pollution; ritual and other privileges and disabilities; caste organisations and caste mobility. (4)

Its New Political Dimensions :

According to Paul Kolenda, six important changes have taken place in India since Independence : (i) the establishment of universal franchise; (ii) the legal outlawing of untouchability and policy of compensatory discrimination; (iii) the explosion of educational facilities and multiplication in the number of people attending schools and colleges; (iv) the increased in the white-colour jobs such as teacher and government officials; (v) the tremendous expansion of the infrastructure in Indian society -- buses, road, railways, airways etc.; (vi) great increase in the productivity of grain. (5)

Caste is a crucial factor in the various struggles that manifest themselves as 'farmers agitations', 'atrocities on Harijans', anti-reservation movements' and regional caste contigurations. Having been exposed to new or unconventional ideas, situations and experiences, peasant have often surpassed local factionalism to go into battle; evidence is not lacking in respect of readiness on the part of most suppressed sections of the Indian society to rise up and fight for their rights even in the fact of most brutal repression. These political experiences of the last two decades blantly contradict Moor's statement that untouchables were compliant and appear to take pride in their servile status and degrading work rather than resent their

situation. They also explode another western-derived theory which envisages peasants as torn by factional conflicts, and untouchables and other low-caste labourers as too helpless and dependent to revolt.

(6)

Caste Associations and Caste Federations :

According to Rudolph and Rudolph, "by providing bases for leadership and representation, the horizontal organisations of castes with common identities have contributed significantly to the success of political democracy."

(7)

Gujrat saw the formation of a powerful and influential caste federation in the Kshatriya Sabha in 1948. It represented many castes and lineage groups, most of them drawn from the economically depressed communities of cultivators. For about two decades, it acted as a powerful pressure group in the politics of the State. In the early seventies, Mr. Solanki formed a coalition of Kshatriyas, Harijans, Adivasis and Muslims known as Khem to cut the dominant Patels of the State down to size. Recently Devi Lal the Chief Minister of Haryana, has organised caste combination of Ahirs, Jats, Gujjars and Rajputs (ajgar) to unleash the political 'phthon' on its rivals. This strategy of caste politics may help to achieve some immediate political and economic gains, but it is not likely to pay the states concerned and the country in the long run. Much of the furmoil that Gujrat State witnessed during the seventies and the early eighties can be, in a manner of speaking traced to the cynical resort to such brazen caste politics.

(8)

No better results are likely come out from the

advanced type of castebased politics in Haryana, M.P. or Andhra Pradesh. For caste federations in India have a tendency to fragmentation it is easier to build a movement than to hold a caste-based party or organisation together and run the government.

Caste as Basis of Political Parties :

Some of the political parties (Lok Dal, DMKs, Telegu Desam, Republican Party of Maharashtra) have recognizable caste bases. In a few cases, conflicting caste groups find shelter under the same political umbrella. Then there are non-political caste-based organizations. About a decade ago, Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan set up an all-India action committee on behalf of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the backward classes and the minorities to assert their 'constitutional rights' to reservations. The Brahman castes have remained tied to Mr. Nehru and his daughter for a combination of emotional and political reasons, including caste solidarity with the Brahman dominated Congress.

To keep themselves in power, the leaders of the political parties strengthen caste identifies by persistently encouraging caste loyalties in elections, and by keeping this factor in mind in appointments to cabinet and other political and administrative positions. The Congress is not the only part to blame for mess. It was Janata Government at the centre and in the states during 1977-80 which made generous reservations for the various backward communities in Gujrat, Bihar, M.P. and Uttar

Pradesh. Mr. Desai went to the extent of saying that even jobs in the private sector should be reserved for the backward groups. (9)
Mandal Commission was the brain-child of the Janata Government.

Caste Tensions and Conflicts :

The politics of the central and state government also, in a way responsible for this unhappy political phenomenon. For the poor and the landless non-Brahmins in some states, the concessions, to which Scheduled Castes are entitled by law, are a thorn in the flesh. For the land owners of the dominant castes, the rising demands of the lower castes and tenants are a threat to their social and economic position. Besides, there is enough evidence to show that in the changed circumstances, younger people of the low castes are not ready to behave in the same docile way in which older people behaved. They do not feel committed to the perpetuation of the traditional and social arrangements between castes. When this spirit of challenge confronts and entrenched interests of the dominant caste, the result is often a measure of violence even. Obviously, it means that because of the intolerance of upper castes and the rising aspirations of lower castes, the Indian road to equality is going to be marked by bloody clashes between different castes, though caste may to some analysts appear to be a false category unlike class. (10)

Caste Violence :

It is unfortunate that in recent years the persecution of lower caste groups by members of some of the upper and middle

castes seems to have intensified, and in some regions this oppression has taken a sharply violent form. Members of untouchable communities seeking a better economic and social deal have been subjected to harassment, beating, burning of homes, and even murder. Parliament was told by Government on December 5, 1987 that 14012 cases of atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and 1829 of those on the Scheduled Tribes had been reported between September 1986 and October 1987. Add to the number the cases which may have gone unreported. Reports of such atrocities come in from almost all states, though Bihar has earned notoriety because of the brutal attacks on low caste labourers in Belchi, Bajitpur and Pipra. (11) By far more starting in this context is the fact that Harijans in Hihar have turned increasingly militant and joined Naxalite organisations like the 'Indian Peoples Front' to turn tables on the Thakurs.

Caste and Ruling Elite :

The membership of the political elite in Indians never been homogeneous in its caste composition. But majority of them even during the national movement belonged to the high castes. For, the advantages of English education accrued to them because of an initial advantages to their high status. Even to-day the political power is primarily under the command of upper castes. What to talk of non-leftish political parties in India, our left leaders, whether of CPI, CPM or the CPIML, are mainly drawn from high castes possessing the very trait they condemn in others. (12) Even in West Bengal where it is claimed that 'caste plays no role

in politics', the reality is altogether different. Of the total 43 members of Left Front state cabinet in 1984, as many as 17 bore high caste Brahmins surnames, 12 high caste Kayastha surnames, one high caste Vaidya surname and the two upper middle caste (13) surnames.

There is a good deal of evidence to prove that everywhere leaders of the dominant caste try to capture the major political parties, and through them the control of the state authority. In Punjab, where the main dynamic has been between the two leading parties, the Congress and the Akali Dal, their leadership has usually Gurnam, Singh, Parkash Singh Badal, Surjit Singh Barnala etc., etc. Similarly every since its victory in the local elections of 1967, the caste based DMK or its fission-party ADMK had usually held the chief ministership and the plurality of seats in the Tamil Nadu State Legislature.

Besides, caste has been used for dividing the ranks of the poor in both the upper and lower ranks alike. Both radicalization of caste perse and raising of caste chauvinism have been manifestations of the ruling elite's strategies. Assuming enough, caste issues have at times caused a serious split in the leadership and ranks of political parties. For example, the reservation issue, which heated up in Kerala by mid 1970's led to the formation of the two political parties-- Socialist Republic Party, the mouth piece of the lower caste Exhaves which stood for reservations on caste base only, the National Democratic party, a pro-Nair (high caste) party which was opposed to the former's stand.

Since 1967 politics at the regional level has become more and more caste oriented. Though appeals in the name of caste are barred in law, party leaders and party candidates (without exception) use it as a tool to win support for elections. They openly emphasize the necessity of caste ties and caste solidarity. According to Andra Bateille, "Politicians in some states have no doubt learned to manipulate caste in the furtherance of their interests. But politics is a dynamic phenomenon. Hence politicians whose only skill is caste politics are likely to become absolute." (14) In this context, what Robert Dahl says of ethnic politics in the USA is particularly relevant: "In order to retain their positions, politicians are forced to search for new issues, new strategies, new positions." (15) This in many ways is as true of the caste politics in India as of ethnic politics in the USA. It will not be out of place to point out that caste rivalries in Bihar have forced the P.M. to crown S.N.Sinha as chief minister with a view to break the impregnable Thakur base of V.P.Singh in that State.

Caste and Village Level Politics :

It is difficult to determine the role of castes in politics at local levels. However, there are indications that dominant castes are becoming less dominant in the Indian villages. They have been forced by the circumstances to make many vital concessions in terms of social vertical mobility. There is also a change in their style of behaviour towards lower castes who, on the strength of their number and political consciousness,

are becoming increasingly confident and ambitious'. The enhanced social status has enabled the lower castes to function in the political area as well. Their participation in the Panchayatiraj institutions has now become more meaningful and effective. In some elections, in some states and in some communities, caste has a peculiar significance as determinant of politics. For example, in States like Haryana, U.P. and Bihar, where majority of the voters are Jats, Rajputs, Thakurs and Yadavas, the caste factor determines the results of the local elections. Both the politicians and Press often take into account the caste break up of the electorates while making an assesment of political trends.

The relationship between caste and politics in India (after 1947) has been the dominant theme the various studies conducted by cultural anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists. On the strength of empirical surveys, it is asserted that caste is not only playing a very useful role in democratising and secularising the policy but also providing meaningful content to the political process.

It is true that the beneficiaries of the British Rule were members of the high castes who were the first to receive English Education. They were also the agents of political unrest. To ward off the growing nationalist challenge, the British deliberately created communal categories in politics as well as administration by encouraging communalism among the Musmims. (16) Similar approach was adopted in case of the various castes. Of course, people belonging to the lower castes could not articulate

their political and economic claims in the name of Hinduism which included the higher castes also but they could do so under the cover of their castes. This coincided with their interests and those of the British imperialists. It is against this background that the emergence and the rise of the lower castes in politics should be appreciated. One notices that there had been a conscious move on the part of the lower castes to improve their ritual status; to reform caste customs; to establish caste associations; to ameliorate the conditions of the members belonging to the same castes; and to demand economic and political concessions.

The British response was to favour the claims of the lower castes right from 1851. Between 1901 and 1918, in Madras, for instance, "the number of backward castes listed in the Education Department's grand-in-aid code grew from 42 to a staggering 138 and included paradoxically, some of the leading land-owning and trading castes in the Presidency. For the first caste was elaborated and implemented by government order 1912 Even the famine code which had been developing from the 1870 came to recognize that relief should be distributed as much by castes as by need". The movement of the Justice Party in South India practically concentrated on changes in service recruitment which would favour non-Brahmins in the public services in proportion to their share in the population as a whole. David Washbrook rightly remarks that the reason for the rise of non-Brahmin movement was the centralization of control

over professions in Madras city. When the leaders of lower castes demanded separate political representation and separate electorates the British welcomed these demands which ultimately weakened the national movement.

After independence many qualitative changes were introduced in the political system. Democratic policy based on the principle of adult franchise was perhaps the most crucial factor which reinforced caste with a lot of vigour. As regards the mobilization of the people on the basis of castes, Rudloph and S.H.Rudloph say that there are three types of mobilization : vertical, horizontal and differential.

It will, however, be wrong to offer generalised statement about the caste-politics relationship. A regional perspective is essential to understand dynamics of this relationship. In Western and South India, the castes-in-politics played a vital role in ending the domination of the higher castes in politics. The numerical superiority of the non-Brahmins struck a fatal blow to the political supremacy of the English educated and urban-based high-caste politics.

The primary function of caste in politics has been to transfer authority from the higher to the middle castes. Those who were the lowest of the low -- untouchables, landless, peasants, rural poor -- were not benefited by this new political arrangement. The class interests of the emerging rural elite could best be protected through an alliance with the urban bourgeoisie. Thus Adult franchise, "caste in politics" principle,

democratic decentralisation. Panchayatiraj institution have in practice, helped the ruling classes in consolidating their rule. The new rural and urban elites have developed a vested interest in the perpetuation of "caste in politics". Irawati Karve rightly points out that politicians who enjoy privileged position aimed at perpetuating the operation of caste to seek sanction for their power in social system which possesses great inequality in status, worldly goods and opportunities. (20) In the rural context, "caste in politics" has been instrument of mobilization, a channel of communication, representation and leadership which (21) links the electorate to the new democratic process. This inter-relationship frees the lower castes from exploitation and (22) victimisation by other caste.

Another political function caste in performing is of integrative nature. It is no more a divisive factor. The fear of the Hindu revivalists that raising the anti-Varna slogan is an attempt to divide the people is largely unreal. Their suggestion is that it is not equality but harmony should be the guiding principle of the Hindu nation. They blame the secular leaders for exploiting caste for political purposes. Balraj Modhok holds that the concessions given to the lower castes create artificial distinctions based on discrimination between two seats of people. (23) They are the cause of schism and cleavage in Indian society.

Even if it is accepted that the "caste in politics" is responsible for accentuating "communal consciousness", this development cannot be termed as communal. Andre Beteille's

remarks regarding the backward classes and tribals are quite significant ; "The growth of 'communal consciousness' need not be viewed necessarily as an unhealthy or disrupting force. It may, on the contrary, be a precondition to the integration of the tribals into the wider body politic for the measure of integration lies not so much in a passive acceptance of the Status quoas in the adoption of a body of common political rules through which divergent interests are organised and articulated.

"Thus what has been viewed by some as an increase in communal consciousness may be only one step forward in the politisation of Indian society. The years to come are likely to witness a fuller participation in the political process by larger section of the tribal population, and a more effective articulation between tribal leaders and the masses. The wider political order may be brought close to the tribal masses only when leaders at every level learn to put forward demandson their behalf. In a heterogeneous society where particularistic ties are of such importance it is unrealistic to expect political integration to come about without large concessions to special demand.

(24)

The style of functioning of the various political parties proves the validity of the caste factor. The selection of the candidates at the time of elections, formulation of campaign strategies and manipulation of votes show that they are not interested in banishing casteism but are pragmatic enough to make the political processes intelligible to the overwhelming majority of the electorate. They are realistic to accept that the stress

on caste should be more at the Gram Panchayet level and less on the State level and negligible at the national level.

The composition of the ministry before and after 1977, at the Centre, bears it out, Political parties did not fail to consider the deeper relationship between caste, language religion and nationality issues. D.M.K. seeking the support of C.Rajagopalachari and the Brahmins in 1967 elections shows the new connection between caste and sub-caste nationalism. The caste politics is impelled to find the potent realities of the regional languages to be an effective weapon for its survival and continuity. (25) Similar is the case of the Congress party in Maharashtra which is dominated by the Marathas.

It should, nevertheless, be noted that no one single caste, even it is numerically superior, can effort to ignore the other castes interests. It is either the "caste cluster" or a multi-caste combination which includes political authority as it is "impossible for a faction seriously interested in obtaining power to restrict its membership to particular social groups". (26)

Andre Beteille, on the basis of his study of the Tanjore village, concluded that political power has, to some extent, detached itself from caste, that the balance of power is unstable, and that factors others than caste play an important part in maintaining it and changing it from day to day. The findings of the various electoral studies also go to suggest that the voting behaviour of the electorate is not governed by one single factor -- caste. In fact, the influence of caste affiliation upon (27)

voting varies from place to place; that it is never the sole influence; but has to contend with economic interest, ideological commitment, attachment to individual leaders, and other factors. (28)

The economic factor, in more than one sense, weakens the strength of caste in politics. The poorer members of the dominant caste and economically backward caste are always at a disadvantage. The domination of socio-economic life. The coincidence of caste and class is possible. The close relationship between caste and class determines a different type of politics which is not desirable according to the protagonists of caste in politics. Kerala is a case in point. (29)

The emphasis of the protagonists of "caste in politics" seems to be misplaced. To argue that critics of "caste in politics" are really looking for a sort of politics which has no basis in society of stressing the need to nurture caste with care develop it further and make it strong is plea for a pluralist polity which may not be truly democratic and revolutionary. (30)

It is to be noted that political relationship among various social groups cannot be governed by caste consideration. This again is a limiting factor. F.G.Bailey says that caste is not a principle by which "political-economic groups are recruited, nor does it organise relations between political groups; but is an organizing principles within social groups. (31)

Recent incidence of caste violence in various parts of the country has made even the common man aware of the growing crisis in the Indian political system. Its description by the

ruling party's leaders as a "blot on the country" or a cause of disrepute in the eyes of the world is only a statement of fact. What is urgently needed is an understanding of the realities of the social and economic system which is its breeding ground. Some of the social scientists and political commentators see a pattern in the happenings at Belchi, Agra, Marathwada, Bajitpur, Kanjhwala etc., where the Scheduled Castes or the Dalits are the victims of caste violence. The explanation is simple. The Janata Party is not friendly to the Dalits and the minorities. During the Congress regime the situation was not very different. It may be argued that there is no qualitative change in the content and the style of the Congress and the Janata Government. The Dalits should not expect any relief from the present ruling set up. It is so, instead of analysing the text of the Congress or Janata manifestos and programmes, one should attempt to discover ills of the system as a whole.

The Indian political system developed on the basis of the British legacy and competitive democratic principle. The British legacy was a peculiar combination of colonial interests and institutionalization of limited democratic principle. After Independence, with the introduction of adult franchise and democratic decentralisations, a new dimension was added to the theory and practice of the Indian political system. The system possessed, before Independence and after, strong potentialities of eruption of violence as the social-political and economic structure was based on conflict and antagonism. This is colonial

legacy not only in India but all over the world. As a colonial power, the British in India aimed not only at managing the conflict but also at promoting it in order to weaken the formidable challenge to its existence. The institutional framework evolved by the British was perfectly in keeping with this objective. Their handling of the communal problem with the help of reservations and separate electorates is a case in point. Not only this, the existing difference within the various sects of the Muslims community were also exploited. They adopted a similar approach towards the Hindu caste system. The British administrative policies were directed to satisfy the rising expectations of the emerging educational elite. But, traditional elite, equipped with modern culture, accepted the superiority of the foreign power but at the same time gave birth to political unrest, not palatable to the ruling classes. The British helped in breaking the hold of the traditional elite and vigorously supported the formation of an alternative elite belonging to other castes. Those who belonged to the lower castes were given preference in matters of admission to the educational institutions. They were preferred in matters of recruitment. Reservation principle was accepted as necessary for the protection of the lower caste. No doubt, the extent of success on the part of the British was very small but they certainly achieved the objective of keeping the socio-economic tensions very much alive. The lower castes' leadership, being pro-British, turned hostile to the national movement for a variety of reasons. The net result of all this was

some benefit to the middle level caste elite but no change in the position of those who were at the lowest level of the caste hierarchy.

After Independence power was transferred into the hands of those who were wedded to the bourgeois rule in the country. The democratic constitution, the so-called socialist policies, secular pretension ensured the continuity and consolidation of bourgeois government. The politics and the economics of this government denied any opportunity to the oppressed and the suppressed masses to meaningfully participate in the system and change the same in accordance with their interests. Their consent could be "engineered", but their real voice could be suppressed with the help of coercive agencies of the state. The army and the police not only defend the borders and maintain law and order but are used by the ruling class for ruthlessly all the anti-system movement of the peasants, workers and youth. Its thrust is on stability, consensus and harmony so that the balance between the class interests and norms of democratic policy is not disturbed.

Between 1961 and 1971, there has actually been an increase in the percentage of Scheduled Castes, who are engaged in primary sector of our economy, from 75.1 per cent in 1961 to 82.3 per cent in 1971. Within the primary sector, there has been an increase in the proportion of the landless labourers and a decline in the proportion of cultivators. In 1961, there were 345 landless agricultural labourers and 378 cultivators among the Scheduled Castes per one thousand workers. In 1971, the corresp-

ending figures were 518 and 279 respectively. The figures indicate relatively faster pauperisation of the, Scheduled Castes among the mass of toiling people. (33)

The Politics of Caste :

National associations based on religion, language, ethnicity, and locality have not been assimilated or dissolved in modern nations, in fact they continue to play important, sometimes decisive, roles in their societies and politics. (34) Indeed, the crosscutting forces that arise in modern pluralist societies have not prevented their formally voluntary structures from taking on ascriptive features; bureaucratic organisation can and often do assemen familial qualities in ways that approximate the experiences of those living within transformed primary groups. (35)

At the same time, the intractability of powerful and independent, natural associations, rooted in the soil and the heart, cannot be underestimated. They led to the partition of the Indian subcontinent and to charges of genocide in Ruanda and they full the political instability and civil wars of American, Near Eastern Asian and some modern Western States. (36) When natural associations are too few, when they are socially and morally independent of each other, and when they lack a limited but critically important identification with leaders, values and institutions capable of sustaining national politics and a modern states, they destroy the viability of a civil society that transcends them. (37)

Overcoming the tendency of ascriptive associations to

formulate separate political identities and establish separate political structures requires powerful integrative forces. Strong leadership, nationalist ideology, the viable state structures may not be enough. Extended and socially penetrating experience of modern political culture and institutions along with broadly recognised economic interdependence can be critical.

Caste do not pose the same kind of potential threat to the nation-state that tribes, religious communities, and linguistic groups do. In India, the latter have made successful claims to separate political identities, for Muslims, this meant partition and the creation of the sovereign state of Pakistan, and for others, recognition within the framework of the federal system. (38) Castes have not demanded separate political identities. As parts of a larger society, they are symbiotically related to each other, and as participants in Hindu culture, this relationship is integrated and legitimized. When castes come to mobilize themselves politically, they are concerned with the distribution of values, status, and resources within a political system, not with the realization of nationhood although such a demand is not beyond the bounds of possibility, however unlike it may be. A caste like the Jats of Rajasthan, Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh, which spreads across present state boundaries, has a contiguous territorial base and possess a viable political history (for the Jats, conquests as recently as the eighteenth century), might develop "national aspiration." (39)

India's political parties, particularly the governing

Congress party, have played an indispensable part in brokering and integrating diverse social forces. On the whole, they have been able to subsume castes to their larger ideological and programmatic purposes, but they have been notably less successful with other natural associations. In the former bilingual state of Bombay, for example, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Maha Gujrat Parishad, associations for Marathi and Gujrati linguistic nationalism respectively, subsumed national and other regional parties in their drives for separate political identities. (40)

The relationship of caste to social and political change and to the conduct of government and politics varies more than the examples of the Madras and Vanniyara suggests. Some of the factors that effect its role include (1) the number and size of other caste actors; (2) regional differences and their effect on the caste profile of particular states; (3) differences in the level and characteristics of relevant political systems; (4) the relative significance of dominant and subject castes and the related propensities towards vertical and horizontal mobilization; (5) changes over time in the social and political environment in which particular castes operate; (6) the degree of self-consciousness and cohesion that characterize particular castes; (7) the countervailing power of other castes, interest groups, and integrative forces, particularly political parties.

Caste pluralism is not, however, characteristic of all states. In Mysore, for example, Lingayats constitute approximately 20 and Ckkaligas approximately 15 per cent of the population.

Rivalry between these two castes has been the source of destabilizing factionalism within the Congress party government, biased administration, and a finding by the Supreme Court that the state's system for reserving seats in educational institutions (41) for backward classes was fraud on the constitution. In Kerala, religious or caste communities or coalitions of them have tended to shape party strategy and political behaviour; Iravas (or Ezhavas) and Scheduled Castes, 34 per cent of the population; Christian 24 per cent; Nairs and Nambodiri Brahmans 19 per cent; (42) and Muslims 20 per cent. The inability of Kerala to govern itself has been considerable measure, attributable to these rather special social conditions. Political parties - in their appeals, electoral support, and to somewhat lesser extent, candidate selection -- tended in the 1950's to be dependent on the major ascriptive communities; the Communist Party of India (CPI) on the Iravas and Scheduled Castes, the Congress on Christians and Nairs, the Socialists on Nairs, and the Muslim League on (43) Muslims.

In general, regional variations in caste profiles seem to be associated with difference in the kind and rate of political mobilization and with the nature of the political conflict they produce. Anti-Brahmanism seems to have flourished in regions characterized by step and discontinuous traditional social hierarchies, and it in turn seems to have fostered and political mobilization of castes still lower in the ritual (44) hierarchy. The tendency for castes to spread across state boundaries in the north and to be bounded by them in the south

also affects political mobilization. Ahirs and Kurmis, peasant castes, are distributed along the massive Gangetic valley and beyond, numerous in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, they (45) can also be found in Orissa and the Punjab.

The relative significance of dominant and subject castes in the politics of particular states affects their (46) patterns of political mobilization. Both vertical mobilization by dominant castes and horizontal mobilization by subject castes alter traditional power relationships, the first when the formality of consent through voting replaces obedience based on traditional authority and dependences, the second by enabling subject castes to be politically independent of their former (47) masters. In Andhra politics, for example, vertical mobilization by Reddis is a central feature. (48) A traditionally dominant landlord caste, they are also the state's largest caste, with 12 per cent of the population. In 1965, 28 per cent of the seats in the Andhra legislature and 40 per cent of the places in the Congress cabinet were held by Reddis. They also held the presidencies of the Congress, Communist, and Independent parties. In the 1967 election, they accounted for 25 per cent of all legislative assembly candidates. Reddi dominance of state politics is the result of local and regional dominance based on vertical mobilization by Reddi notables, not horizontal solidarity, mobilization, or formal organisation. (49)

In Uttar Pradesh, too, the relative significance of dominant castes has produced a politics of vertical mobilisation,

faction and personalism, although in this state it has created higher levels of instability that it has in Andhra. (50)

Madras politics, on the other hand, has been characteristically that of horizontal mobilisation by subject castes. The state's traditionally dominant Brahman caste was early and successfully challenged by Sudra castes, prosperous, educated, and ambitious Vellalas, Mudaliars, Naidus, and Chettiars, who formed the Justice party in 1916. Brahmins were too few (less than 3 per cent of the population), too isolated ritually and socially, and too fastidious to withstand this and subsequent attacks by Dravidian ideological movements on their religious, cultural, and political dominance. Recently, Andre Beteille found that even at the village level Brahmins were less effective than dominant non-Brahman castes at building and holding through vertical mobilisation the political support of lower castes. (52)

In Rajasthan, formerly part of princely India, the early and persistent political influence of the Jats, the state's largest caste, with 9 per cent of the population may be explained by the particular constellation of the factors. After the 1962 general election, 13 per cent of the seats in Rajasthan Legislative Assembly were held by Jats, the politically influential speaker of the Assembly was a Jat, and two of the cabinet's most powerful members were drawn from Jat ranks. Jats are not only numerous but also relatively highly politicised. (53)

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4.7 RESERVATION AND UPLIFT OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES, 1919-1930 :

The problem of the Depressed Classes in India was basically one of the 'relative deprivation' which called for two-fold remedies -- first, 'social movement' to change the culture within a society⁽¹⁾. And secondly, adoption of such effective measures which while granting the depressed people representation in the legislatures would also facilitate their entry into the power zones of the state. D.F. Aberle defines 'relative deprivation as a discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actuality' and he further analysed 'relative deprivation' in terms of material possession, status, behaviour and worth.⁽²⁾ In a caste bound society where status of an individual is determined with reference to his position in a birth-ascribed group such deprivation becomes the order of the Polity itself. Now, in order to do away with such inequalities social movements had to be 'based on challenge, protest, confrontation, aggression and revolt' as opposed to acquiescence, request, obedience and loyalty.⁽³⁾

In India such 'protest and confrontation' had already started since when the British authorities gave serious attention to the problem of the Depressed Classes under compulsions of public opinion. The attention of the Government of India was first drawn to the Indian Legislative Council. On 16 March 1916 Dadabhoi moved a resolution in the Legislative Council requesting in the Governor-general-in-council to adopt measure for amelioration in moral, material and educational condition of the Depressed classes.⁽⁴⁾ He also suggested that the provincial

government should be at the same time advised to formulate their separate schemes for the said purpose, while moving the said resolution Dadabhoy criticised the Government and the educated Indians for not giving due attention to the problem of the Depressed Classes.

The official approach :

According to the promise of the Home Member, the Home Secretary wrote a letter to the provincial governments. They were asked to define the term 'Depressed Classes', keeping in view the tenor of discussion in the Legislative Council and to 'explore the directions in which the progress of these classes was possible". They were advised to concentrate on three types of measures for the uplift of the Depressed Classes -- (a) education either literary or industrial, (b) material improvement and (c) 'regulation, meaning in particular and measures of control designed to facilitate the helping of a particular class. As regards the social disabilities of the Depressed Classes the provincial governments were instructed to eradicate them 'as are within' its power regard being had to "the good sense of the community".
(5)

The official response on the said resolution brings into relief two aspects of the British Government's policy on the uplift of the Depressed Classes. First, though willing to undertake measures for the uplift of the Depressed Classes, the Government was reluctant to interfere with the social customs and prejudices associated with the practice of untouchability. This

is typically the attitude of an interfere with the social customs and prejudices associated with the practice of untouchability. This is typically the attitude of an alien government which remained indifferent to all demands for reform of social ills lest such a move may antagonise a section of native public opinion and create trouble for the administrative authority. For example, when M.R.Jayakar moved a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly in December, 1929 for removing the socio-religious disabilities of the Depressed Classes, the Law Member, B.L.Mitter, replied that though in theory the 'bill is not open to serious objection', yet at the same time, long established usage and custom should not be lightly overridden⁽⁶⁾. Respect for social custom influenced the policy of the Government to such an extent that in such matters as education, instead of strictly enforcing the Depressed Classes' right to the common schools the Government provided separate schools for them.⁽⁷⁾

On 14th September, 1927, M.S.Aney asked in the Central Legislative Assembly : "Is it the policy of the Government not to employ members of the Depressed Classes in particular, so long as the Depressed Classes are not treated as on equal footing by all sections of the Hindu community ?" J.Cerar, the Home Member of Victory's Executive Council, gave the following evasive reply : "The recruitment to the provincial police force is a matter within the jurisdiction of the local governments and I consider it necessary to ask for reports from the local governments on that point."⁽⁸⁾

Secondly, the question of material and educational development of the Depressed Classes was treated by the Government of India as a subject within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provincial Governments. Whenever any proposal for their welfare was moved in the Central Legislative Assembly the Government of India refused to take any action on it on the plea that it concerned the provincial Governments. Thus when M.R. Jayakar through one of his resolutions in the Central Legislative Assembly demanded that the local governments should make some special arrangements for the education and employment of the depressed people he was only told that the local government 'are alive to their responsibility' and that the central government should not interfere in their business. (9)

However, the replies of the government did not sound sufficiently convincing. Thus, Lala Lajpat Rai, an Extremist nationalist, vehemently criticised the Government of India for having failed in its duties. He held that the Government had practically done nothing for the welfare of the Depressed Classes, even though, people were made to believe that no less than sixty millions of the Depressed Classes are protected by this Government against the tyranny of the superior Hindu castes. (10) It had earlier established the Department of Labour headed by a Commissioner of Labour for looking after the welfare of the Depressed Classes. During 1931 this department was reportedly running 1,784 schools for 63,604 Depressed Class pupils. In Bengal (where the Depressed Class students found no difficulty in

securing admission to the common schools) there existed 569 special schools for the Santhals in the Burdwan Division, and 1,087 schools exclusively meant for the Namasudra children in the Dacca Division. As for the United Provinces there were in 1931, 812 schools for the Depressed Classes which had more than eighty-eight thousand pupils on rolls. In the Punjab as well as Bihar and Orissa amenities for the education of the Depressed Classes also increased to a significant extent. The Central Provinces, however, marked an exception to this general trend. Here the number of special schools did not go above 20 in Nagpur whereas (11) they were much less in number in the Berar Circle. Ambedkar too expressed the same note of frustration. In the first session of the Round Table Conference he alleged that though every despatch 'recorded by the Government of India connection with the political advancement of the country' mentioned the difficulties of the Depressed Classes yet none 'attempted to give any solution (12) of those difficulties'.

Montague-Chelmsford Reform and the Problem of Depressed Class Representation :

The World War I gave a powerful stimulus to the nationalist movement in India. The war time slogan of freedom and democracy aroused great expectations in the hearts of Indian nationalists. They hoped that the end of the war would bring substantial measure of self-government. The need now was for mass support which was believed to have been already there behind the Home Rule Movement of 1916. Members of the literate communities were prominent in the nationalists' Home Rule agitation and the

non-Brahmins feared that power would pass to representatives
(13)
primarily from those same communities.

As Congress met in December 1917, the Secretary of State for India Edwin Montague and Viceroy Lord Chelmsford had begun their cold weather touch to gather responses to the proposed idea of political reforms. They were at once deluged with petitions and pleas from various groups including at least ten from the Depressed Classes, all asking for representation in the legislative bodies. Among the petitions submitted to the royal representatives were those from the Panchamas, the Depressed Classes, Adi Andras, Ezhavas, the Buddhists in South India, the Dheds, the Depressed Classes Mission Society, the Depressed India Association, the Namasudras of Bengal, and the Adi Dravida Jana Sabha.
(14)

The Approach of Gandhi and the Congress :

The Indian National Congress, from its inception in 1885 and till the emergence of Gandhi as its leader in 1920 did not find it convenient to engage its attention on questions of such social issues as the removal of untouchability. At that time the Congress mostly remained preoccupied with other issues. Such a policy, however, rested on two basic assumptions. First, the Congress was primarily a political organization intended to voice the national political aspirations of India and not to deal with social questions like untouchability. Secondly, prominent Congress Leaders like W.C. Banerjee, Tilak and others could not find any obvious link between the needs for social reforms and

political development. Apart from this, an important reason why social problems were not dealt with in the Congress forum was the existence of the National Social Conference which was solely concerned with social questions. Thinking aloud, one may also refer to the bhadrak character of the Congress which prevented it from realising the depth of the problem of untouchability.

However, even though Gandhi professed purely spiritual motives in his advocacy for the removal of untouchability he did not fail to emphasise its political implications. He regarded the removal of untouchability as the 'key to Swaraj'. (15) 'Swaraj' Gandhi did not simply mean the liberation from foreign rule. To him it was a state of society free from all injustice and exploitation. He regarded removal of Untouchability as an integral part of the social, psychological and political preparation necessary for launching the struggle against the British.

Non Co-operation Movement & Removal of Untouchability :

At its special session, held in Calcutta in September, 1920 the Congress decided to start the non-co-operation movement against the British Government. From the very beginning, Gandhi wanted that removal of untouchability should be joined with the programme of non-co-operation. 'Non-co-operation' he said, 'is a plea for change of heart not merely in the English but equally in ourselves.'

The annual session of the Congress, held at Nagpur in December, 1920, while reaffirming the Non-co-operation resolution stressed there in the necessity of removal of untouchability for

the cause of national unity. The Congress resolution on removal of untouchability was also supported by the Shankaracharya of the Shrada Pith, a representative of traditional Hinduism. Similarly in the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress, held in December, 1921, every Hindu congressman was required to take the following pledge. "As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with the endeavour to render service to the sub-merge classes."
(16)

Attitude of the Depressed Classes leaders to the Non-co-operation movement :

A group of Depressed Classes leaders kept aloof from the Congress-led movement and expressed their loyalty to the British Crown. In Bengal Namasudras remained aloof from the non-co-operation movement. In their meeting, held at Sannyasi, Khulna District on 18th March, 1922, their leader Mukund Behari Mullick, declared that it would be suicidal for the Namasudras to join the non-co-operation movemet. He expressed gratitude to the British Government which, he held, made no distinction on grounds of caste and creed, and had helped the Namasudras to made advance.
(17)

When Gandhi was in Faridpur, early in May 1925, a Bengali untouchable expressed his deep distrust of the Congress reformers and even of a great nationalist leader like Chittaranjan Das. Even in the south, in Madras the untouchables notably the pellavis expressed the same distrust against the Congress leaders and Congress sponsored political movements.
(18)

The Depressed Class leader' attitude to the Indian Statutory Commission :

Towards the close of 1927, the British Government announced their decision to appoint a Statutory Commission to review the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919 and make a fresh recommendation for constitutional advance. This announcement of the appointment of the Commission consisting of seven Englishmen headed by Sir John Simon came as an affront to the major Indian political parties because of their exclusion from it and led to their decision for the boycott of the commission and for the drafting of a constitution by themselves. But to the leaders of the Depressed Classes this came as an opportunity to present their grievances before the Commission.

On 27th December, 1927, the All-India Adi Hindu Conference of the Depressed and Backward Classes met at Allahabad and passed a resolution extending 'a hearty welcome' to the Statutory Commission. It expressed 'its full confidence in the European members of the said Commission, for if Indians had been appointed, the grievance of the Adi Hindus would have been totally ignored. The Conference of Adi Dravidas it as' in every way describable from the point of view of its composition as well as from its ultimate certain good results. (19)

The most important of the above demands was the reservation of seats in the legislatures on the basis of the recognition of the minority character of the Depressed Classes. In his interview with the Statutory Commission at Poona, on 23rd December, 1928, Ambedkar propounded that as a minority the

Depressed Classes on account of their manifold disabilities 'deserve far greater political protection than any other minority in British India.' (20) Similarly the Madras Depressed Classes conference, held at Pachaiyappa College Hall, Madras, on 29th January, 1928, under the presidency of Rao Bahadur Srinivas demanded the recognition of the separate political status of the Depressed Classes the said conference pointed out : 'When a community is beyond the pale of society it will be beyond the pale of Government, if the constitution does not take into consideration the question and problems relating to that community, and make special provisions to safeguard its interests.' (21)

Reaction to the Recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission

The report of the Statutory Commission came out in May, 1930. The Commission dealt with the problem of the Depressed Classes in all possible details as 'a question of urgent and widespread concern' while the Montague-Chelmsford report had only curiously referred to the problem. The term 'Depressed Classes' was also defined by the Commission as 'the Lowest castes..... within the Hindu religious and social system who cause pollution by touch and defile food or water.' According to its estimate, these castes constituted some 20 per cent of total population of British India or some 30 per cent of Hindu population'.

The Commission felt the necessity of providing for the representation of the Depressed Classes by special electoral methods, because in general electorates they had no chance of getting their representatives elected on account of their numeri-

cal minority and socio-economic backwardness. It was found by the Commission that while they constituted a minority in the general population of the country, their share in the electoral roll was less than proportionate to their ratio in the general population, because of the want of necessary property qualifications for franchise.
(22)

The separatist Depressed Classes' associations vehemently attacked the recommendations of the Statutory Commission. While the reservation of seats in joint electorates and condemned on the ground that it would result in the election of the nominees of the general electorate i.e. mainly the caste Hindus, the power of certification given to the Governor was disapproved as being intended to return only the allies of the Government. R.S.Nakaljay, J.P. and President of the Depressed India Association of Bombay, pointed out that by exercising his certifying power the Governor would 'effectually eliminate for good all those who are not on the good books with the Government, and being only those who would carry out his behest, and even certify 'non-Depressed Class gentleman, to represent the Depressed Classes.'
(23)

Quite a large number of letters written from various parts of the country were piled up in government offices which contained the points of objections for which the recommendations of the Statutory Commission seemed unacceptable to most of the people of the Depressed Classes. Newspapers and journals published in various local languages from different parts of

India bear out the exasperation of the depressed people who remained dissatisfied with the recommendations of the Commission. It appears from these publications that the Depressed India Association of Bombay, Uttar Pradesh Adi-Hindu Provincial Concurrence, the All-India Depressed Classes' Federation and many (24) others wrote protest letters to the government.

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The Depressed Classes in Madras, Bombay and Bengal organised meetings and conventions in which they had not only resolved to oppose the Home Rule Movement but had also expressed their determination to "fight to the last drop of our blood any attempt to transfer the seat of atuthority in the country from British hands to socalled high caste Hindus who have ill-treated us in the past....." For a detailed study of anti-Home Rule rallies organised by the Depressed Classes see Montague papers, M.S.S.EUR.D. 523/36 of which the microfilms are preserved in the national Archieves of India.
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CHAPTER FIVE
SCHEDULED CASTES AND
PUBLIC POLICY

5.1 SCHEDULED CASTES AND PUBLIC POLICY :

Scheduled Castes (SCs) represent the most backward and deprived segment of the Indian society. Traditionally they have been the worst victims of the caste system, the most rigid form of social stratification for institutionalising inequality, found anywhere in the world. The dawn of Independence and subsequent inauguration of a new constitution witnessed a member of statutory safeguards and concessions for uplift of depressed peoples of the country, including SCs. The Scheduled Castes policy, like any other public policy emanates from three major interacting and complementary sources viz. the Constitution, the Legislation and the Plans and the plans and programmes. Constitutional provisions relevant to SCs may be classified into two categories viz. general and special. The Preamble to the Constitution, giving expression to its basic approach, enshrines "Justice - Social, Economic and Political - and Equality of Status and Opportunity" as its two guiding principles. These principles are further elaborated in Part III and IV of the Constitution, respectively dealing with fundamental rights and directive principles of State Policy. Most of the special constitutional provisions relating to SCs are dealt with in part XVI of the Constitution, while leaving a few outside. These special stipulations may broadly be grouped into five categories viz. (1) reservations in representative institutions ; (2) safeguards for public employment ; (3) provisions for educational and economic advancement ; (4) provisions for protection of civil rights, and (5) miscellaneous provisions. Canvass of this proper

being limited, what follows is examination of actual working of these special constitutional safeguards falling in first three categories, which together cover major dimensions of the SC problem viz. education, public employment, political participation and economic advancement. Article 330 and 332 respectively, provide for reservation of seats in lower Houses of the Union and the State Legislatures. They do not, however, specify exact number of seats to be reserved but lay down the principle that this number should be in the same proportion as population of SCs. bears to total population of the respective state. Mode of reservation as also actual number of reserved seats are determined from time-to-time by specific legislation of the Parliament and orders of the Delimitation Commission, a quasi-judicial body.

Purpose behind these reservations had been one of enabling SCs to exercise political power on par with others. However, the reservation mechanism as also coverage envisaged for this purpose has been inadequate. Firstly, the legislative reservations are restricted in scope. While the Indian legislative system is bicameral there is no legal provision for reservation of seats for SCs. in the Upper House of the Union and State legislatures, Secondly, there is no provision for reservations in the more crucial political executive viz. the Councils of Ministers. This is an important lacuna since the executive is the real repository of political power. A few SC members however got elected or nominated to the Rajya Sabha or

Bidhan parishads in the past three decades. But the percentage of SCs. in the Rajya Sabha and Bidhan Parishads, having averaged around five and two, did not bear any significant relation to their population strength. Another limitation of provisions for political reservations is that they are transitory in nature. Article 334 originally provide for their automatic lapse one decade after commencement of the Constitution. This time limit was extended thrice in the year 1959, 1969 and 1980, each time for a further period of ten years. The Constitution under Articles 15 and 16, even while granting equality of opportunity, empowers the State to make special provision for preferential public employment of SCs. Thus, the Constitution not only prescribes disabilities traditionally imposed on occupational choices of SCs. but also gives scope for according them a favoured treatment. Substantive provision to this effect is made under Article 335 which exhorts the state to consider claims of SCs. while making appointments to posts under the Union or States, with due regard for maintenance of administrative efficiency. In pursuance of above constitutional provision, number of safeguards and relaxation favouring SCs have been extended by the Government at various levels. Under the Government of India, fifteen and sixteen per cent of the posts are reserved for SCs. to be respectively filled up on the basis of open competition and promotion. Other important safeguards for preferential public employment of SCs. include relaxation in age and academic qualifications, exemption or reduction of

application fee, pre-examination training for brightening recruitment prospects for competitive examinations, etc. Thus, for example, the percentage of SCs in Class IV Central and Public Enterprises Service in 1974 was respectively higher by 3.5 and 11.3 per cent over their population base. Similar was the case with State Services. This higher percentage representation of SCs was mostly on account of the general reluctance of the non-SCs to take up these jobs which are low paid and suffer from the stigma of low public esteem. However, in all the higher and important services such as IAS, IPS and Class I and II services of the Union, State and Public Sector undertakings and percentage of SCs is nowhere near their population proportion. Notably, SCs are under-represented precisely in service which constitute crucial layers of development and regulatory bureaucracy entrusted with vast powers.

There are two important reasons for this under representation. First is educational backwardness of SCs engendered by a long tradition of forced illiteracy, resulting in lack of adequate number of eligible candidates for public service employment. Second is the generally prejudicial and exacting attitude of the non-SC dominated political and bureaucratic elites in implementation of public employment safeguards. Innumerable dubious practices were adopted by the latter for hoodwinking the gullible SCs. Taking recourse to nonadoption of the rule of reservation dereservation of vacancies ad-hoc appointments by transfers so as to circumvent the reservation

compulsion were some of the standard manipulations in this regard. Education and economic advancement are curcial for general improvement in the living conditions of SCs. Interestingly, among all the constitutional provisions those relating to the above two aspects are mostly lukewarn. The only specific safeguard in this regard appearing in Article 46, among the Directive Principles of State Policy requires the State to promote with 'special care' educational advancement relate to reservation of certain percentage of seats (generally in direct proportion to SC population) and relaxation in the eligibility conditions for admission to educational institutions; grand of scholarships; fee exemption; provision of free hostel accommodation; from supply of study and dress material running of special schools, etc. As a result of these measures the literacy levels among SCs started improving appreciably in the post-Independence period. For instance, according to the statistics made available by the Union Ministry of Education, pertaining to 1978-79 the enrolment percentage of all communities in primary stage (Classes I to V) was 84.5 as against 79.0 for SCs. But with a poor retention or high drop out rate the corresponding figures for middle stage (Classes VI to VIII) were 38.1 and 26.5 per cent respectively for general and SC population groups. Enrolment position in college education was even more disparate. SCs as per cent of total students enrolled in all higher educational institutions in the country in 1974-75, were 5.7 as against their 15 per cent share in the country's population.

More wider disparities at the higher levels of education are to be noted in the context that higher educational qualifications are vital for securing jobs in the highly competitive modern employment market. In the absence of adequate number of eligible SC candidates several public service positions requiring higher educational qualifications were dereserved in the pass. For example, during 1976 alone as many as 1763 SC/ST reserved vacancies were dereserved for reasons of non-availability or unsuitability of candidate. (6)

Reasons for this persistent inequality are not difficult to seek. While problems like pressure on SC children for entering labour market to supplement their meagre family incomes, handicap of informal educational support at home due to parental illiteracy need for part-time employment cutting into study time etc., may be cited as individual causative factors a more pervasive cause for all this, however, is general poverty among the SC population. This being so, equalising educational opportunity basically requires a frontal attack on the poverty of SCs. Experience with anti-poverty programmes, as is discussed elsewhere in this paper, shows that progress in this regard was slow and halting in so far as they related to SCs.

The problem of educational inequality may, to some extent, be tackled by offsetting poverty related handicaps in two ways. Firstly, more vigorously pursuing the current approach of providing protective discrimination crutches. Incentives and inducements such as scholarships, free boarding, lodging and

dresses etc. which are presently offered have not proved equal to the task. This points to the need for escalating them to proportions where they become real incentives. Secondly, a more meaningful but drastic measures of nationalisation of the entire education system may be pursued, not merely for the limited purpose of SC education but for the wider object of equalising educational opportunity for all. The literacy and educational attainments within the SC groups are not uniform and there are sharp variations between different segments of SC population across the States, sexes, regions and castes. An interesting aspect of these disparities is that a few segments of SC population have either attained or are close to attaining literacy rates of the general population while some segments here and there have been surpassed them. This policy gap led to two counter productive results. One, it enabled more advanced SCs to corner off a lion's share of scarce preferential benefits and to that extent deprived the more needy from availing the same. Two, over a period of time this process resulted in the emergence of a well marked out elite section within SCs. Lives of SCs are most critically tied to agriculture as a vast majority of them living in rural areas -- 88 per cent as against 77 per cent non SC/ST population (1971 census) -- are dependent on it. Though agriculture, the backbone of the country's economy, is heavily dependent on SCs their current status in this sector is marked by extreme inequality. The weak position of SCs in the rural life is evident from their workforce distribution marked by a low

percentage of cultivators. Since land is the basis for sustenance of SCs. Land distribution to them has been repeatedly emphasised by plan documents and public policy pronouncements. These agrarian reforms efforts may be discerned into three distinct phases viz., tenancy reform, assignment of government held waste lands and imposition of ceilings on agricultural holdings and the distribution of surplus lands. However, some indication is available from an extended field study on Uttar Pradesh which found that only 6 per cent of families as against 55 to 61 per cent of upper and intermediate caste Hindu and Muslim families purchased land during this period i.e. 1951-60. Till August, 1965 a total of 39.16 lakh acres of land was distributed among SCs during this phase.

Then came two rounds of enactments imposing varying levels of ceilings on agricultural land holdings across the States. High hopes were pinned on these laws in regard to availability of surplus lands for distribution among landless poor. Thus, roughly about 4 lakh acres may have been assigned to SCs under this phase. Initial estimates of potential surplus land in the country on the eve of second round ceiling laws varied between 215.1, and 49.9 lakh acres. However, the actual area distributed as on 18-12-1980 was of the order of 17.4 lakh acres. Of this 5.9 lakh acres only was distributed among 4.98 lakh SC Beneficiaries. Thus, all sources of land distribution put together roughly 50 lakh acres was distributed among SC families upto the end of 1980. This figure as per cent of the total net

(11)

acre shown in the country (3408 lakh acres) works out to 1.4 points. On the positive side it may be said that this new found land ownership has invested SCs with a certain measure of status accreditation in the countryside where land rules the roost. This must have also led to some increase in bargaining power for securing more worth for their perennially undervalued labour. In a few isolated cases holding sizes might have even become viable and consequently a few SCs have crossed the limbo of poverty. Deposite some of these small gains the general condition of SCs continue to be bad and their overall occupational structure has not witnessed any positive developments. Further, land allotted in most cases having been small in size, inferior in quality and the assignees being poor and unable to afford necessary agricultural inputs it cannot be said that the allottees had

(12)

become viable farmers. While the contention that land reforms led to significant improvements in SCs economic condition is widely contested, it is generally conceded that they have succeeded in injecting varying degrees of tension into the agrarian front. On the one side SCs have started challenging traditional exploititive practices, a little on the strength of new found land ownership and more due to the awareness generated by powerful propagands unleashed by official agencies. On the other side, the traditional landholding sections were aggrieved either due to loss of land - actual or imagined - and cheap SC labour as a result of land reforms. The latter were joined by the non-SC poor who, rightly or wrongly, developed groups against SCs

on account of feeling that the latter are pampered at their cost. Their anger got manifested in a large number of incidents of violence against SCs centering round land. (13)

Agriculture is a state subject. Consequently, fixation and enforcement of minimum wages for agricultural labour was entrusted to the state governments, subject to regulations laid down in the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 (Part - II of the Schedule to Act) enacted by the Parliament. Most of the states have enacted, specific legislation in pursuance of this Central Law. However, despite several provisions governing fixation, review and enforcement of minimum wages, numerous reports of their violation in respect of SCs come to light from various parts of the country. (14)

There are still areas in the country to which even this legislation is not extended or the concerned State or Union Territory Governments have not fixed the wage rates under its provision. (15) Further, in cases where both these were done yet minimum wages were not ensured effectively for reasons like insufficiency of enforcement staff or inadequacy of budget provision. (16) One important reason, perhaps, for this non-payment of statutory minimum wages was the lack of will on the part of establishment to enforce the provision in right earnest. While basic solution to this problem is to be found only by the direct and organised pressure of the wage labour the Government can, to some extent, mitigate the situation by large scale provision of public works for employment during off season and to offer competitive wages to improve bargaining capacity of labour during

flush season. Another exploitation which SC agriculture labour are subjected to is the practice of bonded labour which has been made illegal by the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. Despite this, the practice still prevails in one or the other form in many parts of the country. A study jointly undertaken by the Gandhi Peace Foundation and the National Labour Institute found that nearly 22.4 lakh persons were working as bonded labour (17) even as late as in 1978. A very small fraction of this estimated number (1.2 lakhs) only were officially identified as bonded labour and a much less number (0.95 lakhs) were released (18) till November, 1980. The Commission for SCs and STs in this context observed that even the small number of released bounded (19) labours were not properly rehabilitated. Further, there are reports that many among those officially 'released' from bondage have relapsed into it, either due to ineffective rehabilitation or due to the continued hold of vested interests on these hopeless victims.

From the above data three things emerge. One, planning was not used as instrumentality for the SC uplift in any significant way. Two, the major part of Plan expenditure even within the limited allocations came from the State Sector. Three, the plan effort for SC uplift, however, limited, concentrated on the educational aspect and more particularly on higher education that was useful in preparing SCs for middle class or elite positions (20) in the society. In other words, though poverty is the more predominant feature of SC problem it was not given any

significant attention. The limited few among SCs who were recruited to elite positions, willingly or unwillingly, have become one with the establishment. The result has been the unequal progress of various segments of SC population, so much so, a few who were not in real need availed protective benefits time and again, while others, who were extremely depressed, could hardly benefit in the face of the unequal competition from the former. To sum up, the basis argument here is not to deny any improvements in the condition of SCs as a result of the protective discrimination policy. On the country, there have been some definite gains to sections of SC population. (21)

Mondol Commission and Kaka Kaklkar Commission :

In our Indian Constitution makes certain special provisions for the protection and safeguards of SC and ST and Anglo Indian community but the constitution did not identify and definite significant policy in the respect of OBC. In this regard the constitution did not provide any real answer. In this connection according to Article 340 -

(1) The President may by order, appoint a commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition, and 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 should be made, and the order appointing such commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the commission. (2) A Commission so appointed shall investigate the matter referred to them and present to the President a report setting out the fact as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper. (3) The President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken there on to be laid before each house of Parliament.

The President of Mondol Commission has submitted the report to the president of India and say - "Apprehensions were rightly expressed before us that in case the report of my commission also meets the same fate as that of Kaka Kalakar'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 the ground.

For the enquiry of different problem of DBS and also their development after independence the two commission was set up. Firstly the Kaka Kalekar Commission (1953) and another is B.P.Mondal Commission(1979). In 1955 of 13th March Kaka Kalekar Commission submitted his report that it should be identified on the basis of whole India 2399 community as OBC. In 1963 the State Government of Mysore announced or declared to be reserved for ST (15%), SC(3%) and OBC(50%) for the admission of Government Engineering College and Medical College. So total number of the reservation in the post was position 68%. but the Supreme Court

has given verdict against the demand of the commission that the limitation of reservation should not be ever crossed 50% for there reservation of SC & ST. So the V.P.Government has declared only twenty-seven per cent for the reservation of OBC. Because presently according to Indian Constitution has reserved 22.5% for the SC & ST on the basis of the proportion of population. So the Commissions report was not implemented/denied due to varieties problems arisen. But the recommendation of B.P.Mondol Commission in some state either partially or wholly has accepted its implementation 1973 during the period of Janata Government, when P.M. was M.Deshai. The B.P.Mondal Commission was set up to enquiry and report for the identification of in regarding social, educational and for employment for OBC. In 1980 after Janata Govt. the Congress Party had got absolute majority and after Janata Govt. party had got absolute majority and did not take care any responsibility the report and it was totally not did not take care any responsibility the report and it totally not implemented. in 1989 under the Minority and also coalition Government led by V.P.Singh tremendously tried to implement the Mondol Commission report. But B.P.Government had failed to adopt this policy. Because his Government was minority and coalition and the opposition party had been able to prevent against it. The strong opposition party had done violent movement through cremated, hanged of various young man and woman. Also they suggested that the Commission should not identify any particular castes or community of OBC. But it should be based on economic criteria and cannot make any

discrimination between the citizens on grounds only religion, caste, creed, sex, place of birth.

Definition Scheduled Caste :

The constitution of India does not define the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. According to Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution, the President of India may after consultation with the Governor of a State, specify those castes, races of tribes which are considered to be Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in a State.

Recommendations of the Second Backward Classes Commission(Mandal Report) Reservation for Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in service under the Government of India.

In a multiple undualating society like ours, early achievement of the objective of social justice as enshired in the Constitution is a must. The Second Backward Classes Commission called the Mandal Commission was established by then Government with this purpose in view, which submitted its report to the Government of India on 31.12.80.

Government have carefully considered the report and the recommendations of the Commission in the present context regarding the benefits to be extended to the socially and educationally backwsrd classes as opened by the Commission and are of the clear view that at the outset certain weightage has to be provided to such classes in the services of the Union and their Public Undertakings. Accordingly orders are issued as follows :

(i) 27% of the vacancies in civil posts and services under the

Government of India shall be reserved for SEBC; (ii) The aforesaid reservation shall apply to vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment. Detailed instructions relating to the procedure to be followed for enforcing reservation will be issued separately. (iii) Candidates belonging to SEBC recruited on the basis of merit in an open competition on the same standards prescribed for the general candidates shall not be adjusted against the reservation quota of 27%. (iv) The SEBC would comprise in the first phase the castes and communities which are common to both the list in the report of the Mandal Commission and the State Governments' lists. A list of such castes/communities is being issued separately.

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(v) The aforesaid reservation shall take effect from 7.8.90. However, this will not apply to vacancies where the recruitment process has already been initiated prior to the issue of these orders.

Similar instructions in respect of public sector undertakings and financial institutions including public sector Banks will be issued by the Department of Public Enterprises and Ministry of Finance respectively.

5.2 EVOLUTION OF RESERVATION POLICY :

To be specific, the Indian National Congress in its Annual Session at Calcutta in 1917 passed a resolution to that effect. The focus of the resolution was on the bringing of social justice to the Depressed classes and removing their disabilities forced by retrograde customs.

This was all done under the Presidentship of Dr. Annie Basant.

The First Round Table Conference was given a memorandum by Dr. Ambedkar which covered adequate representation of the Depressed Classes in legislatures, measures against discrimination, adequate reservations in services, right to redressal against prejudiced action or neglecting their interests, formation of special department for taking care of untouchables and representation in Cabinet.

Gandhiji resisted special representation to the untouchables; to this Dr. Ambedkar's reaction was very bitter. He took Gandhiji's opposition to separate representation to untouchables as a war against them. He was also annoyed by the reference made by Gandhiji that the representatives of minority communities were not elected by their communities and that they were merely the nominees of the British Government.

The Congress deprived the untouchables of their seats in the executives. There was fear of injustice to them. In ordinary life there was a problem of security. The policy failed to give protection to them. Nothing was left for the untouchables in all echelons of administration. Dr. Khare, the Prime Minister

in the Congress ministry in Central Provinces exposed the communal attitude of Congress and Gandhiji. Dr. Khare was removed from the administership, because he included an untouchable-Agnbjoj as a minister in his Cabinet. He said openly that he was removed because of indicipline and indiscipline consisted in the inclusion of an untouchables in the ministry.

It was different for the psyche of the leadership, the Congress and the people to recognise the rightful claims of the Depressed Classes. The British Government made some efforts to do it. A section of scholars believed that this was done to create more defection in the Indian society. The Marley - Minto reforms of 1910, the Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Cabinet mission scheme of 1946 were mainly based on the principle of communal division. Initially the Muslims were the recipients of special treatment, further it was extended to the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe. The reforms of 1909 divided the electorates into four, in 1919 the divisions rose to ten and in 1935 to seventeen. In 1936 he formed the Independent Labour Party. The party in its manifesto combined economic and social programmes. Seeing that the party was not serving the purpose which it was established for, it was transformed into Scheduled Caste Federation.

As events drifted on, a change of having a mutual understanding between the Congress and Ambedkar came on. Particularly when Ambedkar became aware of his organisational limitations and also of the need for independence for realising

the welfare of the untouchable. Also the Congress in course of time owing to some known and unknown reasons sought the help of Dr. Ambedkar.

Minorities and Constitutional Process :

In the process of constitution-making the question of minorities was to be seriously attended to in India when the word "Minorities" is referred to, it has two principal implications (i) religious, and (ii) linguistic. Before dealing with them in the light of constitution-making, it will be helpful to examine the background. The Nehru Report and the Sapru Committee Report deserve attention. In order to settle the communal problem, the Nehru Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru. The Committee assured all non-Hindu and other linguistic minorities of security and protection. The recommendations of the Nehru Report presumed that India was a homogenous country and in an unambiguous manner planned to be a secular one. It gave fundamental rights to all citizens, and guaranteed religious liberty which the minorities were worried about. Disapproving Separate electorates, it recommended joint ones with reservation to the Muslims.

The Cabinet Mission had set a model for the Constituent Assembly. It made a mention of three categories (i) General, (ii) Muslims and (iii) Sikhs. Nothing was said to the Scheduled castes, Tribes, Parsis, Anglo-Indian and Christians. The Cabinet Mission recommended 246 seats for the provinces and 93 seats for the princely states. The break-up of the Members of the Constituent

Assembly was as follows : Hindu - 163; Muslims - 80; Anglo Indians - 3; Indian Christians - 6; Parsis - 3; Sikhs - 4; Scheduled Castes - 31 and Scheduled Tribes - 6.

A leader of the Scheduled Castes, Dr. Ambedkar, was given the honour to become Chairman of the Draft Committee. All minorities except one or two representatives of the Muslims accepted the safeguards of protection in a fair spirit. The objectives Resolution put by Pandit Nehru, which later on approximately formed the text of the Preamble, guaranteed justice as regards economic, political, social fields and safeguards for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other depressed and backward classes in India.

The only creditable work the Congress did was that of assuring special rights in the form of privileges to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes - and avoiding the possibility of leaders' following a communal line concerning the nature of state, in spite of several communal elements in itself. As for as other minorities were concerned, take the case of Christian, Sikhs or Parsis, nothing specific was done and an argument that these minorities needed nothing special because their social and economic status was sound, only the Scheduled Castes converted as Sikhs and later on as Muslims were extended the facilities generally provided to the Scheduled Castes.

Designing the Scope of facilities to Minorities :

In the phase which immediately followed the Cabinet Mission, the work of the constitution was to be entrusted to the

Advisory Committee, It was to carry out an exhaustive business. Therefore, it appointed five sub-committees on (i) Fundamental Rights, (ii) Minorities (iii) East Frontier, Tribal Areas (iv) North-West Frontier Tribal Areas and (v) Excluded Areas. Out of these the sub-committee on Minorities consisted of twenty-six members, with Dr. H.C. Mukherjee as the Chairman. For electing views of the committee members a questionnaire was prepared which included the following questions :

(a) what would be the nature and scope of the safeguards for a minority in the new constitution ?

(b) what should be the political safeguards of a minority (i) in the Centre and (ii) in the Provinces ?

(c) what should be the safeguards for a minority (i) in the Centre and (ii) in the Provinces ?

(d) what should be religious educational and cultural safeguards for a minority ?

(e) what machinery should be set up to ensure that the safeguards are effective ?

(f) How is it proposed that the safeguards should be eliminated, in what time and under what circumstances ?

The big leaders of the minorities responded to these questions. It meant that they agreed to the scope of the questionnaire which covered almost all the aspects of minority life. Secondly, the leaders had to specify the period how for the facilities be continued for their communities. This particular question was rather over-ambitious in nature. Even if this quest-

ion vis-a-vis question No. 6 in considered it can be said that in the constitution no independent and non-political body was suggested by the minority leaders to evaluate the propriety of continuing the special rights to be given to the minorities and its implementation. When the Government accepted the continuation of these facilities for the period of ten years, it implied that— (a) the Government thought that it could really materialize them in a specified period or (b) the Government knew that if the period in specified constitutionally the minorities might not press the facilities for still longer time and as such it could go on quickly or as slowly as it liked, or (c) Further, if the minorities pressed for a longer period, the Government might oblige them by doing so.

The first impleication is not relevant even if the Government meant it. Poverty, traditionally and illiteracy had so much engulfed the scheduled castes that it was not possible for them to come out of them within a short period of ten years. Considered on the background of the problems, which the Indian Government was then facing, the hope, that it could give justice to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was improper. Dr. Ambedkar while giving consent to the period of ten years for concession might have thought that in a stipulated period, one generation of scheduled castes would turn capable of competing with others. Unfortunately, his forecast went wrong. The position about the job-reservation till the announcement of the emergency by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1975 was disappointing. The Congress

leaders, prior to this, did know better the trend of the newly emerging elites and the mental make-up of the Indian people that they would not accept the progress of the S.C. and that the social and economic upliftment of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes was beyond the reach even in still longer period. So the Government had nothing to loss in accepting the time-limit for the facilities to be awarded to the scheduled castes.

Need of Gurantee for Facilities :

Dr. Ambedkar submitted a memorandum in which he asserted that political and economic safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be guranteed in the constitution. And their representation was to be made on the basis of their population. Dr. Ambedkar preferred separate electorates for the untouchables. Concerning the definition of Scheduled Castes, he insisted that the Government of India Scheduled Caste Order, 1936, under the Government of India Act, 1935 should be used.

The sub-committee on Minorities submitted its report to the Advisory Committee which accepted its recommendations. Further, the Advisory Committee forwarded its report to the President of the Constituent Assembly. Reservations of seats for the Christians, Muslims and Scheduled Castes was accepted. Not only that but the members of the minorities were allowed to contest unreserved seats also. But as far as the seats in the Cabinet were concerned, there was no reservation. Article 238 (1) of the Draft Constitution laid down the provision of the special

officer who was given right to inquire into all the matters concerning privileges to the minorities. Further, according to Articles 300 and 301, a Commission was to be appointed for investigations regarding the backward classes. A leader of the seceduled castes, Nagappas, however, made a criticism that nothing had been said how the leader of the Government would effect different shades of opinion in the Cabinte.

It could be seen that the provision of fundamental rights, along with a special treatment to the Scheduled Castes strengthened their position. Provision of equality in the constitution legally removed social and political restrictions on the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and the privileges enabled them to come up to the standard of the other citizens of India. Article 14 of equality before law, at least constitutionally, scratched off injustice done to the bullied People like Scheduled Castes. It further implied a removal of discrimination on the basis of caste, seats and sex etc. and a free access to all citizens of India to public places, shopes, hotels, restaurents, places of entertainment was ensured. The use of public wells, roads, bathing ghats, tanks etc. was thrown open to all. This provision in the constitution is really revolutionary, despite its innocuous implementation.

Article 16 gives an assurance of Equality of Opportunity in public employment, however more significant is the provision made in clausus 4, that reads as follows : "Nothing in this Article shall prevent the state from making any provision

for the reservation of appointments of 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. The clause points out the intention of the Government to cater to the basic needs of the Scheduled Castes. All the clauses relating to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were largely influenced by Dr. Ambedkar. In many of his speeches and writings he made it clear that education, employment and an economically stable life are the pre-conditions of social reforms. This shows Dr. Ambedkar's insight about the future of the Scheduled Castes. He knew that the Scheduled Castes were not capable of accepting social reforms done through constitution and of taking an initiative in social reforms. An economically stable life was thus to perform a two-edged purpose.

It appears that such provision runs against the principle of equality, but many scholars find close relevance between the principle of equality and privileges to the scheduled castes because of the social disabilities inflicted upon them. (24)

Dr. Ambedkar explained "Although theoretically it is good to have the principle that there shall be equality of opportunity, there must at the same time be a provision made for the entry of certain communities which have so far been outside the administration. (25)

Article 46 of the Indian Constitution accorded them a special treatment in respect of education. The committee on untouchability was aware that lack of education had been one of the basic reasons of their poverty therefore, it was suggested by the

committee on untouchability that if poverty was to be removed, it would need exhaustively qualitative educational system. Education was expected to arouse social, economic and political awareness amongst the backward classes.

Removal of Untouchability :

No doubt, the growth of the Indian democratic system was to rest on the principle of equality. The principle is artistically fused with Articles 14, 15, 16, 29(2), 44, 325 and 326. Those provisions have relevance with the British concept of the Rule of Law. Ivor Jennings gives an apt description of this. He says, "Equality before law means that among equals the law should be treated alike"⁽²⁶⁾. In India economic equality was urgently needed. Gandhiji spelt out the meaning of equality. He said, "According to me, the economic constitution of India and, for the matter of that, of the world should be such that no one under it should suffer from want of clothing.....".

Unequivocally classes 3 and 4 of the Articles 15 empower the state to make special provisions for women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Clause 4 has been inserted in the constitution because several cases concerning special treatment to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were lodged in the Courts.⁽²⁷⁾ In matters regarding Article 16 that assures equality in making appointments and providing employment, there is an exception embodied in clause 4. It runs - "Nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making any provision for there servation 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, 'The Indian Constitution provides equal opportunity in the field of education through Articles 29(2). It reads - "No citizen shall be denied admission to any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of the state funds on the grounds of only religion, race, caste language or any of that." Though it is tactily suggested in the Article that the discrimination can be made it criticises. In Madras, the communal G.O.No. 1254 Education allotted seats in professional colleges on the basis of castes. It was challenged in the Madras High Court and ultimately, the Supreme Court confirmed the decision that the matter was untravires.

The clauses relating to equality have a special reference to backward classes. The political system is a complex of different economic, social and political currents. In modern democracies, it is difficult to treat the seperately. Ambedkar once said that political democracy cannot survive in the absence of social democracy. In hisox opinion social democracy assures and implements liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. Dr.Ambedkar made a plea that equality in social and economic context should not be denied. (28)

In almost all his speeches and literature, Ambedkar cautioned the scheduled castes to safeguard their political privileges. He further made an appeal to them that the safest way of protecting their interest was to secure control over the

future executive in self governing India in their own hand and that it could only be realised by means of an adequate representation in the Legislature of the country. Ambedkar declared that it was perfectly within their rights to refuse any change in the constitution if they felt that no guarantee was given to their safeguards.

(29)

Also, Ambedkar knew that the seats in the legislatures were not the only solution to the removal of deeprooted poverty of the Scheduled Castes. Taking into consideration the general educational standard of the legislatures and the scope left to the administrator, Ambedkar advised the Scheduled Caste people to capture administrative posts. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to shake up to the traditional dominance of the Brahmins in the high echelons of administration. He carried a belief that the people in administration have a class bias and that they live in separation from the common people, with entirely different interests. The high grade officers are many a time enemical to the commoners.

Article 335 was the total effect of the process which is explained just now. It says, "The claims of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration. Consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State." Difficulties were created in this process by raising a controversy that the said Article 335 was not mandatory when this difficulty came up an opinion of the department of law was invited and its announced that it was not mandatory.

Kaka Sahed Kalukar a prominent leader was appointed as a chairman of Backward Classes Commission (Jan 29, 1953) that was to make recommendations to the government regarding finding out test to judge social and educational backwardness, to investigate the reasons of their backwardness. Eleven members including Chairman, constituted the Commission Kalukar stated, "I am definitely against reservation in Government service for any community for a simple reason that the service are not meant for the servants but for the society as a whole. Administration must have the service of the best men available in the land and these may be found in all communities. Reservation of posts for certain backward communities would be as strange as reservation of patients for particular doctors. The patients are not meant to supply adequate or proportionate clientele to all the doctors, whatever their qualifications. The best policy that could be recommended is that given the same or almost the same qualifications. Candidates or aspirants from the backward classes should be given a decided preference. The Commission, it seems, was convinced that the problem of the backward classes have a reference to all people living in rural India.

(30)

(31)

The Commission was thinking over the possible means for identifying socially and educationally backward classes other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was to make observations under which these classes were working and suggestions regarding the patterns of financial assistance. The Commission identified backward classes on the basis of their

poverty, backwardness in education, lack of the use of the means of communication due to their sheltering in interior areas, state and extent of unemployment, existence of defective education having no link with practical matters. The Commission did not hesitate to accept caste as the basis of backwardness. (32)

The constitutional issue of reservation, as it is related to the concept of social justice which is fused with so many classes in the Indian constitution. Prof. S.K. Agarwala argued that the efficiency was likely to be affected only by an excessive representation in total and not by number of recruited during any one year; and it was presumed that whatever may be the number of seats filled by the member of such communities they would satisfy certain minimum qualifications. (33)

5.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF JOB-RESERVATION POLICY :

Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Legislatures :-

The Article 330, 332 and 334 make provision of the reservation of seats for the SC and ST in legislatures. Article 334 limits the period of reservation of seats in the legislatures for thirty years from the commencement of the constitution. In the Lok Sabha, 78 seats for SC and 38 seats for ST are reserved. The purpose behind this reservation is amply clear. B.R. Ambedkar gave an advice to the Scheduled Castes that they should not make any compromise over the issue of their reserved seats, because adequate seats in legislatures were a further guarantee of other safeguards. (34)

In the beginning, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled

Tribes were provided reserved seats and in addition, were permitted to contest open seats also. This created a possibility of their assimilation with the rest of the society. Its consequence does not appear to be heartening. It might be due to the caste politics in India which is pervading all over. The following Table shows this fact.

(35)

General Elections	L o k S a b h a		V i d h a n S a b h a	
	SC	ST	SC	ST
First	5	1	7	4
Second	6	3	9	11
Third	1	2	17	31
Fourth	-	1	6	11
Fifth	1	4	4	14
Sixth	1	2	1	2

The position in the Vidhan Parishads in Seven States as

(36)

it stood in 1977-78, is given below :-

S T A T E S	No. of SC Members		No. of ST Members	
	Elected	Nominated	Elected	Nominated
Andhra Pradesh	6	1	1	2
Bihar	5	1	2	1
J & K	1	1	-	-
Karnataka	2	-	-	-
Maharashtra	5	1	-	-
Tamil Nadu	4	-	-	-
U.P.	4	-	-	-

The representation of seats in Vidhan Parishads it may be concluded is not in proportion to their population, nor does one find a definite criterion for their representation by election or nomination. The list of the candidates elected or nominated mostly depended on the party strategies and the courtesy of the party leaders. The voting pattern of the SC was also largely influenced by the pressure tactics.

Government Measures :

Keeping such instances happening all over India in view, Government took some steps towards removing intimidating forces at the time of elections. Several reports of the commission for SC and ST. In its reports about the Legislative elections 1968-69 the election commission informed that a few stray incidents of intimidation and coercion were received from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh especially western Uttar Pradesh. From Bihar reports of open violence in or near polling stations were also reported. (37) The commissioner for SC and ST expressed a grave concern over the increasing incidents of coercion. He further made a recommendation that every right thinking person, political parties and their leaders without taking a partisan attitude should recognise such incidents as evil and undesirable and try to avoid them at all cost and that strict economic, political and legal, measures may be used. (38)

Steps taken by Election Commission :

Knowing that threats were given to the Scheduled Castes when they went for voting, the Election Commission located polling stations in the neighbourhood of their hutments. The Chief Election Commissioner sent letters to the Chief Ministers and Governors to make adequate "bondobust" at the sensitive areas. (39) Instructions to the Police Department were also given and State Government acknowledged the receipt of instructions and assured to do the needful. (40) In spite of preventive measures, several complaints about the exercise of coercion in the 77's

General Election. The following Table will give a general picture
(41)
about the complaints from several states.

Name of States	Number of Complaints received
Andhra Pradesh	18
Bihar	16
Hariyana	02
Punjab	08
Rajasthan	06
Tamil Nadu	01
Uttar Pradesh	15
Dadra Nagar Haveli	01

In spite of all these measures certain ugly incidents took place. Violence and booth capturing as said by the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes because a regular feature. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes opened that the prescribed punishment under Section 171 F of the I.P.C. for undue influence or personation at an election was not adequate as such it should be made more stringent. He made some recommendations.

- (a) Coercion and intimidation of electors should be made electoral offence.
- (b) Exercising influence and personation should be made punishable with imprisonment and fine.
- (c) Special booth for the weaker sections should be linked up with the nearest police station by wireless.
- (d) Mobile Police Force should visit the places where violent disturbances are likely to occur.

From the time and Indian Constitution began Operating upto 1974-75, the results of the job reservation policy were not promising. The Indian Government have seemed to take untoward

approach regarding the principle of carry forward in promoting Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes employees. The High Power Committee made a recommendation to apply the principle of carry forward in Class I and II services but the Government did not revise the procedure. (43)

In Class III and Class IV, the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was fair but that was not the case with Class I and Class II categories. The position as on 1.1.74. supports this. (44)

CLASS	Total Number including SC and ST	Number of SC	Percentage of SC	Number of ST	Percentage of ST.
I	33672	1094	3.2	192	0.6
II	52343	2401	4.6	258	2.5
III	15,66,796	1,61,775	10.3	33,383	2.1
IV	12,42,548	2,30,203	18.5	47,679	3.8
TOTAL :	28,95,359	3,95,473	13.7	81,812	2.8

The data show that in connection with Class I and Class II recruitment, the quota was not filled. After commenting that the qualified SC and St candidates were not available, particularly in engineering and geology departments, the UPSC rejected several SC and ST candidates. In the Indian Administrative Services, Indian Forest Service, Indian Engineering and Geology Service the percentages of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes figure poorly the table below suggested that much is to be done in the field of engineering.

Engineering Service:

SCHEDULED CASTES				SCHEDULED TRIBES		
Y	No. of Vacancies	Appeared	Recommended	No. of Vacancies	Appeared	Recommended
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1970	47	102	17	28	10	1
1971	57	96	14	29	6	1
1972	77	148	38	49	8	1
1973	63	158	16	40	10	-
1974	92	138	30	63	7	1

Engineering Electronics:

SCHEDULED CASTES				SCHEDULED TRIBES		
Y	No. of Vacancies	Appeared	Recommended	No. of Vacancies	Appeared	Recommended
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1970	15	4	2	03	-	-
1971	29	11	4	15	1	1
1972	49	9	2	22	-	-
1973	21	19	7	10	1	1
1974	62	17	2	22	-	-

In 1977-78 the overall position regarding the employment of the Scheduled Castes was hopeful. The following information indicates this fact.

NAME OF SERVICES	Percentage of Scheduled Castes 1976	1977-78.
IAS	8.56	9.41
IPS	8.16	8.96
IFS	6.57	10.31
ISS	2.75	3.25
Central Engineering Service (Roads Gr.A.)	4.57	4.46

The percentage of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Engineering Department never exceeded 5 percent upto 1973. Almost the same is the case with categories Class I and Class II. In 1977, the percentage of Scheduled Castes in Class I was 4.16, which in the next year, rose upto 4.49 and in Class II slightly increased from 6.07 to 6.33. In the Indian Foreign Service only the position of Scheduled Caste was satisfactory. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes smelled something wrong in rejecting the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates on account of inadequate qualifications.

Another injustice was done to the Scheduled Castes by refusing them a promotion in the Class I category. When this question had come up, it was referred to the cabinet. Secretariat Department of personnel and Administrative Reforms. The Secretariat rejected promotion to the Scheduled Castes on the reservation basis, on the ground of maintaining efficiency in administration. The superior officers have been trusted in execute policy. The plea of the commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was really convincing that when the reservation policy is accepted in the direct recruitment to all posts and appointments, there should not have been a bar to promoting Scheduled Castes (45) lower grade officers to higher ones within Class I.

The device of deservation was severally used against Scheduled Castes. A preventive measure against it was necessary. As such it was recommended by the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that if the reserved posts were to be filled

openly, approval of the Ministry of Home Affairs was to be sought. Fortunately, the Government accepted this suggestion. Further, some recommendations were made by the Government. The recommendations are :

(a) Proposal for dereservation be sent to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and after his countenance approval be given.

(b) In such cases full details are to be submitted as early as possible.

(c) Details of purely temporary posts should also be supplied to the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

(d) Files regarding the dereserved posts should be submitted to the Liason Officers for concurrence.

(e) Dereservation should not be effected unless it is endorsed by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

(f) Principle of Dereservation be used very cautiously especially in Class III and Class IV categories, taking the permission of the Department of personnel and Administrative Reforms. Overall picture in the States and Union Territories was that the representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Class I and Class II was just below even 50% of the posts reserved for them. Gujrat and Rajasthan were the respectable exception. The Commissioner clearly stated that the State Government failed to extend co-operation and assis-

(47)

nce. The Commissioner for Scheduled and Scheduled

Tribes commented, there is no reason to believe that Scheduled
(48)

Castes and Scheduled Tribes persons are not adequately
educated or trained to become eligible for these services. It is
felt that sincere efforts should be made to fully utilize the
vacancies reserved in various services by the Scheduled Castes
(49)

and Scheduled Tribes. The Government of India gave instruct-
ions about the relaxation of qualifications of the Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In Railways, the actual percentage
for the Scheduled Castes fell short of its target. The volume of
complaints received regarding injustice to the Scheduled Castes
in this department shows that it was not adopting the proper
(50)

policy.

The seats in the army have not been reserved for Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Commissioner for Scheduled Caste
and Scheduled Tribes marked it as against the letter and spirit
of the Indian Constitution. He made a comment that unless there
is compulsion that a specified number of Scheduled Castes and
Scheduled Tribes has to be recruited no improvement is expected
in the representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in
near future. The position as on 1.1.78, as compared to on 1.1.77
(51)
gives a dismal picture. The following Table shows this fact.

Arm of Service.	Category	Percentage of increase/ decrease in number of persons belonging to Sch- eduled Castes as on 1.1.77 as compared to the number of persons as on 1.1.77.
ARMY	Service Officers.	- 00.58
	JODS/OOS	- 03.68
	NOCs/OR	- 02.02
	Recruits	- 18.57
	NCSE	+ 20.99
	Boys	- 91.84
NEVY	Civilian Gazetted	+ 13.33
	Service Officers	0.00
	Sailors	+ 04.50
	Civilian Gazetted	+ 42.90
AIR FORCE	Civilian non-Gazetted	+ 04.40
	Service Officers	+ 07.70
	Cadets	- 66.00
	Airmen	- 03.50
	Civilian non-Gazetted	+ 01.64

This indicates that in all the three arms of the service, there has been a fall in the number of Scheduled Castes except a few Categories of the civilian Gazetted and Civilian Non-Gazetted. In the category of Sailors there is a small increase, however, the fall in the category of Boys (Army), Cadets (Indian Air Force) is awful. As such introduction of reservation policy in Army was insisted upon.

(52)

The Government has been trying to improve the job opportunities and service conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Though the Government did not accept to make reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the deputed services it agreed to give fair representation to them. The Railways started implementing reservation in promotions. Special instruction were given by the Government to the Employment.

Exchanges to maintain register for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes jobseekers.

On the recommendation of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the Government relaxed the upper age limit by two years. This applied to all Gazetted as well as non-Gazetted posts. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes enjoy facility in paying the application fees. It is reduced to the extent of 25 percent. Not only that, but the Government accepted the recommendation of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for giving relaxation in the standard necessary for posts. In the departmental and competitive examinations for promotion the standard was relaxed. The reservations of posts were to be exempted in exceptional cases of highly technical type.

* Railway Services:

The situation of the Scheduled Castes in Railway employment is improving. But here also the improvement particularly in Class I and Class II was not very hopeful. For comparison the figures of Scheduled Castes employment in 1974 and 1975 are given below: (53)

C L A S S	Year 1974 in percentage Scheduled Castes.	Year 1975 in percentage Scheduled Castes.
I	4.31	4.75
II	3.91	5.00
III	8.99	9.32
IV	17.69	17.48

In the case of Scheduled Castes, the position in Class II and Class III has improved by one percent and a little more. Even in the Class IV the percentage of Scheduled Castes fell down from

17.69 to 17.48 being aware of this, The Railway Board took the following measures to remedy the situation.

(a) A special cell under two Senior Officials and two Advisors (one each from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) to inspect intensively the roster registers for recruitment and promotion.

(b) Anomalies and discrepancies be rectified and reported by the Chief Personnel Officers.

(c) While filling the posts, every consideration should be given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates.

(d) On the Board of promotion, suitable persons should be taken and if such persons are not available, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes persons who have retired from ministerial service or as an Officer be taken.

(e) A separate register for complaints should be maintained.

(f) Relaxation in the minimum physical standard for the posts of Rakshakas or Sub-Inspectors should be provided to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Candidates

The Ministry of Home Affairs considered this also, and started several pre-examination training centres. The following Table furnishes the information about the Scheduled Castes candidates who availed of the facility.

(54)

Location of Centre	Sanc- tioned Seats.	Number of Candidates trained.	Number of candidates who appeared for examination.	Number of candidates finally selected for IAS	Number of candidates finally selected for IPS
Allahabad	80	41	36	1	-
Madras	60	25	25	1	2
Patiala	50	37	32	2	4
Ran's study Circle Delhi	30	15	15	3	4
Jaipur	NA	41	41	-	1

The results of training centres are not quite promising because at about 16 per cent candidates succeeded in getting jobs in the IAS and IPS Cadets. The reasons for this were not found and either by the Government or by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It might be mainly due to two reasons.

(a) The training centres might not have performed satisfactory;

(b) The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates might have failed to exploit the facilities. Certain other general difficulties were also pointed out. Orissa and Madhya Pradesh were practically unrepresented. Trainees mostly came from eastern States. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes suggested that the Department of Home Affairs should find out from the applications whether Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from other States have applied for training programme or not.

The low representation from Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Gujrat was due to far distance of centres from these States. (55)

The Government attempted to increase the employability of Scheduled Castes candidates. Several coaching-cum-guidance centres were started at Delhi, Jodhpur, Kanpur and Madras. As regards the seats for apprenticeship in all States 81,355 seats were created of which 80359 were actually filled. The Scheduled Castes candidates filled 4582 (57%) seats.

With the passage of time some hopeful results are emerging. In the engineering training centre at Tiruchirapalli, out of 31 Scheduled Castes candidates undergoing training, 22 candidates appears for the examination 8 were eventually selected but they did not intimate their acceptance. The information about the position at other centres is given in the following Table. Three centres, in spite of frequent reminders, did not furnish information.

C E N T R E	Number of Candi- dates trained.	Number of SC candidates appeared.	Number of SC candidates finally selected
Allahabad	48	37	N.A.
Bangalore	111	62	N.A.
Cuttack	14	Course is continuing	Exam. not held
Delhi *	231	81	23
Ernakulam	33	33	14
Bhopal	26	22	N.A.

(* The information relates only 6 courses out of 10)

The planning commission provided Rs. 4.95 lakhs to a scheme under half a million job programme. 1100 applicants from the employment exchanges were included. After completing three phases the scheme has been continued further. Under craftsmen training scheme, Scheduled Castes candidates were given representation on the basis of their population. The percentage of

trained Scheduled Castes in the engineering trades was 12.4 while
(59)
in the non-engineering trades it was 13.1.

* ROLE OF EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES

The role of Employment Exchanges in this context will be useful to evaluate the performance of the Government to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes. The Job Employment Exchange did was not fair.

	1974	1975	1976	1977
1. No. of registrations made	579840	631574	696418	637372
2. No. of placements effected	58425	59659	76685	68973
3. Percentage of placements to registration.	10.1	9.45	11.01	10.82
4. No. of reserved vacancies notified.	36849	45593	62524	57960
5. No. of reserved vacancies filled.	19445	24703	33122	31961
6. Percentage of reserved vacancies filled	52.7	54.18	52.97	55.15
7. No. on the Live register at the end of the year.	857429	1011600	1137031	1281881

The data right from 1974 to 1977 indicate that though enough number of Scheduled Castes candidates was available their rights absorption is to the limit of 55 per cent only. The Government of India decided to appoint a committee to inquire into the causes of this plight. It was also brought to the notice of the Government that there was a huge number of Scheduled Castes people on living register. This indicates lack of co-ordination between the employment exchange and employers. Realising a need for proper co-ordination the Government appointed Employment Officers who visit place to place to collect information about the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes job seekers. The

Officers were to find suitable jobs for them. Rajasthan arranged for mobile camps to carry out the same. The following information on the visits by these officers throws light on the situation.

TERRITORY	Number of visit paid	Number of Scheduled Castes Employment seekers.
1. Bihar	17	85
2. Chandigarh	24	54
3. Gujrat	46	425
4. Himachal Pradesh	17	68
5. Karnataka	95	480
6. Kerala	20	183
7. Lakshadweep	NA	NA
8. Madhya Pradesh	136	418
9. Manipur	3	-
10. Meghalaya	5	-
11. Orissa	163	217
12. Pondicherry	6	11
13. Tamil Nadu	23	24
14. Tripura	16	5
15. Uttar Pradesh	76	2002

Public Undertakings :

Some technical formalities also remained to fulfil for instance, to apply the principle of reservation to oil and Natural Gas Commission, and amendment of parliament Act was necessary. However, in 1974 and 1975 the progress in employing Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates in public sector was not satisfactory. In 120 enterprises out of 124 the information of employed Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was available. It is given below.

Category of Classes.	Total employers	Representation of Scheduled Castes	Percentage of Representation
I	62,121	894	1.44 (1.19)
II	55,182	1,667	3.02 (2.96)
III	7,61,217	1,04,538	13.73 (13.18)
IV	4,52,259	1,19,043	52.29 (26.20)

(In the column of percentage, the figures in the brackets indicate the percentage corresponding to the previous year 1974). It is clear from the above table that the progress is unsatisfactory, particularly in Class I and Class II categories.

The position in the nationalised Banks was not satisfactory in 1974-75. In 11 institutions out of 13, the percentage of the employment of the Scheduled Castes in the Officers grade was less than 1 per cent. The information given below shows this.

* Percentage of Scheduled Castes in Nationalised Banks

Name of the Bank	Officers	Clerks	Subordinate Staff.
1. Central Bank of India	0.15	1.68	9.21
2. Bank of India	1.62	6.08	15.39
3. Punjab National Bank	0.35	5.45	19.56
4. Bank of Baroda	0.22	4.71	9.65
5. United Commercial Bank	0.84	2.03	7.12
6. Canara Bank	0.19	4.37	9.78
7. United Bank of India	0.64	2.27	7.30
8. Dena Bank	0.08	7.67	4.43
9. Syndicate Bank	0.13	4.47	19.06
10. Union Bank of India	0.76	4.17	12.24
11. Allahabad Bank	1.05	2.54	14.79
12. Indian Bank	1.76	10.45	13.27
13. Bank of Maharashtra	0.15	1.39	4.81
14. Reserve Bank Of India	1.03	8.31	15.84
15. Indian Overseas Bank	1.15	7.32	20.94
16. Indian Financial Corporation	2.00	4.04	22.13
17. State Bank of India	0.43	3.55	18.88

The figures given in the Table made the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes say. "It is, therefore, desirable that all Banks may be advised to make special efforts to identify the short falls in various categories and try to clear the same latest by the year 1977".

(61)

* Percentage of Scheduled Castes in various categories

Banking Category	Officers	Clerks	Subordinate Category.
14 Nationalised Banks	1.01	5.92	14.29
Reserve Bank	1.12	9.39	17.33
State Bank of India	0.57	4.47	18.75

As compared to the figures of 1974, there seems to be no notable improvement in the employment of Scheduled Castes in Banking. When the Finance Minister was discussing the Banking Service Commission (Repeal) Bill, 1977, he announced the abolition of the centralised commission for recruitment in all the Banks and establishing region boards. The year 1978 witnessed and improvement in the employment of the Scheduled Castes candidates. The position of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes together is given in the Table.

* The position of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes together is given in the Table

Name of Bank	Officers		Clerks		Subordinate Staff	
	Total	SC/ST %	Total	SC/ST %	Total	SC/ST %
1. Reserve Bank of India	4,769	90-1.88	16,119	2174-13.49	4761	1462-21.82
2. State Bank of India & its subsidiaries.	31,210	324-1.36	82,214	8518-10.36	43762	9433-21.56
3. Nationalised	56,229	1016-1.80	1,32,036	15566-11.79	59006	11696-19.82

* University Teaching :

The teaching profession in India has been a pretigious profession, as such it was indeed very necessary for building confidence among the backward people - to take them up in the

teaching line. The University Grants Commission of India strongly recommended that seats in the institutions and particularly in the institutions of higher learning should be reserved for them. It was also an overdue demand made by the commission for (63) Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was made obligatory that these educational institutions run by the Government should follow the reservation policy. On 14-15 July, 1975, the U.G.C. agreed in principle to give effect to reservation, and the decision was communicated to all the Universities and Colleges. A Warning was to be given that the Universities or the Colleges that fail to make the prescribed appointment would not be given grants. However, this warning was not consistent with the University Act, and the warning of withholding grants would fall outside the orbit of University Act. The promise that the U.G.C. would try to make the Colleges and Universities fall in line with Government Policy was an empty one. No adequate number of posts like Professor, Readers and Lecturers went in favour of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was expected that the Teachers belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be in better position to let the students know the hardships the economically weak sections have to face and this would help create a society fused with a sense of mutual understanding. Till the preparation of the report for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1977-1978, no provision for reservation was made.

When the pressure of the demand for reservation in University teaching increased, the Universities were advised to

modified the rules of making appointments. The Education Ministry was urged to bring the Universities either on the pattern followed by the Centran Government or by the State Government. Out of some 63 States Universities, 49 complied to followed the (64) guidelines.

Also the Government is facing the constitutional challenges, modifying the details of policy, displeasing some interests and inviting misance which is putting more stress and strain on its capability to maintain law and order. The outcome of any public policy is conditioned by the goodness or badness of its executors. The factor of the political personality of the people should also be considered in this analysis. The people have become reactionary to the policy of reservation when they are passive to so many other economic problems actually existing. They are not moved by rising prices, rampart corruption, rioting, exploitation at the hands of so many groups, but even a layman in countryside is annoyed by the reservation policy. (65)

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3. As in the case of combat forces in defence services, Universities, Judicial Services, etc.
4. In 1974 as many as 1235 vacancies were dereserved in the Central Services alone (Report of the Commissioner for SCs and STs, 1975-76 & 1976-77, part I, p.50).
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12. India : A reference Annual, 1968, p.221.
13. Report of the Commissioner for SCs and STs, 1977-78, Part - I, p.90.
14. As per a Union Home Ministry Survey, covering 12 States and Union Territories for the period 1974-76, about 26% of the cases of violence on SCs were on account of economic factors relating to land disputes (cited in Report of Commissioner for SCs and STs, 1977-78, Part - I, p.90).
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16. The Minimum Wages Act was not extended to the State of Sikkim while wage rates have not been fixed Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram (Report of Commissioner for SCs and STs, 1978-79, Part-II, p.128).
17. Second Report of the Commission for SCs and STs, 1979-80, p.84.
18. Cited in the Second Report of the Commission for SCs and STs, 1979-80, p.65.
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35. Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1978-79, p.35.
36. 25th Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Part I) p.10-11.
37. Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1975-76 and 1976-77 (Part-I), p.21.
38. Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes 1975-76 and 1976-77 (Part-I), p.21.
39. Ibid., p.22.

40. The States were Assam, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, M.P., U.P., Delhi, West Bengal, Punjab, Rajasthan.
41. Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1978-79, No.9, p.22.
42. Commissioner's report for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1978-79, p.35.
43. Twenty third Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1975-76), p.81.
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45. This was also made clear in General Manager Southern Railway VS K,Rangachari that reservation Policy was valid in making all appointments.
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48. Twenty-sixty Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.22.
49. Twenty-fourth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.44.
50. Twenty-fifty Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.23.
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56. Ibid., p.90.
57. Twenty-fourth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.53.

58. Twenty-fifty Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.36.
 59. Ibid., p.37.
 60. Twenty-third Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.93.
 61. Op.cit., p.97.
 62. Twenty-fourth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.40.
 63. Twenty-third Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.97.
 64. Twenty-sixty Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p.61
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CHAPTER SIX
CASTE, TRIBES, AND
PLANS

6.1 POLICY UNDER FIVE YEAR PLAN

Strategy of Seventh Five Year Plans and its Achievements :

The Seventh Five Year Plan strategy of this corporation has been centered round the beneficiary oriented schemes with focus on family as a unit. The entire strategy has been evolved for the purpose of building up a strong economic base for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes families living below the poverty line. Following the approved pattern and schemes had been designed to be financed according to the accepted funding pattern of 20% margin money of this Corporation on soft loan basis 30% institutional finance and 50% governmental subsidy. While formulating the strategy for the seventh plan the following factors have been kept in mind :

- a) Identification of right type of beneficiary and selection of right kind of schemes suitable for the beneficiary;
- b) Arrangement of all inputs required for successful execution of such economic activity;
- c) Willingness of the financial institution to finance such schemes;
- d) Availability for a catalyst for clubbing together the inputs and pass them on to the beneficiary.

During the seventh plan period to achieve the desired level of performance of few changes have been made, which were conspicuous by their absence during sixth plan period.

- 1) Communication of district target to the district branches well in advance at the beginning of the financial year;
- 2) Establishing direct contacts with the beneficia-

ries through organisation of Sandhy Baithaks to ensure selection of appropriate schemes and to create an overall awareness and motivation among the target group of people. Where necessary, pre-sanction joint enquiry has been introduced so that the beneficiaries may be selected by all the agencies involved in the programme through a joint sitting and interview of the beneficiaries in order to ascertain their aptitude, expertise and credit absorption capacity;

3) Bringing the families covered by the short term lending programme within the ambit of the mid-term lending programmes;

4) More emphasis on the execution of schemes in clusters;

5) Training for the beneficiaries to augment their enterprenurial skill and subsequent economic rehabilitation through family oriented economic schemes.

In the beginning of the Seventh Five Year Plan programme planning for the entire Seventh Five Year Plan was made marking districtwise and year-wise division of targets. It was contemplated to cover in the first year i.e. in 1985-86. The projected percentages of coverages during the successive years of the plan period were calculated as 15%, 22%, 26% and 27% respectively.

Target & Achievement during 1985-86 :

During 1985-86 it was envisaged to cover 90,000 families under the mid-term lending programme. The achievement of the corporation far exceeded the target although the linkage of

margin money with the IRDP schemes in respect of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes beneficiaries was discontinued by Government. During the year 1985-86 the financed a total number of 1,18,411 scheduled caste beneficiaries in mid-term lending programme with a total margin money participation of Rs.5,94,00,663/-. Institutional finance mobilised for these schemes amounted

Name of the	Benefic- iaries	Margin Money Rs.	Bank Loan Rs.	Subsidiry Rs.	Total Rs.
Agriculture	13210	9353119	15758854	24431576	49543549
Animal Husbandry	22646	12173427	19074151	31091732	62339310
Cottage & Small Scale Industry	41704	1571962	26104583	40383439	81959974
Trade and Business	19022	8344996	16550699	20336875	45222570
Fisheries	15796	11765228	22683379	26282530	60741137
Transport and others	6033	2291931	3320412	5050663	10663006
Total :	118411	59400663	103492078	147576805	310469546

Target & Achievement during 1986-87 :

Based on the strategy of development as indicated in the preceding paragraphs and also keeping in view the occupational pattern and aptitude of Scheduled Castes people belonging to the target group and in the light of the experience gathered by corporation in the previous years the programme of the Corporation for the year 1986-87 was to cover 1,35,000 Scheduled Castes families out of which the Corporation would take care of 81,000 families under mid-term lending programme and the balance 54,000 families would be covered under the IRDP programme.

Name of the	No. of Beneficiaries	Margin Money Rs.	Bank Loan Rs.	Subsidiry Rs.	Total Rs.
Agriculture	16200	129.6	194.4	324.0	648
Animal Husbandry	20250	162.0	243.0	405.0	810
Cottage & Small Scale Industry	16200	129.6	194.4	324.0	648
Trade and Business	8100	64.8	137.7	121.5	324
Fisheries	16200	129.6	194.4	324.0	648
Transport and others	4054	16.2	24.3	40.5	81
Total :	81000	631.8	988.2	1539.0	3150

As against the programme for 1986-87 the Corporation not only achieved the target but also exceeded it, entirely to the exclusion of the achievements made under the IRDP sector. It will be apparent from the table given below that against a target to cover 81000 Scheduled Castes families with involvement of margin money the Corporation covered 87970 number of families by investing an amount of Rs.6,12,02,406/- as margin money. The total investment made for these families during 1986-87 inclusive of subsidy, bank loan and margin money was to the tune of Rs. 30.03 crores. A sectorwise comparative analysis of achievement made during 1985-86 and 1986-87 will show that the maximum increase in the coverage of beneficiaries has been made under the Trade and Business sector there by implying a definite thrust towards occupational mobility of the Scheduled Castes population living below the poverty line who had been hetherto stuck to the traditional occupation with a gradual shrinkage in opportunities

NAME OF THE	Number of cases sponsored	Number of cases sanctioned	No. of beneficiaries	Margin money Rs.	Bank loan Rs.	Subsidy Rs.	TOTAL Rs.
Agriculture and							
Small Irrigation.	9233	9147	9161	8626526	13086748	213770938	43084212
Animal Husbandry	17813	17714	17712	12590450	12590450	31609941	63600874
Collage & Small							
Scale Industry	32998	32931	32854	19117745	29362304	45653067	94133116
Fisheries	8737	8522	8971	8794779	14023630	19474953	42293362
Trades Small							
Business Rural	16227	16197	16196	10673854	19077890	20422829	50174573
Transport	2996	2974	2976	1399052	2308094	3302662	7009808
TOTAL	88004	87484	87970	61209406	97259149	141834390	300295945

for enhanced income. A cursory glance over the percentage-wise sectoral coverage of beneficiaries during the year 1986-87 will reveal that as in previous years the maximum number of beneficiaries were covered under the village and cottage industry sector 32,954 out of 87,970 total beneficiaries.

Target and Achievement during 1986-87 :

Keeping in mind the experiences gathered in the past in implementing family oriented schemes for the Scheduled Castes people living below the poverty line and the availability of necessary finance from the Central and the State Government the target of the corporation for the year 1987-88 was fixed in the following manner :

NAME OF THE	Target	Total Outlay	Subsidy	Margin Money
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agriculture and Small Irrigation	15836	63344000	31672000	12668800
Animal Husbandry	19797	79188000	39594000	12837600
Cottage and Small Scale Industry	15836	63344000	31672000	12668800
Fisheries	15836	63344000	31672000	12668800
Rural Transport	3957	791400	3957000	1582800
T O T A L :	79180	308806000	150444000	61761200

It will be apparent from the above table that minimum emphasis was put on Animal Husbandry Scheme followed by agriculture and Small Irrigation, Cottage and Small Scale Industry and Fisheries. An appreciable thrust had been also put on the Trade and Business sector with a view to achieving occupa-

tional mobility of the Scheduled Castes population hither to tied to the traditional occupation. This will help to open up new vistas of economic horizons for these people, thereby lessening their overdependence on traditional occupations.

Name of the	No. of Beneficiaries	Margin Money Rs.	Bank Loan Rs.	Subsidiry Rs.	Total Rs.
Agriculture & Small Irregagion	8836	8186252	12506659	20285538	40978440
Animal Husbandry	18093	13031745	19711235	33486079	66229059
Cottage & Small Scale Industry	35804	24351001	36726314	60999902	122077217
Rural Transport	2156	1095604	1857041	2534905	5488450
Fisheries	6116	5752197	9511275	13637675	28901147
T O T A L :	81219	59692593	94412539	144823124	299938256

The following Table will give an idea of the achievement made during 1987-88

Name of the	Target	Total Outlay Rs.	Subsidy Rs.	Margin Money Rs.	Bank Loan Rs.
Agriculture & Small Irregagion	15650	64985666	29689327	12437106	22859233
Animal Husbandry	19815	81164000	37090643	15535366	28538000
Fisheries	15850	64985667	29689328	12437106	22859233
Cottage & Small Scale Industry	15850	64985667	29689328	12437106	22859233
Trade and Business	7924	41524000	18857620	7924380	1474200
Rural Transport	3960	6870000	3959904	1679096	3231000
T O T A L :	79249	326515000	148976140	62450160	115088700

Target and Achievement during 1988-89 :

The physical and financial target in respect of coverage of Scheduled Castes were fixed up in consonance with the direction issued by the State Govt. in this target regard. The following Table gives a picture of the target in respect of Scheduled Castes during 1988-89.

NAME OF THE SCHEME	BENEFICIARIES	MARGIN MONEY Rs.	BANK LOAN Rs.	SUBSIDY Rs.	T O T A L
Agriculture and					
Small Irrigation.	7573	7232466	13503597	17645086	38381149
Animal Husbandry	13841	10600938	20939966	24965804	56506808
Cottage & Small					
Scale Industry	38524	29072520	55141957	65908107	150122584
Fisheries	4655	4508430	8109028	10164421	22781879
Trades & Business	15795	11597780	23296856	24145791	59040427
Rural Transport &					
Others	2366	1270487	2554398	2813392	6638277
T O T A L	82754	64282621	123545402	145642601	333470624

Target and Achievement during 1989-90 :

During 1989-90 fund constraint, burgeoning number of beneficiaries coupled with the endeavour to augment per beneficiary investment under the anti-poverty programme in order to ensure a sizable economic return to the beneficiary families living below the poverty line brought about certain changes in the financing pattern for the scheduled castes beneficiaries during the year. An increased flow of institution credit to the hitherto neglected section of the population is one of the prime factors motivating the Government to bring about the changes. The Bank Loan component was increased from 30% to 50% whereas the subsidy component was reduced to 33-1/3% along with the reduction of margin money component to 16-2/3% from the existing 20%.

The target fixed for 1989-90 was 5% above the physical and financial target of 1988-89 which was in conformance with the direction issued by Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare Department in this regard. The sectoral target for 1989-90 is given below.

The sectoral coverage of beneficiary families together with its financial outlays in each sector had been arrived at keeping in view of the broad guidelines enunciated in the D.O. letter dated the 25th April, 1980, from Shri B.G. Deshmukh, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India wherein Special Central Assistance to Special Component Plan has been conceived as an additive which will provide the required thrust in programmes relevant for the development of Scheduled Castes population particularly in core sectors like Animal

T A B L E

NAME OF THE SCHEME	T A R G E T	AVERAGE PROJECT COST	TOTAL PROJECT COST	MARGIN MONEY 16-2/3%	BANK LOAN 50%	SUBSIDY 33-1/3%
Agriculture and						
Small Irrigation.	16628	6000	88768000	16628000	49884000	33256000
Animal Husbandry	20785	6000	124710000	20785000	62335000	415770000
Cottage & Small						
Scale Industry	16628	6000	99768000	16628000	49884000	33256000
Fisheries	16628	6000	99768000	16628000	49884000	33256000
Trades & Business	8314	7000	58198000	9699670	29099000	19399330
Rural Transport &						
Others	4157	4000	16628000	2771330	8314000	5542670
TOTAL	83140		498840000	83140000	239420000	166280000

Husbandry, Agrigulture, Village & Cottage Industries, etc.

It will be apparent from the above table that the per family investment during 1989-90 was tentatively fixed at Rs. 6000/-. The projection made in respect of per family investment during 1989-90 surpasses all other projections made in this regard in the preceding year. The total investment envisaged for the programme for 1989-90 was Rs. 49.88 crores which was such higher than that of 1988-89 where it was only Rs. 32.65 crores.

The table below gives an idea of the achievements during 1989-90.

It would be evident from the above table that the achievement during 1989-90 is slightly less than that of target fixed for the year.

Although 88552 cases were sponsored during the year and cleared by the financial institutions, the Corporation could not cover all the cases because of the lack of margin money and subsidy fund. The Corporation also failed to make recoveries of the margin money lone to the desired extent because of the prevailing ideas among the loanees that the loan amount would be waived by Government.

However, the total investment made during 1989-90 is Rs. 59.83 crores which is evidently higher than that of 1988-89 when it was Rs. 33.35 crores. The per family investment during 1989-90 has also gone up to above Rs. 5,000/- which is distinctly higher than that of 1988-89 when it was Rs. 4,030/-.

The table 1-B annexed to the documents projects a total

TABLE

NAME OF THE SCHEME	T A R G E T	ACHIEVEMENT	MARGIN	BANK LOAN	SUBSIDY	T O T A L
			MONEY			
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Agriculture and						
Small Irrigation.	16628	7220	6604592	19692206	13411081	39707879
Animal Husbandry	20785	133362	10552068	31387030	21592340	65531438
Cottage & Small						
Scale Industry	16628	37366	30926804	92214293	62506922	185648019
Fisheries	16628	4777	3797458	11992253	7509638	23299349
Trades & Business	8214	15497	13092593	38709300	26367994	78169987
Rural Transport	4157	2193	1341212	3957730	2600695	7899637
T O T A L	83140	80415	66314727	197952812	133988670	398256209

picture of the performance of the Corporation in respect of short-term and mid-term loan during the Seventh Five Year Plan.

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6.2 SALIENT FEATURES OF THE PROGRAMME FOR 1992-93

Base Level Planning :

In conformity with the State Policy to have base level planning on the basis of resources and infrastructural facilities available in each area and to inject an element of realism into the planning process, the Corporation has been preparing its Annual District Physical and financial targets are fixed before hand on the basis of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population percentage, past performance, occupational pattern and expertise of Scheduled Castes peoplex living in the area. In constitution with Lead Bank officers, block officials and Panchayet funtionaries, micro-level physical and financial targets are fixed on the basis of available reseources, infrastructural facilities, occupational skill and expertise of the community living in a particular area. This Action Plan of the Corporation relating to a particular district forms an integral part of the district plan and the Credit Plan of the district.

Procedure for selection of beneficiaries :

As the purpose of different schemes of the Corporation are meant to alleviate the economic condition of the S.C. people living in the lowest stratum of the society, it is very necessary to select the right type of beneficiaries for this purpose. The elected bodies including the Block Panchayet Samity have a key role to play in selecting the right type of beneficiary for the family oriented schemes of the Corporation. It is needless to

mention that it has been the persistent endeavour of the Corporation to ensure selection of right type of beneficiaries for the right type of schemes. The project profile prepared in this connection will immensely help the sponsoring agencies.

An evaluation report on the performance of West Bengal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Dev. & Fin. Corporation prepared by the Agricultural Finance Corporation Ltd., S.C. Cell, New Delhi, Ministry of Welfare (S.C. & B.C.D.), Government of India on the basis of the sample survey undertaken by them in three districts viz. 24-parganas(North), Nadia and Jalpaiguri observes "Out of a total sample survey of 150 beneficiaries 50 from each district all but 4 are below the poverty line which was defined as a family income of Rs. 3,500/- per annum at that time. Almost all the beneficiaries had their homestead land either purchased, inhabited or vested by Government. Only 2 beneficiaries in Jalpaiguri district had no homestead land of their own but were squatting on P.W.D. land". The said organisation while making the survey report on the working of the Corporation further observes "Panchayat system has taken deep roots in West Bengal. The decision to involve the elected representatives of the people in the Panchayat in development programme in genegally is generally sound".

The evaluation report commands the efficiency of the method followed by the Corporation for selecting beneficiaries for poverty alleviation programme at the grass root level. The present system of selection of beneficiaries will be continued

during 1992-93. Thus pre-sanction enquiry as well as interview of the beneficiaries for selecting of right type of scheme are expected to help the beneficiary families to earn additional income during 1992-93. The present method followed in selection of beneficiaries will also help the financial institutions and Government officials to weed out ineligible beneficiaries as well as unsuitable schemes and help financial institutions to sanction schemes as soon as the schemes through joint inspection, the availability of local resources and infrastructural facilities are also taken into account to select more realistic scheme for the beneficiary families.

Cluster-cum-Saturation Approach :

The Cluster-cum-saturation approach which was introduced during the middle of the 6th Plan will also be continued during 1992-93. The cluster approach is replete with the following potentialities :

- I. Different scheme in a compact area may be complementary to each other, thereby making each scheme economically viable;
- II. A large area may be brought under the developmental activities thereby making the programme more meaningful to the community;
- III. Monitoring including recovery of loan becomes easier;
- IV. It offers manifold benefits to the target group of people in the shape of financial assistance from financial institutions coupled with the organisation of supply of inputs and marketing facilities.

The cluster approach also helps in imparting technical know how to a large group of beneficiary families.

The cluster will be both in terms of area and in terms of schemes.

An earnest effort in this regard has already been made by launching pilot project in selected areas.

Monitoring :

The system of monitoring of family oriented schemes which occupies an important place in the programme implementation of the Corporation is expected to play a more effective role during 1992-93. The monitoring work will include among others the following :-

- a) Review of monthly performance report submitted by the district branches. The report should contain the following information : (i) number of cases sponsored by the Banks, (ii) number of cases sanctioned, (iii) the Bank level position of disbursement, (iv) the field level stage of implementation etc.
- b) Periodical review meetings are held with the heads of the district units to review and evaluate progress of different schemes, shortcomings etc. are identified and necessary instruction for over coming these difficulties are issued;
- c) Emphasis is on the issue of beneficiary monitoring cards to the loanee at the time of disbursement of loans so as to make periodical review of the position of beneficiaries easier;

- d) Submission of field inspection report by the Corporation officials to the Head Office in each month in the prescribed format;
- e) Monthly field visit by the base level officials of the district unit as well as middle level functionaries of the Corporation to ensure proper monitoring and evaluation;
- f) Regular discussion in the S.L.B.C. and the D.L.C.C./B.L.B.C. meeting regarding implementation of family oriented schemes and appraisal.

The Corporation has arranged for necessary training programme for the entrepreneurs to strengthen their technical skill and develop their entrepreneurial quality. Besides this, evaluation of the performance of the Corporation is also entrusted to outside organisations like National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation, Cultural Research Organisation Directorate of Evaluation, Monitoring and Man Power from time to time and the reports submitted by them offer scope to the Corporation to plug of loopholes and remove the shortcomings.

Preparation of Project Profile :

So long the Corporation had been going by the project profiles prepared by DRDA and other agencies. No project profile especially relevant to the problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was even prepared thereby ignoring the needs and aspiration of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries whose problems are unique in nature and cannot be equated with

the problems of other groups of people, ethnic or religious. The preparation of a suitable project profile relevant to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes had thus become long overdue as emphasised by different Working Groups on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The escalation of project cost of Rs. 35,000/- along with the suggestions from the West Bengal State Level Bankers' Committee in this regard accentuated the preparation of a suitable project profile in 1991-92. The project profile has thus been prepared by each district. It is needless to mention that the project profile will help the sponsoring agencies to select innovating schemes of higher value for S.C./ S.T. families and will help the families to earn more income from schemes.

Recovery of Margin Money Loan :

Recovery of margin money loan plays a vital role in the continuation of the programme of the Corporation and is ~~entirely~~ linked with the successful implementation of the programme. The capital base of the Corporation has been moulded out of the contributions made by Government of West Bengal and Government of India in the ratio of 51:49. It has been envisaged that in the long run the Corporation will be in a position to undertake a self-supporting programme for the benefit of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes by recycling the recovered margin money and no further share capital contribution will be necessary from Government. It has also been envisaged that interest earned @ 4% on margin money will be able to meet the establishment costs of the Corporation. The recovery of margin money loan and interest there on has been

become important for the sustenance of the Corporation.

To achieve the objective the Corporation prepares annually an elaborate for recovery of outstanding margin money loan with the help of Panchayat functionaries and Bank Branches. In fact, the recovery of margin money loan is a continuous process and is undertaken throughout the year along with the recovery of Bank loan as per the tie-up arrangements evolved with the S.L.B.C. The single window system introduced for the antipoverty programme has entrusted the financing bank branches with the responsibility of recovering margin money loan along with bank loan component. To streamline the system of recovery of margin money loan through bank branches some important steps have been taken in consultation with the S.L.B.C. which are, among others, the followings :-

- I. All the three components of the loan namely, Bank Loan, margin money Loan and Subsidy should be disbursed proportionately when disbursement is made in instalments;
- II. Margin Money Loan bonds and money receipts should be submitted by the financing Bank Branches to the concerned District Managers within one month from the date of disbursement;
- III. The Margin Money Loan repayments accepted by the Bank branches should be remitted to the concerned District Branches along with the list of loanees.

Despite best efforts of the Corporation and the financing institutions the recovery of margin money loan during 1991-92

was seriously effected because of the introduction of Agricultural and Rural Debt Relief Scheme, 1991 by Government of India. Bank loans amounting to Rs.10,000/- under the provisions of the above scheme have been waived but no decision from the Government has been received as to the realisation of margin money loan given to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes borrowers belonging to the poverty line. This has adversely affected the recovery of margin money loan during 1991-92.

The margin money loan disbursed by the Corporation to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes borrowers upto 1991-92 amounts to Rs.54.10 crores excluding refund. As most of the schemes sanctioned for the beneficiary families relate to the core sectors with a long repayment schedule as per the revised norms of NABARD the total RECOVERY amount due as on 31st March, 1991 is of the order of Rs.40 POSITION crores. The total recoveries made upto 31st March, 1992 is Rs.12,10,000/- (Rupees twelve lakhs and ten thousand) only. The recovery percentage as on 31.3.92 is 30.33%. The total amount recoveries made during 1991-92 is Rs.105.66 lakhs.

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6.3 TRIBAL SUB-PLAN 1992-93

Introduction :

Out of total population of 5,45,80,647 in the State of West Bengal 30,70,672 belong to Scheduled Castes(1981). There has been a decrease in the Scheduled Tribes population from 5.72% in 1971 to 5.62% in 1981. Whereas gross population increased during 1971-81 period was 23.17% which is 1.94 less than the general population.

Level of Development :

According to 1981 census 1273768 Scheduled Tribes persons constituting 41.48% of total Scheduled Tribes population were main workers. Out of the above main workers categoriwise distribution of Scheduled Tribes workers are indicated below.

i) Cultivators	3,95,359	31.04%
ii) Household Industry Manufacturing, process Sing. Servicing repairs etc.	13,377	7.05%
iii) Agricultural Labourers	6,20,743	48.73%
iv) Other workers	2,44,290	19.18%

During the decade 1971-81 the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes of this State registered a rise from 8.92 to 13.21%. The main Scheduled Tribe literacy rate in 1981 was 21.16% and female literacy rate was 5.01% in comparison to general male literacy rate of 50.67% and female literacy rate of 30.25%. The working group on tribal Development during 7th Five Year Plan observed that inspite of so much educational development programmes undertake for the Scheduled Tribes there had been slow progress in tribal education and a gap still continues rather widely. Keeping in view the recommendations made by the working group greater effort is being made by the State Government. In promoting education of the Scheduled Tribes in primary and secondary stage including adult education of tribal men and women in the tribal areas particularly with association of voluntary organisations and traditional tribal social institutions. This department is also implementing different stipendiary educational

scheme for Scheduled Tribes students in pre-secondary and post-secondary stage of education. For quick availability of stipend entitlement cards against individual student are being issued for payment of stipend through Banks.

Review of the Protective Measures :

a) Forest Policy : The existing policy in relation to tribal continue during 8th Five Year Plan. The Forest Villages Development Schemes approved by the Government of India for all round development of tribal people residing in the forest villages, implementation of which was stopped in the midway because of the ban on creation of the fund on account of this scheme is being utilised. The social forestry schemes for raising plantation on lands belonging to Government Panchayat and Local Bodies exclusively for the people belonging to backward classes is continuing.

b) Land Reforms Policy : With a view to protect the tribals from land grabbing by the unscrupulous people it was proposed earlier by the State Government to stop alienation of land in suppression of the provision of Chapter IIA of the W.B.L.R. Act, 1955. The Government of India was requested to consider introduction of centrally sponsored new scheme for purchasing lands from the tribal people in distress and redistribute the same among the landless tribals as the State Government was not in a position to implementation the scheme for want of fund. Accordingly, alienation of tribal land to tribal or non-tribal has been stopped. The State Government was however, taken up the

above policy of "Distress Sale" subject to the availability of fund.

c) Credit Policy : The W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd. the apex body of the lamps and W.B. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development and Finance Corporation have arranged for adequate credit flow for the tribal people in family oriented economic schemes. The W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., has undertaken banking operation through its subsidiary LAMPS in selected places. Co-Operative Banks are also advancing credit on short term financing scheme to the Scheduled Tribes bargaders and assigness of vested lands.

d) Supply of foodgrains and other Consumer Articles : The scheme for distribution of foodgrain at concessional rate in ITDP areas and for supply of public distribution item through the LAMPS are going on satisfactorily.

e) Excise Policy : There will be no change in the existing Excise Policy. To strengthen the publicity amongst the backward class people the Scheduled Castes and Tribal Welfare Department has decided to publish a fortnightly bulletin from the year 1990-91. The excise policy adopted by State Government in relation to the tribal areas is given below. :

I. No new liquor shops in predominantly Tribal Areas (i.e. Mouszas) should be opened.

II. Existing country spirit shops located in Tribal concentrated Mouzas should be gradually shifted outside.

III. Pachwai Shops may be retained or set up in Tribal Mouzas only if they are run by the Tribal People and

accordingly other Pachwai Shops in Tribal Mouzas may be abolished; and

IV. Home brewing Pachwai Licenses may instead be issued in adequate numbers.

f) Employment : The Jawhar Rojgar Yojana, Social Forestry Schemes and other Schemes for Development of infrastructure in the Tribal villages will continue to be implemented in massive scale for creation of employment opportunities for the Tribal people. In addition, Forest Department will continue to engage tribal population in forest felling and logging operation. Relaxation in the employment policy in relation to recruitment of tribal people in the SAP Forest and Group "D" posts in the Forest Directorate and Forest Development Corporation will also continue.

The Plan 8th Five Year Plan 1992-97 and Annual Plan 1992-93 :

As tentatively decided by the State Government, the State Plan outlays during the 8th Five Year Plan period are proposed to be stepped up over the State Plan outlay of 1991-92 and compounded 10%, 10.5%, 1.1%, 11.5% and 12% respectively. The State Plan outlay during 1991-92 has been fixed at Rs.148600 lakhs.

Although the above flows are higher in financial terms as compared to the previous years, yet the actual percentage to State Plans will remain below 5%. As per decision of the Government Sectoral Departments, were requested to quantify at least 5% of their Annual Plan outlay to T.S.P. It may be mentioned in this connection that as recommended by the working group on the

Development of Scheduled Tribes and guidelines issued by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Welfare, Government of India, this State Government, have already decided and taken serious efforts to raise the outlay for T.S.P. to 6% i.e. according to Scheduled Tribes population ratio of the State (Census 1981). Accordingly Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare Department, in this Government expected flows to T.S.P. against the above probable State Plan outlays during 8th Plan period at above rate which are likely to come as given below :

The expectations seem to be highly ambitious. Because, funds against only 28 sectors/Departments could be quantified so far. 3.2 The size of the Annual Plan outlay 1992-93; as proposed is Rs.163433.26 lakhs of which the proposed follow to T.S.P. estimated so far comes to Rs.8340.56 lakhs comprising 5.10% to the Annual Plan outlay. abstract statement given in Table III indicates names of the Department/Sectors, proposed State Plan.

The General Guiding Principles of Seventh Plan :

In consonance with the general guiding principles of the seventh Plan the proximate objective of the T.S.P. are growth equity and social justice self reliance efficiency and productivity raising the socio-economic condition of the tribal population and strengthening of infrastructure of tribal areas the main objectives during 7th Plan were as follows :

- i) Orientation of planning towards beneficiary - oriented programmes with stress on such infrastructure development as will be conducive to the overall

objective of assisting 50% of Scheduled Tribes families to cross the poverty line.

ii) Special programme for vulnerable tribal areas and groups including Scheduled Tribes women improvement of tribal encoronment.

iii) Education both formal and non-formal.

iv) Rehabilitation of displaced persons.

v) Upgradation Tribal skills and setting up of tribal crafts training-cum-production centres.

vi) Minor Irrigariion projects in the tribal areas.

vii) Adequate organisation for enforcement of protective legislations.

viii) Primitive Tribal and grounding an administrative unit for implementing such programme.

ix) Improving marketing of tribal produce.

x) Alleviation of poverty through forestry schemes.

In consonance with the above objectives the sectoral Departments in this Governments have been requested to draw up need based programme during 8th Plan on :

a. eradication of the basic factors that have been responsible for social educational and economic backwardness of these groups of people.

b. removal of economic deprivation and special handicaps within the shortest possible time.

c. to make available primary education, primary health dwelling units, drinking water and other basis

minimum needs without hindrance by ensuring proper allocations.

d. to augment and strengthen the economic development programme which are already continuing. Keeping in view that outlays under the T.S.P. should be at least, in proportion to the Scheduled Tribe population percentage (6%) of the State and only such schemes that results in direct benefit to the Scheduled Tribe population should be included under T.S.P. avoiding notional quantification. The Schemes/Projects having more than 50% Scheduled Tribe beneficiaries should entirely be booked under T.S.P. Indivisible sectors like Roads, Power Projects, Major Irrigation and Flood, Projects of Higher Education subsector, Bustee Improvement projects of urban development Department and even some projects of commerce and Industries Department the cost of the segment of the project 50% of the total beneficiaries of which belong to Scheduled Tribes should entirely be booked under T.S.P. A Statement showing State Plan outlay flow to T.S.P. and expenditure made during the 7th Plan (1985-90) and Annual Plans 1990-91 and 1991-92 is appended in Table IV.

Special Central Assistance (SCA) :

Special Central Assistance to Tribal sub-plan (T.S.P) is an additive and mainly utilised for implementation of various family oriented economic benefit schemes linked with Margin Money and Institutional Finance during the 7th Year Plan and onwards.

About 10% of SCA was utilised in community development and infrastructure development and only a very small portion as administrative expenses the yearwise allocation of S.C.A. made by the Government of India total expenditure made during 7th Plan and onwards are given below :

In 1985 to 1990 total allocation by Government of India is Rs.4014.12 lakhs and expenditure is Rs.4016.047 lakhs.

Out of Rs.4014.12 lakhs Rs.395.48 lakhs in community and infrastructure development Rs.518.338 lakhs under co-operation (by W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd. and LAMPS). Rs.269.21 lakhs towards Margin Money, Rs.114.769 lakhs for primitive Tribes and Rs.63.322 lakhs as administrative expenses. Remaining fund was spent in family oriented economic scheme.

During 1990-91 out of SCA of Rs.1053.68 lakhs Rs.10.21 lakhs for administrative expenses. Rs.3.385 lakhs for primitive Tribes Rs.179.587 lakhs under co-operation (by T.D.C.C. Ltd. and LAMPS) have been spent, Rs.110.00 lakhs in community and infrastructure development is being utilised, balance fund has been spent in family oriented economic benefit schemes. It may be mentioned here in this connection that it has been decided by the Government to spend about 10% of SCA in community and infrastructure development schemes.

During the current financial year S.C.A. amounting to Rs.802.52 lakhs have so far been released by the Government of India (upto 2nd instalment), out of which Rs.1.92 lakhs could be released so far. Besides an additional grant meant for 1990-91 for Minor Irrigation and Primitive Tribes has been revalidated.

Proposals for release of further funds are being examined by the Finance Department and expected to be released soon.

Primitive Tribes :

The West Bengal we have three Scheduled Tribes communities declared as primitive tribes. As already spelt out they are Lodha/Kheris, Birhor and Toto spread over mainly in Midnapur, Bankura, Purulia and Jalpaiguri districts. Government of India has been providing SCA to the States for development of primitive tribal groups out of the total S.C.A. provided under the Tribal sub-plan strategy on cent percent basis without trying it up with any precondition for State plan involvement. However, the State Government, is not pre-cluded from investing in these programmes. During the 7th Plan period (1985-90) Government of India sanctioned Rs.182.99 lakhs for the development of primitive tribes out of total SCA to T.S.P. out of which Rs.114.77 lakhs has been utilised in various family benefit. Community undinfrastructure development of schemes, viz. land development, Agricultural inputs, plough, plough cattle, well, pumps, tanks, minor irrigation, drinking water supply, pisciculture, horticulture, animal husbandry, fishery, forestry, sabui, tasar, bamboo, rope making and other industries, health, housing and community centres etc. During 8th Plan funds proposed for the primitive tribal groups is Rs.315.27 lakhs and Rs.50.60 lakhs for the Annual Plan 1992-93. During 1990-91 SCA amounting to Rs.3.385 lakhs was utilised.

Grant Under Proviso to Art. 275(1) of the Constitution :

Government of India also sanctioned grants under

provision to Art.275(1) of the Constitution for implementation of various developmental scheme for the Scheduled Tribes which are not covered under special Central Assistance. The above grants released by the Government of India also include implementation of family oriented economic schemes. Community, development and infrastructure development preferable of primitive tribal groups from the year 1988-89. During the 7th Five Year Plan grants amounting to Rs.531.41 lakhs was released by the Government of India which Rs.307.33 lakhs has been utilised. Balance fund is being utilised. During the year 1990-91 Rs.114.50 lakhs released by the Government of India has been drawn and is being spent. During the current financial year Rs.38.02 lakhs has so far been released by the Government of India. Information on further un-utilisation of fund is being collected. It is proposed to sanction grant under the above provision during 8th Plan as below

Out of the above it is proposed to utilise Rs.47.25 lakhs in organisation of Tribal Womens' Wing by the W.B.T.D.C.C. Ltd.

Upgradation of Standards of Administration in Tribal Areas with the Finance Commission's Award :

During VIII Finance Commission's period we were to construct 248 Quarters and to infrastructurally develop 42 villages.

In the year 1989-90 we have received Rs.1.00 crore on this account of which Rs.77.08 lakhs have been allotted to different districts against specific schemes for infrastructure development and Rs.23.01 lakhs have been allotted for construct-

ion and completion of 33 Staff Quarters. Workers are in progress and those are expected to be completed soon.

Tribal Women :

Emphasis on involving the Tribal Women in the development is being given.

Poverty Alleviation Programme :

This programme is implemented mainly through the West Bengal SC and ST Development and Finance Corporation. The W.B.T. D.C.C.Ltd. also implement family oriented economic benefit schemes through their lamps. Physical and financial targets of the West Bengal SC and ST Development and Finance.

West Bengal Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development and Finance Corporation :

The focus of the West Bengal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development and Finance Corporation during the 8th Plan is on the qualitative improvement of scheme being undertaken for the poverty amelioration of the Scheduled Tribes people living below the poverty line. The average per family investment has been increased to Rs.7,900/- in case of Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries during the Eight Plan.

The objective during the 8th Plan period is to cover 1,27,597 S.T. families below the poverty line with a total investment of Rs.100.80 crores.

During 7th Five Year Plan it was proposed to assist 2,50,000 S.T. families under point 11(B) of the 20 point programme to cross the poverty line which actually came to

2,97,525 families (including IRDP) at the end of 7th Plan. Achievement against the above revised target came to 3,38,823 families (including TRDP) comprising 113.88%. The Physical target of Scheduled Tribes families proposed to be assisted under the above programme during 8th Five Year Plan and Annual Plan 1992-93, as proposed are 354962 and 78465 S.T. families respectively already spelt out.

Family oriented economic schemes are also being implemented by the W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd. and its LAMPS under point 11(B) of the 20 point programme. Financial and physical targets relating to S.T. families (Family Benefit Schemes) during 8th Five Year Plan (By W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd. & LAMPS).

In the year 1992-97 total physical target is Rs.142.00 lakhs and Financially is Rs.477.90 lakhs.

Review of Administrative Arrangements, impmelentation and evaluation :

As per Cabinet decision dated 9.3.1982 sectoral departments were required to spend certain percent of their annual plan outlay for the benefit of Scheduled Tribes people under tribal sub-plan and the outlay are booked under separate minor head "Tribal areas sub-plan" under their respective major heads.

The project officers co-ordinates implementation of T.S.P. programmes through the forum of these communities. SCA to TSP and funds under proviso to Art.275(1) of the Constitution relating to community development Schemes are placed with project officers who utilise the same with the help of above committees. The ITDP area office assist the panchayets and Block Level

Welfare Committees in formulating programmes and in monitoring implementation of the programmes. Under Class (a) of sub-section 1) of Section 82 of the West Bengal Co-operative Societies Act, 1973 the project officers, Scheduled Caste and Tribal Welfare have been authorised to inspect the large sized co-operative Agricultural Multipurpose Societies known as Lamps within their respective officials jurisdiction.

There is also a advisory council known as "The West Bengal Tribes Advisory Council" to review the policies and measures taken by the Government of the Welfare of Scheduled Tribe people. Besides the Cabinet sub-committee for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is the highest State level body to monitor and guide the expenditure under T.S.P.

Besides sectoral Departments, utilisation of fund and implementation of the schemes are also monitored by this Department through quarterly/annual progress reports and periodical information.

Monitoring of point 11(B) of the 20 point programme :

Point 11 of the 20 point programme 1986 relates to "justice to SCs and STs". Point - II(B) relates to economic assistance to Scheduled Tribes families under poverty alleviation programme. Quarterly and Annual physical and Financial performance reports are being collected from the sectoral Departments for submission to the Government of India. The entire monitoring is done by this Department.

REFERENCES :

1. Annual Action Plans 1992-93. West Bengal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development and Finance Corporation, Government of West Bengal.
 2. Tribal sub plan 1992-93 : The Department of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development and Finance Corporation, Government of West Bengal.
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CHAPTER SEVEN
TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT
PROGRAMMES

7.1 INTRODUCTION OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

ANALYSIS :

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal roughly constitute 27.68% of the State population. The bulk of the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes population are agricultural labourers or having minicule holdings, or bargadars or other types of insecure tenants. They not only suffer from the oppression of economic exploitation, but are also object of odd social discriminations. They own meagre assets and are caught up in a vicious circle in which they are dependent upon their exploiters for their stamenance and are largely denied opportunities to develop the capability of allowing an independent livelihood.

Although about 27.68% of the State population comprise of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, their proportion among the pretty group is much larger and they represent the lowest degrees. In fact, bulk of the poorest section of the population are from Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes communities.

Notwithstanding the extremely adverse situation, the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes contribute significantly to the sustenance and growth of the production systems of the country and the nations economy. In this agriculture-based economy the largest single group amongst agricultural labourers in the country are Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes - Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes women, in fact, constitute 72% of all women agricultural labourers in the country; foot-wear and leather products are mostly the contribution of the Scheduled

Castes, they have a considerable share in the finishing activities of the country. Over and above they are the people who keep the rest of the society clean. In a nutshell, they constitute in the main, the bed-rock on which our society and economic rest. Rarely has any section of a nation contributed so much for so long in return for so little.

In spite of the constitutional directives and a number of legislative and executive measures taken by the Government, the conditions of the Scheduled Castes did not improve much during the period prior to the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The strategy of development of Scheduled Castes was, however, given a workable shape from the beginning of the Sixth Plan Period which was also adhered to the intensified during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, was combination of three important instruments viz. 1) The Special Component Plan of the State and Central Ministers; 2) The Special Central Assistance to Special Component Plan of States, and 3) The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development and Finance Corporation. In accordance with the guidelines issued by the Government of India, Scheduled Castes Development Corporations have been set up in all States. Such Corporations in the States were envisaged to interface between Scheduled Castes entrepreneurs and financial institutions in respect of bankable schemes of economic development. The main function of these Corporation was mobilisation of institutional credit for economic development of Scheduled Castes entrepreneurs by functioning as a catalysts, promoters and guarantors. These Corporations were designed to help

the Scheduled Caste people living below the poverty line in two ways - first, in encouraging the financial institutions, particularly, the commercial banks to give out on a sufficiently large scale to assist the Scheduled Castes and secondly, by making schemes more viable for Scheduled Caste entrepreneurs.

Against the above background the West Bengal Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development and Finance Corporation was created by Government under West Bengal Act, XXXIX of 1976 read with Act XLV of 1980. The Act initially restricted the activities of the Corporation among the Scheduled Caste population. Subsequently through amendment in the year 1980, the Scheduled Tribes population of the State were brought within the preview of its activities. The objective of the Corporation may be defined as the task to undertake economic welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes families through Agricultural, Industrial, Commercial and other income generating activities to enable such families to cross the poverty line permanently. To achieve this purpose, the Corporation provides margin money loan assistance to the target group entrepreneurs on individual or in group for promoting income generation and or self employment schemes in all spheres of activities like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Fishery, Cottage and Small Industry, Trade and Business etc. The Corporation acts as a catalytic agent for the economic development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes families living before the poverty line by arranging subsidy from Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare

Department and other Departments/Agencies of the Government of West Bengal and by providing margin money from its own fund so as to attract Bank loan for income generating self-employment schemes.

The role of the margin money loan given by the Corporation is primarily to attract institutional finance as much as possible to the target group of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who would otherwise have been considered not creditworthy according to the norms of the financial institutions under the normal circumstances.

The quantum of margin money loan is restricted to 20% of the project cost subject to a maximum of Rs.2,400/- only in an individual case in respect of Scheduled Castes beneficiaries. The quantum of margin money is also restricted to 20% of the total project cost subject to a maximum of Rs.2,400/- only in any individual case in case of Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries. Margin money being a soft loan carries 4% rate of interest.

It is noteworthy that the West Bengal experiment to strive for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from the same platform has a few parallels in the country.

Poverty Line :

The poverty line, it may be stated, constitute the most important factor for formulating different schemes, for targetted group of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people. Initially, families having annual income not more than Rs.3,500/- in rural areas. and Rs.4,300/- in urban areas were the yard-sticks for

determining poverty line. Subsequently, the income criterion of determining poverty line has since been revised by the Planning Commission. The poverty line used in the 7th Plan is an annual household income of Rs.6,400/- in rural areas and Rs.7,300/- in the urban areas. 75% of this i.e. Rs.4,800/- in rural areas and Rs.5,500/- in urban areas have been taken as the out-offline for determining the target group people among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, the families having an annual income from Rs.3,501/- to Rs.4,800/- in rural areas and Rs.4,301/- to Rs.5,500/- in urban areas may be taken up first for assistance. Of late, in order to improve qualitative changes in formulating different bankable schemes for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people, people belonging to income bracket twice and poverty line have been taken into consideration in availing of the benefits of schemes under NSFDC.

Tie-up Arrangements :

The endeavour of the Corporation veers round convergence of available institutional finance on one hand and the Governmental subsidy available under TSP and SCP and from other sources for the implementation of family-oriented income-generating schemes for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In order to effectively involve the financial institutions in the programme, a tie-up arrangement was evolved and implemented vide Order No.1042-TW/MC, dated 28.9.81 which enunciates and modalities of tie-up arrangement. Such tie-up arrangement has also been worked out with other Departments like Rural Development and

Fisheries Department of the Government. Through this arrangement, the margin money fund of the Corporation has been successfully invested to attract steady flow of institutional finance as well as Governmental subsidy for ensuring listing benefit to the target group people. The tie-up arrangement worked out with the participating Commercial Banks through the West Bengal State Level Bankers' Committee lays down that bank branches will accept proposals of family-oriented economic schemes sponsored by the Corporation with the help of Panchayat bodies and other agencies and sanction and schemes and send requisition for margin money to the district branches of the Corporation and for subsidy to the subsidy administering authority. Such margin money and subsidy fund after observance of necessary formalities is remitted to the Bank for disbursement of the entire loan money to the beneficiary family from the single window. The system has obviated the necessity on the part of a beneficiary family to approach different agencies for different components of its project cost. Instead, he gets all the components of the project cost from a single agency. The agreement also provides for post-financing follow up actions and recovery of margin money loan by Bank Branches in West Bengal on behalf of the Corporation.

During 1981-82 the activities of the Corporation were further strengthened with the establishment of its district branches in all districts of the State. Within the framework of the guidelines formulated by the Corporation, district branches with the District Magistrate as Chairman were empowered to process and finance schemes in the districts.

Short Term Loan :

During 1980-81 a new dimension was added to the programme of the Corporation through short-term financing in croploan to the assignees of vested land and share-croppers. The programme aims at enabling the vested land assignees, share-croppers and marginal farmers to derive maximum benefit from their cultivation by optimum utilisation of the small holdings during the rabi season also. The margin money assistance under the short-term lending programme was kept interest-free with a view to giving a fillup to the programme through motivation of the beneficiaries by giving them some additional benefit albeit limited. It may be mentioned here that after the programme gained sufficient momentum, the margin money loan was delinked from the short-term loan from 1984-85 and the resultant gap was bridged with the help of enhanced institutional finance.

7.2 WEST BENGAL TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATION LTD. A PROFILE OF THE 8TH FIVE YEAR PLAN INCLUDING THE ANNUAL PLAN FOR 1990-91 OF WEST BENGAL TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATIVE CORPORATION :

An attempt has been made to involve the LAMPS in the preparation of the Annual Plan and the 8th Five Year Plan for the first time, LAMPS are advised to take i.e. exercised by involving not only the members of the Board but at the same time by involving the Panchayat members also. This process has helped in reflecting the aspirations and priorities of the LAMPS members.

The plan of the West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., is prepared in two parts. The first

part indicates the yearwise consolidated programme while the second part indicates the programme of West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., which is again have a bearing on the plans of the individual LAMPS the state.

The achievement during the 7th Plan (which will expire within next 3 months) has been more or less as per our programme. The achievement will, however, fall short in respect of A) Organisation of LAMPS, B) Construction of Godown, C) Construction of Twin Quarters and semi pucca Godown, D) Family Benefit Scheme or short and Medium Term Loan for agricultural spheres. The reason for apprehended short-fall is briefly clarified here under :

A) Organisation of LAMPS : As against the Target of 130 achievement is expected upto 110. The reasons for short fall may be attributed that all the vacant areas earmarked for the organisation of LAMPS had either been covered or in the process thereof. The remaining LAMPS which is a large-drawn time consuming process. Negotiation are continuing with the management of the concerned LAMPS which is required to be split for setting up of new LAMPS during the 1st year of the 8th Five Year Plan.

B) Construction of Godown : The programme suffered much since the LAMPS find it very difficult to procure suitable LAND at a responsible price. The LAMPS under West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation are in constant touch with the concern and District Administration and Panchayat authorities for this purpose.

C) Construction of Twin Quarters and Semi Pucca Godowns : The programme also depends on the availability of the LAND. Due to non-availability of LAND no substantial headway could be made during the 7th Plan.

D) Family Benefit Scheme : This scheme which envisages direct employment to the Tribal members is gaining popularity. The loan component under this scheme is provided by West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., which subsidy component by the State Government. So the success of the scheme is entirely dependent of the amount of subsidy available for the purpose. For instance for the year 1988-89 as against per proposal for 34 lacs we have received a sanction of Rs.9.76 lacs. However, during the 8th Plan it is expanded that a total amount of Rs.206.40 for 11640 members would be sanctioned.

E) S.T. and M.T.Loan for agricultural spheres : Due to default by the Tribal members most of the LAMPS have lost eligibility in obtaining fresh finance from District Central Co-operative Bank/ Nationalised Banks for their seasonal agricultural operation and allied purpose. Unless the old loan of these defaulter Tribal members who could not repay due to circumstances beyond their control is liquidated the Agriculture for the Tribal members would continue to suffer. It was as such proposed in our Annual plan for 1989-90 that the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare provides a subsidy of Rs.5.00 lakhs for the purpose of liquidation of all old debts of the bonafide defaulters but no sanction was received. As such it has been proposed that the

State Government grants such subsidy for the purpose during the 8th Plan period.

Revised 8th Five Year Plan 1992-97 in respect of LAMPS and West Bengal Tribal Development Corporation Ltd. (Physical and Financial).

Eighth Five Year Plan 1992-97 in respect of LAMPS and West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., has provided

1. Organisation of Lamps physical for 60 lakhs and Financial 45 lakhs.
2. Financial Assistance to Lamps.
 - a) Managerial subsidy Financial 612 lakhs
 - b) Subsidy for Branch Rents Physical 89 lakhs Financial 2.64 lakhs
 - c) Subsidy for allowing sitting fees to Tribal Directors Financial 9.69 lakhs
 - d) Assistance for Rental charge for the office/godown of the lamps physical 235 lakhs Financial 5.64 lakhs.
 - e) Assistance for purchase of Furniture and Fixture physical 70 lakhs Financial 1050 lakhs.
 - f) Assistance for construction of 100 M.T.Storage Godown under N.C.D.C. scheme physical 60 lakhs Financial 210 lakhs
 - g) Assistance for construction of Semi Pucca Godown physical 56 lakhs Financial 56 lakhs
 - h) Assistance for construction of special type Godown for storing and processing of Kandu leaves physical 27 lakhs Financial 121 lakhs.
 - i) Construction of Quarter for the staff of Lamps and W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., physical 50 lakhs Financial 50 lakhs.
 - j) Universal membership for Tribal people share capital assistance for involvement of members of LAMPS physical 147 lakhs Financial 93.50 lakhs
 - k) State Share capital contribution and additional State Share Capital contribution of share capital base of LAMPS physical 60 lakhs Financial

60 lakhs. West Bengal Tribal Development Co-operative Corporation Ltd., for the implementation of different schemes has provided.

- 1) Collection and processing of minor forest produce physical 240 lakhs Financial 2040 lakhs.
- 2) Subsidy for Royalty for Kendu leaves and sal seeds Financial 44 lakhs.
- 3) Provision for consumption loan to Tribal members of LAMPS Financial 104 lakhs.
- 4) Medium Term Finance for the Tribal members through the LAMPS physical 17500 lakhs Financial 350 lakhs.
- 5) Implementation of special type Family Benefit and Income Generation Scheme of Khadi and Village Industries Corporation physical 1105 lakhs Financial 99.45 lakhs.
- 6) Setting up of small shop and medium sized shoppes by Tribal members of the LAMPS : (a) Small shop physical 4950 lakhs Financial 99 lakhs. (b) Medium sized shop physical 1970 lakhs Financial 98.50 lakhs.
- 7) Other Employment Schemes : (a) Rickshaw/Rickshaw Van physical 1620 lakhs Financial 32.4 lakhs. (b) Carpentry/Black Smith/Cyclery Repairing Shop physical 2160 lakhs Financial 108 lakhs. (c) Babli Rope making/Bamboo/Cane Basket/Furniture making physical 3500 lakhs Financial 140 lakhs.
- 8) Provision for clean credit accommodation and M.T. Loans for Forest Felling and Industrial processing

Units physical 100 lakhs Financial 705 lakhs.

9) M.T. Scheme for Agricultural Development physical 100 lakhs Financial 100 lakhs.

10) Supply of consumer Goods by W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., Financial 1000 lakhs.

11) Construction of own Godowns of W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., physical 3 Units Financial 18 lakhs.

12) Risk Fund Contribution : (a) Risk Fund for M.F.P. Business Financial 230 lakhs. (b) Risk Fund for other Types of loan issued to LAMPS by W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., Financial 50 lakhs.

13) Liquidation of old debts of Tribal members Financial 35 lakhs.

14) Subsidy for interest on overdue cash credit for M.F.P. operation for exemption of LAMPS for payment of interest Financial 15 lakhs.

15) Interest subsidy for the Tribal Loanee members of LAMPS Financial 5 lakhs.

16) Organisation of Tribal women's wing physical 189 lakhs Financial 47.25 lakhs.

17) Training and Education : (a) Ordinary members Education Physical 900.00 lakhs members Financial 9 lakhs. (b) Leadership Development Training courses physical 1500 Directors, Financial 3.45 lakhs. (c) S.T. specialised Training Camp for Employees of LAMPS physical 15 seminars, Financial 2.73 lakhs. (d) Train-

ing in Accountancy physical 10 weeks course Financial 3 lakhs. (e) Training Co-operative and Allied Law physical 10 courses Financial 3 lakhs.

18) Workshop Accountancy physical 10 workshop Financial 0.70 lakhs.

19) Women's leadership course physical 15 courses Financial 3 lakhs.

20) Training of key personnel of W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., Financial 4 lakhs.

21) Managerial subsidy of staff of W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., Financial 230 lakhs.

22) State share capital contribution to W.B.T.D.C.C.Ltd., for various economic Development Programme, Financial 150 lakhs.

REFERENCES :

1. 8th Five Year Plan 1991-92 in respect of LAMPS and West Bengal Tribal Development to operation Corporation Ltd. (Physical and Financial). The Department of S.C. and S.T. Development and Financial Corporation.
2. Annual Report 1990-92 and Budget Estimate 1991-92 West Bengal S.C. and S.T. Development and Financial Corporation Government of West Bengal.
3. Tribal sub-Plan 8th Five Year Plan 1990-95 and Action Plan 1991-92. The Department of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Development and Finance Corporation Government of West Bengal.

**CHAPTER EIGHT
REPORTS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS**

8.1 MAIN REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF BACKWARD

CLASSES COMMISSION :

THE FIRST BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION :

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 reports on March 30th 1955. The composition of the Commission and its terms of reference are given below :

Composition :

1. Shri Kakasheb Kalekar, M.P. Chairman.
2. Shri Narayan Sadoba Kajrolkar, M.P.
3. Shri Bhookha Bhar, M.P.
4. Shri Shivdayal Singh, Chaurasia.
5. Shri Rajeshwar Patel, M.P.
6. Shri Abdul Gaiyum Ansari, M.L.A.(Bihar).
7. Shri T.Mariappa, M.L.A. (Mysore).
8. Lala Jagannath.
9. Shri Atma Singh Namdhari, M.P.
10. Shri N.R.M. Swamy, M.P.
11. Shri Arunagshu 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 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 should be made;
- c) investigate such other matters as the President may here after refer to them, and
- d) present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendation as they think proper.

The Commission may -

- a) obtain such informations as they may consider necessary or relevent for their purpose in such form and such manner as they may think appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Government and such other authorities, organisations 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.

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

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 of 930 backward castes or communities.

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 Commission were -
Census of 1961;
- ii) Relating Social backwardness of a class to its low position the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu Society;
- iii) Treating all women as a class as "backward";
- iv) Representation 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	33.33%
Class III	40%

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 backward-

ness in his 67 page minutes of dissent. Shri T.Mariappa's minute of dissent was concerned only with the inclusion of couple of castes in the list of other Backward Classes.

Shri Kaka Kalekar, the Chairman, took a rather equivocal stand on this issue. Through 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.

STATUS OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES IN SOME STATES :

In view of this, Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed a Backward Classes Commission in April 1968 under the Chairmanship of Shri Manohar Pershad and it presented its report in June, 1970. This Commission identified four different categories of OBCs and recommended reservation 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 :-

T A B L E

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

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 under-takings etc.

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. 6000/- per annum are exempted from payment of tuition fees and are eligible for award of scholarships, hostel facilities etc.

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 Scholarship and other benefits on the basis of economic criteria was also accepted by the State Government.

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 sixty 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 :

Bihar Government also appointed a Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of Shri Mungari 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".

The main recommendation of the Commission were :

- i) Reservation of 20% vacancies in all Government Department 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.

GUJRAT :

Gujrat Government set up a Backward Classes Commission in August 1972 under the chairmanship of Shir 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 DbC 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.

JAMMU & KASHMIR :

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 Govt. 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 back areas.

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. 3000/- 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.

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

KARNATAKA :

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 dealing the social backwardness of caste and communities. Instead it had relied on multiple tests, such as communities

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 recommended 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%

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

Sl. 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%

KERALA :

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.

In the circumstances the Government decided that only by appointing a Commission the matter could be satisfactorily settled. In the meantime, 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 over all reservation of 40 per cent. These reservations are :

Sl. No.	Name of Group	Reservation for Class IV posts.	Reservation for other than Class IV posts.
1.	Exhavas	11%	14%
2.	Muslims	10%	12%
3.	Latin Catholics and Anglo Indians	4%	4%
4.	Nadars	1%	1%
5.	Scheduled Castes converts to Christianity.	2%	1%
6.	22 Communities like, Asaris, Kammalas, Viswakarmas, etc.	2%	3%
7.	Dheevara Community	2%	1%
8.	Other Backward Classes	8%	4%
Total -		40%	40%

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

MAHARASHTRA :

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.

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 :-

Sl. No.	Name of Category	Percentage of reservation
1.	Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes converts to Buddhism.	13%
2.	Scheduled Tribes	7%
3.	Denotified and Nomadic Tribes.	4%
4.	Other Backward Communities	10%
Total -		34%

PUNJAB

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 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.

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

- i) the existing list of backward classes should be rationalised so that classes or castes who are no longer backward could be excluded; and
- ii) the existing reservation of 2 per cent 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.

UTTAR PRADESH :

A "Most Backward Classes Commission" under the chairmanship of Shri Chhedilal 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 :

Sl. No.	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" Muslims Backward Classes.	28%
Total -		55%

TAMIL NADU :

Tamil Nadu has been the pioneer in providing special concessions to OBCs. As indicated in para 2.1 in 1927 Madras Government has 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 and Government revised their representations follows :-

Sl. 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 Castes/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

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 percent of posts under the State Government should be reserved for the candidate 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.

EITHER OTHER STATES :

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 :-

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 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 extent 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.

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, Misoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura and West Bengal.

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 the "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.

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

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT :

Methodology and Date 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 conne-

ction were : seminar of sociologists on social backwardness issue of three sets of questionnaires to State Government, 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 case its net far and wide and prepared a very firm and dependable data base for its Report.

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 Varna 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.

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 over 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 basis 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.

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 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 Article 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-sell 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.

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.

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 Science, 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.

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

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 castes. 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 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 view 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 expe-

ssed similar views on the criteris for identifying backward classes and measures to be taken for their upliftment as already indicated above.

Socio-Educational Field Survey-Criteris 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. Caste obtaining a minimum score of 11 points on this scale were listed as socially and educationally backward.

Schedules :

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.

Indicators (Criteria) for Social and Educational Backwardness :

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 :

- i) Castes/Classes where the number of children in the age group of 5-15 years who never attend school is at least 25% above the State average.
- ii) 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.
- iii) Castes/Classes amongst whom the proportion of matriculates is at least 25% below the State average.

C : Economic :

- i) Castes/Classes where the average value of family assets is at least 25% below the State average.
- ii) Castes/Classes where the number of families living in Kuccha house is at least 25% above the State average.
- iii) Castes/Classes where the source of drinking water is beyond half a kilometre for more than 50% of the households.
- iv) Castes/Classes where the number of households having taken consumption loan is at least 25% above the State average.

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-education 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.

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;
- 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, Dheemar, Nai, Gujar, Kumhar, Lohar, Darji, Dadhai etc.)

Percentage Distribution of Indian Population by Caste and Religious Groups.

Sl.No	Group Name	Percentage of total population
I. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes		
A - 1	Scheduled Castes	15.05
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	Buddhist (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 (includingBhuminars)	5.52
C - 2	Rajput	3.90
C - 3	Marathas	2.21
C - 4	Jats	1.00
C - 5	Vaishyas-Bania, etc.	1.88
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.	Ramining Hindu Castes/groups which come in the category of 'Other Backward Castes'	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)

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

EVIDENCE BY CENTRAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT :

Questionnaire for the State Government :

The questionnaire for the State Government, 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.

i) Criteria :

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

ii) Safeguards, Reservations etc. :

Chapter II of this Report contains particulars of the welfare measures taken by eighteen State Govt. and Union Territories for the welfare of Other Backward Classes, Quantum of reservation in Govt. 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 and 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 education institutions and Gujrat, 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.

iii) Census :

The comparison of lists of Other Backward Classes notified by various State Govt. and those prepared by Kaka Kalekar Commission shows wide variations in most of the cases; as will be seen from the following table :

Sl. No.	Name of the States	No. of Castes included in Kaka Kalekar Commission Report.	No. of Castes notified by State Government
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	160	196
8.	Orissa	148(list withdrawn)	111
9.	Punjab	88	62
10.	Tamil Nadu	156	124
11.	Uttar Pradesh	120	56

The main reason for this disparity is that whereas State Government prepared their lists on the basis of some sort of field survey and investigation, Kaka Kalekar 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 judgement of State Government in the preparation of these lists.

v) Educational :

No State Government could furnish figures regarding the level of literacy and education amount Other Backward Classes. Regarding the special measures adopted for the promotion of education among OBC, 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 States.

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.

Gujrat :- Exemption of examination fees, Scholarships, free supply of clothes, running of coaching centres, reservation of 10 per cent seats ineducationalisations and implementation of adult literacy programme throughout the State. One special Asram 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 examination of fees where parental incomes is below Rs.4,200 per month

Jammu & Kashmir :- Establishment of 80 mobile schools for Gujjars and Bakarwals, special hostel facilities, aware 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 educatio-

nal 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 month.

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.

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

vii) Employment :

Regarding the specific steps taken to improve the lot of landless agricultural labours, 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 houses sites.

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

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.

Gujrat :- Financial assistance for starting cottage industries, small trades etc. and supply of milk 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, co-operative 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 sealed down.

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

Jammu & 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 classes 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.

Questionnaire for Central Government Offices etc. :

Replies to the above questionnaire were furnished by 30 Central Ministeries/Departments, 31 Attached and Subordinate Offices and public sector undertakings under the administrative control of 14 Ministers. 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 No. of employees	Percentage of SC/ST	Percentage of OBC
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

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 State.

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 OBCs 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 network 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-relation are radically altered through structural changes and progressive land reforms implemented vigorously 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 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.

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 deserved there after.

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 case of SCs & 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.

Educational Concessions :

Various State Governments are giving a number of educational concessions to Other Backward Classes students 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.

Financial Assistance :

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

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 States Governments like Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have already set up separate financial corporations etc. for OBCs.

8.2 MANDAL COMMISSION CASE, 1992 :

Article 16(4) the words "backward class" are used with a wider connotation and without any qualification or explanation. Therefore, it must be construed in the wider perspective. Though the OMs speak of social and educational backwardness of a class, the primary consideration in identifying a class and in ascertaining the inadequate representation of that class in the services under the State under Article 16(4) is the social backwardness which result in educational backwardness, both of which culminate in economic backwardness. The degree of importance to be attached to social backwardness is much more than the importance to be given to the educational backwardness and the economic backwardness, because in identifying the classifying a section of people as a backward class within the meaning of Article 16(4) for the reservation of appointments or posts, the "social backwardness" plays a predominant role.

Ray, J in Jayashree is of the view that "Social backwardness can contribute to educational backwardness and educational backwardness may perpetuate social backwardness. Both are often no more than the inevitable corollaries of the extremes of poverty and the deadening weight of custom and tradition".

In M.R.Balaji V.State of Mysore at page 454 Gajendragadkar, J observed that "economic backwardness might have contributed to social backwardness.....". This observation tends to show that Gajendragadkar, J was of the view that economic backwardness may contribute to social backwardness.

Desai, J in Vasanth Kumar has expressed a similar view that "if economic criterion for compensatory discrimination or affirmative action is accepted it would strike at the root cause of 'social and educational backwardness'...." there by holding that only criterion which can be devised is the 'economic backwardness' for identifying 'socially and educationally backward classes' ignoring the predominance of social backwardness.

"INDICATORS (CRITERIA) FOR SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS"

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 headers 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 kilometre 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.

Criticism levelled against Mandal Commission Report :

Taking pot-shots at the Mandal Report recommending exclusive reservation for SEBCs, the belligerent anti-reservationists denigrate the report by making scathing criticism and indiscriminately trigger off a volley of bullets against the Report. The first attack against the Report is that it is

perpetuating the evils of caste system and accentuating caste consciousness besides impeding the doctrine of secularism, the net effect of which would be dangerous and disastrous for the rapid development of the Indian society as a whole marching towards the goal of the welfare State. According to them, the identification of SEBCs by the Commission on the basis of caste system is bizarre and barren of force, muchless exposing hollowness. Therefore, the OMs issued on the strength of the Mandal Report which is solely based on the caste criterion are violative of article 16(2).

Hence, it has to be straightaway rejected as unmeritorious since that Report is not actually based solely on caste criteria but on the anvil of various factors grouped under three heads i.e. social, educational and economic backwardness but giving more importance - rightly too - to the social backwardness as having a direct consequence of caste status.

Firstly, if the above argument is accepted it will result in negation of the just claim of the SEBCs to avail the benefit of Article 16(4) which is a fundamental right.

Secondly, this attack is based on a misconception. A perusal of the Report would indicate that the 1931 census does not have even a remote connection with the identification of OBCs. But on the other hand, they are identified only on the basis of the countrywide socio-educational field survey and the census report of 1961 particularly for the identification of primitive tribes, aboriginal tribes, hill tribes, forest tribes

and indigenous tribes and personal knowledge gained through extensive touring and receipt of voluminous public evidence and lists of OBCs notified by various States. It was only after the identification of OBCs, the Commission was faced with the task of determining their population percentage and at that stage 1931 census became relevant. It is to be further noted after 1931 census, no caste-wise statistics had been collected. In fact, the identification of classes by the Commission was based on the relativity prevailing in 1980 and not in 1931. It is brought to our notice that the same method had already been adopted in Section 5 of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act.

Thirdly, the Commission cannot be said to have ignored this factual position and found fault with for relying on 1931 census.

1. Article 16(4) of the Constitution is neither an exception nor a provision to article 16(1). It is exhaustive of all reservations that can be made in favour of backward class of citizens. It has an overriding effect on Article 16(1) and (2).

2. No reservation can be made under Article 16(4) for classes other than backward classes. But under Article 16(1), reservation can be made for classes, not covered by Article 16(4).

3. The expression, "backward class of citizens" occurring in Article 16(4) is neither defined nor explained in the Constitution. However the backward class or classes can certainly be

identified in Hindu Society with reference to castes along with other criteria such as traditional occupational, poverty, place of residence, lack of education etc. and in communities where caste is not recognised by the above recognised and accepted criteria except caste criterion.

4. In the process of identification of backward class of citizens under Article 16(4) among Hindus, caste is a primary criterion or a dominant factor though it is not the sole criterion.

5. 'Any provision' under Article 16(4) is not necessarily to be made by the Parliament or Legislature. Such a provision could also be made by an Executive order.

6. The power conferred on the State under Article 16(4) is one coupled with a duty and, therefore, the State has to exercise that power for the benefit of all those, namely, backward class for whom it is intended.

7. The provision for reservation of appointment or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens is a matter of policy of the Government, of course subject to the constitutional parameters and well settled principles of judicial review.

8. The expression "poorer sections" mentioned in para 2(i) of the ammended Office Memorandum of 1991 denotes a division among SEBCs on economic criterion. Therefore, no division or sub-classification as "~~poorer~~ sections" and other backward class (non poorer sections) out of the identified SEBCs can be made by application of "means test" based on economic criterion. Such a

division in the same identified and ascertained unit consisting of SEBCs having common characteristics and attributes, the primary characteristic or attribute being the social backwardness is violative of class (4) of Article 16 of the Constitution. Hence, the division of the SEBCs as "poorer sections" and others, brought out in para 2(i) of the impugned amended Office Memorandum dated 25th September, 1991 is constitutionally invalid and impermissible. Accordingly, para 2(i) of the said amended Office Memorandum is struck down.

9. No maximum ceiling of reservation can be fixed under Article 16(4) of the Constitution for reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward classes of citizens "in the services under the State". The decision fixing the percentage of reservation only upto the maximum of 50% are unsustainable.

10. As regards the reservation in the matter of promotion under Article 16(4). I am in agreement with conclusion No.(7) made in paragraph 859 in Part VII of the judgement of my learned brother B.P.Jeevan Reddy, J.

11. I also agree with conclusion No.(8) of paragraph 859 of the judgement of my learned brother B.P.Jeevan Reddy, J qua the exception to the rule of reservation to certain services and posts.

12. The reservation of 10% of the vacancies in vicil posts and services in favour of other economically backward sections of the people who are not covered by any other scheme of the reservation as mentioned in para 2(ii) of the impugned amended Office

Memorandum dated 25th September, 1991 is constitutionally invalid and it is accordingly struck down. In this regard, I am also in agreement with conclusion No.(11) of paragraph 859 of the judgement of my learned brother B.P.Jeevan Reddy, J(SCC infra p.para 859).

13. No section of SEBCs can be excluded on the ground of creamy layer till the Government - Central and State - takes a decision in this regard on a review on the recommendations of a Commission or a Commission to be appointed by the Government.

14. Para 2(i) and (ii) of the amended Office Memorandum dated 25th September, 1991 for the reasons given in my judgement and the conclusions drawn above, are struck down as being violative of Article 16(4).

15. The impugned Office Memorandum dated 13th August, 1990 is held valid and enforceable. So there is no legal impediment in immediately enforcing and implementing this first Office Memorandum of 1990.

16. In Writ Petition No.1094 of 1991 (Sreenarayana Dharma Paripalana Yogma V Union of India), there is a prayer (prayer 'b'), inter alia, for issuance of a writ of mandamus directing the respondent to implement the impugned unamended Office Memorandum dated 13th August, 1990. In the light of my conclusions, striking down the amended Office Memorandum dated 25th September, 1991, I direct the Union of India to immediately implement the unamended Office Memorandum dated 13th August, 1990.

17. The Government of India and the State Governments have

to create a permanent machinery either by way of a Commission or a Committee within a reasonable time for examining the requests of inclusion or exclusion of any caste, community or group of persons on the advice of such Commission or Committee, as the case may be, and also for examining the exclusion of any pseudo community if smuggled into the list of OBCs. The creation of such a machinery in the form of a Commission or Committee does not stand in the way of immediate implementation of the Office Memorandum dated 13th August, 1990 and the purpose of creating such machinery is for future guidance.

18. It is also of the same view of learned Brother B.P. Jeevan Reddy, J that it is not necessary to send the matters back to the Constitution Bench of five Judges.

The concept of reservation :

Dr. Ambedkar stated :

".....firstly that there shall be equality of opportunity, secondly, that there shall be reservations in favour of certain communities which have not so far had a 'proper lock-in' so to say into the administration ---- Supposing, for instance, we were to concede in full the demand of those communities who have not been so far employed in the public services to the fullest extent, what would really happen is, we shall be completely destroying the first proposition upon which we are all agreed, namely, that there shall be an equality of opportunity --- Therefore the seats to be reserved, if the reservations is to be consistent with sub-classes (1), of Article

10, must be confined to a minority of seats. It is then only that the first principle could find its place in the constitution and effective in operation we have to safeguard two things, namely, the principle of equality of opportunity and at the same time satisfy the demand of communities which have not had so far representation in the State....." Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol,7, pp 701-702 (1948-1949). (emphasis supplied).

Reservation is meant to remedy the handicap of prior discrimination impeding the access of classes of people to public administration. It is for the State to determine whether the civil effects of inequities stemming from prior discrimination against classes of people have resulted in their being reduced to positions of backwardness and consequent under representation in public administration. Reservation is a remedy or a cure for the ill effects of historical discrimination.

Reservation under the Constitution :

The Constitution seeks to secure to all its citizens Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These are the basic pillars on which the grand concept of India as a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic rests. This splendour that is India rests on these magnificent concepts, each of which, supporting the other, upholds the dignity and freedom of the individual and secures the integrity and unity of the nation.

Conclusions :

A. The validity of the impugned Government Order providing for reservation of posts depends on convincing proof of

proper identification of backward classes of citizens by recourse to relevant criteria, such as poverty, illiteracy, disease, unhygienic living conditions, low caste and consequential isolation, and in accordance with correct principles, i.e. with reference to the continuing ill effects of historical discrimination resulting in social and educational backwardness comparable to that of the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes, and inadequate representation of such classes of citizens in the services under the State, but subject to the overriding condition that all those persons whose means have exceeded a predetermined economic level shall be denied reservation. Amongst the aforementioned backward classes of citizens correctly identified to be qualified for reservation, preference may be legitimately extended to the comparatively poorer or more disadvantaged sections.

B. Reservation of seats of posts solely on the basis of economic backwardness, i.e. without regard to evidence of historical discrimination, as aforesaid, finds no justification in the Constitution.

C. Reservation of seats or posts for backward classes of citizens, including those for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, must remain well below 50% of the total seats or posts.

D. Reservation is confirmed to initial appointment to a post and has no application to promotion.

E. It is open to the State to adopt any valid affirmative action programme, otherwise than by reservation, for amelioration of the disabilities of all disadvantaged persons, including backward classes of citizens.

Neither the impugned orders of the Government of India [O.M.No. 36012/31/90-Estt(SCT), dated August 13, 1990 and O.M.No. 36012/31/90-Estt(SCT) dated September 25, 1991] nor the material relied upon by it nor the affidavits filled in support of the said orders disclose proper application of mind by the concerned authorities to the principles stated above for valid identification of the backward classes of citizens qualified for reservation in terms of Article 16 of the Constitution of India. The impugned order are, therefore, unsustainable. The respondent-Government is accordingly directed to reconsider the question of reservation contemplated by Article 16(4) in the light of the aforesaid principles and pass appropriate orders.

To deal with the following issues in seriatim :

- A. Whether "class" in Article 16(4) of the Constitution means "caste" ? Can caste be adopted as a collectively to identify the backward classes for the purposes of Article 16(4).
- B. Whether the expression "any backward class of citizens" in Article 16(4) means "socially and educationally backward classes" as it is in Article 15(4) ?
- C. What is meant by the expression "any backward class of citizens ...not adequately represented in the services under

the State" in Article 16(4) ?

- D. Whether Article 16(4) permits reservation of appointments or posts at the stage of initial entry into government services or even in the process of promotion ?
- E. Whether Article 16(4) is exhaustive of the State power to provide job reservations ?
- F. If Article 16(1) does not permit job reservations, can protective discrimination as a compensatory measure permissible, in any other form under Article 16(1) ?
- G. To what extent reservations are permissible under Article 16(4) ? Below 50% or to any extent ?
- H. When a "backward class" has been identified, can a means-test be applied to skim-off the affluent section of the "backward class" ?
- I. Can poverty be the sole criterion for identifying the "backward class" under Article 16(4).
- J. Is it mandatory to provide reservations by a legislative Act or it can be done by the State in exercise of its executive power ?
- K. Whether the identification of 3743 castes as a "backward class" by Mandal Commission is constitutionally valid ?
- The identification of 3743 castes as the "beneficiary Class" for job reservations under Article 16(4) is wholly unconstitutional, invalid and cannot be acted upon. The reasons for holding so are as under :
- (i) The terms of reference required the Commission "to

determine the criterial for defining the socially and educationally backward classes". Assume that Mandal has done so. The reference and the Mandal Commission's investigation is based on the legal fallacy that the expression "backward class of citizens" means the same thing as "socially and educationally backward classes of citizens" in Article 15(4). That is why the Commission was asked to identify socially and educationally backward classes. We have held that two expressions in Articles 16(4) and 15(4) do not mean the same thing. The classes to be identified under Article 16(4) cannot be confined only to social and educational backwardness. The definition therein is much wider and is not limited as under Article 15(4). It is thus, evident that the identification of the "backward classes" under Article 16(4) cannot be based only on the criteria of social and educational backwardness. Other classes which could have been identified on the basis of occupation, economic standards, environments, backward area residence, etc. etc. have been left out of consideration. The identification done by Mandal is thus violative of Article 16(4) and as such cannot be sustained.

(ii) It has been held by me that the backward classes for the purpose of Article 16(4) are the backward sections of the classes who are inadequately represented in the State Services. Admittedly, this exercise was not done. Mandal identified the castes on the criteria, of social and educational backwardness.

(iii) The Terms of Reference further required the Commission "to examine the desirability or otherwise of making provision for

the reservation of appointments or tests.... in public services". This most vital part of the Terms of Reference was wholly ignored by the Commission. Before making its recommendations the Commission was bound, by the Terms of Reference, to determine the desirability or otherwise of such reservations. The Commission did not at all investigate this essential part of the Terms of Reference.

(iv) Mandal has not done any survey to find out as to whether 3743 castes which according to him are the backward classes, under Article 16(4) had inadequate representation in the State services. There is no material on the record to show that 3743 castes identified by Mandal are not adequately represented in the State services. The condition of inadequacy is a condition precedent under Article 16(4) of the Constitution. This having not been established, the identification of the so-called "backward classes", is wholly unconstitutional and inoperative.

(v) The report indicates that the list of backward castes was prepared from the following sources :

1. Socio-educational field survey;
2. Census report of 1961;
3. Personal knowledge gained through extensive touring and from the evidence; and
4. Lists of Other Backward Classes notified by various State Governments.

The so-called "socio-educational field survey" was an eye-wash. Only two villages and one urban block in each

district of the country was taken into consideration. According to the petitioners only .06% of the total villages in the country were surveyed. Mr. Venugopal relied on a chart showing the sources from which the list of castes was prepared by the Mandal Commission. The contents of chart were not disputed before us by the Union of India. Mr. Venugopal pointed out that out of 3743 castes only 406 were subjected to the socio-educational field survey. To be precise the chart shows that only 10.85% castes were subjected to survey and the remaining castes were picked up from other sources. The commission set up for the purposes of identifying backward classes is under an obligation to conduct comprehensive survey. A backward class, identified on the sole test of caste and that also with only 10.85% socio-educational survey, cannot be constitutionally valid under Article 16(4).

Large number of castes were picked up by the Mandal Commission from the State lists. It was illustrated before us that out of 260 castes identified from the Union Territory of Pondicherry only 14 were subjected to socio-educational survey. One was identified on personal assessment of the Commission and the the remaining 245 castes were picked up from the State list. These facts are not denied by the Union of India in the affidavit filed in Writ Petition No. 930 of 1990. Similarly large number of castes wre taken from the lists of other backward classes operating in the States. It was wholly illegal for the Commission to adopt the State lists without any investigation and survey. It is not disputed that no Commission was ever set up in

Pondicherry to identify the backward classes. There is nothing in the Mandal Report to show that the State lists which were adopted were ever prepared as a result of any survey, investigation or scrutiny, Mandal Report in paras 263 and 264 specifically states that Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Assam, Pondicherry, Rajasthan, Orissa, Meghalaya and Delhi have notified lists of Other Backward Classes without their being any enquiry into their conditions. In para 265 it is mentioned that Andaman and Nicobar, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep, Madhya Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura and West Bengal have never prepared a list of OBCs. If the State lists were to be declared as Other Backward Classes by the Central Government then no Commission under Article 340 was required -an Administrator could do the job, when 90% of the castes selected were not subjected to the socio-educational survey it is impermissible to treat the said castes as backward classes.

The 1961 census was also taken as a source for preparing the list of backward castes. There is nothing on the record to show as to why Mandal relied on 1961 census when the 1971 census was available. A statement filed by Mr. Venugopal after examining the government records shows that the castes were also picked up from the Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report. In para 1.13 Mandal condemns Kaka Kalelkar's report, even otherwise the said record was rejected by the Government of India in 1955 but still Mandal adopts castes from the said Report.

It is, thus, obvious that hardly any investigation was done by the Mandal Commission to find out the backward classes for the purpose of Article 16(4). A collection of so-called backward castes by a clerical act based on drawing-room investigation cannot be the backward classes envisaged under Article 16(4). If the castes enlisted by Mandal are permitted to avail the benefit of job reservations, thereby depriving half the country's population of its right under Article 16(1) the result would be nothing but a fraud on the Constitution.

(vi) The Mandal Report virtually re-writes Article 16(4) by substituting caste for class. The caste has been made the sole and exclusive test for determining the backward classes. Every other test economic or non-economic - has been wholly rejected. Para 1.21 of the Mandal Report states "the substitution of caste by economic tests will amount to ignoring the genesis of social backwardness in the Indian society". Paras 11.5 and 11.25 of the Mandal Report indicate that the caste was taken as a collectivity for the purposes of socio-educational survey. The "indicators" for determining social and educational backwardness were also applied to the castes alone. Every single piece of evidence and other material adverted to by the Commission was only for the purpose of determining whether a caste was backward. There was no investigation at all to find out whether a member or family in the caste was backward. The "indicators" invoked to determine backwardness were invariably applied to the castes and not to the individuals. What emerges is that in the first instance only a

caste was taken as a collectivity. Thereafter no individual or a family of that caste was subjected to the "indicators". Only the castes were tested through the "indicators" and the result obtained. Thus the caste has been made the sole, paramount, overriding and decisive factor. The methodology based on caste alone is unconstitutional as it violates Articles 16(2) and 16(4) of the Constitution of India.

(vii)The Mandal Report invents castes even for non-Hindus. The obsession with casteism and the desire to apply the same yardstick to all Indians impelled the Commission to identify backward classes among non-Hindus also by the exclusive test of caste (paras 12.11 to 12.18) regardless of the fact that caste is anathema to Christianity, Islam and Sikhism. There are various other denominations and religions in the country like Buddhist, Jains, Arya Samajis, Lingayats etc. who do not believe in casteism. The net-result is that almost 25% of the population was not taken into consideration by the Mandal Commission. The approach was anti-secular and against the basic features of the X Constitution.

(viii)The Mandal Commission has estimated the population of other backward classes in the country as 52%. To say the least the exercise to reach the figure of 52% is wholly imaginary. It is in the realm of conjecture. The conclusion arrived at in para 12.22 of the Mandal Report to the effect that backward classes constitute nearly 52% of the Indian population is based on 1931 census. It is wholly arbitrary to count the population of backwa-

rd classes in the country on the basis of census which took place fifty years before the report was submitted. In order to reach the conclusion of 52% Mandal has added up the population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Non-Hindu communities (Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains) and the forward Hindu castes and communities (Brahmins, Rajputs, Marathas, Jats, Vaishya-Baniyas etc. Kayasthas, other forward Hindu caste/groups) which make 56.30% of the total population. Mandal has assumed that the residual population of 43.70% (100 minus 56.30% equivalent to 43.70%) consists of backward classes. It is difficult to imagine how anybody can accept such an illusory and wholly arbitrary calculations. It is pity that half of the country is being deprived of their fundamental right under Article 16(4) on the basis of the census exhumed from a sixty-year old grave and the calculations which are unknown to logic and fair play. Mandal further assumed, erroneously, that relative population growth of various communities at the time of Mandal Report was the same as at the time of 1931 census. It is absurd to thing that there was no change in their population growth during the long period of 50 years. It is pertinent to observe that India of 1931 comprised of present India, Pakisthan, Bangladesh, Burma and SriLanka and as such it would be wholly erroneous to relate the caste-based population situation of 1931 to that of 1980.

(ix) According to Mandal Commission's own showing the materials before the Commission were woefully inadequate. Essential data was non-existent. "Hardly any State was able to give the

desired information"(para 9.4). As regards representation of OBCs in government services, the information received by the Commission was "too sketchy and Scrappy for any meaningful inference which may be valid for the country as a whole "(para 9.14)." No State Government could furnish figures regarding the level of literacy and education amongst other backward class"(para 9.30)." No lists of OBCs is maintained by the Central Government, nor their particulars are separately compiled in Government Offices".

Based on the reasoning and the conclusions reached by in paras "A" to "K" of the judgement direct as under :

(i) The identificatin of 3743 castes as a "backward class" by Mandal Commission is constitutionally invalid and cannot be acted upon.

(ii) Office Memorandum dated August 13, 1990 issued by the Government of India is unconstitutional, non est and as such cannot be enforced.

(iii) Para 2(i) of the Office Memorandum dated September 25, 1991 adopts the means-test. The adoption of means-test by the Government of India in principle is upheld. Since para 2(i) is applicable to the 3743 castes identified by the Mandal Commission, the said para shall not operate till the time "backward classes" for the purposes of Articles 16(4) are identified by the Government of India in accordance with the law laid down in this judgement.

(iv) Para 2(ii) of the Office Memorandum dated September 25, 1991 is upheld, Since this para is integral para of the two

Memoranda dated August, 13, 1990 and September 25, 1991, it cannot operate independently. I, however, hold that the Government of India can make reservations solely based on economic criterion by a separate order.

Philosophy and Objectives of Reservations :

The aim of any civilised society should be to secure dignity to every individual. There cannot be dignity without equality to status and opportunity. The absence of equal opportunities in any walk of social life is a denial of equal status and equal participation in the affairs of the society and, therefore, of its equal membership. The dignity of the individual is denied in direct proportion to his deprivation of the equal access to social means. The democratic foundation are missing when equal opportunity to grow, govern, and give one's best to the society is denied to a sizeable section of the society. The deprivation of the opportunities may be direct or indirect as when the wherewithals to avail of them are denied. Nevertheless, the consequences are as potent.

Under Article 16(4), the reservation in the State employment is to be provided for a "class of people" which must be "backward" and "in the opinion of the State" is "not adequately represented" in the services of the State. Under Article 46, the State is required to "promote with special care" the "educational and economic interests" of the "weaker sections" of the people and "in particular" of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and "to protect" them from "social injustice" and

"all forms of exploitation". Since in the present case, we are not concerned with the reservations in favour of the SCs/STs, it is not necessary to refer to Article 335, except to point out that, it is in terms provided there that the claims of SCs/STs in the services are to be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration. It must, therefore, mean that the claims of other backward class of citizens and weaker sections must also be considered consistently with the maintenance of the efficiency of administration. For, whomsoever, therefore, reservation is made, the efficiency of administration is not to be sacrificed, whatever the efficiency may mean. That is the mandate of the Constitution itself.

The various provisions in the Constitution relating to reservation, therefore, acknowledge that reservation is an integral part of the principle of equality where inequalities exist. Further they accept the reality of inequalities and of the existence of unequal social groups in the Indian society. They are described variously as "socially and educationally" backward classes"(Article 15(4) and Article 340), "backward class" (Article 16(4) and weaker sections of the people"(Article 46). The provisions of the Constitution also direct that the unequal representation in the services be remedied by taking measures aimed at providing employment to the discriminated class, by whatever different expressions the said class is described. How does one identify the discriminated class is a question of methodology. But once it is identified, the fact that it happens to be

a caste, race, or occupational group, is irrelevant. If the social group has hitherto been denied opportunity on the basis of caste, the basis of the remedial reservation has also to be the caste. Any other basis of reservation may perpetuate the status quo and may be inappropriate and unjustified for remedying the discrimination. When, in such circumstance, provision is made for reservation, for example, on the basis of caste, it is not a reservation in favour of the caste as a "caste" but in favour of a class or social group which has been discriminated against, which discrimination cannot be eliminated, otherwise. What the Constitution forbids is discrimination "only" on the basis of caste, race etc. However, when the caste also happens to be a social group which is "backward" or "socially and educationally backward" or a "weaker section", this discriminatory treatment in its favour, is not only on the basis of the caste.

As has been pointed out earlier, our Constitution itself spells out the important objectives of the State Policy. There cannot be more compelling goal than to achieve the unity of the country by integration of different social groups. Social integration cannot be achieved without equal status to all. The administration of the country cannot also be carried on impartially and efficiently without the representation in it of all the social groups and interests, and without the aid and assistance of all the views and social experiences. Neither democracy nor unity will become real, unless all sections of the society have an equal and effective voice in the affairs and the governance of

the country.

In a society such as ours where there exist forward and backward, higher and lower social groups, the first step to achieve social integration is to bring the lower or backward social groups to the level of the forward or higher social groups. Unless all social groups are brought on an equal cultural plane, social intercourse among the groups will be an impossibility. Intermarriage as a matter of course and without inhibitions is by far the most potent means of effecting social integration. Intermarriages between different social groups would not be possible unless all groups attain the same cultural level. Even in the same social group, marriages take place only between individuals who are on the same cultural plane. Culture is a cumulative product of economic and educational attainments leading to social accomplishment and refinement of mind, morals and taste. Employment and particularly the governmental employment promotes economic and social advancement which in turn also leads to educational advancement of the group. Though it is true that economic and educational advancement is not necessarily accompanied by cultural growth, it is also equally true that without them, cultural advancement is difficult. Employment is thus an important aid for cultural growth. To achieve total unity and integration of the nation reservations in employment, are, therefore, imperative, in the present state of our society.

Under the Constitution, the reservations in employment in favour of backward classes are not intended either to be

indiscriminate or permanent. Article 16(4) which provides for reservations, also at the same time prescribes their limits and conditions. In the first place, the reservations are not to be kept in favour of every backward class of citizens. It is only that backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is "not adequately represented" in the services under the State, which is entitled to the benefit of the reservations. Secondly, and this follows from the first even that backward class of citizens would cease to be the beneficiary of the reservation policy, the moment the State comes to the conclusion that it is adequately represented in the services.

We may now proceed to deal with the specific questions raised before us :

Question No. I : Whether Article 16(4) is an exception to Article 16(1) and would be exhaustive of the right to reservation of posts in services under the State?

Question No. II : What would be the content of the phrase "Backward Class" in Article 16(4) of the Constitution and whether caste by itself could constitute a class whether economic criterion by itself could identify a class for Article 16(4) and whether "Backward Classes" in Article 16(4) would include the "weaker sections" mentioned in Article 46 as well?

Question No. III : If economic criterion by itself could not constitute a Backward Class under Article 16(4), whether reservation of posts in services under the

State, based exclusively on economic criterion would be covered by Article 16(1) of the Constitution?

Question No. IV : Can the extent of reservation of posts in the services under the State under Article 16(4) or, if permitted under Article 16(1) and 16(4) together, exceed 50% of the posts in a cadre or service under the State or exceed 50% of appointments in a cadre or service in any particular year and can such extent of reservation be determined without determining the inadequacy or representation of each class in the different categories and grades of Services under the State?

Question No. V : Does Article 16(4) permit the classification of "Backward Classes" into Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes or permit classification among them based on economic or other considerations?

Question No. VI : Would making "any provision" under Article 16(4) for reservation "by the State" necessarily have to be by law made by the legislatures of the State or by law made by Parliament? Or could such provisions be made by an executive order?

Question No. VII : Will extent of judicial review be limited or restricted in regard to the identification of Backward Classes and the percentage of reservations made for such classes, to a demonstrably perverse identification or a demonstrably unreasonable percentage?

Question No. VIII : Would reservation of appointments or posts

"in favour of any Backward Class" be restricted to the initial appointment to the post or would it extend to promotions as well?

Question No. IX : Whether the matter should be sent back to the five Judge Bench?

The answers to the questions may now be summarised as follows :

Question No. 1 :

Class (4) of Article 16 is not an exception to clause (1) thereof. It only carves out a section of the society, viz. the Backward Class of citizens for whom the reservations in services may be kept. The said clause is exhaustive of the reservations of posts in the services so far as the Backward Class of citizens is concerned. It is not exhaustive of all the reservations in the services that may be kept. The reservations of posts in the services for the Other sections of the society can be kept under clause (1) of that Article.

Question No. 2 :

The backward class of citizens referred to in Article 16(4) is the socially backward class of citizens whose educational and economic backwardness is on account of their social backwardness. A caste by itself may constitute a class. However, in order to constitute a Backward Class the caste concerned must be socially backward and its educational and economic backwardness must be on account of its social backwardness.

The economic criterion by itself cannot identify a

class as backward unless the economic backwardness of the class is on account of its social backwardness.

The weaker sections mentioned in Article 46 are a genus of which backward class of citizens mentioned in Article 16(4) constitute a species. Article 16(4) refers to backward classes which are a part of the weaker sections of the society and it is only for the Backward Classes who are not adequately represented in the services, and not for all the weaker sections that the reservations in services are provided under Article 16(4).

Question No. 3 :

No reservations of posts can be kept in services under the State based exclusively on economic criterion either under Article 16(4) or under Article 16(1).

Question No. 4 :

Ordinarily, the reservations kept both under Article 16(1) and 16(4) together should not exceed 50 per cent of the appointments in a grade, cadre or service in any particular year. It is only for extraordinary reasons that this percentage may exceeded. However, every excess over 50 per cent will have to be justified on valid ground which grounds will have to be specifically made out.

The adequacy of representation is not to be determined merely on the basis of the over all numerical strength of the Backward Classes in the services. For determining the adequacy, there representation at different levels of administration and in different grades has to be taken into consideration. It is the

effective voice in the administration and not the total number which determines the adequacy of representation.

Question No. 5 :

Article 16(4) permits classification of Backward Classes into backward and more or most Backward Classes. However, this classification is permitted only on the basis of the degrees of social backwardness and not on the basis of the economic consideration alone.

If backward classes are classified into backward and more or most Backward Classes, separate quotas of reservations will have to kept for each of such classes. In the absence of such separate quotas, there servations will be illegal.

It is not permissible to classify backward classes or backward class social group into an advanced section and a backward section either on economic or any other consideration. The test of advancement lies in the capacity to compete with the forward classes. If the advanced section in the backward class is so advanced as to be able to compete with the forward classes, the advanced section from the backward class no longer belongs to the backward class and should case to be considered so and denied the benefit of reservations under Article 16(4).

Question No. 6 :

The provisions for reservations in the services under Article 16(4) can be made by an executive order.

Question No. 7 :

There is no special law of judicial review when the

reservation under Article 16(4) are scrutiny. The judicial review will be available only in the cases of demonstrably perverse identification of the backward classes and in the cases of unreasonable percentage of reservations made for them.

Question No. 8 :

It is not necessary to answer the question since it does not arise in the present case. However, if it has to be answered, the answer is as follows :

The reservations in the promotions in the services are unconstitutional as they are inconsistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration.

However, the backward classes may be provided with relaxations, exemptions, concessions and facilities etc. to enable them to compete for the promotional posts with other where ever the promotions are based on selection or merit-cum-seniority basis.

Further, the committee or both entrusted with the task of selection must be representative and manned by suitable persons including those from the backward classes to make an impartial assessment of the merits.

To ensure adequate "representation of the backward classes which means representation at all levels and in all grades in the service, the rules of recruitment must ensure that there is direct recruitment at all levels and in all grades in the services.

Question No. 9 :

The matter should not be referred back to the five Judge Bench since almost all the relevant questions have been answered by the Bench. The grivance about the excessive, and about the wrong inclusion and exclusion of social groups in and from the lista of backward classes and be examined by a new Committee which may be set up for the purpose.

CONCLUSIONS :

Both the impugned orders issued by the respective governments in 1990 and 1991 reserving appointments and posts for socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, without discharging their constitutional obligation of examining if the identification of backward class by the Commission was in consonance with constitutional principle and philosophy of the basis feature of the Constitution and if the group or collectivity so identified was adequately represented or not which is the sine quanon for the exercise of the power under Article 16(4), are declared to be unenforceable.

1. Reservation in public services either by legislative or executive action is neither a matter of policy nor a political issue. The higher Courts in the country are constitutionally obliged to exercise the power of judicial review in every matter which is constitutional in nature or has potential of constitutional repercussions.

2. a) Constitutional bar under Article 16(2) against State for not discriminating on race, religion or caste is as much

applicable to Article 16(4) as to Article 16(1) as they are part of same scheme and serve the same constitutional purpose of ensuring equality. Identification of backward class by caste is against the Constitution.

b) The prohibition is not mitigated by using the word, 'only' in Article 16(2) as a cover and evolving certain socio economic indicators and then applying it to caste as the identification then suffers from the same vice. Such identification is apt to become arbitrary as well as the indicators evolved and applied to one community may be equally applicable to other community which is excluded and the backward class of which is denied similar benefit.

Identification of a group or collectivity by any criteria other than caste, such as, occupation-cum-social-cum-educational-cum-economic criteria ending in caste may not be invalid.

c) Social and educational backward class under Article 340 being narrower in import than backward class in Article 16(4) it has to be construed in restricted manner. And the words educationally backward in this Article cannot be disregarded while determining backwardness.

3. Reservation under Article 16(4) being for any class of citizens and citizen having been defined in Chapter II of the Constitution includes not only Hindus but Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains etc. the principle of identification has to be of universal application so as to extend to every community

and not only to those who are either converts from Hinduism or some of who carry on the same occupation as some of the Hindus.

4. Reservation being an extreme form of protective measure or affirmative action it should be confined to minority of seats. Even though the Constitution does not lay down any specific bar but the constitutional philosophy being against proportional equality the principle of balancing equality ordains reservation, of any manner, not to exceed 50 per cent.

5. Article 16(4) being part of the scheme of equality doctrine it is exhaustive reservation, therefore, no reservation can be made under Article 16(1).

6. Reservation in promotion is constitutionally impermissible as, once the advantaged and disadvantaged are made equal and are brought in one class or group then any further benefit extended for promotion on the inequality existing prior to be brought in group would be treating equals unequally. It would not be cradicting the effects of past discrimination but perpetuating it.

7. Economic backwardness may give jurisdiction to State to reserve provided it can find out a mechanism to ascertain inadequacy of representation of such class. But such group or collectivity does not fall under Article 16(1).

8. Creamy layer amongst backward class of citizens must be excluded by fixation of proper income, property or status criteria.

In Legal Thesaurus (Regular Edition) the following meanings are given to the word "class". :

"Assortment, bracket, branch, brand, bread, caste, category, classification, classes, denomination, designation, division.....; gradation, grade, group, grouping, hierarchy..... sect, social rank, social status....."

The following meanings are given to the word "caste" in Webster's English Dictionary :

"(1) a race, stock, or breed of men or animals; (2) One of the hereditary classes into which the society of India is divided in accordance with a system fundamental to Hinduism, reaching back into distant antiquity and dictating to every orthodox hindu the rules and restrictions of all social intercourse and of which each has a name of its own and special customs that restrict that occupation of its members and their intercourse with the members of the other classes (3) (a) : a division or class of society comprised of persons within a separate and exclusive order based variously upon difference of wealth, inherited rank or privilege, profession, occupation.....(b) the position conferred by caste standing (4) a system of social satisfaction more rigid than a class and characterised by hereditary status endogamy and social barriers rigidly sanctioned by customs, law or religion."

Venkataramiah, J also defined "caste" in practically the same terms. He said (SCC p.786, para 110).

"A caste is an association of families which practises

the customs of endogamy i.e. which permits marriages amongst the members belonging to such families only. Castes rules prohibit its members from marrying outside their caste A caste is based on various factors, sometimes it may be a class, a race or a racial unit. A caste has nothing to do with wealth. The caste of a person is governed by his birth in a family. Certain ideas of ceremonial purity are peculiar to each caste..... Even the choice of occupation of members of caste was predetermined in many cases, and the members of a particular castes were prohibited from engaging themselves in other types of callings, professions or occupations. Certain occupations were considered to be degrading or impure."

8.3 REPORT OF THE BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

A SUMMARY OF CASES UNDER ARTICLE 15(4) :

R. Chitralekha : Vs : State of Mysore (A.I.R. 1964 SC 1823

Facts :

In the Mysore High Court in *D.G.Vishwanath : VS : Government of Mysore (A.I.R. 1964 Mys. 132)* involving the validity of the same order *Hegde J.* held that as the order had altogether ignored "caste" and "residence" basis, it did not benefit the really backward classes among the Hindus. The Supreme Court had stated in *Balaji* that caste in relation to Hindus was a relevant factor in determining the social backwardness of groups or classes or citizens.

The matter came on appeal to the Supreme Court in the *Chitralekha* case.

Issues :

- i) What the relevance of "caste" in determining social and educational backwardness?
- ii) Is "caste" and "class" synonymous?

Extracts :

Under Article 341 :

"The President may with respect to any State or Union Territory and where it is a State after consultation with the Governor thereof by public notification specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purpose of this Constitution deemed to be Scheduled

Castes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be."

Holding :

- i) "Caste" is one of the relevant factors in determining social and educational backwardness;
- ii) "Caste" and "Class" are not synonymous.

Gurindar Paul Singh : VS : State of Punjab(A.I.R. 1974 Punj.125)

Facts :

A challenge to the government orders making reservation in favour of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, backward classes and residents of backward areas and other classified categories for admission to medical colleges against 50% seats. The quantum of reservations was :

i) Scheduled Castes/Tribes	20%
ii) Backward Classes	2%
iii) Backward areas	10%
iv) Sportsmen/women	2%
v) Central Government nominees including from J & K	6%
vi) Women candidates	1%
vii) Candidates from border areas of Punjab	5%
viii) Children of political sufferers of the freedom struggle with Punjab domicile	2%
ix) a) Children of defence personnel who have lost their lives. b) Children of defence personnel disabled. c) Children of the personnel of the Border Security Force killed/disabled. d) Children of the ex-Servicemen of Indian Armed Forces.	2%

Issues :

- i) Is economic condition of a family relevant for making reservation in favour of backward classes for admission to medical college?
- ii) Is reservation for residents of backward areas constitutional?

Extracts :

Regarding backward area candidates the following conditions have been laid down :

"Backward Area Candidates :

Candidates claiming admission from backward areas of the State should submit along with their applications a certificate from Deputy Commissioner/General Assistant to Deputy Commissioner, Sub-divisional Officer(Civil) of the District concerned that the claim of the candidate falls under one of the following categories as given in Punjab Government letter No. 15595-WG 56/4174, dated the 7th September, 1956 from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab :-

- a) A person who with the family members has been residing in a particular village or town constantly for a period of ten years, or more and is likely to continue to reside there.
- b) A person who has been residing in a village or town for a period of less than ten years, but is likely to reside there of account of the fact that he has obtained gainful employment or settled there after retirement, would also be termed as permanent resident, if the stay is for not less than five years.

- c) In the case of a person who has been residing in a village or town in the said area, the total period of his stay at both places will be counted towards his residence in that area".

Holding :

- i) Economic condition of a family was a relevant factor in determining backwardness.
- ii) Reservation for residents of backward areas was held to be unconstitutional.

Shameem : VS : Medical College, Trivandrum(A.I.R. 1975 Ker.131)

Facts :

The petitioners who belonged to communities which are socially and educationally backward challenged the constitutionality of the restriction imposed in G.D.P. 108/66/End. dated 2nd May, 1966 of the Kerala Government which stipulated that only applicants who are members of families whose aggregate annual income is below Rs. 6,000/- would be entitled to admission to the seats reserved for students belonging to the backward classes. The petitioners who had applied for admission to the First Year M.B.B.S. Course 1974-75 were denied admission. The Government order was passed consequent upon the report of the Kumars Pillai Commission which recommended a ceiling of Rs. 4,200/- as income limit.

Issues :

- i) Whether exclusion of persons belonging to socially and educationally backward class on ground of higher income valid under article 15(4), in other words, the sub-

division of the Backward Classes on the basis of income permissible?

ii) Whether the ceiling limit of Rs.6000/- arbitrary?

Holding (Single Judge K.K.Narandran J).

i) Exclusion of persons belonging to socially and educationally backward classes on the basis of higher income was not warranted under Article 16(4).

ii) The ceiling limit of Rs.6000/- in the instant case was held to be arbitrary and irrational.

Extracts :

Govindan Nair, C.J.

In the case of the major communities like Ezhavas and Muslims which form sizeable portions of the population of the State the Commission found it difficult at the time of its report to classify these communities wholly, or even by the large, as socially and educationally backward. The anomaly of including all the members of such castes as socially and educationally backward was not noticed by this Court in the Full Bench decision in Hariharan Pillai : VS : State of Kerala 1967 KLT 266.

Holding :

Reversed the decision of Single Bench in Shammen Case.

On appeal to the Supreme Court, the Court in K.S. Jayasree : VS : State of Kerala(A.I.R. 1976 S.C. 3281) upheld the decision of the Kerala High Court in Krishna Kumari's case.

Caste and poverty are both relevant for determining backwardness. Application of the test of economic means to the members of castes listed by the Commission to determine their social and educational backwardness was upheld by the Court.

SUPREME COURT AND HIGH COURT CASES

Venkatarama : VS : State of Madras and another(A.I.R. 1951 SC 229).

Facts :

The petitioner applied under Article 32, alleging infringement of his fundamental right to employment in the State service.

Issues :

Whether the Madras Communal G.O. by which reservation of posts in the State Services was made for various communities (not coming within the category of backward classes) according to their race, caste and religion infringed the fundamental right guaranteed under Article 16 ?

Judgement :

A seven-judge Bench comprising Kania C.J., Fazl Ali, Patanjali Sastri, Mahajan, B.K. Mukherjee, G.R. Das and Bose J., held that the Communal G.O. was repugnant to Article 16 and therefore void and illegal.

The Court's decision was based on the following grounds :

- i) Equality of opportunity in public employment was guaranteed by Article 16(1) while Article 16(2) further guaranteed that there should be no discrimination as regards this matter only on the grounds or religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth or residence. Article 16(3)-(5) provided the exceptions to this guarantee.
- ii) Ineligibility for a post only on the ground that a

person belonged to a particular caste, religion, etc. contravened Article 16(2).

iii) Article 16(4) expressly permitted reservation of posts for backward classes, who were in the opinion of the State not adequately represented in the State services. It did not permit reservation for those persons who did not belong to this category nor did it enable the State to reserve posts on Communal basis. Any distribution of posts amongst communities having a fixed ratio infringed Article 16(1) and (2).

The Court concluded with the following words :

"This ineligibility created by the communal G.O. does not appear to us to be sanctioned by Cl.(4) of Article 16 and it is an infringement of the fundamental right guaranteed to the petitioner as an individual citizen under Article 16(1) and (2). This Communal G.O. in our opinion, is repugnant to the provisions of Article 16 and is as much void and illegal."

Proposition laid down :

The Government cannot make reservations for posts under it amongst the "various communities and coming in the category of backward classes".

General Manager, S. Railway : VS : Rangachari (AIR - 1962 SC 36)

Facts :

The respondent L.K.Rangachari filled a writ petition in the Madras High Court under Article 226 of the Constitution. The High Court issued a writ of mandamus restraining the appellants

i.e. G.M.Southern Railway and Personnel Officer(Reservation) Southern Railway from giving effect to directions of the Railway Board, ordering reservation of selection posts in Class III of the Railway service in favour of Scheduled Castes and Tribes from persons already holding posts of Court Inspectors in Class III, one of which was held by the respondent. Following the issue of the writ, the appellant applied for and was granted a certificate under Article 132(1) by the High Court as it involved a substantial question of law, namely scope of Article 16(4).

Issues :

- i) Whether the reservation under Article 16(4) could be made in the case of promotions or only at the stage of appointment only.
- ii) Article 16(4) speaks of only "backward classes". Whether the term "backward classes" included Scheduled Castes and Tribes as well. The High Court on this matter had taken the view that the term did include Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. There was no dispute about this before the Supreme Courte.
- iii) Whether retrospective operation could be given to an order of reservation.

Majority Judgement :

The Court by a majority of three to two reserved the decision of the Madras High Court and held that the reservation did not exceed the limit of Article 16(4) and was accordingly valid.

The majority was of the view that the term "matters of

employment" in Article 16(1) covered not only initial appointment but also promotions and such other matters as salary and periodical increments and terms of leave, gratuity, pension and age of superannuation. Article 16(4) was an exception to Article 16(1).

Minority Judgement :

The minority view of Wanchoo and Ayyanger JJ, however held the reservation to be outside the limit of Article 16(4) and as such they were of the view that the appeal should be dismissed. Propositions laid down : Article 16(4) covered both initial appointments and promotions. The reservation can be made both retrospectively and prospectively.

T.Devadasan : VS : India (AIR 1964 SC 179)

Facts :

The appeal was brought by the petitioner under Article 32 of the Constitution challenging the instructions issued by the Government of India which in effect resulted in the carry forward rule which resulted in reservation of more than 50% vacancies being made in a particular year

The contentions of the petitioner were :

- 1) The percentage of marks secured by him was 61 whereas some of 29 Scheduled Castes and Tribes candidates secured as low as 35. He pleaded that the U.P.S.C. was not competent to prescribe one qualifying standard for them and another for the rest of the candidates.
- 2) If the Government of India and the U.P.S.C. had adhered to 17% quota reservation for them, he would have stood

a fair chance to get selected. However, the reservation made in fact amounted to 65 per cent and was thus far in excess of that stated in the U.P.S.C. notification. A reservation limitation of 17.8% would have meant that only 8 vacancies could be filled by members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the remainder to other candidates by merit.

- 3) The "carry forward rule" relied upon by the U.P.S.C. and Government of India was unconstitutional.

Issues :

1. The main question was whether the carry forward rule as modified in 1955 was unconstitutional as violative of article 16(1) or article 14 of the Constitution.
2. The question also arose for consideration whether the impugned provision of reservation of posts for Scheduled Castes and Tribes offends article 16(4).

Minority decision :

In his view Article 335 had no bearing in construing Article 16(4). It was, therefore, necessary to fall back upon Art. 16(4) alone to ascertain validity of the provisions made by Government.

Article 14 laid down the general rule of equality. Art. 16 was an instance of its application with special reference to opportunity of appointments under the State. In his view Art 16(4) was not an exception to art. 16(1). He observed : "If it stood alone all the backward communities would go to the wall in a society of uneven basis structure..... They would not have any

chance if they were made to enter the open field of competition without adventitious aids till such time when they could stand on their own legs. That is why the makers of the Constitution introduced Cl.(4) of Art. 16. The expression 'nothing in this article' is a legislative device to express its intention in a most emphatic way that the power conferred there under is not linked 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 Articles."

Proposition laid down :

Even if reservations standing by itself in a particular year may not be unconstitutional on account of the reservations being not excessive (not more than 50%), but if such reservations added by the reserved seats under a carry forward formula results in making the reservations excessive in a particular year, they would become unconstitutional.

INTRODUCTION :

The Problem and Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 :

if the communal reservation scheme has had a long history, relation by the forward castes is likely to be absent.

The historical timing of the introduction of the scheme has tremendous bearing on the reaction of the groups adversely affected by such schemes. If the reservation schemes come to existence at a time when the levels of political organisation and mobilization of the groups are low, they are likely to be accepted as a kind of fait accompli. The groups kept out of

the reservation schemes are likely to learn to live with the disadvantage and try to overcome them in various ways. But if the reservation schemes are introduced at a time when the levels of political mobilization and organisation are very high, then such groups are likely to resort to resistance.

Hypothesis 2 :

If the forward castes are divided against themselves the chances of relation are less.

Obviously, cohesion or unity on the part of the forward castes, which are kept out by the reservation schemes, increases their capacity for relation. If such forward castes themselves are divided politically or by the reservation scheme itself, their capacity to mount resistance and relation will be less. If a reservation scheme divides the forward castes along the subcaste lines and includes some within the purview of reservation and excludes the others, the unity of such castes is tremendously affected. In other words, the fact whether the whole clusters of castes have been taken into account for forward/backward classification or their subcastes, have been taken into account for forward/backward classification is a crucial one.

Hypothesis 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.

It has been discussed above how the various kinds of cleavages have, affected the emergence and the nature of the backward class movements in different parts of the country. If

the intermediate castes can make a common cause with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and forge a common and united political phalan, then the backward class movement is likely to be very strong. If for some reasons, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other minor artisan castes like the potters, the weavers, the carpenters etc. feel threatened by the intermediate castes, the backward class movement will be considerably-weaked. There are many states in India where the weaker landless minority artisan castes and the Scheduled Castes look to the upper castes and not to the artisan castes and the Scheduled Castes feel that the operation of the democratic processes in the last 30 years had benefited the intermediate castes, they are likely to be less enthusiastic in joining hands with the intermediate castes in the backward class movement and agitation for supporting the reservation schemes.

Hypothesis 4 :

If the backward classes are also politicized not organised, the retaliation on the part of the lowered castes is less likely.

Either of the following conditions is necessary for the viability and success of a reservation scheme. In the first place the Government has to fully back it and standby the commitments. This happened, for example, in the case of the Madras Presidency and the Princely Mysore State. The British Governors, executive councillors and ICS Officers of the Madras Presidency were fully persuaded that the Brahmin domination in the services and the professions must be reduced. They were sympathetic to the cause

of the Justice party from the begging. Similarly, the then Maharaja of Mysore was also inclined in favour of giving the non-Brahmins a fairer deal. In the absence of such support from the top, a second condition has to be fulfilled. If the backward classes have fully penetrated into the dominant party and the various corridors of power and have been politicized and organized, they are in a position, or they have the potential to mount a counter retaliation in case the disaffected forward castes agitate against a reservation scheme.

Hypothesis 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.

In the United States much of the white backlash against the protective discrimination and other facilities given to the blacks has been spearheaded by those poor whites who were faced the threat of a sudden loss of status and prestige. Similarly in India, if the upper castes face a similar sudden threat to their position, they will be tempted to amount resistance and retaliation. If for some reasons the upper castes continue to maintain their mobility and status in some other ways and avenues, they are likely to feel less threatened by the reservation schemes favouring the intermediate and the backward classes. It is quite possible that in a couple of states under study the upper castes felt that the intermediate castes which have been

included in the backward classes list are getting prosperous economically and also will have the added advantage of job and professional opportunities. In such a situation of rank disequilibrium, they are likely to retaliate against the reservation schemes.

Hypothesis 6 :

If the forward subcastes persons can pass off as backward castes persons, the likelihood of retaliation is less.

On the fact of it, this hypothesis may sound implausible. No matter what a person does, he can not shake off his caste label. But, if the OBC classification takes into account the subcastes of the various major caste categories and classifies some as forward and some others as backward, it will be relatively casier for a person belonging to a forward subcaste to pass off as one belonging to a backward subcastes. While, in the rural areas the village officers or the tahsildars may identify a person's subcaste accurately and place him as either forward or backward, in the urban areas it become very difficult for the government officers to disprove that a person does not belong to one subcaste and prove that he actually belongs to another subcaste. Particularly in the South Indian States of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka it is said that many applicants for jobs can manage to obtain any kind of certificate.

Hypothesis 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 wordard castes is likely to be less powerful.

As discussed in the oretical sections of this Chapter an appropriate cleavage between the upper castes and lower castes is a necessary precondition for the mobilization of the lower castes into a backward class movement. It is quite possible that historically speaking such cleavages may appear first. But they are likely to be blurred if a sub-nationalist revivalistic movement developes in that area. These cleavages between the upper castes and lower castes need not be very durable once. As some non-Brahmin castes get the advantage of reservation and political power they may improve their social and economic position considerably. We then should expect a new cleavage to appear i.e. between those who have not gained from the reservation and those who have gained. But this cleavage may be prevented from surfacing if any kind of a sub-nationalist or revivalistic movement distracts the energies, attention and the sense of relative deprivation of the really disadvantaged lower castes.

Hypothesis 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) pereceived lack of alternative opportunities.

It stands to reason that if the castes which have been classified as forward have considerable numerical support and are possessing a high degree of political consciousness then their capacity to retaliate is likely to be high. Similarly, if they are dominant economically and politically and are in control of the various positions of power, patronage and economic surplus, they are in a better position to resist the introduction of

reservation schemes. Again, if the members of these castes feel that they have no other alternative employment and occupational opportunities than the government jobs, they are likely to feel driven to the wall and will engage themselves in resistance. But, if they perceive that they can go out of the stage of pursue other job opportunities their frustration will less and they are less likely to mount retaliation.

Hypothesis 9 :

If the non-government tertiary sector is expanding, the relation on the part of the forward castes is less likely.

This hypothesis is organically related to the preceding one. If in a State and non-governmental sector is expanding, the members of those castes classified as forward may turn to such sectors. If the economy of the state is growing slowly and if the government is the only or the predominant employer of the young graduates, then the members of the castes classified as forward will feel deeply threatened and will be disposed in retaliate.

8.4 COMPENSATORY DISCRIMINATION :

(Reservation - A Burning National Issue)

Background :

When, on the achievement of the independence, the national leadership took up the task of framing the constitution, it was inspired by the concepts of equality and social justice. So our Constitution made special provisions for the advancement of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The demand for similar provisions was raised soon after by castes which, though not considered 'untouchables', were extremely backward and socially oppressed. The Southern States, with long history of backward castes movements, took lead in the matter. They made special provision for 'other Backward Classes' in respect of reservations for them in government services and professional institutions. Some states of the north, particularly Gujrat, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, followed suit.

There was nothing wrong with the principle of reservation. Without it the formidable task of removing the glaring disparities and socially inequalities in our diverse society could not be accomplished. But what was, in fact, meant to be a concession on the ground of economic upliftment has become a votecatching instrument at the hands of the ruling parties.

The principle was blantly distorted by the rulers of the country who did not care even for the Supreme Court ceiling of 50% reservations for all categories of beneficiaries. The unusually high percentage of reservations (upto the extent of

78%) in Gujrat, Bihar, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh etc. led to anti-reservation agitations. These agitations not only showed the height of opportunism the politicians could scale but also involved huge lessons in men and money. Both the Press and the politician criticised the pampering of Backward Castes with unending and ever expanding reservations. Not a few were critical of the system on the ground that it accentuates and perpetuates castes differences. Reservation remain a national burning issue as before.

Reservation under the Current Arrangements :

Under the current arrangements, there are reservations for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and 'Other Backward Classes'. Preferences are of three basis types. First, there are reservations which allot or facilitate access to valued positions or resources. The most important are reserved seats in legislatures, reservations of posts in government service, and reservation of places in academic institutions (particularly in the medical, engineering and professional colleges). To a lesser extent, the reservation device is also used in the distribution of land allotments, housing and other scarce resources. Second, there are programmes involving expenditure or provision of services -- for the beneficiary groups. Third, there are special protections to protect the Backward Castes from being exploited and victimized. According to some critics, India's system of official discrimination in favour of the most 'backward' sections of her population is unique in the world, both in the range of benefits involved and in the magnitude of the groups eligible for

them (Lelah Dushkin).

The reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were supposed to be abolished after 10 years (untill 1960). But such is our system that they still continue after 40 years (2) and so far as one can foreseen, have become a permanent and unalterable feature of the Constitution. Besides, reservations are not limited to the stage of initial recruitment; there are reservations for promotion also irrespective of merit. The incidence of reservation and the effectiveness with which they are implemented tends to vary from one setting to another. It means that system of reservation is not uniform among the states.

Main Criticism of the Reservation System :

1. Both the reservation system and the policy of reservation have come under strong criticism. According to sociologists like late Prof. I.P. Desai, Upendra Baxi, and Andre Beteille, reservation is a must; but it should be on the basis of economic class instead of caste. Caste-based reservation is against the basis sprit of our Constitution which promises equality, non-casteist and non-communal secularism and a non-obscurantist society. Caste-based reservation is an impediment to progress and social change. (3)

2. To many, the use of caste groups to identify the beneficiaries of compensatory discrimination is responsible for perpetuating the caste system, accentuating caste consciousness and injecting caste into politics. It is indeed a very peculiar method of ensuring the unity of India by eliminating caste

system. No where is such a reservation specifically enjoyed by the constitution even in the caste of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

3. The principle of reservation has come to be discredited as inimical to 'merit' because it enables incompetent to sneak from behind and deprive brilliant and deserving youth of college seats and jobs, thus destroying the nation's prospects of achievement greatness.
(4)

4. Reservations are based on the theory that by the certain members of a particular caste holding public offices, the level of the whole caste will be raised; this theory has proved to be false. Individual members of the caste getting government employment on a preferential basis has had little effect on raising community standards. What has happened instead is that, as the reservation is on the basis of birth and not on that of economic deprivation, the majority of the people who take advantage of these reservations are those who are already affluent. There has developed a class among these favoured sections of society who monopolise the benefits of reservations while the rest of the members of the caste or tribe remain exactly where they were. Highly critical of the attitude of the elite group in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Justice V.R.Krishna Iyar said "the 120 M.P.S representing them should be loyal to their impoverished voters rather than to the parties they belong to."

5. Critical observations have been made both by the

Supreme Court and senior political leaders on reservations. For example, the Supreme Court, in one of its judgements, remarked : "excessive zeal for the depressed classes was a fraud on the constitution which could destroy the ideal of supremacy of merit, efficiency of the services and absence of discrimination". Even Jagjivan Ram, the eminent leader of the Scheduled Castes, once said "Privilege could not be permanent feature of life and that reservations in perpetuity would make people think that the beneficiaries were a community of incompetent and inferior people."

6. Conceived as a progressive measure to benefit the backward sections of the Indian society, the policy of reservation has been turned into an instrument of party politics over the year. The politicians are cynically exploiting for narrow electoral purposes what was originally meant to be a short-term expedient. The reckless extension of relevant provisions has bred further group hostility. After the states of Gujrat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh have been rocked by the anti-reservation agitations the anti-reservationists are threatening similar agitations in other states.

7. Apart from creating a vested interest, the reservation policy has promoted many more caste-groups to demand inclusion in the original list.

8. There is no justification for omnibus reservations and meaningless quotas at all levels, from primary education to professional colleges. These preferences place an unfair handicap

on individuals who are deprived of opportunities they deserve on merit.

9. According to Marc Galanter, preferences subject these groups (S.C, S.T and OBC) to manipulation by others aggravate their dependency, and undermine their sense of dignity, pride, self-sufficiency, and personal efficiency. (6)

Arguments in Favour of Reservations :

The criticisms of reservations system notwithstanding, there are equally cogent arguments in its favour. Marc Glanter, D.L.Seth and many others have not only justified the system by have also favoured the continuance of caste-based preferences for years to come. Their arguments in this regard use as under.

i) By affording opportunities for participation and well being, preferences promote feelings of belonging and loyalty among the beneficiaries, thereby promoting the social and political integration of these groups into Indian society. The preference programmes are thus integrative.

ii) Preference compensate from the help to offset the accumulated disablements resulting from past deprivation of advantages and opportunities.

iii) By reducing tangible disparities among groups and directing attention to mundane rather than ritual standing, preferences promote the development of a secular society.

iv) Compensatory programmes provide the basis for personal achievements and enlarge the beneficiaries' capacity to shape their own lives. But in other ways the programmes curtail

their autonomy. The promise of good position offers a powerful incentive for individual effort. With the boost given by compensatory discrimination a section of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have secured entry into the modern class populating the organised sector. There is a reason to believe that the system has had some notable success, and the members of the affected groups are playing more prominent role in public life now.

v) Preferences provide a direct flow of valuable resources to beneficiaries in larger measure than they would otherwise enjoy. Reserved seats, for example, provide an important legislative presence and swell the flow of patronage, attention, and favourable policy to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The reservation of jobs has been to a sizeable portion of the beneficiary groups earning, as well as security, information, patronage and prestige that go with government employment.

(7)

vi) The policy of reservation should be judged on the ground of prevailing realities of Indian society without colouring our mind either by merit or by caste. Caste being a fundamental reality of Indian society and a terrifying force of stability, the strategy of social action for changing our social system must be caste-based. To quote D.L.Seth, 'There is no sanction in the Constitution for applying economic criteria, either exclusively or primarily, for reservations and there seems to be no escape from using caste as a primary criterion for reservation.'

(8)

vii) The policy of reservation is one of the weapons to fight against casteism rather than a plan to improve economic condition of certain castes. It is a preparation for bigger structural changes in the country which cannot be accomplished unless a cultural revolution succeeds prior to that. This country needs a vigorous social mobility so that the existing social structure is demolished for the emergence of a new society based on equality.
(9)

viii) The need for preferential treatment has assumed more urgency under the dispensation of new economic policy. Had economic planning been oriented towards jobs for all, the problem would have been less acute.
(10)

Summing up :

The caste-based policy of reservation, with all its criticism, has enough to command in its favour. It is common knowledge that these castes are, by the large, yet to catch up with other castes notwithstanding all that the Government has done for them. Not very long ago, Mr. Eduardo Felerio, Minister of State of Finance, said that the banking sector was a notorious defaulter in the matter of filling the reserved posts for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Similar complaints have come from most public sector undertakings. Most of the jobs recruitment remain out of bounds for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. And the UPSC's annual report has pointed out

that the Ministeries of the Government are the worst offenders in the matter of properly notifying the vacancies and reporting to the UPSC the action taken to fill them. But, in view of the rising expectations of the common people and the government's failure to meet them, and the consequent outburst of anti-reservation movements from time to time in the states, there is a need of national consensus on this issue. To look for parameters for a possible national policy on reservations, the Prime Minister should convene a conference of Chief Minister and party leaders. An indepth discussion of the various aspects of the problem can help evolving the outlines of a national policy.

So far the central government has had conflicting advice on this. The first high-powered commission headed by Kaka Kalelkar went to the extent of lamenting that the "remedies (it sought to suggest) were worse than the evils." Nor has the experience in the states been of any help. Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have managed to live peacefully with more than 65 per cent of the seats in professional colleges and the jobs in government offices earmarked for the deprived segments of the population. But bloody riots rocked Bihar in the mid-seventies and later Gujrat after their Governments decided to increase the reservation quota albeit on a much lower scale than in the two southern States. A national consensus cannot emerge given this uneven social response in the country as a whole.

(11)

Critical Assesment :

i) While there is some evidence to suggest that certain

middle castes in North India, notably the Jats in Western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan, and the Yadavs in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, have moved out of the orbit of the Congress(I) and into the Lok Dal, it is an over-simplification to believe that this movement is permanent and not dependent on other political exigencies, Barring 1980, when Charan Singh's Janata(S) captured a substantial number of parliamentary seats in Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, there has been no other instance of the middle castes being out of step with the national mood.

The co-relation between caste and electoral politics has often been mechanically overstated. All elections since 1971 have been characterised by certain distinctive common trends. First, there has been a tremendous increase in what is often called 'voter volatility'. This means that the electorate is less responsive to pre-existing constraints such as caste, family allegiance and loyalty to a political party while exercising its preference.

ii) In an amendment to the Representation of People Act in 1961, the Government of India had enlarged the scope of "corrupt practices" by including the following sentence to its Section 123, "The promotion of feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of citizens on the grounds of religion, race, castes, community or language as a corrupt practice and an electoral offence." In his path-breaking judgement Mr. Justice S.P. Bharucha of the Bombay High Court has, recently set aside the election of a Shiv Sena MLA on the ground that he was guilty of

corrupt practices in "using religion" to appeal to the electorate. Earlier, the Supreme Court's judgement had set aside the election of Akali MLA in Punjab for his use of a hukamnama to influence Sikh voters.

Arguments against the Reservation Policy :

The anti-reservationists argue that the reservations must be on the basis of economic conditions and not on the caste basis. They argue that when the government is emphasising on social welfare, it is right to deny a job to a first class graduate from the so-called 'high caste' and offer it to a third class graduate from the backward community ? Pilloo Mody in one of his interviews observed that the reservation itself has become a principal instrument of discrimination. To avail himself of facilities a man will have to declare himself a Harijan and therefore be dubbed a 'Harijan'. As long as he maintains the identity he cannot claim equality. The following arguments are advanced against the reservation policy.

1. Reservations create a vested interest in perpetuating backwardness, it becomes a convenient tag where by more and more section of the community try to corner concessions available.

2. The benefits do not percolate down to the broad masses of SC/ST people and other backward communities. A tiny elite only, therefore, is created, this tiny elite, in tune, creates a gap between it and the less fortunate sections of its own community, and apes the manners and life styles of the

forward communities the process referred to by sociologists as 'Sanskritisation'.

3. In the vary nature of things, reservations cannot continue in perpetuity. The whole rational of reservations is that over a period of time, the backward communities should be given an opportunity to come up at par with their more advanced brethern.

4. Under a system of reservations, injustice is caused to many meritorious candidates, whose only disqualification is that they belong to forward communities.

Many people have began questioning the appropriateness of the very idea of reservation. The wonder whether the policy of reservation has helped at all in solving the real problems of the backward classes, more especially of SCs and STs. They have serious misgivings that the reservation policy may have contributed to the growing feeling of separateness amongst these classes as also in the minds of the rest of society. Continuing the policy indefinitely might, it is feared, widen the gulf irretrievably and thus do more harm than good in the long run.

Arguments in support of Reservation Policy :

The pro-reservationists argue that the superiority of the Brahmins and the other upper castes and the low social ranking of the backward castes and the Shudras are ideas rooted in the Hindu scriptures. They point out how even to-day, a poor Brahmin enjoys a higher status socially than a rich man belonging to one of the backward castes. They, therefore, feel that caste

is a relevant criterion in the determination of backwardness. They want to compensate members of the backward castes for their age old social handicap by giving them better representation, better opportunities and better facilities.

It is suggested that the reservation policy as a whole is meant to fulfil a larger social purpose than merely to benefit a few individuals. That larger purpose is 'to elevate individuals from historically disadvantaged and exploited communities to levels of high visibility where they serve as symbols of hope and of a new order'.

They further argue that ritual status is a predominant criterion of social stratification and that the acquisition of economic and political power does not in itself assure the upward movement of a social group on the social ladder. Further, they point out how, of economic backwardness is everything, the framers of the Constitution would not have taken the trouble of using the word 'socially and educationally backward classes' in Article 15(4). They would have been quite brief and used just the word "economically backward."

Refuting the criticism of anti-reservation on the nomenclature of 'castes' and 'classes' they claim that backward castes are also backward classes. Mandal Commission in its micro-study of a number of villages finds that, by and large, there is close correspondence between the caste hierarchy and class hierarchy. Further, the pro-reservationists allege that 80 per cent of the population in India. In support of the policy of

reservation. Devraj Urs once argued that casteism of one hue could be fought only by casteism of another hue. Why should it be said that if the lower castes and the under-privileged fought for their share in the Government, it was tantamount to casteism ? Urs added that, after all, the social structure in which one grows up was basically an unequal one. And unless the state intervened, that set up would continue for all time. Ram Monohar Lohia observed that if merit were to be the sole criterion for selection or appointments, the high castes with their 5,000 year old tradition of specialisation in mental pursuits would be unbeatable.

Further, the pro-reservationists argue that to run the administration efficiently one does not need to be a genius, common intelligence is sufficient if it is coupled with a high degree of honesty and a capacity to take decisions. According to them one's merit is a product of the socio-economic conditions of one's family. The children of socially superior and prosperous parents do well in education and in the job-market. The socio-economic conditions of the backward castes have not improved. They are, therefore, entitled to reservation. Reservation, they declare, does not lead to any decline in administrative efficiency. On the other hand, it integrates the political and social systems and ensures social equality. It strengthens the faith of the backward classes in the political system. This is its true promoter of national integration.

(16)

Politics of Reservation :

With the introduction of adult franchise and

competitive politics these SCs and STs elites specially the political elites have been successfully subservient to the causes of the ruling party. And the ruling parties with their time tested minorities' welfare programme have left no stone unturned to mobilize the numerical and so legislative strength of these few communities to make it available for the former's sectional interest. However, the political mobilization of these deprived groups is by no means an entirely new phenomenon, they have indeed formed part of the electoral arithmetic right from the beginning.

At the practical level the Congress party leaders especially Mrs. Gandhi understood the importance of the numerical strength of the Scheduled Castes as they held the balancing force in most of the states in 1967 Assembly Elections. Therefore, in 1971 mid-term parliamentary elections, Mrs. Gandhi relied on SCs and STs to win election. She lost some of their support in 1977 parliamentary elections due to compulsory sterilization programme as the SCs and STs were its main victim. Moreover, the resignation of Jag Jivan Ram from the Congress alienated her from the SCs and STs and as a result she lost the election.

The Janata Party came into power by was dominated by the Upper Caste and middle caste peasantry that became dominant in north India. They led lose reign of terror on the SCs and STs for example the Parasbhiga and Belchi carnage. Mrs. Gandhi came back to power by highlighting the atrocities on SCs and STs and at once she became a rallying point for these castes. Her victory

in parliamentary elections was based on their support mainly. Rajiv Gandhi's sudden declaration that all posts reserved for SCs and STs must be filled by August 31, 1989 signals the beginning of yet another attempt to reduce the Indian voter as elections draw nearer. The 1989 verdict has, however, signalled the coming to power of intermediary caste and the policy of reservation is extended in favour of OBCs (other backward castes). Thus, we can conclude --

1. The ruling party, like Britishers, used the reservation facilities to secure power in the democratic framework.
2. The present reservation policy created at both horizontal articulation of political conflict between Backward Castes and Upper castes on one hand and between SCs and Backward Castes on the other. It has also created vertical articulation of political conflict among the SCs reducing them at the small fragments.
3. The patronage has certainly created the political consciousness among the reservation beneficiaries but it is created at the cost of killing revolutionary potentials among them.
4. In the last, these reservations have led to the division between the Scheduled Castes elites and masses once again like Britishers, completing the division between the elite culture and mass culture.

POLICY ALTERNATIVES

The reservation quotes have not been fully utilised anywhere, including Gujarat. A government of Gujarat publication has admitted that "the unutilised reserved seats have been utilised by non-backward students of merit, which shows that 89 per cent seats in medical faculty and 84 percent in engineering faculty have gone to non-reserved students."

The Sixth Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidly observes: "The overall position regarding the representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in services in eight States and Union Territories is discouraging. In case of Scheduled Castes, their representation in class I and II posts is far below the prescribed quota in the respective States/UTs. In class III posts also the desired quota for Scheduled Castes has not been achieved in any of the States/UTs."

The progress of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in group B and C (Class II and III services) has been good, But as far as Group A (Class I) service is concerned - with which goes both status and power -- the position is still extremely unsatisfactory. They still have a considerable distance to cover.

It is repeatedly said that reservation, while causing resentment all round, has not made any impression on the poverty of the SCs, STs and OBCs. This is wrong argument. Since government service and employment in public sector undertakings is only one outlet, better access to it could not be expected to make an

impact on the economic condition of a large mass of people. It is as poor an argument as ranging that adult franchise and liberty have not solved the problem of bread effectively. The purpose of reservation policy was not to solve the economic problem. Its purpose was to give the depressed section a stake in the state, a feeling of power and equal rights.

The backwardness of certain groups arises from their inability to compete in a modern competitive society, either because their religious and social environment has impeded, this, ability or because they have been too poor to take advantage of the facilities for advancement that modern India offers. The solution then is to create an environment for a large a number as possible of these deprived sections, where they will have from infancy the same advantages as only the rich enjoy today so that by the time they grow up, they will be able to compete on their merits with anybody else.

The concrete solution we have to offer is that the state should establish residential schools of the standard of the best public schools -- the products of which start with an enormous advantage in all fields and not only in the public services -- in every district of the country. Admission to these should be limited to the economically disadvantaged people, the vast majority of whom belong to the backward and landless sections of the community. All costs should be borne completely by the state. It is obvious that the I.O. of a child belonging to no matter how suppressed and backward a caste is as high as that

of a child of the upper castes; the distribution of natural talent has nothing whatever to do with the caste into which one is born.

The upper castes have an advantage because of their economic position and their traditions of learning, if the same conditions are given to children of the backward castes, there is absolutely no reason why the product should not equal that of the best of the privileged classes. If we had vision enough originally to foresee this situation, we could have solved this problem, that still bothers us and divides us for all time to come in the course of one generation. There would probably have been more members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward classes in the government services than there are at present with all the reservations to back them up and they would undoubtedly have been of greater competence.

Now we have lived with reservations for the four decades and saw the entire controversy in the light of experience, Reservations should no longer be based on the criteria of caste alone, it should be linked to the factor of economic backwardness. It is also proposed that the children of those who have benefited by reservation should be disqualified, so as to spread the benefits to a larger state amongst SCs/STs.

R E F E R E N C E :

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CHAPTER NINE
CONCLUSION

During 1931 this department was reportedly running 1,784 schools for 63,604 Depressed Class pupils. In Bengal (where the Depressed Class students found no difficulty in securing admission to the common schools) there existed 569 special schools for the backward classes in the Presidency Division, 246 special schools for the Santhals in the Burdwan Division. By 'Swaraj' Gandhi did not simply mean the liberation from foreign rule. To him it was a state of society free from injustice and exploitation. He regarded removal of untouchability as an integral part of the social, psychological and political preparation necessary for launching the struggle against the British. The most important of the above demands was the reservation of seats in the legislatures on the basis of the recognition of the minority character of the Depressed Classes. B.R. Ambedkar gave an advice to the Scheduled Castes that they should not make any compromise over the issue of their reserved seats, because adequate seats in legislatures were a further guarantee of other safeguards.

Keeping such instances happening all over India in view, Government took some steps towards removing intimidating forces at the time of elections from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh especially western Uttar Pradesh.

The Chief Election Commissioner sent letters to the Chief Ministers and Governors to make adequate "bondobust" at the sensitive areas. Instructions to the police Department were also

given the State Government acknowledged the receipt of instructions and assured to do the needful.

Another injustice was done to the Scheduled Castes by refusing them a promotion in the Class I category. When this question had come up, it was referred to the cabinet. Secretariate Department of personnel and Administrative Reforms. The situation of Scheduled Castes in Railway employment is improving. But here also the important particularly in Class I and Class II was not very hopeful. The University Grants Commission of India strongly recommended that seats in the institutions and particularly in the institutions of higher learning should be reserved for them.

Also the Government is facing the constitutional challenges, modifying the details of policy, displeasing some interests and inviting minance which is putting more stress and strain on its capability to maintain law and order.

The Seventh Five Year Plan strategy of this corporation has been centered round the beneficiary oriented schemes with focus on family as a unit. The entire strategy has been evolved for the purpose of building up a strong economic base for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes families living below the poverty line. The evaluation report commands the efficiency of the method followed by the Corporation for selecting beneficiari- es for poverty alleviation programme at the grass root level. The present system of selection of beneficiaries will be continued during 1992-93. The present method followed in selection of beneficiaries will also help the financial institutions and

Government officials to weed out ineligible beneficiaries as well as unsuitable schemes and help the financial institutions to sanction schemes as soon as the schemes are sponsored to them.

The Corporation has arranged for necessary training programme for the entrepreneurs to strengthen their technical skill and develop their entrepreneurial quality like National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation, Cultural Research Organisation and Directorate of evaluation, Monitoring the Man Power from time to time and reports submitted by them offer scope to the Corporation to plug the loopholes and remove the shortcomings.

As tentatively decided by the State Government, the State Plan outlays during the 8th Five Year Plan period are proposed to be stepped up over the State Plan outlay of 1991-92 and compounded 10%, 10.5%, 1.1%, 11.5% and 12% respectively. The State Plan outlay during 1991-92 has been fixed at Rs.148600.00 lakhs.

In consonance with the general guiding principles of the Seventh Plan the proximate objective of the T.S.P. are growth equity and social justice self reliance efficiency and productivity raising the socio-economic condition of the tribal population and strengthening of infrastructure of tribal areas. Special Central Assistance to Tribal sub-plan (T.S.P.) is an additive and mainly utilised for implementation of various family oriented economic benefit schemes linked with Margin Money and Institut-

ional Finance during the 7th Year Plan and onwards. Government of India also sanctioned grants under provision to Art.275(1) of the Constitution for implementation of various development scheme for the Scheduled Tribes which are not covered under special Central Assistance. The objective during the 8th Plan period is to cover 1,27,597 S.T. families below the poverty line with a total investment of Rs.100.80 crores. During 7th Five Year Plan it was proposed to assist 2,50,000 S.T. families under point 11(B) of the 20 point programme to cross the poverty line which actually came to 2,97,525 families (including IRDP) at the end of 7th Plan. In the year 1992-97 total physical target is Rs.142.00 lakhs and Financially is Rs.477.90 lakhs.

Inspite of the constitutional directives and a number of legislative and executive measures taken by the Government, the conditions of the Scheduled Castes did not improve much during the period prior to the Sixth Five Year Plan. The strategy of development of Scheduled Castes was, however, given a workable shape from the beginning of the Sixth Plan. The new strategy of Special Component Plan during the Sixth Plan Period which was also adhered to the intensified during the Seventh Five Year Plan, was a combination of three important instruments viz. 1) The Special Component Plan of the States and Central Ministers; 2) The Special Central Assistance to Special Component Plan of States, and 3) The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development and Finance Corporation.

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, Diary 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.

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 minutes 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. 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.

Taking spot-shots at the Mandal Report recommending

exclusive reservation for SEBCs, the belligerent anti-reservationist denigrate the report by making scathing criticism and indiscriminately trigger off a volley of bullets against the Report. The first attack against the Report is that it is perpetuating the evils of caste system and accentuating caste consciousness besides impeding the doctrine of secularism, the net effect of which would be dangerous and disastrous for the rapid development of the Indian society as a whole marching towards the goal of the welfare state. According to them, the identification of SEBCs by the Commission on the basis of caste system is bizzare and barren of force, muchless exposing hollowness. Therefore, the OMs issued on the strength of the Mandal Report which is solely based on the caste criterion are violative of Article 16(2). This attack is based on the misconception. A perusal of the Report would indicate that the 1931 census does not have been a remote connection with the identification of OBCs. But on the other hand, they are identified only on the basis of the country-wide socio-educational field survey and the census report of 1961 particularly for the identification of primitive tribes, aboriginal tribes, hill tribes, forest tribes and indigenous tribes and personal knowledge gained through extensive touring the receipt of voluminous public evidence and lists of OBCs notified by various States. It was only after the identification of OBCs, the Commission was faced with the task of determining their population percentage and at that stage 1931 census became relevant.

The caste-based policy of reservation, with all its criticism, has enough to commend in its favour. It is common knowledge that these castes are, by and large, yet to catch up with other castes notwithstanding all that the Government has done for them. Not very long ago, Mr. Eduardo Felerio, Minister of State for Finance, said that the banking sector was a notorious defaulter in the matter of filling the reserved posts for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Similar complaints have come from most public sector undertakings. Most of jobs coming under the purview of the Union Public Service Commission for recruitment remain out of bounds for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. And the UPSC's annual report has pointed out that the Ministeries of the Government are the worst offenders in the matter of properly notifying the vacancies and reporting to the UPSC the action taken to fill them. But, in view of the rising expectations of the common people and the Government's failure to meet them, and the consequent outburst of anti-reservation movements from time to time in the states, there is a need of national consensus on this issue. To look for parameters for a possible national policy on reservations, the Prime Minister should convene a conference of Chief Minister and party leaders. An indepth discussion of the various aspects of the problem can help evolving the outlines of a national policy.

So far the central government has had conflucting advice on this. The first high-powered commission headed by Kaka

Kalelkar went to the extent of lamenting that the "remedies (it sought to suggest) were worse than the evils." Nor has the experience in the states been of any help. Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have managed to live peacefully with more than 65 per cent of the seats in professional colleges and the jobs in government offices earmarked for the deprived segments of the population. But bloody riots rocked Bihar in the mid-seventies and later Gujrat after their Governments decided to increase the reservation quota albeit on a much lower scale than in the two sought States. A national consensus cannot emerge given this uneven social response in the country as a whole.

The upper castes have an advantage because of their economic position and their traditions of learning, if the same conditions are given to children of the backward castes, there is absolutely no reason why the product should not equal that of the best of privileged classes. If we had vision enough originally to foresee this situation, we could have solved this problem, that still bothers us and divides us for all time to come in the course of one generation. There would probably have been more members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and backward classes in the government services than there are at present with all the reservations to back them up and they would undoubtedly have been of greater competence.

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