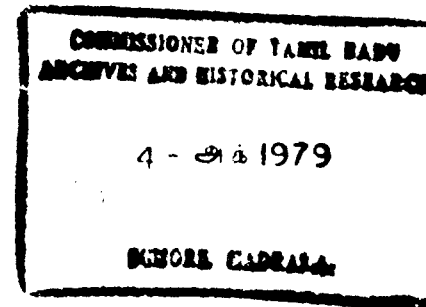




Office of the Backward Classes
Commission, Madras-2.

To

The Hon'ble Thiru M. Karunanidhi,
Chief Minister,
Tamil Nadu.

I have the honour to forward herewith the Main Report of the Commission, which contains all our recommendations. Volumes II and III of the Report containing Socio-economic data and notes, and various statistics the Commission has collected and tabulated, will follow soon. A Tamil translation is under preparation and will be ready in a couple of months.

It has been to me a labour of love, working on this Commission, and it is my earnest hope that the Report will be of some use to your Government which has evinced so much interest in the welfare of the weaker sections of society.

Yours sincerely,

Madras - 2,
26th November 1970.

(Sd.)
(A.N. SATTANATHAN)
Chairman

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CHAPTER - I

SCOPE OF THE COMMISSION'S PROBLEMS, TERMS OF REFERENCE, LIMITATIONS AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

The Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission was constituted by the Government of Tamil Nadu, in their G.O. Ms.No.842, Social Welfare Department, dated 13-11-1969, consisting of:-

- (1) Thiru A.N. Sattanathan Chairman
- (2) Thiru S. Chinnappan, B.A.B.L., Member
Retired District and Sessions Judge,
Madras.
- (3) Thiru M.A. Jamal Hussain, B.A.B.L., Member
Retired District and Sessions Judge,
Madras, and
- (4) The Director of Backward Classes, Secretary
Madras.

The Commission was formally inaugurated by the Hon'ble Thiru M. Karunanidhi, Chief Minister on 15-11-1969. The terms of reference of the Commission as per the above G.O. are reproduced below:-

TERMS OF REFERENCE

(Extracts from G.O. Ms.No.842, Social Welfare Department, dated 13-11-1969)

1. The Tamil Nadu State Backward Classes Commission shall review the measures so far taken by the State Government for the welfare of "Backward Classes" and the betterment of their conditions and assess the effectiveness of such measures in improving the conditions of backward classes and in particular in matter relating to education and representation in public services of the State.
2. The Commission shall examine and assess with reference to concessions, privileges and benefits given to them by the State Government, the improvements in the conditions of the "Most Backward Classes" in education and other matters.
3. The Commission may make recommendations as to the further steps that should be taken by the State Government to improve the conditions of the "Backward Classes" in respect of:

- (i) Education, including reservation of seats in professional colleges and institutions of higher learning;
- (ii) representation in Public Services;
- (iii) trade, commerce, and industry;
- (iv) rural credit, marketing and co-operation;
- (v) housing;
- (vi) health; and
- (vii) community development.

4. The Commission may make recommendations in respect of short-term and long-term measures to be taken by the State Government for raising the level of backward and most backward classes.
5. The Commission may obtain such information as they may consider necessary or relevant for their purpose in such form and in such manner, as they may think appropriate, from the State Government or any Officer or authority subordinate to the State Government or any organisation or any individual as may in the opinion of the Commission be of assistance to them.
6. The Commission may visit any district or taluk in the State.
7. The Commission shall endeavour to present the report to the State Government by the 30th June 1970 and may furnish to the Government an interim report earlier on any special aspect of their work, if so desired, by the Government of Tamil Nadu or the Commission.

Explanation:-- In this reference any reference to "Backward Classes" and "Most Backward Classes" shall mean those Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes which are recognised as such by the State Government on the date of issue of this reference.

2. In view of some of the problems we had to confront during the course of our work, it is desirable to record here the limitations under which we had to work, in view particularly of the essential difference between the terms of reference of the Backward Classes Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1953, (The Kaka Khalelkar Commission) and ours. The former Commission was asked to determine the criteria to be adopted for determining educational and social backwardness. We had no such authority, either to evolve a yardstick or to apply it. It was also asked to prepare a list of Backward Classes, and to set out their population and their regional distribution. On the other hand, our task was in one respect simpler, and in another somewhat delicate. The State Government had a list of "Backward Classes" and "Most Backward Classes" and our instructions were simply to assess the progress made by each class, particularly in three spheres--education, economic status and employment in Government Service. This limitation confining our work to the classes in the list, practically precluded us from considering and examining the request received from classes outside the list. We received written representations and oral representations from several classes which are ordinarily considered forward, as well as from small minor groups which did not find a place in the list for some reason or another, though some of them appeared to be more or less on the same level of backwardness as our Backward Classes.

Castes not included in the list of Backward Classes.

3. As a Government appointed Commission with a duty to the public, we could not very well refuse to receive representations from these classes who are not in the list. We gave all of them a patient hearing wherever they met us and explained to them the limitations imposed on us, and advised them to make representations

to the Government direct. Many representations so made to the Government were also referred to us. In spite of our explanations, all these non-listed classes requested that we should study their representations and bring their requests to the notice of Government. This request we could not decline and accordingly we have added a separate note on these classes not in the list.

Non-Labbai Muslims.

4. In this task we faced difficulties from two classes: (a) Muslims and (b) Christians. Regarding Muslims, there is one entry "Labbai". It has been there ever since the list was drawn. We leave out for the moment two other entries 'Mappilla' and 'Dudekula', which also refer to some special classes of Muslims. The exact connotation of the term 'Labbai' puzzled us at first, as generally it is not considered to be a term of respectable address. Some witnesses who appeared before us, also testified to the fact that only some poorer sections of Muslims are described by this term. But reference to the Census Report of 1921 and of earlier decades confirmed the fact that this term was intended to cover all Tamil speaking Muslims, as distinguished from Urdu-speaking Muslims. In fact, the Census of 1921 recorded Muslim population under four heads: Labbai, Sheikh, Syed and Pathan. Thurston who is generally referred to on caste matters, also confirms that 'Labbai' covers Tamil speaking Muslims. Representatives from the Muslim Community met us in many places; all of them agreed that such a differentiation between Tamil speaking Muslims and others is inconsistent with the social ideals of Islam and urged that all Muslims should be treated alike. While conceding the argument of social equality in Islam, the Commission explained to the deputations the terms of reference and suggested that if non-Tamil speaking Muslims wanted to be treated as a Backward Class, they should represent separately to the Government. The term 'Labbai' has been in the list for over half a century, and no one has raised any objection to it on any ground; and the vast majority of Muslims have taken advantage of the concessions under the cover of the term. The essence of the present Muslim point of view is that all Muslims should be treated as eligible for Backward Classes concessions. It must also be stated that in certain places representatives of Urdu speaking Muslims also met us separately. In addition to the argument against making a distinction, they further submitted that non-Tamil Muslims were in fact as poor as their 'Labbai' brethren, educationally and otherwise and perhaps were in some respects poorer. The limitations arising out of our terms of reference were explained to them while appreciating our position, they requested that the cases of the Urdu speaking Muslims should also be reviewed by the Commission. They were advised to file their replies to the Questionnaire with statistics regarding their population, occupation, educational achievements, etc., and also to represent to Government direct. The information subsequently received from them has been examined and our impressions are recorded in the note on Labbai in Volume II, Part I.

Christians.

5. Regarding Christians, the course of events took a slightly different form. The first deputation on behalf of the Indian Christian Association and the Catholic Association met the Chairman on 27-1-1970 and presented a printed memorandum and expressed views

criticising the caste based questionnaire charging the Government of discrimination based on religion. A note recorded by the Chairman at that time, which was subsequently forwarded to the Hon'ble Minister for Backward Classes is reproduced below:--

"A written memorandum on behalf of the Backward Classes Christian Community was presented. The deputation was informed that Christians are not included in the list of Backward Classes and that no backward caste in the Christian community could be recognised and that therefore the subject is outside the Commission's terms of reference. They, however, emphasized that caste system is in existence amongst Christians and a number of backward castes and Scheduled Castes converts still pursue their original ~~exception~~ and no assimilation has been effected. They were asked by the Chairman that in that case the proper course could be for those Vannans, Navithans, etc. who are Christians, to make a representation directly and not for the Association to speak on their behalf. They also mentioned that there are number of Scheduled Caste converts also who like to be treated like their parent community. The difficulty in identifying the parent community of a convert from a family which has been for several generations Christians was pointed out to them by the Chairman. They said the revenue authorities would be able to identify. A doubt was expressed by the Chairman whether this is possible, and he also wondered whether school records will show caste for Christians. The various legal, administrative and practical difficulties in identifying the original castes were pointed out to the deputationists. The deputation also stressed that in according classification only economic criteria should be adopted and not religion and, therefore, economically and socially backward Christians should also be eligible to the concessions given by the State. The Chairman pointed out that if caste criterion is adopted as most Christians in Tamil Nadu are converts from backward classes, all Christians will have to be admitted to the privileges of Backward Classes. As the Commission is concerned only with castes in the State list, this may be outside its scope. The Commission is not asked to re-examine the criteria for backwardness; but to take the lists as they are."

Thiru Chinnappan was not present on 27-1-1970 and subsequently he submitted a memorandum to the Hon'ble Minister for Backward Classes and at the Chairman's request met him personally. No reply has so far been received from the Government.

Many deputations on behalf of Christians met us in several places we toured. Unfortunately, most of them resented the explanation, given by the Chairman, on the interpretation of the terms of reference.

Whenever the Christians contended that caste system exists among Christians, they were told that such sections of Christians, whose parent Hindu caste is in the Backward Classes list might represent caste-wise separately and establish their backwardness; some representations on behalf of converts from particular castes were subsequently received. While no promise could be made by the Commission on the question of extending Backward Classes concession to Christians as a whole or to converts from particular castes in view of our terms of reference also in view of the general question involved, the Commission felt that the case of converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes should be examined separately as the present item refers only to those who are themselves converts. As this question has agitated the Christians a good deal, we take the liberty of pointing this out even at the beginning of the report. This is dealt with in some detail in Volume II.

Caste-based questionnaire.

6. The other general question that was raised by some witnesses, including some V.I.Ps. was that our questionnaire was caste-based. The text of our questionnaire is appended in Volume II of this Report. After considerable deliberations, the Chairman who was largely responsible for its preparation came to the conclusion that in the context of the entries in the lists, the use of the term 'caste' in questions would be more appropriate and realistic than 'Class'. The lists have grown up piecemeal over several decades, and the entries were made from time to time after careful investigation into the backwardness of each caste that required State assistance, as we are explaining in Chapter III.

7. It is not our intention either to go into the history of the caste system in Tamil Nadu or to justify it. That caste is an important, perhaps the most determining factor in Hindu Society, none can question; and as long as 'Caste' is the easiest and most commonly recognised form of social identity, it cannot be easily ignored. In this context we cannot do better than refer to the remarks on 'Social backwardness' in the Khalelkar Report (Chapter III and page 100). As, with the exception of Labbai, Dudekula, Mappilla and self-converts from Scheduled Castes to Christianity, all the other entries refer only to Hindu castes, it was decided that the questionnaire should be caste-based. Ordinarily the respondents to the questionnaire can only be representatives of castes, leaving apart Associations which are interested in Backward Classes as such. Even individuals who appeared before us in their public capacity as M.L.As., M.Ps., Chairmen of Municipal Councils and Presidents of Panchayats, spoke of their individual castes after making general observations about the backward people in their constituency generally. We do not think it is particularly necessary to indulge in any special pleading to justify the caste-based questionnaire, as, in view of our terms of reference, the State lists and the existing social structure, we could not do otherwise.

8. In Chapter III we are tracing the growth of the lists of Backward Classes and how the various policies for State aid in education, representation in services and reservation for admission to colleges have been evolved. This historical approach is necessary as a pre-requisite for discharging the Commission's primary responsibility of assessment of the progress made by the various castes in our State lists. We also thought it necessary to examine the content of the term "weaker sections of society" both in its constitutional context as well as from the socio-economic points of view. It is necessary to establish on firm grounds that the existing lists comprise only the weaker sections of society who are socially and educationally backward. This is all the more essential as it is thought fashionable in some circles to ridicule the attitude of Government in giving special aid to some classes. It is equally fashionable to refer to some people having a vested interest in backwardness. In some official and political circles too an impression prevails that whatever justification there may be for helping the Scheduled Castes, no others need be recognised as backward.

Sanskritisation reversed.

9. We would like also to bring to the attention of Government that while a generation or two ago, every caste lower down in the social scale tried to emulate the Brahman and Kshatriya - a process known as Sanskritisation - the present tendency, very evident in the evidence tendered before us, is that more castes would like to be listed as Backward Classes, many Backward Classes as Most Backward Classes and again many Most Backward Classes would like to be included in the Schedule. This is partly an expression of the desire of many castes to take advantage of State concessions and aids, and partly an indication of the magnitude of the poverty and ignorance which remain to be eradicated. In view of these claims for down-grading, which might find political expression in other forums, we are recommending elsewhere some tentative measures for periodic reassessments. We take the liberty of mentioning this even at the beginning of the Report in view of the pressure tactics which may follow.

Castes which have made progress.

10. Some castes have made more progress than others, and the less fortunate complaint that the comparatively progressive castes stand in the way of a more even and equitable distribution of opportunities. Whether such complaint is well founded or not is a matter which the Commission could not pass over, if it were to make a fair assessment of the progress of the various castes in accordance with the directives contained in the terms of reference. An upper strata of educated and comparatively well-off members are to be found in every caste, in smaller or larger number. In some castes the strata is so substantial by all yardsticks that they may as well be regarded as having crossed the border line. They have acquired more mobility and are better equipped to grasp opportunities. For them the educational concessions do not matter so much as the protected opportunity to get admission to Medical Colleges and other professional colleges, and to enter Government services under the reservation. Whether the castes with such substantial upper strata who cannot complain of economic, social or environmental handicaps should continue to get protection is a matter on which the Government should do some serious thinking. Social justice will be abused and rendered really ineffective if State policy is not reviewed from time to time.

Upper strata within a caste.

11. In devising aid measures of various types, safeguards have also to be devised to ensure that these benefits actually reach the genuinely backward strata. If this is not done, "Backwardness" will necessarily become a vested interest as the immediate beneficiaries will inevitably be the members of this upper crust - a class within a caste. We had heard of some cases where half the educated men and women of a particular caste are supposed to have come from a handful of top families. There must be a device for skimming off periodically such top layers, thus enabling the still lower strata of the same caste to come up without having to be forced down by the more competent aid recipients of their own caste. Such layers of developed segments can very well merge with the advanced sections of the society, the so-called forward classes, and compete openly for careers and opportunities without taking cover under reservations. For them Government service is not the only avenue. With their position and resources, they can seek careers outside State Government service. Even now there are enlightened families who refuse to take shelter under backwardness. A Most Backward Class or even Scheduled Caste family with one or at the most two generations of affluence, and public or Government service should not normally stand in need of any further favours from Government. If this does not happen, the first generation must be deemed to have failed in its duty to their own children, and society at whose cost aid was given to them. This must be admitted by the more fortunate sections of their castes and they must play their role in creating the proper environment for their children. Modern society and modern scholarship will not admit that there can be any environmental or social handicap which cannot be remedied in a generation of conscious effort, taking advantage of all the general advancement in education, science and technology. The spokesmen of the backward people do not maintain that they are inherently inferior in mental capacity. Only the economic and environmental or social handicaps should be remedied. Educationists all over the State have also testified to the presence of talent amongst the Backward Classes children, and are hopeful that given proper aid in course of time, they will be able to compete on equal terms with the other forward classes.

12. We would also like to observe that the forward castes should remember that our social institutions and traditions are responsible for large sections of the population remaining backward. In feudal and medieval society, inequality was regarded as essential for cultural development. Ancient civilizations were possible only because of slave and serf labour. Leisure class was maintained at the expense of a larger class of toilers. Such societies tumbled down largely because of this weakness. Modern Democratic Society is built on the concept of equality of opportunity. The cost involved in providing these equal opportunities must be treated as a first charge on the State; and contributing to this cost should be viewed as a moral and social obligation of the privileged and better-off sections of society; and not merely as a penalty for the social evils perpetuated for centuries, though in fact it may be so.

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12. We would also like to observe that the forward castes should remember that our social institutions and traditions are responsible for large sections of the population remaining backward. In feudal and medieval society, inequality was regarded as essential for cultural development. Ancient civilizations were possible only because of slave and serf labour. A leisure class was maintained at the expense of a larger class of toilers. Such societies tumbled down largely because of this weakness. Modern Democratic Society is built on the concept of equality of opportunity. The cost involved in providing these equal opportunities must be treated as a first charge on the State; and contributing to this cost should be viewed as a moral and social obligation of the privileged and better-off sections of society; and not merely as a penalty for the social evils perpetuated for centuries, though in fact it may be so.

13. The Commission in assessing the evidence tendered before it and in formulating its recommendations for the educational, economic and other improvements of the Backward Classes has tried to bear in mind the following general considerations:-

- (1) Recipients should be correctly located and identified.
- (2) Aid should be no more and no less than adequate, subject of course to the limitations of resources.
- (3) Aid should take such forms as are necessary to produce the best results on the money input.
- (4) The progress of the recipients in the spheres in which aid is given is carefully watched and evaluated.
- (5) Aid should not discourage initiative and self-dependence, and aid recipients should be made aware of their obligations to their own class and society at large.
- (6) It is as much necessary to improve the living conditions of the people as to encourage education; and for this purpose the social and economic infrastructure of the backward areas should receive continuous consideration.
- (7) All forms of exploitation, open, subtle or hidden either by landlords or by dominant castes or upper layer of the same caste should be removed by social and State action.
- (8) Assistance should be so well directed that its continuance beyond a limited period should not be necessary.

CHAPTER II

The Commission at work

14. The body of the questionnaire was adopted by the Commission after discussion on 24-11-1969 and was very soon translated into Tamil as well. Both the English and Tamil versions were printed and were ready for distribution from 9-12-1969. We ensured publicity for the questionnaire by inserting advertisements in the leading English and Tamil newspapers. We also asked the District Welfare Officers to bring this to the notice of all caste organisations and organisations of Backward Classes in their respective areas. The Press Conference, held in the middle of December, also gave the Commission and the Questionnaire adequate publicity. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed to all those who applied for them, either to the Office of the Commission or to the Collector or District Welfare Officer in the districts. Copies were also sent direct to all M.Ps., M.L.As., M.L.Cs., and some V.I.Ps., including Members of the Backward Classes Advisory Committee. The questionnaire, we have reason to presume, was very well received and altogether about 1700 copies of the English text and 5500 copies of the Tamil text were distributed. We announced to the public through the usual publicity organs that replies should be received in our office by the 15th of January 1970 and later on we extended the time. In fact replies to the questionnaire were received by us even up to the end of July 1970. Representative samples of replies are given in the Appendix (Part IV, Volume II of this Report).

15. The questionnaire was designed in such a manner as to ensure detailed replies on the social, educational, economic and employment position of each caste, districtwise and Statewise.) A separate set of questions for the Most Backward Classes was also provided. The intention was to ascertain actual conditions, the progress made in recent years, their grievances and aspirations. Much valuable information not available in publications or in Government statistics or Census Reports could be obtained only by approaching the people direct. There were also questions designed to elicit information about the private efforts of the communities to help themselves in various fields.

16. In the beginning in order to make ourselves familiar with different aspects of the problem, we thought it desirable to have personal discussions with some Secretaries to Government and Heads of Departments. The response from these officers was exceedingly good, and enabled us to analyse the complexities of the problem in all its aspects. We should specially commend the co-operation of the officers of the Education Department in all stages of our work. We also sent out proforma asking for various detailed statistics, under different heads from the Districts, as well as from many of the departments of Government at headquarters. We tried to get employment statistics in particular from semi-Government and public sector projects and also from commercial organisations. The object of this wide search for information was to obtain as full a picture as we can of the employment

opportunities available and of the progress made by the Backward Classes not only in Government employment, but outside. We, however, regret to record that the response from private commercial organisations has been very discouraging. Even such organisations as the Port Trust, the Madras State Electricity Board and the Neyveli Lignite Corporation could have been more helpful. Even the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission was very reluctant to part with information. The Statistical Department which could have helped us a great deal was the least co-operative. Nevertheless we endeavoured to secure comprehensive data from all available and willing sources. Many of the legislators, to whom we sent copies of our questionnaire, unfortunately did not respond to us; but we met some of them during the course of our tours in the districts. Amongst others, who responded to our invitation for giving oral evidence, we would like to mention with gratitude the names of Thiruvalluvar M. Baktavatsalam, Ex-Chief Minister of the Government of Tamil Nadu, M. Manickavelu, Ex-Chairman, Tamil Nadu Legislative Council, N.D. Sundaravadivelu, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, T.P. Meenakshisundaranar, Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University, Rev. Father Jerome D'Souza and M.P. Sivagnana Gramani. Many private individuals, including some industrialists, politicians and retired officials, whom we very much liked to meet, however, did not respond in spite of our repeated invitations. Though Periyar E.V.R. agreed to come before the Commission, in deference to his age and stature, we preferred to call on him during our visit to Tiruchirappalli and we are grateful to him for his valuable suggestions and the advice he gave us. We are giving a list of individuals and Associations, from whom written and/or oral evidence was obtained, in an Appendix (Volume III).

17. The problems afflicting the children from Backward Classes are many. To elicit opinions from the heads of educational institutions, both secondary and collegiate, we also undertook a special survey. The survey covered all aspects of education, i.e. enrolment of Backward Class boys and girls in schools and colleges, wastage among them at different stages; their performance, adequacy and coverage of Government Scholarships, etc. (Questionnaire forms are given in Volume II). Two separate questionnaires were prepared -- one for school education and the other for collegiate education. In respect of collegiate education, principals of all the colleges in the State were covered. In view of the large number of schools only a sample survey was feasible. The school authorities including educational officers at the district level responded very well; while we regret to note that the principals of colleges had to be reminded often and persuaded to comply with our request. On the whole, the useful information given by these educational experts from their ripe experience in the field gave us an insight into many problems.

18. The Commission commenced its tour in the middle of January and covered all the districts, devoting 3 to 4 days for each. We spoke to our witnesses mostly in Tamil and the bulk of oral evidences was also recorded in Tamil. In every district we had discussions with the Collector and recorded oral evidence on subjects of interest to the Commission from Officers of the Industries, Fisheries, Agriculture, Co-operation, Khadi and Forest Departments. In every district, we met the Educational Officers,

Principals of some of the Colleges and Headmasters, and Headmistresses of High Schools and Elementary Schools. Their enthusiasm to be of help to us is worthy of our sincere appreciation. Equally commendable was the co-operation of Panchayat Presidents, Chairmen and officials. Our coverage of officials and non-officials, extensive as it was, enabled us to get a deep insight into the problems, some of them perhaps not directly connected with our terms of reference.

19. In addition to recording oral evidence from officials and non-officials at the district headquarters, we visited in every district several block and taluk headquarters for taking evidence and receiving representations. We also visited numerous villages in order to get a first-hand information of the living conditions of the Backward Classes people. We were very well received wherever we went and almost all castes, with a few exceptions, sent representatives to meet us in every place we visited. Among those, whose representations were massive and repeated, we would mention the Barber and Washermen communities, Vanniakula Kshatriyas, Kallars and Maravars. Among the numerically bigger communities, who appeared to be somewhat reluctant in presenting their case to us, we must mention with regret the group of castes known by the name of Parkavakulam and the Agamudayans (Mudaliyars) of the South Arcot District, Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. It was heartening for us to record that even the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, with whom we were not directly concerned, met us in several places to represent their grievances. Oral evidences recorded by us in some places are reproduced in the Appendix (Part IV, Volume II of this Report). A general impression appears to have gone round that we are in the nature of a Grievance Commission and requests which did not particularly fit into our terms of reference were frequently made. We did not have the heart to refuse to listen to these people, and again with gratitude we would like to mention the co-operation of the local officials, who willingly came forward to listen to general grievances along with us and in many cases remedies also were found. The unstinting co-operation of the Collectors and their staff was always available to us wherever we went.

20. We found it necessary, in view of the enormous amount of information that poured into our hands, to record from time to time our impressions of each district we toured. In these notes the Chairman had recorded the Commission's impressions of the social and economic pattern in each district, high-lighting the main educational, economic and social problems. These notes have been helpful to us while finalising our report and we trust these notes which are given in Part II, Volume II of this Report will be useful to the Government departments in the State. We have also added under each district, separate statistical tables, prepared by our Research Department.

21. In addition to district tours by the Commission, village surveys were conducted by our Research Section. Such surveys gave a lot of factual information about the socio economic conditions of the Backward Classes people. However, within the short period of time before us, we could only select a handful of villages in each district; such villages bore however a cross section of the society including people outside the fold of Backward Classes.

The survey covered points like the occupational pattern of the people, their land holdings, educational standard, wage level, housing conditions and socio economic overhead facilities available in the villages. The findings were an important aid to us in not merely making inter-class but also intra-class comparisons.

22. Another difficulty which we encountered in dealing with the evidence tendered, both orally and in writing, was the general attitude of all communities to exaggerate their population and to under-rate their achievements in the field of education and employment in the State. With major castes we could satisfactorily contest their claim as far as population is concerned. But, as the 1921 Census, the last one to give caste statistics in a big way, enumerated only 88 castes, we had to fall back on other evidence to estimate the population of other castes. As far as the achievements of the individual castes in the field of education and employment are concerned, we found ourselves helpless to a large extent. We have figures of candidates caste-wise who took the S.S.L.C. Examination 1970 and some other details of high school and college education. We could get figures of the number of men from various castes holding jobs under Government, but we had no means of estimating the number of graduates or lawyers or doctors or engineers each caste has produced, though some light can be thrown on this from the figures of students studying in professional colleges in recent years and from the number of scholarships claimed by various castes in the last few years. Regarding the exaggeration of population, the Yadavas claim 40 to 45 lakhs, the Agamudayans 35 lakhs and the Kaikolans (Sengunthars) have estimated their population from upwards of 20 lakhs and some have even mentioned one crore, and the Madars have claimed 40 lakhs and the Vanniakula Kshatriyas 126 lakhs. In fact, the total of the claims of half a dozen major castes would count for 4 crores, which is practically the estimated population of Tamil Nadu in 1971. The exaggerations have been anything from 2 to 5 times. Even small communities like the Sourashtra and Sadhu Chetty have been claiming population from 10 to 20 lakhs. We are describing below the method adopted for estimating population for castes mentioned in 1921 Census as well as for the other minor castes.

23. The basic data we have made use for present estimating is the all comprising census data. The Census of 1911, 1921 and 1931 give castewise details. For more than one reason, we have chosen 1921 figures as the base. Up to 1921, 88 communities were enumerated in the census; but in 1931, for reasons of economy, fewer communities only (31) were covered. When population is projected to a future date, it is always desirable to make use of the figures for the latest year as the base, other things remaining equal. Therefore, with a view to have a wide coverage in respect of caste enumeration and to take the figures for the latest year, we chose 1921 Census Report as the basic source.

24. Methodology: The Census Report of 1921 related to the then Madras Presidency. Table XIII shows districtwise and castewise data. The castes enumerated herein (88 in number) are those castes which accounted for more than one per mille (one per thousand) in the State as well as in the district. Evidently such of the small castes or sub-castes which did not satisfy this condition were not separately recorded. Obviously some castes which are very relevant

from the Commission's point of view have been left out. From the Census of Madras Presidency, figures pertaining to districts which now constitute Tamil Nadu State, were weeded out and totalled up. Inter-State transfers of areas and minor adjustments in the boundaries have been tacitly assumed to exert insignificant influence on the total figures, thus arrived at. It must be said that this assumption will not materially alter the size of the total population, except in the case of Kanyakumari district which is a significant addition.

25. Figures relating to Kanyakumari district are treated separately since caste stratification there is not exactly comparable to that prevailing in the rest of Tamil Nadu and also because a separate list of Backward Classes is maintained for this district by the Government. The latest and detailed census giving the caste break-up population for Kanyakumari is the 1941 Census of India, Travancore State. Districtwise figures have not been given in the census, but talukwise figures are given. Kalkulam, Tovala, Agasteeswaram and Vilavancode are the four taluks, which now constitute the Kanyakumari district and transferred from Travancore in the year 1956. Thus the total and castwise population for the area has been worked out for 1941. Thirtyfive castes and 20 sub-castes among the Hindus and 15 Christian sects belonging to different Churches were recorded in 1941 Census of Travancore State.

26. The castewise population figures for Tamil Nadu added up will not be equal to the total population. The reason for this discrepancy lies in that, some castes which did not account for more than one per mille were not recorded. The difference accounts for 4.07 per cent and in the projections the same percentage of difference would be carried over.

27. The castewise figures for 88 castes in Tamil Nadu (excluding Kanyakumari district) for the year 1921 and the castewise figures in Kanyakumari district for the year 1941 were further projected to 1971 in two stages. In the first stage projection was carried upto 1961 by adopting the actual intercensal growth rate of population upto 1961. This rate had been worked out at 1.365 per cent per year.

28. At this stage, it may be worthwhile to ponder over the accuracy of the method, i.e., to apply an uniform growth rate to all castes. The rate we have used is the average, and average is generally deceptive, since it covers sometimes wide fluctuating rates within the constituent units. So far as population behaviour as influenced by mortality and natality rates is concerned, the growth rate is generally inversely related to social hierarchy. High castes have low and low castes high propensities to multiply. Besides, urban and rural population will have different growth rates. Since we are concerned with the population of Backward Classes, prudence suggests that we ascribe a higher growth rate than the average. Such an estimation would be more realistic and scientific; but, it is an elaborate and time consuming process which we could not afford. But it must be stressed here, that the final figures of population for Backward Classes are modest and are definitely lower than what they would be if a weighted growth rate was followed, or if a castewise census is now taken.

29. In the second stage, projection has been made from 1961 to 1971. Here we have taken into consideration the projected figures given by the Planning Commission. From these figures we worked out the growth rate in the State for the period 1961-71, which is 1.88 per cent per year. The growth rate of population depends upon three important variables, i.e. Natality, Mortality and Migration. The Planning Commission has assumed the following in respect of these variables.

(i) Generally fertility rate for each State may be taken to decline by 5% during 1966-70 and 10% during the period 1971-75.

(ii) The mortality rate might decline from 22.51 per thousand during 1951-1960 to 17.9 per thousand during 1961-65 and further to 14.9 per thousand during 1965-70.

(iii) Migratory factor is ignored.

Thus if growth rate either based on actuals or on assumptions is given, the population can be projected between two points of time, with the aid of a simple formula, i.e.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{pt.} &= \text{Po} (1 + \text{rt}) \\ \text{rt} &= \frac{\text{pt}}{\text{Po}} - 1 \\ \text{and } r &= \frac{1}{t} \left\{ \frac{\text{pt}}{\text{Po}} - 1 \right\} \end{aligned}$$

Where pt is the population for the year to which projection is made, Po is the base year, this the intercensal period and r is the growth rate.

30. The castewise population figures thus arrived at are shown separately in two statements; one pertaining to Tamil Nadu, excluding Kanyakumari district and another for Kanyakumari district (vide Chapter X).

31. As stated above the census figures covered only 88 major castes and naturally some of the Minor castes were not enumerated. However, the census records also give information about the chief area of habitation and the number living in that area in respect of even small castes. The District Collectors also furnished us useful information about the numerical size of these small castes. Making use of these materials, we worked out the population of minor castes like Kunnuvar Mannadi, Kurihini Chetty, Thottia Naicker, Vettaikaran, Vettuva Gounder, Veerakodi Vellala, etc., which do not figure in the major census table.

CHAPTER III

History of the State Policy towards the Backward Classes

Section (i)

Educational Concessions

32. The terms of reference of the Commission refer to the lists of Backward Classes including Most Backward Classes maintained by the State. There are three such lists, one maintained by the Education Department known generally as M.E.R. list, another maintained by the Social Welfare Department, also known as Harijan Welfare Department's list and the third maintained by the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission. The important difference between the Public Service Commission list and the other two lists is that the latter contain a list of Most Backward Classes as well. The M.E.R. list was drawn up primarily for the purpose of fee concessions and the Social Welfare Department list was for award of scholarships and other educational allowances. The Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list is for purpose of recruitment to services. These lists were partly inherited from the Composite State of Madras, known as the Presidency of Madras before Independence; but, many entries were added on to them piece-meal from time to time since 1947. The lists owe their origin to the Grant-in-Aid Code which was framed in the year 1885 primarily to regulate financial aids or capitation grants to educational institutions from the funds of the Government or Local Boards and particular mention was made therein of facilities for poor students of certain castes, mostly from what were then known as depressed classes. When the Grant-in-Aid Code came up for revision in 1906, a list of Backward Classes was drawn up on the basis of which increased capitation grants were granted to aided elementary schools. This was amplified further in 1913. No attempt was then made to distinguish what are now known as Backward Classes from what were then known as Depressed Classes or untouchable groups. There were separate rules under the M.E.R.A. for regulating fee concessions to children belonging to Backward Classes in Secondary Schools and Colleges. In G.O. Ms. No. 855, Law (Education), dated 19th May 1925 the then Government of Madras published two lists i.e. (1) Depressed Classes and (2) Caste other than Depressed Classes. This was also the first order making the Converts from Depressed Classes eligible for grant of half-fee concession under Rule 92 of M.E.R. But converts from Backward Classes other than Depressed Classes were, however, not eligible for half-fee concession. It is worth recording that the two lists published in 1925 distinguishing Backward Classes from Depressed Classes varied considerably from the present list in as much as several communities of the Caste Hindus or Savarna group were also included in the list of Depressed Classes.

33. For the purpose of 1931 Census, the Census Commissioner of India laid down certain sociologically well-accepted criteria for distinguishing Depressed Classes from other Backward Classes and a fresh list of Depressed Classes was recommended by the Census Commission. This list was incorporated in the list of Scheduled Castes in the M.E.R. by G.O. Ms. No. 2116, Law (Education), dated 23rd October 1935. In the same order, the list of castes other than Scheduled Castes, i.e. the Backward Classes was also separately

incorporated. The object of maintaining these lists was only to give half-fee concessions to pupils belonging to these classes in schools.

34. After Independence several ameliorative measures were taken for the improvement of the lot of the Scheduled Castes. Orders were issued for the grant of full-fee concessions to pupils belonging to the Scheduled Castes and aboriginal tribes. In view of these new orders, the two lists in the M.E.R. were divided into three, i.e., the list of Scheduled Castes, the list of aboriginal tribes now known as Scheduled Tribes and the list of Backward Classes.

Criteria.

35. The main criteria for inclusion of a particular caste in the list of Backward Classes was educational and social backwardness, as well as the nature of the occupation pursued traditionally by the majority of the members of the caste. Recommendations were received generally from the Director of Public Instruction and sometimes from the Collectors of Districts and other authorities for inclusion of any particular caste in the list. The list was thus periodically revised and kept up to date, as far as possible.

Article 15 (4) of the Constitution.

36. In 1951, when the amendment introducing sub-section 4 to Art. 15 of the Constitution was passed by the Parliament, the question of declaring socially and educationally Backward Classes for the purpose of Art. 15(4) was specifically examined by the Government. As pointed out earlier, as a list of Backward Classes for the purpose of M.E.R. was prepared after investigating the claims of each caste from time to time, it was decided that this list should be taken as a list for the purpose of Art. 15(4). Accordingly the classes specified as backward and included under Group III of Appendix 17-A to the M.E.R. as amended by Education Department Notification dated 6th April 1951, published at page 32-36 of the Rules Supplement to Part I-B of the Fort St. George Gazette, dated 24th April 1951, were formally declared to be "socially and educationally" Backward Classes within the meaning and for the purpose of Art. 15(4) of the Constitution. Because of the social awakening following Independence, there was a demand from a number of castes for greater facilities especially in the educational sphere. As full-fee concessions were granted to the members of the Scheduled Castes since 1947, a number of other castes also began to agitate that pupils from their castes should also be given full-fee concessions and other facilities extended to Scheduled Castes. This agitation took the form of a request for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes from some communities. This eventually led to the issue of G.O. Ms. No. 353, Industries, Labour and Co-operation, dated 31st January 1957 wherein the Government approved the list of Most Backward Classes for the purpose of granting educational concessions admissible to Scheduled Castes from the academic year 1957-58. (Please see paragraph 40 infra).

Anamolies in the list.

37. In drawing up the list of Most Backward Classes, not only castes from among those already in the list of Backward Classes or formally ordered to be treated as such, but a few new castes which were not in the original list of Backward Classes were also classified as most Backward. This is an anomalous situation inasmuch as the caste treated as most backward is expected to be already in the list of Backward Classes. But the review done by the Government at that time probably brought to light the existence of small groups which failed to get themselves included in the list of Backward Classes. Thus there are about 29 castes in the list of Most Backward Classes, whose names do not appear in the list of Backward Classes maintained by the Education Department or the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission. The rectification of this and other anomalies is being dealt with in Chapter XI infra.

Concession for Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes.

38. As things stand at present Most Backward Classes now get full tuition fee concessions while other Backward Classes get only half-fee concessions. With the declaration of free education upto P.U.C., much of the value of these concessions is lost as far as education below and including P.U.C. is concerned. By executive orders certain other concessions such as special fees, examination fee, boarding and lodging charges are also given to pupils from the Most Backward Classes and Backward Classes except in the case of the following communities - Vannan, Maruthuvan and Sembadavan - for whom the boarding and lodging charges are also granted at the rates admissible to the Scheduled Castes. Certain fee concessions are also allowed to Backward Classes in Colleges. The whole range of educational concessions now enjoyed by Backward Classes, in schools and colleges are categorized in a separate statement and shown in Volume III of the Report. After education has been made free upto P.U.C., the full-fee and half-fee concessions are rendered obsolete except for degree courses. However, there is an allowance given for purchase of books, etc. upto the P.U.C. and varying allowances to cover special fees and purchase of books, examination fee, etc. in College Classes post-graduate and professional courses for all Backward Classes. The point we emphasize here is that Most Backward Classes other than the castes mentioned above do not enjoy concessions like residential scholarships and non-residential scholarships on a par with Scheduled Castes.

Separate list of Most Backward Classes - Justification.

39. It is being often argued whether there is any justification for the retention of a separate list of Most Backward Classes, who constitute nearly half the numerical strength of the entire Backward Classes. Six of them have a population exceeding 4 lakhs each and there are several on the border line of untouchability. Several of them were notified as Criminal Tribes, and now figure in the list of Denotified Tribes.

40. The present list of Most Backward Classes owes its origin to a representation made in 1954 as briefly mentioned earlier by the Tamil Nadu Washermen Federation to the then Chief Minister, Thiru K. Kamaraj. The request of the Washermen Federation was that the facilities extended to them as a Backward Class were not adequate and that they should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes. As Washermen were not considered in the State as absolutely untouchable, the Government did not think it proper to ~~concede~~ to their request. The Chief Minister desired that though the caste may not be included in the Schedule, their request for concessions on a par with the Scheduled Castes should be examined and he also directed that there may be several Backward Castes who may be in a similar position and ordered the various departments concerned to report on the subject. On the basis of the investigation so ordered in 1954, a list of castes which can be treated as "More Backward" among the Backward Classes was prepared. Support to this proposal came from the report of the Backward Classes Commission, which was published in 1956 (Khalelkar's Commission), which identified certain castes as more Backward and suggested that preference may be given to them over other castes in the list of Backward Classes for the grant of educational concessions, etc. The Khalelkar Commission stated (pp. 202) "in awarding scholarships, the claims of all communities among the Backward Classes should be taken into consideration and the allotment in the first instance should be on the basis of population of various communities in a State, preference being given always to those who are extremely backward, viz., starred communities, in the lists prepared by the Commission". A list of the castes so identified in Part II of the Khalelkar Report is extracted below at the end of this Chapter. The Government accordingly issued directions in G.O. Ms. No. 353, Industries, Labour and Co-operation, dated 31st January 1957 recognising a list of Most Backward Classes for whom educational concessions alone need be granted for the present as admissible to Scheduled Castes from the academic year 1957-58. The text of this order is reproduced below:-

"The Government have had under consideration for some time a proposal to classify certain Backward Communities as "Most Backward Classes" for extending to them the educational concessions admissible to Scheduled Castes as they are found to be almost backward as the Scheduled Castes but could not be classified as such as they do not satisfy the criterion of untouchability. The Director of Harijan Welfare, who was consulted, has agreed with the proposal and has submitted a list of communities which can be treated as "Most Backward" among the Backward Classes. The Director of Public Instruction has stated, that apart from the fact that it is difficult to assess the degrees of backwardness, the recognition of a "Most Backward Classes" among "Backward Classes" will evoke endless protests and appeals and was therefore against the proposal.

The Backward Classes Commission have, in their report, classified certain communities as "Most Backward" and have suggested that preference may be

given to them over other communities in the list of Backward Classes for the grant of educational concessions etc. The Government have examined the proposals of the Director of Harijan Welfare in the light of the recommendations of the principle that some of the communities now classified as Other Backward Classes in the State should be treated as more backward than the rest and given the special treatment generally extended to Scheduled Castes. The Government accordingly direct that the communities mentioned in the annexure to this order be classified as most backward classes among the other backward classes now recognised in this State and that they may be granted for the present only the educational concessions admissible to Scheduled Castes from the academic year 1957-58".

41. It could be seen from this brief description of the background that the list was compiled after careful investigation extending for a period of nearly three years. That, even now the castes included in the list of Most Backward Classes are by and large less advanced educationally is well established from the statistics compiled by the Commission, some of which are reproduced below as illustrations.

Name of the community	Population	No. study- ing in medical colleges.	No. appeared for S.S.L.C. in April 1970
Valaiyan	633,478	2	332
Vannan	461,239	1	835
Ambalakaran	298,024	5	374
Yogeeswarar	75,000	-	10
Parvatharajakulam (including Pattanavar)	350,000	6	448
Oddan and Boya	507,248	5	349

Regarding their economic condition from the observations recorded elsewhere about the individual castes and about the regions where they predominantly live, there could be no question that a large percentage of these people still are farm-labourers and manual workers living almost on sub-standard wages. Large numbers of them neither own land nor even a hut for living.

42. Among the Backward Castes particular mention must be made of the Washermen and Barbers. These people again made repeated requests before the Commission that they should be treated as Scheduled Castes. They still suffer from some degree of untouchability and social segregation. These are described at greater length in our notes on these two castes (Barbers and Washermen).

There are a large number of castes, whose occupation is bamboo or mat or reed weaving, basket making, etc., or menial services (almost akin to begging) in temples and on ritual occasions. There is one large caste, living in several districts like Coimbatore, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tanjavur, viz. the Valayan, the people from which are not even farm-labourers or regular manual workers. They subsist on catching wild birds and animals and generally doing such insecure and unrewarding low occupations. The largest among the Most Backward Classes is the Vanniakula Kshatriya or the Padayachi, who constitute the biggest single caste in the districts of Chingleput, South Arcot, North Arcot, Salem and Tanjavur and who fringe out in smaller numbers even beyond these districts, with a population of well-nigh 50 lakhs. Proportionate to their population their achievement is one of the lowest in all the spheres. A ranking of the Most Backward Classes according to several tests has been attempted to illustrate the magnitude of their educational backwardness and inadequate representation in the professions and in Government services (Please see Chapter VIII).

43. In the G.O. Ms. No. 353, I.L.C., dated 31st January 1957, cited above, only limited educational concessions were admissible to the Most Backward Classes. They have no separate reservations for appointments or for admissions to Colleges; nor, do they enjoy scholarships on a par with the Scheduled Castes.

44. We have answered the question often asked whether there is any need to have a list of Backward Classes and whether a distinction is needed between the Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes. If further justification is needed, it can be sought in some of the provisions of the Constitution viz Art. 15(4), Art. 17(4) and Art. (46). Art. 15(4) reads as follows:—

"15 (4). Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Art. 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward class of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes".

This Clause (4) was added to Art. 15 by the Constitution First Amendment Act, 1951, and as observed by Basu, this Clause constitutes an exception to Clause (1) which prohibits discrimination on the ground of race or caste. This amendment which was undertaken to override the decision of the Supreme Court in "State of Madras Vs. Champakam Durairajan" made it constitutional for the State to reserve seats for Backward Classes of citizens in public educational institutions as well as to make other special provisions as may be found necessary for their social and economic advancement. This Clause (4) of Art. 15 mentions "Socially and educationally Backward Classes" though the Constitution does not define Backward Classes anywhere. Basu in his commentary on the Constitution mentions that Pandit Nehru observed that "socially" includes "economically". As no All India List of Backward Classes or Most Backward Classes was authorised in spite of the Report of the Backward Classes Commission, the State Governments were authorised to give assistance

to the Backward Classes according to the lists prepared by the State Governments themselves (Basu's Commentary on the Constitution - Volume I - pp. 470). The test which were applied by the State Government, as we have already explained were, whether the members of each such class are socially or educationally worse off than the rest of the citizens. It has been observed in paragraph 36 supra that the State lists were notified as satisfying Art. 15(4).

45. Clause (4) of Art. 16 reads as follows:

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

This clause particularly refers to the Backward Classes of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the Services under the State. It is possible for the State, after whatever investigation that is necessary to identify any Backward Class of citizens, to make provisions for reservation of appointments in their favour. In commenting on this clause, Basu observes "the determination of the question whether any class is so Backward to require special representation in the services is left to the authority concerned One thing is clear, viz that the State may select a class as backward under the present clause only if backwardness is a characteristic of the class of persons in whose favour the reservation is to be made as distinguished from the general mass of citizens In the absence of a definition the expression would include all kinds of backwardness, social, educational or otherwise and the State is the sole authority to classify communities as Backward".

46. In the light of these explanations, it is quite within the competence of the State to have a list or lists of Backward Classes for whom reservation of appointments in the services of the State could be made. This list for employment purposes need or need not be identical with the list under Art. 15(4) for Educational purposes. Speaking generally and broadly it is possible that a socially and educationally advanced community may be inadequately represented in the services. It is equally possible that a socially and educationally less advanced community may be more than adequately represented in the services. These are matters of fact which are to be settled by the State. All the Backward Communities need not be in the same level of backwardness. If different degrees of State aid are necessary for different groups within the list, it is within the competence of the State to have different lists for different purposes. It is in pursuance of this principle, the State had ordered in the past only educational concessions for some castes, and ordered special treatment for a specially backward group of castes. A list of Most Backward Classes is therefore quite justifiable in the conditions existing.

TAMIL NADU STATE.

List of Most Backward Classes as recommended by the Backward Classes Commission (Khalelkar Commission)✓

Sl. No.	Name of the community.
1	Agasa
2	Agnikula Kshatriya, Palli, Vanniyakula Kshatriya
3	Ambalakaran
4	Ambika
5	Andi Pandaram
6	Are Maharati (S. Kanara)
7	Bestha
8	Bandari
9	Bhatraju
10	Boya
11	Chatada, Chattada, Srivaishnava
12	Chattada Srivaishnava (S.No.11)
13	Dasari
14	Devadika (S. Kanara)
15	Dommar
16	Eravallar
17	Galada Konkani
18	Gatti (S. Kanara)
19	Gramani, Shanan
20	Gudigara
21	Irulan
22	Isaivellalar, Melakkarar (Tanjavur district)
23	Jambuvanodai
24	Jandara
25	Jogi
26	Kaduppatan (Malabar district)
27	Kavuthiyan
28	Kharvi (S. Kanara)
29	Kolasi (S. Kanara)
30	Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore district)
31	Koracha
32	Kulala
33	Kunnuvar Mannadi
34	Kuruba, Kurumba
35	Kuruhini Chetty
36	Madivala
37	Madugar, Medavar, Mahendra Medara, Mahendra
38	Mangala
39	Maruthuvar
	Medara (S.No.37)
	Medavar (S.No.37)
	Melakkarar (S.No.22)
40	Modi Banda
41	Mogaveera (S. Kanara)
42	Moili (S. Kanara)
43	Mond-Golla
44	Mukhari
45	Muttakkampatti
46	Narikoravan
47	Navudian

Sl. No.	Name of the community
48	Nokkar
49	Oddar, Odde, Vadde, Veddai, Vodde
50	Odde (S.No.49)
51	Padayachi (Villayan Kuppam) (South Arcot and Salem districts)
52	Palli (S.No.2)
53	Parutharajakulam, Pattanavan, Sembadavar
54	Parel Madivala
55	Pattanavan (S.No.53)
56	Peruvannan
57	Pigchigunta
58	Pulluvan (Malabar district)
59	Punnan Vettuva Gounder
60	Sembadavar (S.No.53)
61	Shanan (S.No.19)
62	Siviar (Coimbatore district)
63	Sozhia Chetty
64	Telungu Patty Chetty
65	Thottia Naicken
66	Thurupukapu
67	Tondaman
68	Vadde (S.No.49)
69	Valan (N. Malabar)
70	Valaiyan
71	Vanniakula Kshatria (S.No.2)
72	Vathi
73	Veddai (S.No.49)
74	Velakatalavan
75	Vettikaran
76	Vettuva Gounder
77	Vilukurup
78	Virakodi Vellalar
79	Vodde (S.No.49)
80	Yogeeswara

Note.— This list includes castes found in the Composite State and therefore includes caste which may not be found in Tamil Nadu now.

Section (ii) - Reservation of appointments to Public Services

47. Though the State was extending facilities for improving the education of the under-privileged classes mainly through the Grants-in-Aid Code during the early decades of the century as described in Section (i) of this Chapter, no attention was paid to the other equally important problem of the participation of these classes in the services of the State and in public life. The Congress party from its inception had Indianization of the Services as one of its main demands and attempts were made to force the British Government to recruit more and more Indians to what were then known as Imperial Services. The State of Madras must have had its share in such Indianisation. But it began to be felt by some section of popular leadership in the Southern Provinces that Indianization meant only access to a small and hereditarily privileged section of society to the ranks of higher Government Service. It was the Dravidian Movement which started in Maharashtra and spread over to Madras in the early decades, that focussed attention on this aspect of the problem as part of the general desire of the people to be represented in Government Services and also to participate in public life.

The Manifesto of 1916.

48. The first public expression in Madras to the demand for greater participation by the then underprivileged section of the society was given in a manifesto issued in 1916 by a small body of elite. This manifesto which came to be known as the Non-Brahmin Manifesto of 1916 was designed to secure the advancement of Non-Brahmins in the face of the so-called Brahmin monopoly in education, professions and Government services. Though this demand on behalf of the Non-Brahmins-which term embraced Muslims and Christians - who constituted perhaps 95% of the population might now appear strange, it should be viewed in the context of conditions which existed at the beginning of this century. It is on record that between 1894 and 1904 in the Provincial Civil Services, out of 16 Officers 15 were Brahmins among 21 Assistants, Engineers 17 were Brahmins, out of 140 Deputy Collectors 77 were Brahmins and out of 128 District Munsiffs 98 were Brahmins. This was inevitable, as it is found that between 67% and 71% of the graduates of the Madras University in this period came from this single community (Politics and Social Conflict in South India - by E.F. Irschick - 1970). The meagre dose of Indianization in the superior or Imperial Services like the I.C.S., I.P.S., Indian Educational Services, Indian Medical Services also benefited only members of this advanced community. The composition of the services even in 1916-17 at the time of the Non-Brahmin manifesto was not very different from this.

49. After the issue of the manifesto, a new party was formed which began agitation for reserving seats for Non-Brahmins in the Legislative Councils to be ushered in by the Montague Chelmsford Reforms. We are not however concerned in this report with the political aspects of the movement, but only with its impact on education and employment in Government Services.

50. In August 1921 a resolution was passed in the State Legislative Council recommending to the Government that steps should be taken to increase the proportion of posts in Government Offices held by Non-Brahmin community. A method of dividing the appointments among the several groups, namely Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, Indian Christians, Muslims, Europeans and Anglo-Indians and others, was already accepted in principle by the Board of Revenue for the principal appointments in the Revenue Department alone. But it appears doubtful whether these orders were in practice fully implemented. The resolution of August 1921 required that this principle should be extended to all departments of the Government and be made applicable not only to the principal appointments but to posts of all grades and that the Government should ensure their due enforcement. The resolution was accepted by the Government and necessary instructions were issued to all Heads of Departments competent to make appointments.

51. In 1922, the Government considered the desirability of extending the principle of communal distribution not only to initial appointments, but at every stage at which Government servants were promoted not by mere seniority but by selection.

Non-Brahmins' Representation.

52. The aim at that time was only to diminish and certain what was then known as Brahmin monopoly in the Services and to give representations to various religious and ethnic groups unrepresented or inadequately represented. To ensure such equitable distribution of Government appointments, the population of the State was classified under the following broad heads:-

1. Brahmins,
2. Non-Brahmins,
3. Indian Christians,
4. Muslims,
5. Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and
6. Others.

The distribution of appointments in 1927 in the statement given below was in accordance with this classification. It is significant that the category "Non-Brahmins" which would comprise about 75% of the population even if one excludes Indian Christians, Muslims, Europeans and Anglo-Indians was treated as one unit, without attempting to distinguish between the forward and backward sections. The concept of Backward Classes was still not fully understood and the principle of social justice, which would require helping the under-privileged, was not translated into its full logical sequence. Neither was there recognition at that time, of the existence of the large body of the most depressed section of the population, viz. the untouchables or Panchamas, as they were then known. The whole purpose was to contain the domination of one particular class and thus to enable the others to get a better share than before. In 1923 however the scope of the above instructions was amplified by the inclusion of another class known as "Depressed Classes" covering the Panchama caste and a few others who are not now in the untouchable category. Soon it began to be felt that inequalities persisted, in spite of several years of agitation to secure better representation in the

Public Services, for unrepresented sections of the people. The state of affairs in the higher appointments of Government Services can be gauged from the following figures collected from the Madras Civil list for 1927-28.

As on 11-1-1927

Name of the post and scale of pay	Total posts No. of held posts	No. of posts held by Brahmins	No. of posts held by Non-Brahmins	No. of posts held by Indian Christians	No. of posts held by Muham- madans	No. of posts held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and others.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Deputy Collectors (Selection) Rs.1000-100-1200	4	4	-	-	-	-
2. Deputy Collectors (Ordinary) Rs.300-40-500-50-850.	178	81	50	21	16	10
3. Deputy Superintendent of Police (Selection) Rs.860.	2	2	-	-	-	-
4. Deputy Superintendent of Police (Ordinary) Rs.250-700	52	21	14	5	11	1
5. Executive and Assistant Executive Engineers Rs.375-975	68	21	6	4	1	36
6. Assistant Engineers, Rs.250-750	167	118	15	5	1	28
7. Civil Surgeons Rs.1000.	6	1	1	2	-	2
8. Civil Assistant Surgeons Rs.200-450	17	7	7	1	-	2

The political leadership felt that more effective measures were necessary to rectify these inequalities.

53. In 1927 in connection with the preparation of draft statutory rules for recruitment to public services the question of evolving a more satisfactory formula for giving better representation for different sections of the people in the Provincial Services was again examined. The principle that prevailed then was, that among

the available qualified applicants, priority should be given to the least represented communities. For this purpose the communities were grouped into 5 broad categories; but, the proportion of appointments to be given to each group was revised in the following manner:-

(G.O. Ms. No.1071, Public, dated 4th November 1927)

Non-Brahman Hindus	..	..	5 out of	12
Brahmins	..	..	2	" 12
Muslims	..	..	2	" 12
Anglo-Indians and Christians	..	..	2	" 12
Scheduled Castes (Depressed Class)	..	..	1	" 12

'Indian Christians' and 'Anglo-Indians' were combined and instead of 'others', 'Depressed Classes' was recognised as a distinct category for the first time. Though some recognition was given in this arrangement for the size of the Non-Brahmin Hindu population, their share was not at all in proportion to their number. The Brahmins, Muslims and Indian Christians, whose population was definitely very much less than 1/6th of the total population fared much better in the spoils of offices and the Depressed Classes suffered the worst. It might be that the Government at that time gave more considerations to the social and educational advancement of the different section of the population and gave greater opportunities to the communities which could produce proportionately larger number of educated men. The Brahmin community, traditionally the learned class, was always leading in this respect and the Non-Brahmin Hindus with their large population were only just beginning to produce an educated class from which recruits could be drawn for Government Service. It has been ascertained that even as late as 1947-48 the Brahmin community was leading in education though not to the extent noticed in decades earlier. The following figures taken from Government records may be read with interest in this connection.

Admissions to different Colleges in 1947-48 - Communitywise.

Courses	No. of seats available in the colleges	Brahmins	Non-Brahmins	Muslims	Christians and Anglo-Indians	Hajis	Percentage of Brahmins
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
B.A.	4,108	1,512	1,545	186	576	58	37
Intermediate	12,192	4,178	5,603	630	1,341	275	34
Engineering Colleges	365	78	209	29	48	--	31
Medical Colleges	322	58	148	46	57	13	18
Agricultural Colleges	186	49	107	14	15	1	27
Veterinary Colleges	90	46	32	1	10	1	51

The figures relating to admissions in Arts Colleges cover both in Government Colleges and Colleges under private management.

Representation for Backward Hindus.

54. The appointments based on the allocation of posts under 5 categories continued for a period of 20 years, i.e. till Independence. By that time there was greater pressure from the Depressed Classes, who then came to be described as Harijans though the Government adopted the statutory description of "Scheduled Castes", and from the Backward Sections of the Non-Brahmins, for greater participation in the Services. The classification and the allocation was therefore slightly modified, and a unit of 14 vacancies instead of 12 was recognised and allocations as between the different classes was made in the following manner - vide G.O. Ms. No. 3447, Public (Services), dated 21st November 1947.

Non-Brahmin Hindus	..	6	out of 14
Backward Hindus	..	2	" 14
Brahmins	..	2	" 14
Scheduled Castes	..	2	" 14
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	..	1	" 14
Muslims	..	1	" 14

In this system, for the first time the Backward Hindus appear as a separate category entitled to some small consideration. The State list of Backward Classes, which was used for educational concessions, was with some adaptation made use of for defining Backward Hindus for this system. While Lubbai enjoyed educational concessions under the Backward Classes list, "Muslims" was the classification for appointment purposes. The lot of the Scheduled Castes had improved. Though the share of the Muslims and the Anglo-Indians and Christians had declined from 2:12 to 1:14, the share was even then more than their proportion in the population of the State. Though perhaps the Muslims with their 7% population suffered more than the Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, who together constituted only about 4% of the population, this system was definitely an improvement over the earlier and better distributive justice was sought to be achieved. Perhaps in arriving at this arrangement, Government might have taken into consideration the reality of the educational progress of the various communities.

55. In applying this revised allocation two rules were followed viz, the communal rotation rule and the communal proportion rule. For the departments to which the communal rotation rule was applied, recruitment was made against future vacancies from members of the different communities in the order shown in the rule and no notice was taken of the existing state of communal representation in the Services at the commencement. In other words if, in a particular department to which this rule was applied, there was excessive representation of Brahmins or Christians, the recruitment from these communities was not slowed down till the proportion as given in the formula was eventually achieved. In departments where the communal proportion rule was applied, the existing composition of services was taken into consideration and future vacancies were filled only by recruitment from those communities which were inadequately represented at that time, till equilibrium was eventually achieved. Having served its purpose of establishing a proper balance between the different groups, the communal proportion system has become obsolete and recruitment is now done on the principle of representation as described above.

56. Extracts from Annexure I to Services Manual, Volume-I dealing with the Madras Provincial and Subordinate Services reproduced below explain the scope of the two systems:-

Annexure - I

MADRAS PROVINCIAL AND SUBORDINATE SERVICES

19. Communal Representation: (a) (i) where the special rules lay down that the principle of communal rotation shall apply to any service, class or category, appointments thereto shall, so far as qualified and suitable candidates of the communities concerned are available, be made in the following order, namely:-

One Non-Brahmin (Hindu)
One Harijan
One Backward Hindu
One Non-Brahmin (Hindu)
One Brahmin
One Non-Brahmin (Hindu)
One Muslim
One Non-Brahmin (Hindu)
One Anglo-Indian or Indian Christian,
One Non-Brahmin (Hindu)
One Harijan
One Non-Brahmin (Hindu)
One Brahmin, and
One Backward Hindu.

Provided that this clause shall not apply to the first appointment to any subordinate service or any class or category thereof of a person recruited by transfer but when such person is appointed as a full member of such service, class or category he shall be deemed to be a person appointed in the next turn allotted to the community to which he belongs in the order specified in this clause.

(ii) The stage at which the communal rotation specified in clause (i) shall commence when first applied to any such service, class or category shall be determined by the Provincial Government.

(iii) If a qualified and suitable candidate belonging to any community is not available for appointment to any such service, class or category in the turn allotted to that community under clauses (i) and (ii), a qualified and suitable candidate belonging to the community next in the order specified in clause (i) shall, if available be appointed but the former community shall have, for every turn so passed over, a preferential claim for consideration when subsequent appointments are to be made to such service, class or category until a suitable and qualified candidate belonging to that community has been appointed against that claim.

(iv) Where a probationer belonging to any community is discharged from any such service, class or category under clause (ii) of sub-rule (a) or clause (i) or (ii) of sub-rule (b) of rule 22 of a preferential claim for consideration when after the confirmation of the order of the discharge on appeal or after the expiry of a period of one year from the date of the order of discharge, whichever is later, any appointment is to be made to such service,

class or category until a suitable and qualified candidate belonging to that community has been appointed against that claim.

(v) If, when an appointment to any such service, class or category is to be made, there are two or more communities having a preferential claim under clause (iii) and (iv), that community shall receive first consideration whose preferential claim first arose.

(b) (i). Where the special rules lay down that the principle of communal proportion shall apply to any service, class or category appointments thereto otherwise than by transfer or promotion shall be so regulated as to secure, as nearly as may be the distribution of membership in such service, class or category among the following communities in the proportion specified against each:

Non-Brahmin (Hindu)	.. 6 out of 14
Backward Hindus	.. 2 " 14
Brahmins	.. 2 " 14
Harijans	.. 2 " 14
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	1 " 14
Muslims	.. 1 " 14

(ii) Appointments to any such service, class or category by transfer or promotion shall be made irrespective of communal consideration.

(iii) Every appointment to any such service, class or category otherwise than by transfer or promotion as aforesaid shall be made from that community which at the time of appointment is more disadvantageously situated with reference to the proportion specified in clause (i); if no suitable and qualified candidate of that community is available a candidate from the community next in the order of disadvantage who is qualified and suitable shall be appointed. If it is found that the disadvantage of two of such communities who is best fitted for the post shall be appointed.

Communal Representation Attacked.

57. In July 1950 the Government of India suggested that the system of recruitment for Public Services on communal basis should be abrogated at an early date as it was inconsistent with the letter and spirit of Art. 16 of the Constitution and that suitable provisions within the terms of Art. 16(4) and Art. 335 of the Constitution for protecting the interests of the weaker sections of the society should be made in its place. About this time arose various objections to the communal system as practised in the manner of admissions to professional colleges. (These are being dealt with in section (iii) of this Chapter). The Government therefore decided to await the outcome of these representations and writ petitions to the Courts.

Communal Representation Revised.

58. Following the judgments of the Supreme Court in Venkataramana Vs. the State of Madras and a few other cases the Government thought it necessary to revise the existing rule relating to representation of several communities in Public Services. They decided,

that in view of the existing allocation of appointments based on a unit of 14, a revised system should be introduced wherein reservations were to be made only for Scheduled Castes and for Backward Classes. The right to safeguard the interests of Scheduled Castes was already recognised, and Arts. 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution enjoined the State to make provisions for such weaker sections of society as are educationally backward and inadequately represented in services. The much maligned words, Brahmin and Non-Brahmins, ceased to be used, and backwardness alone became the criterion for reservation. Under the new system, a cycle of 20 appointments was taken as a unit, out of which 3 were reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and 5 for Backward Classes and the rest were filled on the basis of merit - G.O. Ms. No. 2432, Public (Services), dated 27th September 1951. It was also held that it was open to applicants from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; and Backward Classes to compete for the posts to be filled on merit, and whenever any such appointments from these classes were made on a merit basis, there was to be no reduction in the number of posts reserved for them. A cycle of 20 vacancies for regulating the order of recruitment was laid down as given below

1. Open Competition
2. Scheduled Castes and Tribes
3. Open Competition
4. Backward Classes
5. Open Competition
6. Open Competition
7. Backward Classes
8. Open Competition
9. Scheduled Castes and Tribes
10. Open Competition
11. Open Competition
12. Backward Classes
13. Open Competition
14. Backward Classes
15. Open Competition
16. Scheduled Castes and Tribes
17. Open Competition
18. Open Competition
19. Backward Classes
20. Open Competition

Revision Based on 1951 Census:

59. At the instance of the Government of India, the Madras Government (Composite State) reconsidered the above provision regarding reservation in the light of the population figures of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes as per the 1951 Census. After the separation of Andhra Pradesh, it was decided in 1954 (G.O. Ms. No. 2643, Public (Services), dated 30th April 1954) that in future the reservation should be made as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Scheduled Castes and Tribes | .. 16% |
| 2. Backward Classes | .. 25% |
| 3. Open Competition | .. 59% |

60. Consequent on the change in the percentage of reservations based on Census of population, five more turns were added after the 20th turn introduced by the 1951 orders, to facilitate easier distribution of appointments:

21. Open Competition
22. Scheduled Castes and Tribes
23. Open Competition
24. Backward Classes
25. Open Competition.

61. It was also ordered that in the fourth cycle of 25 turns, the 25th turn should be reserved for the Backward Classes. If a qualified and suitable candidate belonging to any of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes or Backward Classes is not available for appointment in the turn allotted for them in the cycle, the turn shall lapse and the vacancy should be filled, by the next turn in the order of rotation. No account should be taken of any lapse turns of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes or of the Backward Classes. The claims of members of Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward Classes shall, also be considered for the 59 appointments, which shall be filled on the basis of merit, and where a candidate belong to a Scheduled Caste, Tribe or Backward Class is selected on the basis of merit, the number of posts reserved for the Scheduled Caste and Tribe or for the Backward Classes, as the case may be, shall not in any way be affected. This was merely the continuation of the principle accepted earlier by the Government.

Reservation of promotion posts.

62. The rule of reservation is followed generally in the case of direct recruitment only and not in the case of promotions of recruitment by transfer. However the rule of reservation was made applicable to appointments to certain gazetted posts from the corresponding non-gazetted posts in respect of a few services even before 1953 in the following departments;

1. The Madras Civil Service (Executive Branch)
2. The Madras Highways Engineering Service
3. The Madras Survey and Land Records Service
4. The Madras Subordinate Civil Judicial Service
5. The Madras Commercial Taxes Services

The rule of reservation for promotion posts has also been permitted to be applied to promotions to the non-gazetted posts of Upper Division Clerks and Tahsildars in the Revenue Department. Government however decided in 1953 not to extend this practice, while refraining from interfering with the system which had already been introduced in the above Department.

63. The rule of lapsing vacancies was reconsidered in 1963 with a view to secure more rapid progress for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and in G.O. Ms. No.1975, Public (Services), dated 22nd October 1969, the Government ordered that if a sufficient number of suitable candidates eligible for vacancies reserved for Scheduled Castes and Tribes is not available on any occasion of recruitment, the turn for such Scheduled Caste or Tribe candidate should be carried forward to two subsequent years at the end of which only the carried forward turns, if not utilised even by that time, will lapse.

Section (iii) - Reservation for admissions to professional Colleges.

64. In the two earlier sections of the Chapter, we have dealt with the gradual evolution of the list of Backward Classes and the successive measures taken by the State to protect and enlarge the interests of the weaker sections of the society, in the spheres of education and Government employment. Before Independence, admissions to educational institutions and particularly to professional colleges like the Medical, Engineering and Agricultural posed no serious problem. With the increase in the student population following the war years and the growing importance attached to professional studies because of their utilitarian value, it became necessary to regulate the admissions to professional colleges. Prior to 1950 admissions to Medical Colleges in the State were done on a linguistic and district basis. In the Composite State, reservation had to be made for the three distinct linguistic regions of Telugu, Tamil and the West Coast districts of Malabar and South Canara, and regional quotas were fixed for these three regions. These regional quotas were again distributed between the several districts in the respective regions. The district quotas were also expected to be filled on the basis of communal representation for each district, exceptions being made in favour of Scheduled Castes, Muslims and Indian Christians, whose quota was applied on a Statewise basis. In view of these arrangements, the entire scheme was governed by the production of Nativity Certificate certifying the district to which the candidate belonged.

65. When the Constitution of India came into force, the Madras Government re-examined the whole system for admissions in the light of the provisions of the Constitution. The matter was also taken up before the High Court of Madras in a Writ Petition filed by Chempagam Durairajan. The High Court decided that the communal reservation contravened the provisions of Art. 15(1) and 29(1) of the Constitution as it discriminated between one citizen and another on the ground of caste, community and religion. The Supreme Court also upheld this decision. It was subsequent to this that sub-Section 4 of Art.15 was incorporated in the Constitution by an Amendment. It became necessary therefore to revise the principle followed for admissions to professional colleges. A reservation of 15% for those belonging to Scheduled Castes and Tribes was introduced. As regards reservation in favour of socially and educationally Backward Classes, the Backward Classes enumerated in the list contained in G.O. Ms. No.839, Education, dated 6th April 1951 was declared to be Classes under Art.15(4) of the Constitution, and a reservation of not less than 25% was made in favour of the Backward Classes as enumerated in that list. The new orders regulating admissions to Medical Colleges were incorporated in G.O. Ms. No.2196, Health, dated 20th June 1951 and similar orders were issued in respect of selection of candidates for Engineering, Veterinary, Agriculture and Arts Colleges. Orders were issued in July 1955 that with effect from the academic year 1956-57, the seats in educational institutions for Scheduled Castes should be raised to 16% and that the existing reservation of 25% for Backward Classes should continue. These rules were made applicable to all classes of institutions, like Arts, professional Colleges, technical institutions and secondary and training Schools, etc. under State management and under aided-

managements. The principle of reservation of seats was also extended to Honours and Post-Graduate Courses.

66. The system followed for admission to Medical Colleges based on the list of Backward Classes and also the districtwise distribution was challenged in a series of Writ Petitions in 1967 --

WRIT PETITION NO. 194 OF 1967

Minor P. Rajendran .. Petitioner

- Versus -

The State of Madras
and Others .. Respondents

WRIT PETITION NO. 196 OF 1967

Miss Nirmala Devi .. Petitioner

- Versus -

The State of Madras
and Others .. Respondents

CIVIL APPEAL No. 1456 OF 1967

K.M. Sathakathullah -- Appellant

- Versus -

The Director of Medical
Education, Madras .. Respondent

The Supreme Court held that the provisions for reservation for the socially and educationally Backward Classes was not inconsistent with the Constitution and the challenge must therefore fail on that score.

67. The following observations of the Chief Justice Wanchoo in this judgment are relevant for our purpose:

"But it must not be forgotten that a caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it is a socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of Art. 15(4).

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It must be accepted, that though the list shows certain castes, the members of these castes are really classes of educationally and socially backward citizens. No attempt was made on behalf of the petitioners/appellant to show that any caste mentioned in this list was not educationally backward".

But the Supreme Court held that the allocation of seats on districtwise basis was violative of Art. 14 though the judgment adds, "we may add that we do not mean to say that territorial classification is always bad under all circumstances". In view of this judgment, Government issued orders in G.O. Ms. No. 937, Health, dated 15th June 1968, abolishing the districtwise recruitment; thereafter a system of recruitment on a Statewise basis without requiring Nativity Certificates, came into existence.

For admissions to Medical Colleges in Tamil Nadu in 1970, the Government introduced a new system of unitwise representation. Six units were created in the State and in respect of each one of the Units comprising one or more Colleges, a separate Selection Committee was constituted. The intending applicants were asked to apply to any one of the Committees but they were advised to apply to the Committee nearest to their place of residence as far as possible. They were also told that if they applied to more than one Committee their applications would be forwarded by the Government to only one of the Committees. This system of selection was challenged before the Supreme Court in Writ Petitions Nos. 285 and 314 of 1970. The whole method of selection was challenged on three grounds:

- (i) the unit system
- (ii) erratic and irregular marking for the interviews; and
- (iii) castewise list of Backward Classes.

The Court held that the Unit system as devised was violative of Arts. 14 and 15 of the Constitution. They also observed that earmarking 75 marks out of 275 marks for interview alone, was prima facie excessive. Though the interview system as such is not objectionable, the Court held that the Committee did not divide the interview marks under the various heads given in the Government notification on the subject. While holding the selection to be violative on these two grounds, the Court went into the question of the caste-based list at great length and held that there was no reason to interfere with it.

CHAPTER IV

Section (i)Weaker section of society.

68. Though our terms of reference do not expect us to examine the criteria for determining backwardness, the Commission is required to evaluate the progress made by each of the Backward Classes. Automatically this involves some basic assumptions regarding backwardness - social, economic and educational. Social backwardness is a matter of local or regional opinion based on taboos and other concepts in a hierarchical society. These are fairly predetermined; though in recent times the rigidity of the social order is giving way to a limited degree of social mobility. This limited mobility is brought about by better living conditions, education advancement, economic betterment, political influence and related factors. The most conspicuous illustration of achievement in this direction is that of the Nadar caste during the last fifty years. Progress in these directions can be evaluated only in general terms, by gauging of local and regional social climate. Educational backwardness is also capable of only comparative judgment. We have no data of literacy or higher education percentage per caste as on earlier date, say as on the date of the last Census. We have collected some data regarding High School attendance, College admissions and the number of educated people, etc. and a rough order of ranking has been attempted. These have been tabulated and evaluated elsewhere.

69. Though Articles 15(4) and 16(4) do not mention economic backwardness, in view of the reference to weaker sections in Articles 46 and 340 and the close relation that subsists between such backwardness and social backwardness, the Commission included several questions in its Questionnaire to ascertain the relative economic backwardness of the different castes. Ownership of houses, extent of land holding, wages earned, were some of the tests applied and the data collected in this regard are evaluated in Chapter VII.

70. All these matters are not capable of measurement by absolute yardsticks. In the absence of firm data relating to an earlier starting point and current Census Records according to castes, the only assessment that can be done is comparative as between the Backward Castes within the list. In this the Commission was handicapped, as without express provision in terms of reference, we could not make even a few sample checks with some of the forward castes or the Scheduled Castes. We did, however, try to do this generally and many of our witnesses did make the comparison. This kind of comparative study is relevant in view of the observation made by the Supreme Court in BALAJI Vs. STATE OF MYSORE quoted below.

"Art. 338(3) contemplates that some Backward Classes may, by Presidential Order, be included in Scheduled Castes and Tribes. This helps to bring out the point that Backward Classes for whose improvement, special provision is contemplated in Art. 15(4) are in the matter of these backwardness comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes."

71. Art. 15(4) mentions social and educational backwardness. Many have argued that poverty is the cause of social backwardness. That may be generally true for individuals - but in Hindu Society it is not even true of individuals. Poverty may affect an individual's position in society. But we are concerned with the social backwardness of a class and if caste is equated with class economic condition is only one factor affecting social position - and not the sole factor. May be the Constitution does not mention caste (apart from Scheduled Castes); but by "Class" and "weaker section", it is not possible that the Constitution refers to groups or collections of individuals alone who are socially and educationally backward. It may be that in their enthusiasm for suppressing caste and in their fear of perpetuating it, the Constitution makers avoided the tainted word. Even assuming that the reference to "classes" should not be interpreted on caste lines, it is a safe assumption that the largest number of men, women and children who are socially backward and educationally poor are found in practice among the so called Backward Classes and particularly amongst the Most Backward Classes of Tamil Nadu. This has been accepted by Wanchoo, C.J., in the Supreme Court on some writ petitions, Nos. 194/1967 and 196/1967 and C.A. No. 1456/1967. A comparison by sample surveys with a few groups of forward classes and Scheduled Castes would confirm this.

72. But there is one criterion of judging social backwardness that was applied to the Scheduled Castes - the test of untouchability. The caste included in the Schedule were traditionally "avarnas" or outside the Chatur varna of Hindu society. That accounted for and represented their social backwardness. The castes included in the Backward Classes are regarded as "Savarnas", i.e. inside the Chatur-Varna, but largely falling within the Sudra fold. After the abolition of untouchability, to invoke this as a test of backwardness for other non-untouchable classes to satisfy, is to shut them out completely from the ameliorative and protective measures of the State. To assume that there is no social and economic or educational backwardness outside the fold of the Scheduled Castes, is to betray a total ignorance of Indian social conditions.

73. In fact most of the caste representatives urged before the Commission that they would like to be included in the Scheduled castes list, as their lot in every respect was as bad, if not worse than that of any Scheduled Caste. Even in untouchability, there are various grades. The Vannans (washermen) and Navithans (barbers) suffer from this taint in some measure; so do the fisherfolk. The Nadars in some districts were discriminated against in the earlier decades. Various other castes in the Sudra fold suffered in the past from partial untouchability. Even the oil-mengars (Vaniar) claim that they suffered from such handicaps. Various Sudra castes suffered from shades of untouchability and unapproachability in the midst of taboos which existed in society before Temple Entry. Such taboos do exist even now in rural areas as many of our witnesses have testified. Many of the large castes, in the Most Backward Classes list, have suffered social discrimination of some sort in the past and the humbler amongst them in the villages are still socially discriminated against.

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74. Though caste may be described to be an exclusive feature of Hindu society, it has permeated other religious groups to a lesser or greater extent. The social divisions comparable to those existing in Hindu society are found among large sections of Christians and to a lesser extent among Muslims. Though the list of Backward Classes recognised by the State comprises largely Hindu castes, there are a few significant exceptions like the four entries relating to people belonging to Muslim denominations and an entry relating to converts from Scheduled Castes. It is not, therefore, as if the list is predominantly Hindu caste list. As we have explained elsewhere, the list has been arrived in piecemeal fashion after investigation from time to time and it includes weaker sections from other religious groups also. It has never been the policy of this State even during the British administration, to confine State aid only to Backward Hindus.

75. Regarding economic backwardness, it is interesting to note that most of the Backward Classes do fall under the occupational categories newly listed by the Mysore Government as socially backward.--

1. Actual cultivator,
2. artisan,
3. petty businessmen,
4. inferior services including casual labour, and
5. any other occupation involving manual labour.

The classification adopted by the Jammu and Kashmir Government recently, on a functional basis, would cover all the castes in our lists of Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes. In Section (ii) of this Chapter we have attempted an analysis of the occupational pattern of the Backward Classes based largely on the information available in the 1961 Census.

76. We had in mind similar criteria as our questionnaire bears out and the information elicited thereon is extremely illuminating. Excepting a small upper crust in some castes (and not in all castes), the castes in our lists would fall under one or the other of the five occupational divisions adopted by the Mysore Government. Another test which we applied was whether women folk of the caste went out for casual labour; menial labour; domestic service as cooks, servants or ayahs; or manual labour for wages, or were regularly engaged (self-employed) in manual or lowly occupations. In addition to these five groups of the Mysore Classification, in Tamil Nadu, we can add an extra one to cover all those who are traditionally engaged in lowly services in Non-Brahminical worships in temples, as priests, pusaries, mendicants, etc. There is an amazing number under this group. We have shown at the end of the Chapter a classification of our Backward Classes under some functional heads.

77. One might say that these groups need not necessarily be of hereditary or of caste character i.e. a carpenter need not be a Kammala, or a barber need not be a Navithan, etc., etc., etc. That attitude assumes that there is considerable economic and social mobility in Tamil Nadu, transcending and weakening caste-

vocational lines. The horizontal mobility from villages to industrial complexes in some cases involve occupational mobility - not social mobility of a revolutionary kind. There is no vertical mobility worth mentioning except amongst the highly educated and well-to-do. Even here what is gained is a measure of social status, not merger or absorption in a higher caste group. The passion for education which grows in direct proportion to the caste inferiority in the social order, is attributable to their desire to obtain social and economic mobility, to get away from the traditional occupation, to move away from the rural habitat and to go up in social esteem which follows education and respectable employment carrying status with it.

78. Absence of social mobility is the direct concomitant of social backwardness in a traditional society. Whatever economic mobility and social interchange that might occur in the highly urbanised and affluent section of society in the major cities, life in rural areas is still conditioned by age old conventions; and even the transition from the purely traditional has not affected the lower rungs of society in any noticeable degree. There are many social thinkers who feel that economic improvement alone can bring about social mobility, without which a secular society cannot be established. Social gradation is hereditary and its taboos can be mitigated only partially by economic measures. While a socially upper caste person does not lose caste by taking a profession hitherto regarded as beneath his social status, as for example, shoe-making, carpentry or laundry-keeping, a socially inferior person does not gain ritual status building to a learned profession hitherto regarded to outside his caste profession. We can only hope that this is transitional. With complete economic mobility these taboos arising out of linking caste with profession might in course of time wither away. Caste cannot be altogether banished by legislation, just as caste is not suppressed by publicly ignoring it or by refusing to talk about it openly. Caste, apart from being an institution, is a way of life. Loosening its hold requires complete change in our way of life. In the absence of any dynamic or revolutionary solution, the only sure way to destroy its rigidity is to ensure absolute economic or occupational mobility. Emphasis that has hitherto been laid on traditional occupations or hereditary crafts and professions should be replaced by encouragement to vary and diversify occupations. This desire is deep-rooted amongst the backward classes. Very few of them would like to continue in their hereditary avocations. Very few of the educated young men do so. The craze for Government service is the outcome of this deep-rooted desire to escape from the social rigidity inherent in traditional hereditary avocations. Urbanisation and industrialisation help considerably. Every measure taken by the State to improve the economic conditions of the Backward masses should be designed to ensure economic mobility and social mobility. This is the ultimate test by which the long-term success of all socio-economic and educational remedies of the State should be judged. Though our terms of reference do not warrant our recommending such measures, we cannot over-emphasise this as the ultimate aim of State policy.

79. In dealing with Backward Classes the magnitude of these classes should not be lost sight of. The weaker section of the

population whose lot is comparatively or perhaps only marginally better than that of the scheduled castes is by no means a small one as some, not familiar with the problem, are prone to assume. According to the Commission's calculation it is nearly 52 per cent of the State population. The Most Backward Classes account for nearly 23 per cent. The following figures of population of some of the major Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes, each accounting for a population exceeding 1% of the State population, should make the administrators sit up, and think. These 15 castes alone account for 1½ crores or roughly 37½% of the State population. Of this, the Most Backward Classes alone account for half of this.

1. Agamudayan	..	6,70,505
2. Kaikolan	..	7,00,207
3. Kallan	..	9,75,712
4. Kammalan	..	11,85,313
5. Maravar	..	8,31,299
6. Maruthuvar	..	4,13,807
7. Odder and Boya	..	5,07,248
8. Parkavakulam	..	4,81,322
9. Parvatharajakulam (Meenavar)	..	3,50,000
10. Shanani, Gramani and Nadar	..	15,59,339
11. Valaiyan	..	6,33,478
12. Vanniakula Kshatriya	..	48,61,742
13. Vannan	..	4,61,239
14. Yadhava	..	13,73,246
15. Labbai	..	6,37,827

These are not small minorities which can be ignored or cajoled easily. It is unfortunate that the Central Government did not publish a list of "Other Backward Classes" as recommended by the Khalelkar Commission. But the Central Government is not obliged by the Constitution to draw up and publish such a list. If such a list was published, it would not have been very different from the list of Most Backward Classes. Our Most Backward Classes are, however, largely covered by the starred castes in the Khalelkar report (Volume II, Pages 71 to 79).

80. Again, the thinking of Dr. Ambedkar that weaker section meant only the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, has influenced many writers and thinkers on the All-India level to minimise the existence of a large "weaker sections" outside the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But their clamour to be treated on a par with the latter in the matter of State aid, educational and employment facilities cannot be ignored altogether. It is an eloquent pointer to the existence of this problem that in recent years the Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Kashmir have appointed Committees to go into it.

Section (ii)

Occupational pattern of Backward Classes.

81. The Census of 1961 classified the State population under 'workers' and 'non-workers'. Out of the total population of 33.7 million, 15.4 million, or roughly 45.67% were returned as workers. The percentage of workers in the total population should not, however, be taken to indicate the level of employment in the

State. Because, the criteria adopted by the Census authorities for classifying workers is such that any one who was found to be working at least for one hour a day, or continuously for 15 days prior to the Census was returned as a worker. Nevertheless, a study of the distribution of workers under different categories illumines the point that the people belonging to the listed categories of Backward Classes in the State are all employed in occupations which are considered socially inferior and in which returns are not adequate.

The last Census adopted a ninefold classification of workers. They are:

1. Working as cultivator.
2. Working as agricultural labour.
3. Working in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and plantations, orchards and allied activities.
4. Working at household industry.
5. Working in manufacturing other than house-hold industry.
6. Working in construction.
7. Working in trade and commerce.
8. Working in Transport, Storages and Communications.
9. Working in other Services.

82. Employment in the nine categories cannot be equated with one another. In some, employment is only seasonal. In many, employment means manual labour either in the farm or under unpleasant conditions. In some, workers toil for long hours. Wages whether in kind or cash are miserably low. Security and continuity of employment are doubtful. Only a few categories offer white collar jobs with fair wages and security of service.

83. Among nine categories enumerated above, the first six are primary occupations which are traditional to specific backward castes. Agriculture is the main source of occupation employing about 28 per cent of the population. This covers two categories i.e., cultivators and agricultural labourers. Under the cultivating class may be found land owners and tenant farmers. According to the Census, persons who do supervising and inspecting come under the cultivating class, whereas agricultural labourer is one who hires out his labour for wages.

84. The cultivating class is a heterogeneous group and persons belonging to backward classes owning lands may also be found in this category. But in the class of agricultural labourers numbering 2,828,374, the entire lot would belong to backward classes like Vanniakula Kshatriya, Mukkulathar, Ambalakaran, Valaiyan, Muthirayan, Parkavakulam, besides the Scheduled Castes. Similarly, category 3, i.e., Mining, quarrying, etc., is solely carried out by backward classes like Valaiyan, Fishermen, Yadhava, Kuruba, etc. This in 1961 employed 4,35,498 persons.

85. The household industry employed 12,06,812 and this should largely consist of the major weaving communities in the State, i.e., Kaikolar, Devengas, Saliyans and Sourashtras who together make up

a total of 10,77,556 in 1961. The Kammalan, Dhobi, Barber and Potters also should have figured under this category. Manufacturing other than household industry is the organised industrial sector in the State. This employed only 8,48,302 persons in 1961. Those who do sweated labour in this category, will entirely be drawn from backward classes, but drawn from various castes. Construction employed 2,05,327 and this must consist largely of Odda, Boya, Uppara and Uppiliya communities.

86. The last three categories among the nine, if translated into economic classification may constitute the tertiary or the advanced sector of the economy. This sector employed 3,369,475 or ten per cent of the population. The size and expansion of this sector assumes crucial significance for more than one reason. Primarily expansion of this sector is a sign of economic growth. If more of employment opportunities are to be created to absorb the backlog and the annual addition of unemployed, it can be done only by expanding this sector. Secondly from the point of view of backward classes, it is this sector which should be used as a barometer of social and economic advancement. A community which had taken advantage of the expansion albeit small in this sector during the last two decades can be said to possess qualities like initiative, adaptability, and the urge for success, and should be classified as progressive. Communities which have made least progress in this sector are the unfortunate laggards.

87. This sector is important for yet another reason. It was pointed out above that the distinction between employment and effective employment should be borne in mind when dealing with Indian conditions. Exception to this is only in the tertiary sector. Employment here is regular, secured and with chances for vertical occupational mobility. While dealing with employment, one cannot afford to lose sight of the level of wages. This is dealt with separately but however it should be indicated here that living wages if not fair wages obtain only in the tertiary sector. On account of the heavy pressure of population, the primary sector offers wages below subsistence level and this sector is monopolised by backward classes and scheduled castes. Fair wages obtain in tertiary sector and it is here the backward classes have not made a headway. Empirical studies have not been made in this direction but if undertaken would lead to the same broad conclusions. However, one can say from observation that communities like Nadars, Labbai and Chetties had taken to commerce and trade and have made substantial progress.

88. Barring the tertiary sector, the only sphere where there is continuity of employment, security of service and payment of fair wages is the organised industrial sector. A rough estimate is made about the total number of workers employed in organised industrial sector covered by the Factory Act. For the year 1968, there were 3,97,028 such workers and figures for the current year cannot be very much higher. No doubt all these manual workers would constitute a heterogeneous group of backward classes. The size of backward classes is huge and the surplus in them which has to be reckoned in millions are to be absorbed either in agriculture or household industries. Naturally, the demand and supply forces act in such a way that the wage level in these branches are inadequate and miserably poor. There is no statutory regulation

of wages in agriculture or in house-hold industry like weaving. In the absence of legal protection, manual labour is bartered as a commodity with the concomitant evils of privation and hardships among backward classes. Social welfare, if not justice, cannot afford to be oblivious to this malaise any longer.

OCCUPATION OF PATTERN OF OUR BACKWARD CLASSES

Cultivation:

Agamudayan
Parkavakulam
Vanniakula Kshatriya
Maravar
Vakkaliga
Sadhu Chetty
Kallar
Vadugan
Scheduled Caste converts,
Labbai.

Ferry, Manual labour:

Gangavars
Dudekula
Muthuraja (Muthuriyan)
Wynad Chetty
Moniagar
Bondil
Kunnuvar Mannadi
Poraya
Nagaram
Koteyar
Scheduled Caste converts,
Labbai.

Weavers:

Devanga
Kaikolan (Sengunthar)
Salian
Pattariar
Adaviar
Sourashtra
Kuruhini Chetty
Khatri
Thogata Veera Kshatriya
Labbai

Carpentry, Smithery:

Kammalan (Viswa Brahmin, Viswakarma)

Carriers of salt, oil, Palancuin:

Bhatrazu
Kadupattan
Bostha (Silviar)

Betal vine cultivators and betal leaf sellers:

Senaithalaivar (Senaikudiyan)
Labbai

Earth workers:

Boya
Odde

Salt workers or manufacturers, lime burners:

Uppara
Thondaman
Pannaiyar (Panniar)

Shepherds:

Yadava
Mondgolla
Kuruba
Kurumba
Gowda
Kannadian

Dyers, Tailors:

Namdev Mahratta
Mahratta Non-brahmin
Labbai

Oil pressers:

Vaniar
Gandla
Ganika
Chekkala
Telikula

Potters:

Kulala

Basket making and Mat Weaving:

Mahendra
Medara
Mudugan
Gopalavelamas
Labbai

Professional Musicians:

Isai Vellalar

Astrologers:

Kani
Kanisu
Kania Panikkar
Pulluvan
Punnan Vettuva Gounder
Vettuva Gounder

Temple servants, pujaris:

Andipandaram
Jangam
Yogeeswaran
Chatada Srivaishnava
Ambalakaran

Toddy tappers:

Gramani
Shanan
Illuvan (Ezhuvan Illathar)
Idiga (Setti Baliya)
Billava
Nadar
Thivya

Aerobats, skilful jugglers, beggers, ballad reciters:

Dombara
Jhetty
Nekkar
Lambadis
Narikoravan
Dasari

Fishermen:

Parvatharajakulam
Bestha (Siviar)
Kharvi
Valaiyan
Kukkuvans
Kabbora
Vanniakula Kshatriya,
Paravans
Labbai

Washermen:

Vannan

Barber:

Maruthuvar
Mangala
Velakkatalavan
Vilkurup

Piggery:

Jogi
Demmare

Snake charmers:

Pamulu
Jogi

Hunting:

Bestha (Siviar)
Kuruba
Kurumba
Vettaikaran
Valmiki
Hegde
Bravallar

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONSection (i) - A new educational philosophy for permanent literacy.

89. The State had evolved a policy for helping the educationally weaker sections of society: firstly, through the Grant-in-aid Code, secondly, by progressively enlarging the list of depressed and backward classes for educational concessions and thirdly, by adopting a policy of reservations for entry into services and for admission to institutions of higher learning. We have reviewed these measures in Chapter III. It should be observed, that the initial steps in the matters were taken by the British Bureaucracy, partly from its inherent sense of trusteeship and partly in response to public pressure. There was in the earlier stages no well-defined concept of social justice, or the desire to identify weaker sections of society for preferential treatment. All that the British Regime desired was to have a small educated class from which it could recruit its clerks and lower executives.

90. Though the beginnings of the concept of social justice were seen in the hesitant measures of Communal Representation, the actual policy was negative, i.e., to contain the trend towards domination by a privileged minority. The evolution of a positive policy of social justice had to await the dawn of Independence and the framing of the Constitution for the Indian Union. It is to the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy enshrined in Parts III and IV of the Constitution, we owe many of the ideas which collectively have given us the Welfare State and the Concept of Social Justice.

91. It is in some measure a tribute to those who guided in the pre-Independence era the destiny of this part of India, known then as the Presidency of Madras, that their policies, adopted piece-meal according to the demands of contemporary political pressure without a theoretical enunciation of State policy, led unostentatiously and yet definitely towards the realisation at least partially of some aspects of social justice. When the new Constitution was adopted, without any great effort and without any fresh enquiry or investigation, the State was able to declare the then existing list of Backward Classes as satisfying Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution.

92. But, the measures taken before Independence were primarily intended to bring some degree of education to those who would otherwise have remained neglected; and the measures taken after Independence did not aim at anything substantially more, except in the case of the Scheduled Castes. The twin curses of ignorance and poverty still remain to be overcome rapidly and radically, if the Welfare State is to realize its objective, and all measures taken hereafter must be designed for the realisation of this objective.

Articles 16(4) and 46 of the Constitution:

93. Article 16(4) of the Constitution speaks of Backward Classes of citizens who may not be adequately represented in the

services of the State, in whose favour reservation of appointments and posts in the State may be made. Article 46 enjoins the State to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people; and though it refers to Scheduled Castes and Tribes in particular, tacitly recognises that there are "weaker sections" outside the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Neither the weaker sections mentioned in this Article nor the Backward Classes of citizens mentioned elsewhere have been defined in the Constitution. It is a sad commentary on our public affairs that legislators and interpreters of the law have not given necessary thought to this subject. There is a general assumption that the protections and safeguards in the constitution are intended only for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. While recognising their undoubted backwardness and claim for special safeguards, it will be folly to ignore the existence of poverty, social degradation and ignorance in large sectors of the population outside the ranks of the Scheduled Castes. This Commission has seen squalor and poverty outside the Harijan fold which only an estrich-like attitude on the part of political leadership and enlightened public opinion can make light of. Their cry of distress has not found adequate response hitherto. This backwardness of the weaker section is definitely related to social backwardness and has to be seen and examined in that light.

Hierarchial Society:

94. Indian society is hierarchial, based on the caste system. The Sudras and the Panchamas are on the lowest levels. Both are mainly cultivating groups; the only distinction being that the former are not completely untouchable and the latter are enjoined to perform very unclean occupations. Though historians and sociologists might say that the social order in Tamil Nadu did not develop according to the Aryan pattern of Varna, there is no doubt that by the early centuries of the Christian era what was largely tribal society was moulded and fitted into the Varna structure; all the cultivating functional and service groups, who together constituted the Sudra frame of the Varna system, came into existence with the minute, ill-defined, but well-understood social gradations and taboos. The Backward Classes, with a few exceptions, fall within the Sudra fold - with ritual grading of Castes within this large fold based on taboos on interdining, inter-mixing and exclusiveness of occupation. Certain kinds of manual occupations were regarded as more degrading than others; certain trades less respectable than others. This ritual and social grading might not be uniform. The social standing of a caste or group of castes might be a shade better in some regions than in others; but by and large a certain well under-stood system of social grading was accepted by the people as ordained by Karma and regulated by Dharma.

95. People performing the lowlier occupations were given a lower social rating. In the villages and small towns they were assigned the less attractive areas for their habitation. Their streets and houses were easily distinguishable from those of the socially upper classes. Generally speaking, castes lived in streets exclusively inhabited by their own fold. The higher groups lived near the rivers, streams and around the temples. The lowliest among them were always on the outskirts of the villages next to

the cheris of the untouchables. (In many villages even now the streets of the lower Sudra groups telescope into the Cheris. Various inhibitions, and open and indirect methods of discrimination discouraged children of the lower social classes from attending schools. Though vast changes have taken place during the last few decades and no open and easily recognizable taboos are in evidence now as far as education is concerned, the rest of the socio-economic structure of village society and pattern of life including gradations has not appreciably altered.

Effect of poverty on education:

96. It is quite common even now for children of school-going age to be forced to remain at home, or sent to the farms and fields for helping their parents in their daily tasks. We have made an extensive study of wastage or 'drop out' amongst children of school going age. Educational Officers and Head-Masters were questioned on this in every district. Children look after sheep and cattle, and the poultry and the pigs. They help the weaver parents by doing subsidiary tasks. Where beedi rolling and cottage match box filling is done in homes, children are forced into these tasks. The economic condition of most cultivating, fishing, weaving, artisan and service communities is such that parents do not actively encourage education; and even when some of them in recent years do desire to give their children a better chance in life, the overcrowded, ill-lit, insanitary housing conditions do not create the atmosphere conducive to serious studying. The atmosphere of learning and enlightenment, that distinguishes the homes of the socially upper classes cannot be expected under these conditions. It is not argued, there is no poverty amongst the socially upper classes. But that marginally poverty of the few is not accompanied by squalor, degradation and ignorance. But, illiterate, ill-fed and eternally frustrated parents of the socially lower castes living in squalor and ignorance cannot provide the atmosphere conducive to learning. This is the environmental handicap, which is perpetuated by social and economic backwardness.

Regional backwardness and social backwardness:

97. It is not only lowlier, dirtier and insanitary streets and housing in villages which are the lot of the socially backward castes. But even taking the larger economy of a district or region, it is noticed that in areas or tracts which are fertile, members of the socially superior castes are in possession of all the fertile lands. They have been, and are the dominant castes. Even after the abolition of the Zamindari system and the imposition of land ceilings, a large majority of the landlords in the riverine tracts, along the Tamirabarani, Vaigai and Cauvery and other streams and rivers are members of the socially forward castes. All the great temples are situated in the riverine areas, and the upper castes with large land ownership congregate round temple towns. The fact that this monopoly is slowly changing in recent years only confirms the presumption that traditionally the landlords in the fertile areas were from the forward communities. The members of the Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes continue to remain there largely as tenants, farm labourers, and artisans, and service castes necessary for the village economy and for sustaining the socio-economic order.

98. Wherever, during recent centuries, there were invasions from outside, the followers and supporters of the occupying powers also shared the better types of land available, and joined the sheltered ranks of the forward communities. The surplus population of the Backward masses, who could not be maintained by the economy of the fertile tracts, were forced out into the less fertile dry cultivation lands beyond. The historical forces behind these demographic manifestations have yet to be examined and ascertained by historians and social scientists. But it is curious, but not an altogether inexplicable phenomenon, that in the areas of poor rainfall, in hilly, sandy and rocky tracts, there is a larger concentration of Most Backward Communities. (One has only to analyse the caste composition of such areas in any district to arrive at this inference.) The most backward a whole district is, say for example, Ramanathapuram, Dharmapuri or South Arcot, the larger is the percentage of the population of the more lowlier cultivating people including the Scheduled Castes. The least hospitable areas are inhabited by the socially most backward castes. Here we see the overlapping of regional backwardness with social backwardness, and these two together produce and perpetuate economic backwardness. Elsewhere in this report, we have gone into this question of Backward areas, with a view to spotlight on the inter-relation between social and regional backwardness.)

Social forces and backwardness:

99. Without going deep into historical causes, one can safely conclude that through several centuries, social forces have been in operation driving the socially backward communities into lowlier occupations and positions in rural settlements of fertile areas, and large masses of them have been driven into less hospitable tracts where they are condemned to eke out a miserable existence. The villages inhabited by Padayachis and Oddas in some taluks of South Arcot and Dharmapuri; by Maravas and Valayans in Ramanathapuram; Oddans, Valayans and Thottia Naickens in Avanashi taluk of Coimbatore; and Kaikolans in some villages in North Arcot and around Kancheepuram amply bear out the thesis of backward areas and backward people. When people belonging to the socially forward castes invade these poorer lands, it is only for the purposes of exploiting the lowlier fold after buying the large acreages of land at cheap prices. No doubt they have often brought prosperity to such lands, by sinking tube wells, installing pump sets and by introducing commercial crops. But, all these have not contributed to the economic betterment of the local backward people. Their serfdom is more inescapable now - having lost their land and now having to work on the same land as labourers with the burden of consuming indebtedness around their necks. It is very often argued in learned forums that the only backwardness to be tackled is economic backwardness or poverty, and this is not a malady of the backward castes alone. This Commission has seen enough evidence in all the districts to disprove this argument. Nearly 70% of the population of the cultivating castes, i.e., Padayachi, Kallas and Maravar; perhaps a large percentage of the Valaiyans, Ambalakarans and Boyas; more than half the Kaikola population; and the numerous smaller castes including barbers and washermen are found living in conditions of abject squalor and under conditions hardly distinguishable from those prevailing amongst the Scheduled Castes before Independence. The poverty of the socially upper castes is genteel poverty, unaccompanied by squalor, filth, insanitary environment and ignorance.

The poverty of the socially backward communities is accompanied by ignorance, misery and total frustration. It is tragic, that social backwardness has not received recognition it cries out for. It is just derogatory to national prestige and detrimental to overall progress, to keep the millions of socially backward castes in conditions of poverty and ignorance, as to keep the Scheduled Castes in their traditional untouchability and economic slavery. The sooner this is publicly realised, the better it would be for the progress of the State.

Fight against ignorance:

100. Enough has been said to emphasise our point that economic backwardness is the concomitant of social backwardness, and unless all that goes with social backwardness is removed the cumulative effect of centuries of socio-economic backwardness cannot be obliterated. Education is the most important tool for this purpose. It is ignorance that has to be attacked; if the backward millions should get awareness of their degradation and feel the need for acquiring a sense of human dignity.

Education for all:

101. During and before the Sangam age, learning must have been open to all without distinction of caste or traditional profession. Sangam literature has ample evidence of men of all ranks in society becoming bards and poets, and learning was not monopoly of any caste. The Jains and Buddhists who established their religious and secular order in the centuries preceding and following the Christian era liberalised learning still further as modern epigraphy and archaeology are continuously revealing. But with Brahminic Hinduism getting ascendancy in historic times, the laws of 'Manu' dictated the attitude of Kings and society towards learning. When this happened, the encouragement that was given to general education among the masses by the Tamils, Buddhists and Jains before and after Christian era necessarily declined. Even as late as in the 19th Century, during the earlier phases of British rule, excepting the traditionally learned classes, the bulk of the people remained in a state almost of total ignorance. Whatever learning there was, was of the sacred character; and Sudras and Panchamas were not entitled to it. Schools were attached to the temples, Dharmasalas and the charitable institutions endowed by the Kings and the nobility, and to such places, the cultivators, peasants and artisans, manual labourers and people of other classes had no access. It was almost considered not only unnecessary, but presumptuous for these people to learn to read and write. They were content to be ignorant, for they knew not the value of education, even of literacy. The British rulers opened High schools and Colleges; but paid comparatively less attention to elementary education. Private enterprise, organised and unorganised, was responsible for running elementary education at the village level. Even 50 or 60 years ago, single-teacher pial schools (பிள்ளைப்பள்ளி) was a common feature in villages. The Christian Missionaries opened elementary schools primarily for their Converts, and others also benefited therefrom. The Grant-in-Aid Code itself was devised to assist such private schools. The State did not have a comprehensive national policy on elementary education. Things changed gradually from the

second decade of this century, and considerable impetus was given to this neglected field of education only after the Reforms. But it can be said that before Independence, there was no national policy on Elementary Education. Abysmal illiteracy of the rural population at the dawn of Independence was the consequence of the centuries old neglects of elementary education.

Free and compulsory education:

102. Under Article 45 of the Constitution, the State is enjoined to provide for free and compulsory education for all children till they complete the age of fourteen. Though education is given free of school fees, and compulsory education is supposed to be in force, there is very little of compulsion actually enforced except at the time of enrolment. The object of compulsory education is to ensure permanent literacy. This can be guaranteed only if continuous schooling till the age of 14 is enforced. School education, being a State subject under the Constitution, it is necessary for the State to evolve a new educational philosophy and policy consistent with social justice and the objectives of the Constitution. Non-collection of fees by itself is not a positive inducement for taking advantage of the facilities offered by the State for free primary education. Even punitive measures for enforcement of compulsory attendance will not solve the problem. The tradition of being content with ignorance has to be broken by mere positive action. In recent years, the State has expanded educational facilities at all levels tremendously. More spectacular has been the increase in the number of high schools, colleges and technological institutions. But without a solid base of primary education, the superstructure of higher education will not bring lasting benefit to all the classes to whom education has long been denied. The increase in the number of high schools and colleges increases automatically the opportunities for the classes, who have already taken advantage of the facilities a few generations ago. The gap that is left now to be made up by the more under-privileged is, therefore, widening. Young children from a larger mass base will have to be attracted to primary schools and kept there till permanent literacy is achieved. That is the purpose of the age limit of 14 mentioned in Article 45 of the Constitution. The unfortunate tendency of 'drop-out' among backward children has to be totally eradicated, so that a substantial number of them automatically move up to the Higher Elementary stage. This Commission is not equipped to go into the question of education so thoroughly as it be necessary in the interest of the Backward Classes, nevertheless, we have given considerable thought to the study of this problem, and elicited opinion both from the general witnesses as well as from the educational officers. The educational survey we conducted showed that the incidence of drop-out is very high both at Secondary and High School stages. Between Standards VI and VIII, viz. among children in the age group between 10 and 14 the incidence of wastage is as high as 27% for the State as a whole. In districts like South Arcot, Dharmapuri and Nilgiris, wastage ranges up to 40%. Such drop-outs are more common in rural areas and we can reasonably conclude that such children are invariably from Backward Classes including of course Scheduled Castes. The respondents to our survey questionnaire have testified to this tendency.

Preparatory work needed:

103. The consensus of opinion is that greater attention needs to be paid to primary education. This would involve opening of more schools. But much more important is equipping them and staffing them more adequately. This is a problem on which educational experts should advise. With the knowledge and information we have gathered, we strongly feel that to equip the children, especially from the Most Backward Classes, to take advantage even of primary education, some preparatory work has got to be done. This preparatory work lies in the slums and the crowded and unhealthy localities in rural areas where the majority of people live. It is necessary to inculcate the thirst for education even at the early age and to teach the young children the value of cleanliness and discipline. Permanent literacy which is the objective of Article 45 of the Constitution can be achieved only by laying the foundation for primary education on a solid basis. The State would not be said to have fulfilled its obligations to the people except by a massive effort here.

Section (ii) - Nursery Schools (Balar Pallies).

104. The State through the Women's Welfare Department is running now 1040 Nursery schools for children in the age-group of 2 to 5. These are known as the Pre-Schools or Balar Pallies or Kulanthaigal Kappakam. These are distributed in all the districts. These are intended as preparatory to the regular elementary schools for which the age of admission is 5 plus. In some blocks, the local authorities have been able to give free accommodation. Elsewhere rented buildings are used. A trained Balasevika is in charge of this school with the help of an Aya. The Gramasevikas supervise the Balasevikas. The main object of these pre-schools is to take children from backward homes and teach them cleanliness and a sense of discipline. At a later stage, the rudiments of three R's are also taught. As nutritional deficiency at this stage affects the child's subsequent growth, milk is supplied free to the children, and in many places egg also. The CARE Organisation helped this programme in a big way. In addition to these ordinary pre-schools the Women's Welfare Department runs a special school at Periapalayam as part of a Nutritional Project. There is also an integrated scheme at the Child Welfare Centre, Poonamallee, run with the co-operation of the Education and Health Departments, under the administrative control of the Women's Welfare Department. Here a health check-up is made of all the children. Thus the Women Welfare Department has built up a good deal of valuable knowledge, which could be made use of in future planning. The average cost per child might work out at about Rs.15 to Rs.20 including the salary of the Balasevikas and the rent of the buildings. The cost can be reduced if free accommodation is available and local generosity is tapped for the supply of free food and milk. Besides these Balavadies or pre-schools, there are in the State at present 12,600 'Mathar Sangams'. Members of these Sangams have been helpful in some schools in preparing the midday meal for the children and in other respects. It should not be difficult to find one or two educated girls (S.S.L.C.) from these Sangams who would be able to look after these schools. Such girls need not be paid the full salary of the Balasevikas, but

a stipend of Rs.30 to Rs.40. This will have the double advantage of economizing the cost, and providing part-time employment to some of the educated girls in villages.

Phased programme recommended:

105. In the interest of the Backward Classes, especially the Most Backward Classes, we recommend a phased programme for extending these nursery schools. It should be opened in areas, where there is a high concentration of Most Backward Classes. In addition to the existing schools, 500 new schools should be opened every year for a period of five years. Further extension of this programme may be decided on the assessment of the results achieved by opening these new schools. The Panchayats should be asked to provide housing for these schools. A pilot scheme may be tried out in a few selected blocks in 3 or 4 Backward areas, in consultation with the Department of Women's Welfare and the Directorate of School Education. As cleanliness is a virtue with which these children may not be familiar, and most of them in this age group go without many clothing whatsoever in their homes, it should be absolutely essential to provide each child with two sets of simple uniforms. Once the local people begin to appreciate the social utility of these nursery schools, private organisations and Missions might come forward to run similar schools. If elementary education is to become effective and purposeful, every village should have a nursery school.

106. The Women's Welfare Department appears to be the obvious agency which can be entrusted with this task. But it would need a separate Directorate with a Deputy Director of Child Welfare. As an alternative, running of Balar Pallies may be entrusted to the Backward Classes Department with a woman officer of Deputy Director's status. We refrain from giving an estimate of expenditure involved as this is best done by the Department of School Education, if a pilot project alone is to be undertaken first.

Section (iii) - Elementary Education.

107. The question of enforcing the provisions of compulsory elementary education in rural areas without invoking the penal provisions should be recommended to the Panchayat authorities. Even now the rate of enrolment is satisfactory. It is estimated that if all the children between 5 and 10 attend school, their number may amount to 48 lakhs and the present enrolment is almost equal to this figure. The 48 lakhs would include children of all castes, including the forward and the Scheduled Castes. About 25 lakhs would belong to the Backward Classes of which again half will be from the Most Backward Classes. What has to be aimed at now, assuming that the enrolment continues to be satisfactory, is the continued retention of the children till they complete at least the elementary stage. The irregular attendance and drop out which are very common in the most backward rural areas should be arrested. This objective can be secured only by offering some incentives to the children and by improving the quality of teaching.

108. Incentives: Free distribution of books, slates, pencils, etc. (cost not exceeding Rs.5 per annum) and two sets of uniforms may be undertaken for all children, whose parents' income to the knowledge of the Headmaster cannot afford such a provision. No special income certificates from Revenue Officers need be called for. The concession may be confined to the Most Backward Classes alone in the first instance. This incentive will greatly facilitate the realisation of the social objective of compulsory education. The expenditure to be incurred should not, therefore, be treated as arising from a backward class ameliorative measures, but as a part of the State's responsibility for making compulsory primary education a reality. Of the 48 lakhs of children, who could be enrolled in the elementary stage as mentioned above, the State is already giving an incentive scholarship at the rate of Rs.4 per child to Scheduled Caste children. Children of well-to-do families and from the upper layer of Backward Classes may not claim this incentive and, therefore, may be excluded. We reckon that only less than 8 lakhs of children may claim the incentive fee and the additional expenditure would not exceed Rs.40 lakhs per annum.

109. For improving the quality of education at this level, emphasis should be laid both on better school buildings and equipments as well as on improved quality of teaching which is partly dependent on the teacher-pupils ratio. There are many schools with a strength of over 100 with a single teacher, and there are several schools with a strength of 200 and above with only two teachers. Under such conditions it is difficult to expect the teacher to give proper attention to the children, so essential at that age. Specialised training is also necessary for teaching in elementary schools. The Commission, convinced of the acuteness of the problem, is, however, reluctant to make any definite recommendation except to draw the attention of the Government to the importance of the subject and to suggest the appointment of an Expert Committee of Educationists to go into the whole field of elementary education in all its aspects. We understand that the Tamil Nadu Government have appointed a Committee to examine the service conditions of teachers. What we have in mind is a more comprehensive inquiry into all aspects of elementary education, including the training and service conditions of elementary school teachers and the adequacy of supply to increasing demand.

110. Higher Elementary Education: The demand from all Backward Classes especially from the Most Backward Classes is that they should be given all the facilities which the Scheduled Castes now enjoy, including the residential and non-residential scholarships. Scheduled Caste children not residing in any boarding school or hostel at the higher elementary school level are given a scholarship varying from Rs.9 to Rs.12 per annum to cover the cost of books, special fees, etc. There are several boarding houses, the residents of which get a scholarship of Rs.150 per head per annum. At present no such facilities are extended to the children of the Backward Classes not even to barbers, dhobies and fishermen, etc. for whom facilities on a par with the Scheduled Castes are given at the post-matric level.

111. In view of the enormous costs and the organisational problem involved, we do not recommend special residential scholarships or hostels for Backward Classes at this stage, though these

provisions do now exist for Denotified Tribes who belong to the Backward Classes. In view of the fact that we have recommended scholarship of Rs.5 at the lower elementary level, we recommend that children of the Most Backward Classes should be given the scholarship at the rate of Rs.12 per annum to cover all the incidental expenses of schooling like books, stationery, etc. The total number of children in standards VI, VII and VIII as on 1st August 1969 is reported to be 1,298,568. The number of children in the age group of 11 to 13 who would normally be attending these classes is estimated to reach 27 lakhs in 1971. This scholarship which we recommend would be claimed by about 5 lakhs children if it is confined to the Most Backward Classes, and the cost would work out to 60 lakhs per year. As a large number of boys and perhaps a larger number of girls from rural peasant and manual worker families stop with higher elementary education, the help given at this stage for school-going children of the age group of 11 to 13 will be a definite step in the direction of imparting permanent literacy which is the aim of free compulsory education.

Section IV

High School Education:

112. The general policy of the State seems to be to have a High School within 5 miles reach of any village. But in actual practice even in a district like Tanjavur this does not happen. There are complaints from every district about the non-availability of high schools within that radius. A few suggestions have been received by the Commission regarding the location of additional schools;

1. Melaipalayam (Girls High School), Tirunelveli district.
2. Mudukulathoor taluk, Ramanathapuram district.
3. Tiruvadanai taluk, Ramanathapuram district.

The Education Department may undertake a survey of places where viable high schools can be conveniently located particularly in backward districts like South Arcot, Ramanathapuram and Dharmapuri. There is a considerable reduction in the number of student population seeking admission to the 9th standard compared to those who pass the 8th standard. This is largely inevitable in rural economy as has been noted already. High Schools are necessarily fewer in number than elementary schools. From the 9th to the 11th also, there is wastage or drop out even after initial enrolment, owing to various causes - non-availability of residential facilities, long distance to be covered between home and school, and increasing expenses of school education notwithstanding the abolition of fees. The solution lies in opening more hostels in a phased programme as has been done for Scheduled Castes and Denotified Tribes.

113. The Government runs now many hostels for Scheduled Caste and Denotified Tribes and scholarship of Rs.200 per year is given to meet the boarding and lodging expenses for those residing in these hostels. For Backward Classes, hostel-facilities on an extremely limited scale alone are now provided by the State. In all there are 11 hostels only and six are being opened in 1970-71.

114. The location of the existing hostels and the sanctioned strength in each are shown below:

Thanjavur District.

- | | | |
|---|----|----|
| 1. Government Boys Hostel, Mahadevapatnam | .. | 50 |
|---|----|----|

Tirunelveli District.

- | | | |
|---|----|-----|
| 2. Government Girls Hostel, Pudur | .. | 75 |
| 3. Government Boarding Home for Fishermen Children, Tuticorin | .. | 150 |

South Arcot District.

- | | | |
|---|----|-----|
| 4. Government Boys Hostel, Vridhachalam | .. | 100 |
| 5. Government Boys Hostel, Pennadam | .. | 90 |
| 6. Government Boys Hostel, Periakuppam | .. | 30 |

Madras City.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|-----|
| 7. Government Girls Hostel, Adayar | .. | 150 |
|------------------------------------|----|-----|

Madurai District.

- | | | |
|---|----|-----|
| 8. Government Boys Hostel, Alanganallur | .. | 104 |
| 9. Government Boys Hostel, Tirunagar | .. | 80 |
| 10. Government Boys Hostel, Tallakulam | .. | 110 |
| 11. Government Boys Hostel, Dharmapuri (Periakulam taluk) | .. | 40 |

115. No private hostels are being recognised by the Government for the purpose of awarding scholarships. Even hostels attached to schools run by private managements are not recognised for this purpose. As a first measure such of those hostels as satisfying Government requirements should be recognised so that their residents may be enabled to get the scholarships.

116. For Backward Classes boys and girls residing in Government hostels including those who get accommodation in the Scheduled Castes hostels, a payment at the rate of Rs. 20 is made towards boarding charges. The beneficiaries from among the Backward Classes in these schemes are therefore extremely few in number. Representatives of the Backward Classes stressed the need for opening more hostels and also for increasing the allowance for boarding, as Rs. 20 is exceedingly inadequate at the present price levels.

117. Students who have to travel a long distance from places not covered by bus transport should be given hostel accommodation. Otherwise educational facilities will not be fully utilized. It is not easy to ascertain this number. But at least 1/4th of the number of boys and girls studying in the high school classes, it is estimated, are now found walking 3 to 5 miles from their homes to attend schools. There are cases where the distance is even in excess of five miles. Though with the best of intentions, accommodation cannot be found in hostels for this number which may well high be nearly a lakh, the State should endeavour to provide hostel accommodation at least for 25,000 school-going

boys and girls during the next ten years by a phased programme. This must be accelerated during the first five years, and at least 100 hostels should be opened during the next two years. It should be emphasized, by providing hostels we actually serve the cause of education in different ways. It can be proved that boys and girls studying in hostels do better in studies and games and their physique improves to an extent that cannot be achieved if they were not living in hostels. Hostels generally provide better environment conducive to their all-round development. It is these considerations rather than the mere provision of convenient accommodation and boarding that has moved us to recommend the opening of more hostels.

Rate of hostel fees:

118. The rate for boarding charges should be increased from Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 per month.

119. In opening hostels, preference should be shown to areas where there is concentration of Most Backward Classes and gradually the scheme can be extended to other areas. Requirements of districts like Dharmapuri, South Arcot, Ramanathapuram, South Tirunelveli and Avanashi taluk in Coimbatore district, should be considered first. However generous the Government may be, it may not be possible to provide hostel accommodation even on austere scale to all who apply for it. The resources available should therefore be used to serve the areas, where the need is greatest, and where the progress of education can be best accelerated. The hostels which should be opened first in extremely backward areas should have a system of priorities for admission; first preference being for Most Backward Classes to the extent at least of 50% of the seats available, next for Backward Classes to the extent of 30% of the seats available, and the balance accommodation should be given to pupils from other Classes, including those who are not entitled to residential scholarship in view of the income restriction. Fair boarding charges could be collected from pupils who are not eligible for residential scholarship. The hostels as far as possible should be attached to comparatively big high schools; but, the feasibility of a hostel, that could serve two or three high schools in continuous areas, should also be examined, as for example in thickly populated areas of Thanjavur. Even now for Scheduled Castes hostels, this practice is followed.

Staff for hostels:

120. The Headmaster or a senior grade (B.A., B.T.,) teacher as selected by the Chief Educational Officer should be the warden. The hostel should provide residential accommodation at least for one teacher, who may be the Warden or where the Headmaster is the Warden, he may be the Warden or where the Headmaster is the Warden, he may be the Assistant Warden. The resident Warden or Assistant Warden would also supervise the studies of the pupils in the hostel. In the event of the strength of a hostel exceeding 50, at the discretion of the Chief Educational Officer, an additional teacher may be appointed as Resident Tutor and allowed to reside in the hostel. The Educational Department may be requested to fix a reasonable allowance for the extra responsibility evolving on the Warden, Assistant Warden and the Resident Teacher - the allowance not to exceed 20% of his basic pay.

121. As our primary objective is to provide better environment for pupils coming from socially backward homes, the present rule of denying admission to the hostel if the pupil lives within five miles of the school should be relaxed wherever possible, provided accommodation is available.

Non-Residential Scholarship:

122. The existing payment of Rs.35 for non-residential scholarship may continue and the disbursement may be made in the form of books and equipment, and for adjustment towards any other special charges in the school. As far as possible the money should not be handed over to the student or his guardian.

122(a). It was represented to us by many spokesmen of the Backward Classes, that the present practice of restricting the book allowance at the High School stage only to students getting 40% and above of the marks in the IX, X and XI standards should be relaxed. This was also one of the points which featured prominently in the discussions of the Backward Classes State Advisory Committee. It is, therefore, suggested that this allowance may be given to all pupil who are in the IX, X and XI Standards subject only to the condition that they do not fail in the annual examination.

Girls Education:

123. In addition to the above general recommendations, the question of opening separate girls hostels in places where there are separate girls shhools or in places round which there are several girls or co-educational schools should be examined. Some examples of such areas where girls hostels are required, are given below based on the evidence tendered before use:

Gudalur, Ootacamund	.. Nilgiris District
Pallikonda	.. North Arcot District
Nagapattinam	.. Thanjavur District
Vijayanagaram	.. Tirunelveli District
Tiruvadanai and Sayalkudi	.. Ramanathapuram District
Udayarpalayam	.. Tiruchirappalli District.

Teachers:

124. (a) Housing for teachers: One great handicap which afflicts teachers of schools in rural areas is inadequate housing. A programme of building residential accommodation for married and unmarried teachers should be undertaken in all places where high schools are located.

(b) At least 25% of the teachers in high schools should be women and it will be a great gain to the progress of elementary education if all the teachers are women. Girls schools, of course, should be run exclusively by women teachers.

(c) It is generally felt that the quality of teachers including Headmasters in rural high schools should be vastly improved. The tendency apparently has been for the better class of teachers to congregate in towns and cities. Some incentives should be given to draw better kind of teachers to rural schools.

(d) Besides, we advise advance increments for teachers with a II Class Degree or a Post-Graduate Degree and some scheme should also be devised for special aid to children of teachers in rural schools going in for college education. One suggestion worth implementing is that their children in college should be assured of residential scholarships. If the teacher happens to belong to a caste not entitled to this, special loan facilities at least should be given.

Incentive Scholarships:

125. Many Educational Officers have suggested the institution of a Public Examination at the 8th Standard. This will indirectly encourage better application at the Higher elementary level and larger number of students with better habits of study will come up to the high school. There may be various objections to this, the most important being the burden to the Educational Authorities involved in conducting a public examination for several lakhs of boys and girls around the age of 12 to 14. It should also be remembered that taking a public examination at that early stage is a tremendous nervous strain for the young children. The decision therefore has to be taken after much more consideration by the Educational Authorities than we have been able to bestow on this subject and after consulting public opinion. If a decision in favour of a Public Examination is taken by Government, then the criteria for awarding incentive scholarship tenable for the high school classes will become easier. If such innovation is not possible, as an alternative a voluntary system of examination on a district basis may be instituted which only such pupils, as desire to obtain an incentive scholarship, need take. In the event of a Public Examination, the pupils securing more than 75% marks, and in the event of the voluntary districtwise examination, the first 200 pupils in each district excepting Kanyakumari, Nilgiris and Dharmapuri districts, may be awarded an incentive scholarship of the value equal to the non-residential scholarship. For the latter districts, the number may be fixed at 150. The districtwise examination being on voluntary basis, this may be taken at the end of the IX Standard, and the scholarship will be tenable for the 10th and 11th Standards only. This scholarship will be in addition to any other scholarship (resident or non-resident) the pupil may already be in receipt of.

Special coaching classes for slow-learners:

126. There are such classes even now in some private institutions, the extra expenditure being financed by collecting small fees from the students enrolled for these classes. A number of Headmasters and Educational Officers laid great emphasis on this as, without such special support, the latent capabilities of these students cannot be easily brought out. But organising special classes for slow-learners in all Government High Schools and private High Schools would be a colossal job both organisationally and financially. It could however be tried on an experimental basis in selected high schools as approved by the Chief Educational Officer. It is a well-known fact that many slow-learning students especially at the 10th and 11th standards go in for private tuitions. If the money so paid for private tuition

is diverted towards financing the recognised special coaching classes in the school itself, its benefit would extend to a larger number of students; and permission may be granted to the Headmasters and Headmistress to collect a small fee from such of these slow-learners as are anxious to improve themselves. Out of this money, the teachers who work, out of regular hours could be compensated for their extra work. The experiment may perhaps be tried in a few selected schools in each district for a couple of years to begin with and its results watched before the experiment is extended further. If the experiment meets with public support, requests are bound to come from parents or guardians in other schools and the necessary financial support also will be forthcoming. A spirit of competition will develop between schools, and private institutions too will hasten to introduce the system.

Common reading rooms in all High Schools:

127. The habit of reading books in schools has got to be encouraged systematically especially among the Backward Classes, who have comparatively limited facilities for reading at home. One common room should be set apart in all High Schools where students after school hours could sit and read their books at least for two hours a day. In congenial surroundings with proper lighting and ventilation and with some discipline enforced, the two hours' reading would be much more helpful than any reading the students would be able to put in their inadequate homes. These common rooms will be particularly useful in high schools to which no hostel or boarding house is attached. The supervision need only be nominal just to maintain orderliness. It should be possible to find teachers to take charge voluntarily for such supervisions. Even senior students could be trained to do monitoring in these common reading rooms. Supervised common room studies are already in existence in some Government Schools. But there has been no systematic assessment of the impact of this innovation on the students' progress.

Medical Check up:

128. At the 9th Standard, there should be a systematic and thorough medical check up of all pupils with particular reference to sight deficiency and wasting diseases like T.B. In the case of sight deficiency, the State should give a pair of spectacles free. This is the minimum help the State should render to maintain the standard of health of students. It is not unlikely that philanthropic organisations like the Rotary and the Lions Club may be willing to help in many places.

Vocational bias:

129. There is a considerable body of opinion which favours of strong vocational bias to be imparted to the students at the High School stage. It must be admitted as a cold fact that all those who come out from high schools cannot automatically be absorbed in college education. A very large number will have to seek employment or self-employment after the High School or the Pre-University Course stage. Only about 50% of those who pass Pre-University Course manage to secure admission in Colleges, and if job opportunities are better, even this number will diminish.

It will not be possible for the State or even private business and industry to absorb all of them in low grade white-collar jobs, to which alone S.S.L.C. holders normally aspire. In the larger interest of the State and of the younger generation, it is necessary to divert many of them to occupations other than low-paid clerical jobs. Whether vocational education of the type that would equip them to earn a livelihood can be imparted to them at the high school stage is a matter which deserves to be very carefully thought out. To give training in some trade or industry to a few lakhs of boys and girls in the age group of 13 to 16 is a problem; the financial and organisational implications of which are tremendous. The training should be sustained and effective and employment oriented, to be of any use to the student. A few hours week spent on carpentry or weaving or gardening may be a relaxation, may inspire a respect for manual labour - but has no permanent value as a qualification. At this stage of our transition from traditional society, it would be an extremely provocative measure if educational authorities were to discriminate one section of students from another, and say that one set of students can go in for higher academic education, and another should be diverted to other vocations. Even if the choice is left to the students, our impression is that the majority of them will opt for higher collegiate education and not for vocational education unless it be for professional courses leading to a coveted degree or diploma. We are reluctant to make any specific recommendation on vocational education at the high school stage except, to observe that the educational authorities should impress on students about the futility of mass emigration to colleges. A stage will come, we are convinced, when the craze for purely academic college education will slowly diminish, faced with the prospect of recurring and mounting unemployment. If, at that stage suggestions for diverting boys and girls at the 9th standard to studies related to trades and crafts, are made, they will meet with greater public approval. That time may come sooner than we expect. The Government should be ready with alternative schemes to face the problem of diverting students from purely academic studies. But such studies should be similar to those given in our trade schools and polytechnics. Nothing less, will suit the need for equipping the sixteen and seventeen year old boys and girls with the necessary equipment for life. At least 25% of the students joining the 9th standard should be trained specifically for some job or other. The number may increase with years if more job opportunities are created. If the process snow-balls, the pressure on college education will decline. There will be no necessity for selective admission, as only those who are equipped in all respects to benefit by college education will seek admission. It is very necessary for the vocational training at the high school level to be related in some measure to the requirements of the cottage and small scale industries which will have to be started in the rural areas. We are dealing with this subject separately in Chapter VII. Specialists in technical trade schools and polytechnics should advise on the subject. The Army, Navy and Air Force have schemes for such training. The experience of the Defence Services in this matter should be useful for any scheme for diversification of education. Only an Expert Committee of Specialists in the subject will be able to give Government a practical scheme which can be implemented, first on a trial basis in schools closer to the big industrial and commercial centres like Madras, Madurai, Coimbatore and Salem. It will be

advisable for Government to give this matter very high priority. Though this is not a particularly Backward Class problem we make this recommendation as vocational based education will benefit the Backward Classes perhaps more than the others.

Girls' Education:

130. Our survey has disclosed that wastage in Girls education at the High School stage is substantially more pronounced than in the case of boys. It is partly because of the social taboos observed by many Backward Communities against sending girls to schools after puberty. Steps have to be taken to discourage this wastage and to surmount the social taboos against girls education in rural areas. It is a well-known fact, which was frequently brought to our notice by some witnesses, that the main instrument for the uplift of the Depressed Classes on conversion to Christianity is women's education. The educated woman imparts to her children the virtues of cleanliness and discipline and the necessity for paying greater attention to education. For the improvement of the home and for furnishing a better atmosphere for the younger generation to read and work, it is necessary to pay a greater attention to women's education. Unless the mother is educated, the progress of the younger generation cannot be guaranteed. We are not recommending any specific measures except to inculcate on parents, a social necessity for discarding the conventional taboos. Perhaps, projects of some employment for the young women passing S.S.L.C. may in many cases act as an incentive for completing at least high school education. With increase in the number of educated men, the demand for educated brides even in rural areas will be greater. A minimum of S.S.L.C. pass will be felt a desirable acquisition for women even in lower middle class levels of all castes.

131. A note on 'drop out' among school going children, based on the findings of our educational survey is attached as note to this Chapter.

Section - v

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION

Rush for admission:

132. Whether admission to college education should be selective or unrestricted is a matter of State policy. At the moment the Backward Classes are trying to catch up for lost time and any restriction based on marks or aptitude tests will be strongly resented. In fact it is commonly stated that having declared P.U.C. education free, it is the duty of the State to provide seats for all those who seek admissions. The same argument is also likely to be used for P.U.C. passed candidates seeking admission to under-graduate classes. Though minimum educational qualification as prescribed for most ordinary Government or non-Government jobs of the lower categories is still a S.S.L.C. pass, an increasing number of graduates are also appearing for such jobs. This is largely because of the absence of other job opportunities. Even those whose aspiration in life is not anything above such employment, the competition being so severe amongst S.S.L.C. holders, find it

necessary to improve their chances by securing higher education - a degree. This tendency has been there for the last 20 years and the position is becoming more and more acute year after year. There is an important social factor also animating this tendency. For most Most Backward Classes education and a white-collar job guarantee a degree of social and economic mobility - a means of escape from their traditional avocations, the social obloquy accompanying them, and the rural environment which keeps them down both in the social and economic ladder. If social and economic mobility are to be actively promoted, and there could be no two opinions about the necessity for doing so, no discouragement of any sort should be placed in the path of securing education, unless it be to diversify educational courses.

133. If the minimum educational requirements for ordinary jobs is raised to a degree standard, then there will be no stopping of young men and women at the S.S.L.C. or P.U.C. level except for those who opt for technical education. That again will be undesirable apart from aggravating the unemployment problem by raising it to a higher level and adding on to the financial burden of the State. All the representatives of the Backward Classes want even the existing minimum conditions imposed in some colleges for admission to be re-relaxed. From their point of view, it is argued that Backward Class boys and girls with lower marks are as good as boys and girls from forward communities with higher marks, if allowance is given for the handicaps which they had to overcome. This has been dealt with elsewhere. Without going into the question of changing the present pattern of education, our main task is to consider measures which will equip the students from Backward Classes to compete on equal terms with the students from forward classes and to remove the existing handicap arising out of environmental and social disabilities. This will be merely an extension of the problems we have examined already in connection with high school education. If props are found necessary at the high school stage, they are even more necessary at the college stage as collegiate education is much more sought after and more exacting. It is the clamour of all the castes in our list that they should be given all the facilities and concessions that are now extended to the Scheduled Castes.

Adequate number of seats in colleges:

134. With the increasing number of students seeking admission, the problem of providing adequate number of seats in the P.U.C. and in the 1st year B.A. and B.Sc. Classes is becoming more and more acute. This is tackled either by opening new colleges by the State itself or by encouraging private organisations to do so and also by authorising evening classes in existing colleges. During the course of our tours, representations were made to us in many districts that there are still areas with 20 to 30 high schools within a radius of 20 miles without a college. The following are some instances of such inadequacy:-

<u>Places</u>	<u>District</u>
Kattumannargudi	South Arcot
Mudukulathur	Ramanathapuram
Nanguneri	Tirunelveli
Ramanathapuram (Women's College)	Ramanathapuram
Jayankondam	Tiruchirappalli
Gingee	South Arcot.

Private enterprise is unable at the present moment to satisfy the financial requirements laid down by the Government and the University for authorising the opening of a college. The requirements now are: in respect of a P.U.C. college, an endowment of Rs.3 lakhs and in the case of a college with degree courses additional endowments are to be made for each course. For a college with several science and humanity courses the endowment may well be of the order of Rs.5 lakhs in land, building or cash. It has been strongly impressed on us that these requirements should be reduced. In areas with a predominantly backward population where the beneficiaries will be largely students from Backward Classes, private generosity alone will not be able to provide funds of this magnitude - modest though it might be. The State Government is opening colleges in several places. Nevertheless the need persists and it will not be an unwise or inexpedient step if the endowment requirement is reduced to 50% of the present level. While reducing these requirements, care should also be taken to stop the existing abuses about capitation fees from the students. The relaxation of the endowment requirement may itself render these undesirable practices unnecessary, as more colleges and more courses may become available. In view of the increasing demand for college admissions, it should be possible for the State to estimate in advance the extra demand for seats in various branches of college studies and a planned increase in the number of colleges and/or in the number of available seats in existing colleges would obviate the rush with all its evils that we see at the beginning of every academic year.

Reservation for Backward Classes:

135. There is a 25% reservation at present for Backward Classes in educational institutions. In very many colleges in the mofussil areas, the Principals have reported that in actual practice as many as 60% to 70% of the students are from Backward Classes. This is inevitable especially in areas where the Backward Classes population is substantial. In some private colleges endowed by particular communities or organisations, it is felt that the admissions are limited to 25% thus nominally satisfying the requirement of the Government. Government policy on reservation is intended to secure at least 25% for Backward Classes and not that admissions should be restricted to 25%. Complaints have been voiced by leaders of communities that students from Backward Classes who get comparatively lower marks are denied admission and are therefore compelled to go from one college to another college seeking admission. This problem can be solved partially at least by increasing the reservation. We are dealing with it separately. As judged by recent trends, the rush is more for Science groups. It should be possible for the Collegiate Education Department to furnish approximate figures of applicants for science groups as compared to other groups and based on this, the number of seats available in science groups both in Government Colleges and in private colleges should be steadily increased year by year. This, of course, would involve larger outlay on laboratory equipment. Some of the private and Government colleges offering science groups even now do not have adequate laboratory facilities. This is a matter which deserves to be investigated by the University. If it is lack of funds that stands in the way of adequate equipment, the Government should come to the rescue in a greater measure than in the past.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND FEE CONCESSIONS

Fee Concessions:

136. Under the Madras Educational Rules, Backward Classes students are entitled to half-fee concessions if the income of the parent or guardian is less than Rs.1,500 per annum and Most Backward Classes enjoy full fee concessions. In addition to these, under the Social Welfare Department's rules, the students from Backward Classes whose parents' income is less than Rs.2,000 are entitled to residential or non-residential scholarships. The scholarships - which are however not as generous as those given to Scheduled Castes - administered by the Backward Classes Department, are in addition to the half or full fee concession as the case may be eligible under the Madras Educational Rules. The Department also compensates Backward Class students to the extent of the half-tuition fee collected from them. Besides, special treatment is already accorded to a few Most Backward Classes, viz. Barbers, Dhobies and Fishermen under G.O. Ms. No.4935, Industries, Labour and Co-operation, dated 22nd November 1956 and G.O. Ms. No.420, Home, dated 8th February 1967.

137. In addition to their eligibility for full fee concession, the above mentioned three castes are also given residential and non-residential scholarships on the scales admissible to Scheduled Castes at Rs.60 per mensem in Madras only and Rs.50 in mofussil places.

138. With the exception of these particular castes, the other Most Backward Classes are treated as on a par with Backward Classes for scholarships. The only inconsistency in the system is that students, whose parents' income is above Rs.1,500 but does not exceed Rs.2,000 do not get either half-fee or full fee concession in the Madras Educational Rules; but they are entitled to the residential and non-residential scholarships administered by the Backward Classes Department. This deserves to be remedied.

Tuition Fees:

139. The present position is that Most Backward Classes like the Scheduled Castes do not pay any fees. The Backward Classes pay half of the tuition fees. Speaking broadly we estimate that about 40,000 to 50,000 students will now be paying half tuition fees. We recommend that tuition fees should be remitted completely to all the Backward Classes students subject to an income ceiling. Under the Madras Educational Rule the present income ceiling as mentioned is Rs.1,500. This ceiling will not cover people even of the Class-IV category in Government service. We propose that the income ceiling for Madras Educational Rule for the purpose of granting full fee remission should be raised to Rs.2,000. The loss in fee income is roughly estimated at less than Rs. One lakh as utterly negligible figure in the entire Education Budget of the State. Even this extra expenditure is notional, for Backward Classes are already compensated for the half tuition fee they pay by the Social Welfare Department's scholarship as mentioned earlier. When full fee remission is given this additional disbursement by the Social Welfare Department will be saved as the rate of scholarship will be correspondingly reduced.

Scholarships

140. All Backward including Most Backward Classes are entitled to scholarship subject to the ceiling of income of Rs.2,000 per year. The scholarship has two elements,

(1) For books, special fee, etc: This is known as the non-residential scholarship. The prevailing rates are shown in the Appendix in Volume III (If full fee remission as recommended in the previous paragraph is given, there will be no allowance on this account).

(2) For boarding and lodging: This extra amount known as the residential scholarship can be claimed only by students succeeding in getting admission to hostels or in recognised private boarding houses.

	<u>City</u>	<u>Moffussil</u>
(1) Arts courses	Rs.40 p.m.	Rs.35 p.m.
(2) Professional courses	Rs.40 p.m.	Rs.35 p.m.

Non-residential scholarships:

141. Many Principals complain that students do not utilise the amounts for the purchase of books and the money is spent away. Some degree of control over the use of this money is desirable. A general directive can be given to Principals to ensure that an amount not less than 50% of the allowance is spent on books and for that purpose receipts for purchase of books should be insisted upon before disbursing the amount. The other complaint voiced by most of the parents is that many students from poorer homes are not in a position to buy books which are necessary at the commencement of the year and some arrangement therefore should be made to pay this allowance or at least a part of it at the time of or soon after admission. If for administrative reasons such part payment is not feasible, the Department of Backward Classes which administers the scholarships could allow a lump sum grant to each college, and the Principal may be authorised to advance money necessary for the purchase of books in really deserving cases, and adjust the advance against the payment of scholarship when it is formally sanctioned.

Residential scholarships:

142. The number of scholarships disbursed depends largely on the hostel facilities available. The scholarship is given only to those who reside either in college hostels or in recognised students hostels. The accommodation available in hostels attached to colleges, both Government and private, is by all account inadequate. No Principal of a Government college has testified that hostel accommodation is adequate. Private Colleges excepting those run by big Mission institutions are not better placed for hostel facilities. The number of recognised hostels outside those attached to colleges are also limited in number. A phased programme of increasing hostel accommodation especially in colleges with a large percentage (More than 50%) of Backward Classes population should be undertaken. The following

are some of places which would come under this category:-

<u>Place</u>	<u>District</u>
Tiruchirappalli town	.. Tiruchirappalli
Cheygar	.. North Arcot
Salem town	.. Salem
Madras City	.. Madras
Cuddalore town	.. South Arcot
Villupuram	.. South Arcot
Chidambaram	.. South Arcot

143. Most of the new colleges started in the last five years are without hostels. There are new colleges opened in rural areas, Ponneri College, for example, where in the absence of hostel facilities, the college accommodation itself is not fully utilised. No college situated in or near a town with less than 50,000 people should be without a hostel. The objective should be that every college outside the major cities should have hostel facilities for at least 75% of the students who are not living with their parents or relations. As one of the main objects of providing hostel accommodation is to give to the students from the Backward Classes, environmental advantages not found in their homes, it will be folly to let them drift for themselves living in cheap lodging houses, or as paying guests in poor homes. The problem can be solved to some extent by encouraging private hostels. The conditions for recognising private hostels or boarding houses must be that they are exclusively reserved only for students and that they should be subject to periodical inspection by the District Welfare Officer and the Health Officer, appointed by the Government.

Rate of residential scholarship:

144. The present rates of scholarship are Rs.40 in the city of Madras and Rs.35 elsewhere. We consider the distinction rather out-dated. The scope of the term 'city' should cover all the major cities in the State including Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli and Madurai. If this is done, the distinction between the cities and other places can be maintained. The amount viz. Rs.40 and Rs.35 are totally inadequate, as the actual figures obtaining in some of the Colleges given below would show.

	<u>Mess charges</u>	<u>Establishment charges.</u>
	<u>Rs. per mensem.</u>	<u>Rs. per mensem.</u>
Private Colleges	Rs.86.40	Rs.23.00
Government Colleges	Rs.70.00	Rs.14.75

In many hostels establishment charges are also collected in addition to the mess charges, though the former are kept at a nominal figure in Government hostels. The cost of providing two meals and a tiffin in any cheap private hostel would be not less than Rs.70. The cost of providing one or two non-vegetarian meals for those who are accustomed to such diet in a week would imply an addition of at least Rs.5. It should be remembered that bulk of the Backward Classes students are non-vegetarians by habit.

145. It is very often argued that the scholarship given by the State is not intended to cover the complete expenditure and there must be an element of sacrifice on the part of the students or their parents. The bulk of the Backward Class students lack the capacity for bearing even a part of sacrifice. Even if an element of sacrifice is to be borne by the recipients, it should not extend to 50% of the boarding and lodging expenses. We recommend that the rates should be increased to Rs.60 (against Rs.40) per mensem for the cities and Rs.55 (against Rs.35) outside. The extra cost on this account will be about Rs.40 lakhs per year as shown in the calculation below. For 1969-70, 17,893 students were awarded residential scholarships involving an expenditure of about Rs.62,62,550. In view of the raising of the income limit proposed, the number of applicants may go up, though it is difficult to estimate the figure correctly. Allowing for an increase of 20% in the number, at the enhanced rate proposed, the extra cost would be of the order of Rs.40 lakhs.

Merit scholarships:

146. In addition to the residential and non-residential scholarships, a system of merit scholarships should also be introduced, based largely on the students' performance in the P.U.C. examination. The first 500 in the order of merit among the successful candidates in the P.U.C. examination should be selected for award of merit scholarships of a value of Rs.100 per mensem irrespective of his or her parent's income. If the boy or girl is otherwise entitled to a residential or non-residential scholarship, appropriate deduction will be made from the merit scholarship and the balance amount may be paid or the recipients may be given option to forego other scholarships. This scholarship should continue as long as the student is in college including a professional college or a Post-Graduate study, subject to the following conditions:--

- (1) Failure in any examination or obtaining a Grade less than B will automatically disqualify the student for the scholarship in the succeeding years, except when he or she was prevented from taking the examination or handicapped from doing his or her best by an accident or a serious illness for which proof should be produced.
- (2) All conditions, except the income ceiling attached to other scholarships should also apply to this scholarship.

This scheme of merit scholarship can be devetailed with a scheme for a talent scouting as elaborated later in paragraph 157.

Coaching classes for slow learners:

147. A number of Principals informed us that they have already instituted a special coaching classes for slow learners. We have recommended such classes for high schools already. They are even more necessary at the college level. Special coaching should begin at the P.U.C. level where the transition from high school education to college is made, and bridging especially in the understanding of

English is very important. Already such bridge courses are being conducted in some institutions. It is not only bridging in English that is necessary; but the level of comprehension should also be switched over to a higher pitch, as new subjects are taught and the method of teaching differs from the method used in schools. Considerable mal-adjustments will be noticed especially from the students coming from poorer environments. The special coaching classes should be discriminatory and those who are anxious to take advantage of these classes alone need be admitted. The tuition may be confined to a particular subject or a group of subjects where help is most needed. The special coaching should also be open to applicants from other than the Backward Classes, after the requirements of the Backward Classes are met. The College staff should be in a position to assess the requirements of the students selected for special coaching.

148. The only problem here is the financing of the expenditure on additional staff necessary or compensating the staff for the extra hours needed. The Commission suggested to many Principals whether College Lecturers and Professors would not come forward to do this, out of a sense of service. We even elicited replies to this question in a special questionnaire addressed to educational institutions. Taking into account the present high cost of living and other inconveniences to which the teaching professions is particularly subject, it would be too much to expect that extent of sacrifice without adequate compensation. Perhaps an enthusiastic Principal may be able to persuade the members of the teaching staff to spare an hour or two of their extra time on nominal payment. If Government issues an appeal the response may not be disappointing. The question of collecting a special fee from the participating pupils can also be examined; this again would depend on the financial circumstances of individual students and this may be left to the discretion of the Principal. If financial assistance from the State is necessary, ad-hoc grants may be given to colleges based on the number of pupils taking the special classes, especially in the B.A. and B.Sc. courses. The strength of the coaching classes should not exceed 25% of the strength of the Backward Classes in each class.

Professional colleges including medical, engineering, veterinary, agricultural, forestry and polytechnics:

149. The clamour from the Backward Classes is for greater facilities for admissions into professional colleges and for greater financial assistance for prosecuting studies. Admission to these institutions especially to the Medical and Engineering is highly valued because of the prestige doctors and engineers carry, and partly because of the assured earning capacity of medical and engineering degree holders. We deal with the question of reservation for admission separately.

Non-residential scholarships and stipends:

150. The observations regarding reduction of the scholarship when full fee remission is given as recommended by us in paragraph 139 above will apply to the non-residential scholarship in professional colleges also. There is however one problem which faces

the students particularly in cities and all the professional colleges are situated in large cities. To be able to draw the residential scholarship, the students should reside in a recognised hostel and according to the present rules hostel accommodation is not given to any applicant who resides with his parent or guardian within five miles from the college or hostel. This will automatically preclude children of poor parents in cities from getting hostel accommodation and with it the residential scholarship. Even if admissions are given to a hostel by a relaxation of the above rule, the expenses will be such as may be beyond the capacity of many parents to bear. If some financial assistance is given to such students residing at homes and prosecuting their studies in any professional colleges or polytechnic, the strain on the parents whose paying capacity is very limited (as for example a non-gazetted officer drawing less than Rs. 300 per mensem as pay) will be reduced. We therefore recommend that for such students a stipend equal to half the residential scholarship may be given in addition to the usual non-residential scholarship to which he will be ordinarily entitled to. This concession should, in our opinion, be also extended to students coming from outside the cities, who for reasons of economy and convenience prefer to stay with relations or friends as paying guests.

Residential scholarships:

151. There is no difference now in the rates admissible for residential scholarships between professional colleges and other colleges. Though there may be some justification for increasing the boarding and lodging charges for students in professional colleges, the balance of advantages lies in avoiding any distinction and we might allow the same rates as we have recommended, viz. Rs. 60 and Rs. 55.

Loan scholarships:

152. Many educationists have suggested that there should be an element of sacrifice on the part of the students as well as the parents so that the importance of education is really appreciated. We have already observed that in a large majority of backward classes families, there is no margin for any sacrifice to be exacted. But there are a number of families in an upper income group in many castes, and when their children go in for education in professional colleges, it is possible to expect some element of sacrifice. (We are dealing with this upper crust separately and have recommended their exclusion in certain circumstances from State aid). There is not much hardship in this scheme as after professional education, the recipient may be in a position to bear the burden from the income he is secured of. We therefore recommend that unconditional scholarship may be given up to a prescribed income limit discussed below, and for students whose parent's income exceeds this limit and is below a particular upper limit, a system of part loan scholarship should be introduced. We suggest the limit of Rs. 3,600 as the ceiling for free scholarships, and a ceiling of Rs. 6,000 for part-loan scholarships. We are giving our justification for increasing the income limit from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,600 per year in paragraph 160.

153. If a parent or a legally constituted guardian with an annual income exceeding Rs. 3,600 but less than Rs. 6,000 has two children or wards studying in a medical college or a professional college both of them or if one is in an Arts College or Science College and the second in a professional college, the latter alone may be given half the amount of residential scholarship if he is resident in a hostel and an amount not exceeding Rs. 500 per year may be advanced as loan to cover part of the boarding and lodging expenses. This amount will be paid to the hostel authorities in two half-yearly instalments of Rs. 250 on advice to the student's guardian who executes the bond. On fresh application, the same facilities will be given every succeeding year for a period not exceeding five years in the case of Medical college students and not exceeding the normal duration of studies in many other professional colleges. The concessions should be restricted to two children or wards only. The total amount for the entire studies to be advanced in any case should not exceed Rs. 2,500 for a student. The amount will be correspondingly smaller in the case of shorter duration studies. This loan scholarship on the same rates and conditions may also be given to approved students falling within the income limit mentioned prosecuting studies at a Post-Graduate level excluding B.L. and B.T., who are not in receipt of any other scholarship.

Assistance for higher studies:

154. We have come across several instances of bright students from the Backward Classes capable of conducting researches but are not able to obtain fellowships or other financial assistance. Some of them would distinguish themselves very well if opportunities are open to them for going abroad for further studies. There are yet certain unsurmountable difficulties and prejudices in getting admissions, etc. which time alone will remove. Nevertheless positive assistance should be given to such deserving aspirants for research work in Humanities as well as in science subjects. For candidates with exceptional qualifications, who experience difficulties in getting selection for specific branches of higher studies in the Universities, the Government may consider sponsoring a limited number of applicant every year to Universities. In such cases Government might consider the award of fellowship of a value not less than Rs. 300 per mensem for these studying for Ph.D., M.Litt., and M.Sc. (Research).

155. There are persons who continue their research after taking these first research degrees - D.Sc., or any Post Doctoral research. Many of them will be in an older age group, perhaps already employed. For such post-doctoral research, a limited number of senior fellowships of the value of Rs. 500 per mensem or an amount equal to the last pay drawn if he was already in some service, private or Government would be justified.

156. Notwithstanding all the progress that has been made in Indian Universities, still it is necessary in certain fields to obtain Post-Graduate as well as Post-Doctoral experience abroad. For candidates whose research experience will be to the interest of the State on their return, a few foreign study scholarships should also be introduced. The State should, as a matter of policy declare its intention to award at least five scholarships per year for deserving candidates from the Backward Classes.

Special Training Institutions:

157. One of the grievances of all Backward Classes is that their young men and women are not able to secure places in the All India Competitive Examinations or to secure Officers' positions in Banks or big commercial or industrial houses. We have recommended award of scholarships based on P.U.C. results with a view to develop a broad base for scouting of talent. It is possible to utilise the opportunity afforded by this to spot out boys and girls capable of taking competitive examinations and competing for Executive posts in big organisations and firms for higher research. We are aware that a high performance in the S.S.L.C. or P.U.C. need not be consistently followed by equally high performance in succeeding years. If a merit scholar does not come up to the First Class standard at any subsequent examination, he should be made ineligible for continuance of the scholarship thereafter, as we have already recommended. This would reduce the number of scholars coming up to the Post Graduate level. In addition to this pool of talent, we should look out for talent which might express itself in examinations or studies subsequent to the P.U.C. or in the B.A. and B.Sc. examinations and if meritorious students who are not in receipt of merit scholarship are noticed either at the B.A. or B.Sc., level a selection should be made from amongst them (i.e. from those getting I Class rank) for the award of merit scholarship. Among those studying in M.A. or M.Sc. Classes we will then have candidates selected on the basis of merit at P.U.C., B.A., and B.Sc. level. The progress of the merit students at the post-graduate level should be very closely watched by the Advisory Committee which we are recommending for the purpose later. Detailed procedure for watching and helping the progress of these students is also being suggested. From among such students at the final post-graduate class, selection should be made for admission to the special training institute for competitive examinations, and also for sponsoring for research studies for such students as have aptitude for research. The scheme for special training is explained in paragraph 158.

Special facilities for under-graduates and graduates for training in commercial subjects and special trades and professions:

158. As the aim of education is normally employment oriented, other steps have also to be taken in order to equip these boys and girls in whose education the State is investing so much. The most important step to be taken is of course the dissemination of correct information at the appropriate time about the job opportunities and job requirements. There are many trades and professions for which organised training is not available except in the city of Madras. There are new developments opening out job opportunities for which there are no adequate training facilities. The following are a few such instances:-

- (1) Shorthand and typewriting in Tamil as well as English. It is a well-known fact that the supply is not adequate to meet the growing demand. Even now, there is one such institute run by the Central polytechnic at Adyar. The working of the institute may be studied and more such institute may be opened up in district headquarters also.

- (2) Laboratory technicians like Photographers, X-ray Servicemen, men qualified to conduct pathological and bacteriological tests, etc. Other departments and institutions may require technicians with different qualifications and training. A survey should be made of such possibilities. The Employment Exchange and other Directorates concerned will be able to furnish information on their subjects based on their experiences.
- (3) At a slightly different level there is scope for imparting instruction-cum-training in office work, business management and commercial practices. The ordinary Graduate or even a M.A. especially from poorer environment is hardly in a position to apply for a job as a Salesman or a Canvasser for electrical goods or in any of the varieties of sophisticated consumer goods, not to mention drugs and medicines. These Trades and professions are at the moment beyond the reach of the most college graduates from the Backward Classes. We have dealt with elsewhere the need for a training school to equip selected candidates for competitive examinations and superior services. Apart from these prestige jobs, there are several both in Government as well as in the private sector where a certain amount of pre-employment training would make the applicants better equipped to apply for such jobs; and after taking jobs, their performances will not be judged inadequate. We recommend Regional Training Institutes to be opened in Madras as well as in at least 3 or 4 centres outside for training Under Graduates for the first two categories of jobs, and Graduates for the third category. If there are already institutions in existence these should be strengthened and their scope widened. The curriculum, period of training, the number of qualified staff required for the purpose will again have to be worked out in detail by an Expert Committee of Government officers with experience in commercial and industrial departments, and business executives.

Justification for increasing the income limit for scholarships:

159. We have recommended that the income limit under the Madras Educational Rule for remission of full fees should be raised from Rs.1,500 to Rs.2,000 to bring it on a par with the limit laid down by the Social Welfare Department for the award of Residential and Non-Residential scholarships in high schools and colleges. We have gone further and recommended raising the limit of Rs.2,000 to Rs.3,600 for the award of scholarships by the Social Welfare Department for college students and have also recommended an income limit of Rs.6,000 for the award of loan scholarships.

160. The limit of Rs.1,500 in the Madras Educational Rule per year was laid down several decades ago and the Harijan Welfare Department also observed this limit till it was raised to Rs.2,000 in the year 1967. This limit of Rs.2,000 per annum presumably has a bearing on the per capita income which must have stood at a very much lower figure than at present. In Tamil Nadu for the year 1968-69 the per capita income was Rs.503 at current prices. This income is largely offset by the steep rise in prices and general rise in cost of living. Even this income inflated as it is, and unrealistic from the point of view of the poor man is utterly inadequate to feed and clothe a family at the lowest human standards. If Rs.503 is the per capital income, the average family income taking 5 per family would be Rs.2,515/i.e. Rs.210 p.m.; but, if we take into consideration the fact that as 2/3rds of the population is now in receipt only of 1/3rd of the national income, the average income among the poorer sections will be very much less than what the State per capita figure indicates. The manual labourers, weavers and farm workers and service castes who constitute the bulk of the Backward Class population, must definitely be in receipt of an average income very much below the State per capita income. It is ascertained that the average income of a weaver family (man and wife working) ranges from Rs.75 per mensem to Rs.100. The average income of a farm worker is also below this figure even in wet cultivation areas. Instances of such low wages earned by many of the Backward Classes can be multiplied. Excepting for a small layer of comparatively well off families in each caste about which we have dealt with elsewhere, the average Backward Class family income does not exceed Rs.100 per mensem or Rs.1,200 per year. This is far below even of the wages of Class IV servants in State Government Offices. Any scheme designed to benefit the weavers and such other castes must enable the average members of these sections to educate one or two children upto college level, if they so choose. There is a large body of lower income group, consisting of Clerical workers in Government offices, factories and business concerns, school teachers in Government and aided schools, whose average income will be about Rs.200 only. With a majority of these people, the Head of the family alone will be the wage earner. Many of them have to support dependant parents, and they come from a strata of society when women are either unable to work, or do not work. The per capita income of Rs.503 for the State will almost exactly cover such people. Taking an average family as consisting of 5 members, the family income largely derived from a single wage earner works out to Rs.2,515 per year or roughly Rs.200 per mensem. In the past the assumption in some quarters was that State assistance need not be given to people whose average income exceeds 10 times the per capita income. Applying this principle, State assistance should be given to all the weaker sections of society where the family's or its Head's income does not exceed Rs.5,000 per year. But per capita income itself is illusory; it cannot be said that it represents the income of an average man; or an average family as we have pointed out earlier. Knowing the conditions of life in this State, it can be asserted that no family with even an income of Rs.5,000 per year, will have enough surplus earnings to finance two or three children attending college. But taking into consideration that the resource of the State and the magnitude of poverty in the land, we have if anything erred on the conservative side in recommending Rs.3,600 per year, as the income ceiling for eligibility for scholarships. This will benefit, if we take N.G.Os. only those whose monthly

emoluments do not exceed Rs.300. Even after raising the limit to Rs.2,000 for exemption for tuition fee, and to Rs.3,600 for scholarships; children of parents whose income exceeds Rs.2,000 but does not exceed Rs.3,600 will not be entitled to waiver of tuition fees. Tuition fees for arts and science colleges average Rs.350 per year and those for Medical and Engineering Colleges are substantially higher. Even though a student from this income group (Rs.2,000 to Rs.3,600) is made eligible for scholarship he has to pay his college fee as the scholarship amounts will not cover this. To this extent a substantial sacrifice is imposed on this class, and the help that the State gives to this class of students is not as great as it might appear, in view of the fact that:

- (1) the non-residential scholarship is intended to cover purchase of books, examination fee and special fee only and
- (2) the residential scholarship so called is intended, besides the aforesaid items, to cover boarding and lodging charges up to a limit only and not completely.

A student of this income group (Rs.2,000 - 3,600) whether or not residing in a hostel has to bear the tuition fee, whereas students from the lower income group under our recommendations will enjoy full fee remission, in addition to the scholarship.

Special case of the N.G.Os:

161. The case for higher salaries or fringe benefits for low paid N.G.Os has been urged before successive Pay Commissions. Among the fixed income group, there is the section who have been hit very hard both by the rising cost of living as well as by their tradition of having to educate their children and of maintaining middle class respectability in social life. Many of them live in towns and cities where the cost of living is substantially higher than in rural areas. They also suffer from the handicap in that they cannot falsify or suppress their monthly salary and produce false income certificates. It is from this class that a proportionately larger number of the hopeful college students are drawn. Whether their salaries and allowances are adequate is a matter to be examined by a Pay Commission or Administrative Reforms Committee. Nevertheless we feel that they deserve special treatment from this Commission. A larger proportion of N.G.Os. even now come from the Backward and Scheduled Castes and their proportion will be steadily increasing in the years to come. We, therefore, recommend that in the case of their children the income limit for claiming scholarships in colleges should be raised from Rs.3,600 to 5,000. We are aware that the arguments raised on behalf of these people may be used by others in slightly higher income group. The people in factories and commercial offices earn extra income like bonus and their salary scale and expectations are generally higher.

Extra-expenditure:

162. By raising the income limit to Rs.3,600 for all Backward Classes, we believe we are not letting the State in for extra expenditure of that magnitude as it would appear first. Except in

the case of salaried officers, it is impossible to check the income declaration of the other people who derive their income from land or small business; and those who are self-employed succeed generally in filing satisfactory income certificates. Only those whose opulence is known like the big landlords or big bus owners, people who pay large amount of income tax, etc., do not attempt to secure scholarships for their children by questionable means. By raising the income limit Government will only by regularising the existing system in respect of most non-fixed income groups. But at the same time the present temptation to suppress their real income is withdrawn and considerable headache is saved for Government officials concerned with issuing and accepting certificates. The present hardship the salaried class is suffering is alleviated. There will be fewer complaints from them, that landlords and traders with more income enjoy benefit which they are precluded from claiming because their income cannot be disguised. There may, therefore, be a rise in the number of scholarships to children and wards of N.G.Os. and practically no change in respect of others.

163. We do not propose any change in respect of the ceiling on income for loan scholarships in favour of Neg-gazetted Officers.

2. A NOTE ON 'DROP OUT' AMONG SCHOOL GOING CHILDREN

Wastages:

On the whole the percentage of wastage in school education is high. The incidence of wastages goes on increasing in higher classes. At the primary level it is not noticeable. But the State average of wastage between VI and VIII Standards is about 27%. It is still higher, i.e. 29% between IX and XI Standards. The incidence of wastage varies from district to district. This can be seen from the following table. Dharmapuri, South Arcot and the Nilgiris are the districts in that order with very high incidence of wastage.

State average .. VI to VIII Standards .. 27%
State average .. IX to XI Standards .. 29%

Districts where wastage is high- er than State Average.	VI to VIII Stds.	IX to XI Stds.	Districts where wastage is low- er than State average.	VI to VIII Stds.	IX to XI Stds.
Dharmapuri	41.2	54.9	Madurai	25.2	21.8
Tirunelveli	30.00	32.5	Tiruchirappalli	21.7	26.5
Nilgiris	39.00	40.00	Thanjavur	25.2	29.2
Coimbatore	25.1	32.0	Ramanathapuram	22.0	19.7
South Arcot	42.7	45.0	Salem	19.00	22.6
			Madras	19.7	17.00
			Kanyakumari	21.0	14.0
			North Arcot	27.13	29.0
			Chingleput	21.15	15.7

The survey reveals that the incidence of wastage is very high among Backward Classes. Such incidence is high in rural areas compared to towns. The following are the worst sinners in this respect: Oddas, Vannans, Potters, Marava, Yadhava, Vanniakula, Kahatriya, Badaga, Kammala and Shanani. The reasons for wastages are much the same as for poorer ratio of enrolment as already described, namely, -

1. The necessity for children earning something to supplement parent's income and
2. indifference of parents.

if the wastages in schools are to be reduced, the real remedy lies in improving the economic conditions of the people. Educated unemployment which is widely prevalent in the State also acts a deterrent factor. The parents particularly in rural areas feel that when educated boys and girls have to sit idle at home without employment, why should they be kept on sending their children to schools? Various suggestions have been given to check the wastage. Provision of hostel facilities, distribution of free uniforms, opening of residential schools, providing scholarships and mid-day meals are important among them. Some have been suggested that child labour should be statutorily prohibited. Another good suggestion is that working days in schools should be so adjusted to suit the agricultural season in the area. We have carefully examined the practical implications of all these suggestions in making our recommendations.

CHAPTER - VI

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.Modern education and the forward castes' opportunity.

164. All the Backward Castes, whether they be the numerically large ones, or the small isolated groups, have passionately pleaded for a fair share in the appointments of the State. This cry is pathetically poignant when coming from the smaller ones. There are many reasons for this universal demand. Government service is primarily status symbol and in the present stage of our development, this is the main source of employment for the educated young men. In fact, college education is resorted to mainly to acquire the qualification for entry into Government service. Education for its own sake and diversification of careers, are concepts which are incomprehensible to many of them. Education for its own sake is alright for a leisure class; but outside Government service, there are not many careers open to graduates from the backward strata of society. Even if careers are open, these people would prefer Government service for its prestige, respectability, authority and security.

165. Three or four decades ago a particular caste with a population of 4 per cent only had a virtual monopoly of not only superior service but of clerical services and such larger lower groups of services like teachers. The Dravidian movement, the National movement and the various measures taken by the State during the decade preceding the War and the decade following it, reduced this monopoly. But the newer castes, largely urban and feudal land holding classes, which acquired dominance during this period, specially those which furnished support to the Justice Party and the Non-Brahmin movement stepped into the shoes of this displaced dominant caste to some extent. The reasons are obvious. These castes took advantage of English education in some measure and were in a position to present the necessary number of men to fill the recurring vacancies. This trend is vouched by Prof. M.N. Srinivas who writes:

"Western education provided an indispensable passport to these fields, and the high castes which had a tradition of literacy were in a more advantageous position to exploit new opportunities than those which did not have such a tradition. Members from the former privileged castes became clerks, school masters, officials, lawyers and doctors. The bulk of the new intelligentsia came from these groups of castes, and the leadership of nationalist movement fell mainly upon their shoulders. The upper castes were not only the first nationalists but they were also conscious of the fact that they were Hindus." (PP.18, 19; Caste In Modern India by M.N. Srinivas, Asia Publishing House, 1962.)

These remarks apply equally well to the earlier dominant caste and to the castes which displaced it in later years. But as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, there was nothing consciously Hindu.

This change. The Muslims and Christians equally were the beneficiaries of the Dravidian movement as the employment figures of this period reveal. Till the close of the thirties, boys and girls belonging to the Backward Classes were slow in taking to English education, particularly College Education. Apart from this absence of tradition of education and service, the general atmosphere in schools and colleges was discouraging to these youngsters whose fathers were only cultivators, labourers, manual workers, carpenters, fishermen or Melakarans. Schooling for barbers, dhobies and some other castes was as unknown and unpardonable as it was for the Harijans before the dawn of Independence.

Rising expectations.

166. The war unleashed democratic and socialistic ideas. The wind of change was unmistakable. Larger amounts of money passed into the hands of people who were till then bound by the barter or self-sufficiency economy of rural life. Independence that came after the war witnessed opening of many schools and colleges. There was a greater supply of educated men and women from the traditionally Backward Castes. Politics played no mean role. Men from the Backward Castes were able to fight elections and sit in the seats of power - not merely in the corridors. Naturally the people began to wonder why their men cannot sit in the seats of official authority as well. This awakening was accelerated by the change in the complexion of the learned professions. Doctors, lawyers and engineers began to appear from these unrepresented Backward Castes though only in small number. The number began to increase gradually with years and many of them made good astonishingly. But the number in the Government services did not increase so fast. People began to think that the fault was with the system of recruitment, and with the canons for adjudging merit both for entry and for promotion. Reservation was introduced for entry into public services. It is worth remembering that reservation in the earlier stages upto 1951 was only for Non-Brahmins and separate reservation for Backward Hindus was only from 1947. The full story of the Reservations is told in Chapter-III. A twenty-five per cent reservation for all Backward Classes who claimed that they were 70 to 80 per cent of the population cannot satisfy the aspirations of these newly awakened people, fully conscious of their place in an egalitarian society, no longer dominated by feudal or class ideas.

The more favoured among the Backward.

167. Even with this reservation, there was an apprehension that what was their due was being snatched away from their hands by the manipulation of some of the Non-Backward people. As an official witness stated before us, many forward communities had a backward sounding name or alias. Using this backward alias, members of some forward communities took a fair slice of even this meagre 25% reservation for admission to professional institutions and in employment. Another circumstance, which was inevitable, was that all the backward communities, nearly 150 in number (if we omit the overlappings) were lumped together. Not all the communities were on equal level of educational progress. Some were less backward than the others - a uniform level could never be achieved.

Candidates from the less backward castes were always able to steal a march over the less favoured. That their selection or preference might have been fair, by academic or administrative standards, did not impress the less favoured castes. They apprehended that the old story was repeating itself. It was in the name of "merit" that the Brahmin dominated a few decades ago; it was by the same standard of "merit" the upper strata of Non-Brahmins partially succeeded to the Brahmin monopoly; and again in the name of merit a few of the better off Backward Communities are on the road to domination keeping the others down. This is the general complaint voiced by many caste representatives before us.

Concept of merit.

168. All the witnesses who gave evidence before us (oral and written) have made scathing attacks on this concept of "merit". Is academic distinction a sure guide of merit? Is the performance at a brief interview, and the judgment of a few men based on it, infallible in the socio-economic circumstances prevailing in the land? Could fairness be expected in the atmosphere of casteism, nepotism and favouritism of one kind or another? Are such standards of determining merit socially valid, even if otherwise rational?

169. It is in this context the question of traditional or social backwardness, environmental handicaps remediable hereditary handicaps etc., has to be examined. Economic backwardness and the sub-standard ways of life of most of the backward people also get involved almost inseparably with social backwardness. This view has been reiterated in Khalelkar Commission's report:

"But we must recognise that in India economic backwardness is often the result and not the cause of social evils. Our society was not built essentially on an economic structure but on the medieval ideals of 'Varna', Caste and a social hierarchy."

(PP. 39; Volume-I, Report of the Backward Classes Commission, Government of India, 1956)

These aspects of the Indian, particularly Hindu caste society, have been investigated here and thereby sociologists, though these have not received the recognition they deserve from the general public and the intelligentsia. Social backwardness, economic backwardness and educational backwardness go almost together; and educational backwardness is the end product of the two former kinds of backwardness. One of the witnesses before us observed with tremendous wit and effect --

"In a Brahmin or Mudaliyar street if a school going boy played truant he will have none to play with. He will soon find that playing truant is neither pleasant nor even practicable. But in a street of Harijans or Valaiyans or Padayachis a studious school boy sitting with his books will be laughed out of countenance."

In this homely comparison one sees the effect of social or environmental advantages or handicaps on education.

170. It was argued before us, with perhaps greater passion than reason, that a boy from a Most Backward Class, with say a second class degree, should not be condemned as not as good as a boy with similar and slightly higher qualifications from a forward caste. If the latter boy had been born poor, in a socially inferior caste, and gone to inferior schools and colleges and had to spend his school and college years on semi-starvation diet, would he have fared better eventually than the former boy? This is certainly not the problem any examiner or interviewer poses for himself. And it may happen that the examiners, the interviewers and the appointing authorities or at least a large number of them come from the more favoured sections of society with no experience of social degradation, poverty and all the other concomitant handicaps. By and large, these selecting authorities will be more favourably impressed by the appearance, smartness and capacity for expression of the more favoured boy. This is but human nature. There are of course here and there, some men and women in authority imbued with a sense of social justice, of human understanding who would like to help the under-dog. But the bureaucratic system itself does not, speaking generally, lend itself to "humane" considerations.

171. In view of these prevailing circumstances the Backward Classes ask that a candidate coming from socially and environmentally poor circumstances, who in view of his poverty and rural origin could not have gone to a good school or good college, should be given a distinct preferment instead of discount. It is indeed difficult to lay down precise standards for a differential valuation in such cases. Nevertheless, there is substantial justification in the demand for a weightage for such candidates; while recognising that outstanding talent crops up from obscure and unknown background once in a while. Without such weightage, the handicapped section of society could not be pulled up and given a fair share in Government employments.

Participation:

172. The desire of the various backward sections of the caste-society to have the satisfaction of participation in Government was voiced before us in very passionate language. The days when Government services were regarded as specialised profession to be monopolised or dominated by a hereditary caste or group of castes have gone. No profession is now regarded as necessarily hereditary or the special preserve of a group of people who have a tradition of learning or governing. Even England which boasted of a governing class had to admit to that class, recruits from all ranks of society. That the services should be fully representative of the people, whose welfare is their concern, is now openly accepted by writers on Public Administration. After all, the important feature of Public Administration, is accountability to the public. J.A. Cross observes in his latest (1970) work on British Public Administration --

"It may well be that the permanent personnel of the administration, above all that group within it that has most to do with policy foundation and advice, should be more representative of the social classes within the community it services."

If this is said of modern England, how true it is in our context. J.A. Cross emphasises that the highest policy-making group in Bureaucracy itself should be representative.

173. Those who have the talent must get the opportunity; and talent, if latent, must be developed by the State in the interest of society. Events during the last few decades have amply borne out that talent is to be found among all castes. If there are more men of talent in a particular caste or community, it is perhaps due to the environmental advantages that particular section of society has had over a few generations. If talent is identified with aptitude, this is acquired and inherited. It is quite possible to acquire new aptitudes and transmit them as well. If environmental handicaps are removed, and equality of opportunity is offered effectively, it is the belief of the people that any section of society will be able to produce men and women of talent in increasing numbers. The lessons of Russia and other Communist countries have demonstrated that amply, and social scientists have agreed that talent is a matter of environment and application largely. With this background, it is inevitable that all sections of society should desire to be participants in the day-to-day Government of the country - i.e. the Public Services, higher and lower. This desire for participation in service has been wetted in a large measure by the successful participation in the Legislature and Local Administration by all sections as a result of universal franchise.

Services to be representative of Social Classes.

174. It must be remembered that the people come into contact with Government servants of all levels more frequently now than they did in the pre-Independence days. Everything cannot be done purely at the political level through M.L.As. and other elected office bearers at lower levels. Having men belonging to their own fold at different levels, gives the people a sense of confidence that they will get a fair deal, they will be treated with consideration and no officer will scorn them as people of no consequence. Even if no appeal to caste consideration is invoked in any case, there is psychological feeling of satisfaction with the Administration. The larger castes feel that the administration like the Legislature must have their own men and women in adequate number; and they must be active participants in the Administration as they are in the political work of the State. The smaller castes feel that they should not be ignored even if they are in a small minority, and would like to see their men and women here and there in offices of power and influence. The sense of participation is very essential, if the Administration and the large majority of the people are to work in harmony. In a Ma-Bap State or a purely authoritarian State, it may be possible to do without this atmosphere of participation. But in a democratic State, with Panchayat Raj at the grass roots, it is essential to generate and maintain this atmosphere of popular participation. Then alone will the Government be regarded by the ordinary man, from the socially and economically under privileged ranks, as the people's Government.

Alienation.

175. Without participation, there will be alienation of some degree. What is now said sometimes about the intellectuals being alienated from the politics of the State, will then be said with

greater justification, that the ordinary people, the poor people, who are the largest body of voters are alienated from the Government. When a caste with a few lakhs of voters says why is there no I.A.S. Officer amongst us, or a District Judge, or why there are not even 10 candidates selected for admission to the medical college, or why a highly educated person is unable to find a job, we see in this, an expression of frustration which is the beginning of alienation from the Government. Again when a small community with a total population of a few thousands only, exclaims why not give our people a gazetted job once in a few years, we see in this their longing to belong, a desire to participate in some measure, and a fear that they will be ignored and forgotten; because being a small minority they are not a politically powerful caste or group. In between the big castes like the Vanniakula Khatris and Marava-Kalla and the small groups, there are a number of castes whose total population in the State may be 3 or 4 lakhs - but spread thinly over all the districts - like the Kammala, Kulala, etc. They feel that they cannot secure any government posts because they can never command political influence as they do not constitute a majority in any constituency. They too apprehend that in the race for offices, they will be ignored. The alienation of the numerically big castes may have political repercussions. It may easily lead to discontent and frustration; and alienation may force the educated amongst them, as well as the ordinary men or women, into paths of lawlessness and violence. Even if they do not adopt the common strategies of discontent, to keep a large caste with potentialities for trouble is dangerous for the well being of the Administration. As far as the numerically small castes are concerned, they should get the feeling that the majority looks after the minorities, and that all of them have a share in the main stream of the life of the State. Democracy will be meaningless otherwise.

Grievances of unrepresented castes.

176. It is these considerations which prompt both the major and minor castes to ask for proportionate representation and rotational representation. It is frequently asserted, that certain smaller castes or groups by assuring falsely the names of Backward Classes or by virtue of their retention in the list of Backward Classes, take away not a negligible share of even the reserved seats, and also prevent the less favoured from coming up. These phenomena may be exaggerated; but these do exist and require to be eliminated. This is dealt with extensively in Chapter VIII. Because of these factors in the race for share in Government service, most major Backward Castes would like proportional representation.

Rotation system.

177. The smaller castes do realise that in a system of proportional representation they stand no chance. Therefore they ask for a rotational system - a certain number of posts to be kept apart for them, and Government should resort to a system of nominating candidates from these unrepresented castes to certain categories of posts. Though the economic value of such a system, i.e. the money accruing to the pockets of the people of that caste is negligible, it gets the consolation that once in a few years an applicant will get a Grade-I or II post or a selection to the medical or engineering college.

178. In any system devised for recruitment to services or for selections to coveted professional courses, care should be taken not to alienate the Backward Classes, whether the particular caste is a major one like Vanniakula Kshatria or a middling one like Kammala or Kulala or a minor one like the Pandaram or Jangam, or the socially tarred ones like the barber and the washermen. Tendencies for newer monopolies to develop or for a class within a caste, with hereditary claims, should be discouraged in the interest of social justice.

Widening base of secondary and higher education.

179. The real answer to the argument against communal representation or reservation has to be found in the widening base of modern education. In the pre-Reform days education was confined to the traditionally literate castes, whose members took to Government services as their normal profession; as the oil-monger's son took to oil pressing or the trader's son started off as an apprentice to his father in the shop, even in his teens. In a recent study of "Politics and Social Conflict in South India" by E.F. Irschick, is found the interesting information that 67 to 71 per cent of the students who took the B.A. degree from 1870 to 1918 were Brahmins, who constituted only 4% of the population. That was no fault of theirs--only they realized the advantages of education a few generations ahead of others. There were comparatively few young men taking to college education from the Backward Communities and, therefore, Government had to recruit their officers, teachers and clerks only from the educated Brahmin elite class. Now education is regarded and given by the State as the birth right of every citizen's child. While holders of S.S.L.C. are counted by the lakhs and graduates are counted in tens of thousands every year, to argue that the necessary number required for Government service cannot be found from the Backward Classes and that the State has still to rely on the traditionally "learned" castes or the socially upper strata alone for manning the administration will be unconvincing. No one seriously could plead now, that if for the superior services men of merit are needed, the Backward Classes cannot furnish their quota. Talent cannot be said to be lacking; but prejudices die hard and perhaps the thin veneer of sophistication, that is so patently seen among the young men and women of the privileged classes, may be found in some degree wanting in the young men and women of the Backward Classes. But this is a deficiency that can be rectified effectively and with no serious loss of time or efficiency.

180. Forty years ago and even till about thirty years ago, there were only two or three hundred candidates appearing for the I.C.S. and Central Class I Services examinations, and a handful were selected every year - the first eight or ten out of three or four hundred. For the same services now three to four hundred candidates are selected on the basis of an examination taken by several thousand applicants. Though journalists and public speakers have vaguely talked of decline in standards because of the larger number recruited every year, no student of public administration has so far postulated this conclusion after factual analysis. There are more colleges and more Universities, and students from all communities seek education in larger numbers. Larger numbers of I and II Class M.As. come out of our Universities now, nearly 40 times more than the number in pre-war years. In view of the

widening of this mass base of education, talent from the hitherto under-privileged classes, classes which did not take to education normally, finds its opportunity and outlet. Nevertheless in open competition the young men and women from the Backward Communities, with the same intellectual abilities as those from the Forward Communities, may fare a little worse in written tests and personality tests. Anyone who has cared to study environmental handicaps and the absence of a tradition and atmosphere of learning among these newer entrants for competition, would easily understand this difference. This deficiency in performance does not reflect outright intellectual inferiority or absence of merit. In a few years, and definitely the second generation of educated men and women from these classes will fare as well as their so called Forward Class Brethren. Social justice requires recognition of this state of affairs and the institution of protective measures to correct the temporary imbalance.

Share in higher appointments.

181. Knowing full well how under the argument of merit, many castes have been kept down, representatives of the Backward Classes now demand that they must get their share. If the principle of reservation cannot be introduced in the All-India Services, they cannot understand why representation according to the numerical proportion of their population cannot be given in all State Services. For the prestigious All-India and Central Services like I.A.S. and I.P.S., Audit and Accounts, Revenue Services, Railway Services, they plead that the State should plead for a quota similar to that accepted for the Scheduled Castes. In the meanwhile, at least for I.A.S. and I.P.S., they would like the State to correct the imbalance arising out of the results of the U.P.S.C. competitive examination by reserving for nomination on a caste basis an adequate number in the State promotion quota. In any case they feel that if a pre-examination training is given to selected candidates from the Backward Classes, as is now done for the Scheduled Castes, a certain number of their young men and women will succeed in securing higher positions in the All-India merit list. We feel strongly that it is necessary to bring home to the Government and to the public that there is a considerable degree of agitation in the minds of the Backward Classes about the paltry share that have in the offices of the Government; and unless something is done to rectify this deficiency, the people will get alienated from the State and the political groups which dominate or control the Government.

Case of the poorer castes.

182. Besides the general considerations reviewed here, there are several other factors which came to our notice. The castes like Barbers and Dhobies feel that their claims are ignored because of social prejudices, and without legislative protection as in the case of Scheduled Castes they will continue to be ignored. Their stories of oppression and discrimination in rural areas though may be slightly exaggerated cannot be ignored altogether. These castes are well organised and their representation before the Commission was massive and impressive. In their case, having a few of them in seats of Governmental authority would ensure definite accession to prestige, and the removal of social stigma that has persiated all along.

183. There is also a grievance amongst the Muslims that since Independence they have not had a fair deal in the matter of Government appointments, notwithstanding the progress in education effected by their own efforts as demonstrated by the number of colleges and other educational institutions started by Muslim private enterprise. This grievance is based on the comparison of the present position with what existed in the composite State, particularly before the war years. While the proportion of Muslim population now in Tamil Nadu is only 4.6 per cent, it was over 7 per cent in the composite State, and further there was All-India reservation in favour of Muslim minority then.

184. The symbolic and prestige value of Government Service is in almost direct proportion to the extent of the castes' social backwardness. There is a deep-rooted feeling that without a few high officials, doctors, engineers and judges, a community cannot rise in public esteem, which is a necessary ingredient in social equality.

Adequacy of representation:

185. Art. 16(4) in the Constitution reads.

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

186. Who are Backward Class citizens is a matter left to the opinion of the State. We have dealt with this aspect extensively elsewhere. This clause empowers the State to reserve in its services, appointments, or posts in favour of any Backward Class of citizens and not to the classes as a whole. Reservation to "any" class or groups of classes is, therefore, permissible. It is on this right, the representatives of the Backward Classes have relied for insisting on proportional representation for each caste. Such representation is given in Kerala for Ezhavas and some others, to cite only one example. Though Constitutionally such representation for particular castes may be unobjectionable, and it has not been objected to in Kerala for a long time, in this State the policy all along has been to take the Backward Classes together as a separate group for reservation in appointments. We would like to draw specific attention to the provision in this clause regarding adequate representation. A representation which is symbolic or gratuitous is naturally not adequate. Representation itself implies securing an image of the social pattern within the framework of the services as well, though it does not necessarily mean that the State Services should be an anthropological museum of all classes and communities in the State. The Government, like all other employers, is entitled to pick and choose from among the candidates offering themselves, by prescribing necessary qualifications and tests. These qualifications and tests are applicable to all classes of citizens, subject to whatever special considerations are found in the opinion of the State, to be necessary in particular cases. As we have explained at great length before, adequacy of representation is necessary to give the people a sense of participation in the activities of the State at all levels.

According to the Chamber's 20th Century Dictionary, "adequate" is derived from the Latin root "adaequatus" which means "to make equal". Murray's dictionary gives the meaning as "equal in magnitude or extent; commensurate, neither more nor less." It is therefore obvious that the adequacy of representation should have some bearing on the magnitude of population of the class which seeks representation or which is to be represented. Carrying to its logical extreme, adequacy of representation might involve proportional representation as well. For election to the Legislature, this type of representation is considered to be much more advanced than the single member constituency principle generally adopted in some countries.

The Desirability and Feasibility of Proportional Representation for Individual Castes:

187. Whatever may be the justification for political representation on this sophisticated pattern, the question of extending the principle of proportional representation to services at all levels, requires more serious thought. The functions of Government servants, from the highest to the lowest, are much more detailed and varied and have to be adapted to the needs and requirements of particular departments and to particular categories of Government services in each department. Nevertheless, there has been some recognition of the principle approximating to proportional representation, if not for castes, at least for groups, in the various systems which have been tried out in this State even during the Composite State. Rules regarding communal representation and communal proportion derived their sanction from this principle. While conceding that there may be a case for such proportional representation, to carry it out with arithmetical nicety would not be always conducive to the efficiency of the administration, as it would deny the authorities the necessary elasticity which is essential for orderly functioning of administration. We have already observed that most classes, big or small, for various reasons have stressed for representation in proportion to the size of their population and have in fact exaggerated the figures of population with this end in view. While sympathising with their aspirations and conceding that some numerically big Backward Classes and some numerically small ones have genuine grievances for complaint, we feel it will neither be administratively feasible nor would it be in the interest of the social integration of the population, so essential for all-round economic development, to recommend anything like individual representation for particular castes. The most ingenuous civil servant or administrator would not be able to devise a system which would satisfy the small groups, whose aspiration deserves as much consideration as those of the numerically big and politically influential castes. A small group of a few thousand population - there are several such castes in the State - will not be able to get a turn in a reasonable time. This will work equally harshly against the large castes who will have to remain content with their fractional share for all time, notwithstanding the expansion of education and greater availability of talent. After all, the attempts that are being made by the State and those which we recommend also, are designed to remove social inequalities and our ultimate objective is to bring a classless and casteless society. A classless and casteless society can be brought about

only if the disparities which exist in various spheres are reduced to the minimum. There can be equality and cohesion only between equals. Arguments are put forward that representation on this basis would perpetuate casteism in services and aggravate caste consciousness. While we do not like to comment on the political impact of casteism, or the impact of politics on caste, we do feel caste jealousy and bitterness will grow only if some castes continue to occupy a dominant position while others are not able to get a fair share. If such dominance is eliminated and the aspirations of all are met within reasonable limits, contentment and comradeship will begin to prevail. The spirit de-corps of the Services will develop on professional, rather than on sectarian lines.

Argument of inefficiency.

188. Equally inappropriate is the argument that inefficiency will creep into the Government offices. This was examined by the Khalelkar Commission and we cannot do better than quote from that report:

"Behind the plea for efficiency there is perhaps a lurking suspicion that a large scale entry of candidates belonging to backward communities may reduce the monopoly now enjoyed by the advanced community in the several branches of Government services. In the final analysis, it is fear on the part of the vested interest. The presumption that a human being is incapable of advancement in spite of training, discipline and collaboration is unscientific. Modern psychological investigation finds no justification for discrimination in employment and it is not necessary for us to quote from the UNESCO literature on this subject. Even in a most enlightened democracy such as the United States, although the principle of equitable treatment of the Negro element in society has been accepted, implementation has been slow. Now, however, the situation has improved, especially since the appointment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee to ensure equality of opportunity for the backward Negroes. Conditions in India are different. Here it is not a case of racial discrimination as in the U.S.A. but one of rendering social justice in a caste-ridden society". (Paragraph 283, Chapter VI).

"The apprehensions entertained by the advanced classes that they will be wiped out by reservation of a large percentage of posts for backward classes are really unfounded. Nobody ever proposed to disband or replace the existing personnel with a view to recruiting candidates from the Backward Classes. What is demanded is that a certain quota of vacancies that arise hereafter should be reserved for the Other Backward Classes as they are not yet confident of the results of an open competition. It may be remembered that when compared to the larger number of posts already held by the upper

classes the number of vacancies that arise from time to time or are likely to arise is exceedingly small. Even here a certain percentage is always open for recruitment through open competitive examination. Persons who are already in service will continue to remain till the period of superannuation. The process of drawing into the services a fair proportion of Backward Communities is inherently slow. As figures furnished by the Government of Mysore indicate, it took a period of 30 years to reduce the percentage of Brahmans from 69 per cent to about 39 per cent. The expanding scope of employment also opens out further avenues to all, including the advanced classes, in the quota thrown open for competition. There is, therefore, no fear of their total number being appreciably reduced in the near future." (Paragraph 287, Chapter VI).

Moratorium on recruitment from advanced classes.

189. We should also mention here a suggestion vigorously put forward by representatives of major castes - that recruitment from communities who held a dominant position in Government employment in the past should be totally stopped. We argued with them that:

- (a) under the Constitution such a course would be illegal as totally violative of fundamental rights, and
- (b) that such a drastic course even if permissible is hardly necessary or desirable.

We have given elsewhere figures of Brahmans in some services at the beginning of the century. We have obtained corresponding figures of proportion of appointments at some later dates, 1935, 1951 and 1969-70. An analysis of figures of grade-I and grade-II and some Group-III Officers at the present, shows a progress from the pre-war years as far as Non-Brahmin Hindus as a class; but, the share of the Backward Classes has not made a marked improvement. The following statements will be read with interest and they tell their own story.

Composition of the Services in the State as on 1st April 1935.

	Gazetted.		Non-Gazetted.	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Brahmins	852	40.7	16,658	44.4
Non-Brahmins	490	23.4	14,151	37.8
Scheduled Castes	12	0.6	214	0.6
Muslims	124	6.0	2,762	7.4
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	604	29.0	3,631	9.7
	2,082	99.7	37,416	99.9

Composition of the Services in the State as on 1st April 1947.

	Gazetted.		Non-Gazetted.	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Brahmins	1,165	40.5	19,126	27.7
Non-Brahmins	1,005	34.9	33,072	48.1
Scheduled Castes	39	1.3	1,939	2.8
Muslims	200	6.9	7,547	11.0
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians	467	16.2	6,952	10.1
	2,876	99.8	68,636	99.7

Composition of the Services in the State as a whole in 1951.

POLICE DEPARTMENT

	Gazetted.		Non-Gazetted.	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Scheduled Castes	1	0.8	1,514	8.4
Brahmins	27	22.1	1,153	6.4
Non-Brahmins	56	45.9	8,126	45.2
Backward Classes	5	4.1	2,407	13.4
Muslims	15	12.3	3,160	17.6
Anglo-Indians and Christians	17	14.0	1,552	8.6
Others	1	0.8	68	0.4
	122	100.0	17,980	100.0

Composition of the Services in the State as a whole in 1951.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT

	Gazetted.		Non-Gazetted.	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Brahmins	52	23.0	4,174	32.2
Non-Brahmins	85	37.6	4,782	36.9
Backward Classes	18	8.0	1,331	10.3
Scheduled Castes	10	4.4	310	2.4
Muslims	23	10.2	1,078	8.3
Anglo-Indians and Christians	36	15.9	1,263	9.8
Others	2	0.9	13	0.1
	226	100.0	12,951	100.0

Composition of Staff in Revenue Department in some districts
(1969-70)

CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT

	Gazetted		Non-Gazetted	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Brahmins	1	10.0	102	17.9
Non-Brahmins (Hindu)	4	40.0	108	19.0
Backward Classes	-	--	281	49.4
Scheduled Castes	1	10.0	12	2.1
Muslims	1	10.0	17	3.0
Christians	3	30.0	49	8.6
Others (Denotified Tribes etc.)	-	--	-	--
	10	100.00	569	100.0

RAMANATHAPURAM DISTRICT

	Gazetted		Non-Gazetted	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Brahmins	3	27.3	94	10.6
Non-Brahmins (Hindus)	5	45.4	200	22.5
Backward Classes	-	--	433	48.6
Scheduled Castes	-	--	33	3.7
Muslims	1	9.1	72	8.1
Christians	2	18.2	54	6.1
Others (Denotified Tribes, etc.)	-	--	4	0.4
	11	100.0	890	100.0

TIRUCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT

	Gazetted		Non-Gazetted	
	Number	Percentage.	Number	Percentage.
Brahmins	1	10.0	166	19.7
Non-Brahmins (Hindus)	3	30.0	207	24.6
Backward Classes	4	40.0	316	37.6
Scheduled Castes	1	10.0	42	5.0
Muslims	-	--	36	4.3
Christians	1	10.0	74	8.8
Others (Denotified Tribes, etc.)	-	--	-	--
	10	100.0	841	100.0

190. After all it takes 30 to 35 years for a man in service to retire. Existing incumbents cannot be deprived of their bread or other rights. The increased opportunities now open due to expansion of Governmental activities will enable the protected classes to improve their lot faster than their counterparts a generation ago were able to. "They prospered, while we were kept in ignorance and poverty" is not a healthy argument at the present stage of our social evolution to justify turning the tables against the once privileged.

The 25 per cent reservation:

191. All these considerations lead us to examine the adequacy of the present system of 25 per cent reservation.

192. There is a conviction shared by most of our well-informed witnesses that the 25 per cent reservation in favour of the Backward Classes is utterly inadequate. This has been arrived at almost by sheer accident over the years during the process of settling communal representation by cycles. This system was influenced by considerations of the availability in larger numbers of suitable candidates from the so-called forward communities and the scarcity of candidates among the Backward Classes, mitigated partly by the political and social necessity for giving recognition to particular minorities like the Muslims, Christians and members of the Depressed Classes, even before the Constitution with its safeguards for Scheduled Castes, came into force. We have already discussed the Backward Classes lists and the circumstances that led to the recognition of some of the Backward Classes as Most Backward. By and large, the distinction arrived at by stages, after piecemeal examination from time to time, is found to be sound in the light of the evidence we have been able to gather. For a hundred and odd communities of whom about 14 can claim to have a population of 4 lakhs each and about 32 a population of more than a lakh each, with their individual aspirations and desire for Government offices, this reservation of 25 per cent is inadequate. If we apply the interpretation of the term "adequate representation" as "representation commensurate with the size of the population", there should be a reservation of 51.6 per cent.

Reasonable Reservation - Supreme Court Judgment.

193. In certain quarters there seems to be a certain amount of hesitancy for accepting this principle in view of the observations of the Supreme Court in the case of M.R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore. We quote below the relevant paragraphs of this judgment:

"A special provision contemplated by Art.15(4) like reservation of posts and appointments contemplated by Art.16(4) must be within reasonable limits. The interests of weaker sections of society which are a first charge on the States and the Centre have to be adjusted with the interests of the Community as a whole. The adjustment of these competing claims is undoubtedly a difficult matter, but if under the guise of making a special provision, a State reserves practically all the seats

available in all the colleges, that clearly would be subverting the object of Art.15(4). In this matter again, we are reluctant to say definitely what would be a proper provision to make. Speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50 per cent; how much less than 50 per cent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case.

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We have already noticed that the impugned order in the present case has categorised the Backward Classes on the sole basis of caste which, in our opinion is not permitted by Art.15(4) and we have also held that the reservation of 68 per cent made by the impugned order is plainly inconsistent with the concept of the special provision authorised by Art.15(4). Therefore, it follows that the impugned order is a fraud on the Constitutional power conferred on the State by Art.15(4)."

What the Supreme Court felt was, speaking generally and in a broad way, the reservation should be less than 50 per cent and how much less than 50 per cent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case. Apparently, the Court felt that the totality of socially and educationally backward population could not exceed 50 per cent including the Scheduled Castes. As they themselves conceded, this assessment of the size of the backward population should be related to the "relevant prevailing circumstances." If, in the opinion of the State, which alone is the competent authority under Art.16, backwardness extends well beyond 50 per cent and if these circumstances were submitted in their proper perspective before the Court, we venture to think the Court might not have held 50 per cent as a dead line, which in no case could be transcended.

This matter came up again before the Supreme Court in Writ petitions Nos.285 and 314 of 1970, i.e. A. Periakaruppan and Sobha Joseph Vs. State of Tamil Nadu and others, challenging the validity of the Medical College admissions. The Supreme Court, after reviewing the various earlier judgments on this subject, again quoted the Balaji case. The following observations of the Supreme Court are relevant in this context:

"It cannot be denied that unaided, many sections of the people in this country cannot compete with the advanced sections of the Nation. Advantages secured due to historical reasons should not be considered as fundamental rights. Nation's interest will be best served - taking a long range view - if the backward classes are helped to march forward and take their place in line with the advanced sections of the people. That is why in Balaji's case (supra) this Court held that the total of reservations for backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should not ordinarily exceed 50 per cent of the

available seats. In the present case it is 41 per cent. On the material before us we are unable to hold that the said reservation is excessive."

The Supreme Court had again used the word 'should not ordinarily exceed 50 per cent'. It has not been categorically stated in any judgment that the reservation should in no circumstances exceed 50 per cent.

194. There is a feeling amongst civil servants, as we ascertained from the Secretaries to Government and Heads of Departments, that the utmost the State can do is to raise the reservation for Backward Classes to 34 per cent from the present level of 25 per cent. We have demonstrated statistically that the representation individually of some of the major most backward communities is not only nowhere near the proportional representation, but far below it. Detailed analysis for all departments is undertaken in a separate Chapter and by way of illustration, figures are given below for certain departments and a few districts. The share of all the communities in the Most Backward Classes list in the appointments in the State, we find, does not come to even 10 per cent of the total number of posts in particular categories, taken as a whole - excluding of course the Last Grade Government Servants for which we could not possibly gather any statistics. In the all important and prestigious Secretariat, the share is hardly 5 per cent taking the Non-Gazetted posts as well; and in the equally important State Police Service the share is less than 4 per cent, as is obvious from the attached statement. Taking the entire I.A.S. cadre there is only one from Most Backward Class.

A. I.A.S. (excluding I.C.S.) posts in Tamil Nadu Cadre (including both direct recruits and promotees) as on 1st January 1969.

Brahmin ..	72
Non-Brahman (forward)	
including recruits from outside	
the State. ..	30
Backward Classes ..	10
Most Backward Classes ..	1
Scheduled Castes ..	19
Muslims ..	7
Christians ..	14
	153

B. Representation of Most Backward Classes in service 1969-70.

Secretariat Service.	No. held by Most Back- ward Classes	Total No. of posts	Percent- age of the total.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Non-Gazetted	92	1,910	4.8
Gazetted (non I.A.S.)	2	123	1.6
I.A.S.	1	36	2.8

C. State Police Services.

Gazetted	7	184	3.8
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D. Information in respect of a few Collectorates:

1. Ramanathapuram

Non-gazetted	28	890	3.1
Gazetted	Nil	11	-

2. Chingleput

Non-gazetted	22	569	3.9
Gazetted	-	10	-

3. Salem

Non-gazetted	54	542	10.0
Gazetted	1	11	9.1

South Arcot

Non-gazetted	178	656	27.1
Gazetted	1	9	11.1

For the Last Grade of Peons the Backward and Most Backward are the normal recruiting areas and their number may be substantial. The population of these Most Backward Classes would be roughly 22½ per cent of the State population and their share is pitifully inadequate. This is the result of clubbing together comparatively progressive castes with the Most Backward Classes under one general category. The Backward Classes as a whole have yet to make their mark; and unless Most Backward Classes are taken out of the group and treated as a separate entity there can be no chance of their realising adequate representation in the foreseeable future. They will continue to remain depressed. Just as the Backward Classes were taken out of the Non-Brahmin Hindus at an earlier stage, the Most Backward Classes have to be taken aside for special protection.

Recommendation:

195. In view of the circumstances we would strongly recommend to the Government that the reservation in favour of the Backward Classes should be raised at least to 33 per cent, if the State is unwilling to go beyond 50 per cent; and it should be divided between the two groups, i.e. the Backward and Most Backward in the following manner:

Backward Classes	..	17 per cent
Most Backward Classes	..	16 per cent

We have refrained from recommending the percentage equal to the population for two reasons, though proportionate representation is given to the Scheduled castes and Tribes. First, such an exact and equal representation would not furnish the necessary incentive and urge for excellence that is necessary for young men and women for doing their best in educational institutions and in specialised training for facing competitive examination to services. A complete sense of complacency that might arise from a feeling of assured protection under the reservation would be detrimental to the interests of the Backward Classes as well as that of society at large. Secondly, this is intended only to be a minimum reservation and not a discrimination against any other class. It is expected that the better type of aspirants will get into the unreserved quota of Government service on their own merits without the protection of the reservation. The success of State endeavour in promoting the education of the Backward Classes should really be measured by the number of entrants to the unreserved field, and not by the utilisation of the quota in full during any period. For those who are not able to compete on equal terms with applicants from more Forward Communities on account of social and environmental handicaps, the reservation is necessary and it is only within this reservation quota would such candidates realise their aspirations. There need be no fear that the quota will be wasted or that indifferent candidates will largely take the quota and thereby bring efficiency down in the services.

196. Applying the same principle, we are suggesting a percentage substantially less than the proportion of the population for Backward Classes (other than Most Backward Classes). This is based on the assumption that within this group are a number of Castes who have advanced atleast several places ahead of the others. Our comparative study of achievements in education and in employment amply demonstrate the existence of such a group of castes. Their share even now in the Government employment is more than that of the Most Backward Classes. There will be from amongst them a larger number of applicants who have had the benefit of better environmental advantages. The prop in their cases need not necessarily be as strong as it should be for the Most Backward Classes.

197. In the case of Most Backward Classes, after making a careful study of their progress as supported by the statistics we have collected, though we would be justified in making proportional reservation for them, yet we could recommend only 16 per cent for this group as a whole, in view of the general apprehension entertained by many that total reservation should not exceed 50 per cent. The population of the Most Backward Classes is estimated at 22½ per cent of the State population. Even then, 16 per cent reservation might appear to be slightly heavier than the proportion recommended for the Backward Classes (other than Most Backward Classes). Nevertheless, it is justified in view of the comparatively little achievement of these people in the field of education and employment. Attention is drawn to the chapter on Assessment (Chapter VIII) where the progress and the share of Most Backward Classes are discussed in more details. The statistical tables there will show that, among the posts held by Backward Classes as a whole, the share going to Most Backward Classes

is as low as 15 per cent. In other words in the name of the two crores of Backward Classes including Most Backward Classes, the more progressive group is enjoying 85 per cent of the posts totally achieved by the Backward Classes. The numerically large castes like Ambalakaran, Kurumbar, Boya and Oddars, Fishermen, Barbers and Bhoobies have made no progress worth the name and their position even now is worse than that of the Scheduled Castes. It might also be of interest to note that the reservation of 16 per cent for Scheduled Castes is based on their proportion of population. In the case of Most Backward Classes though their socio-economic and occupational conditions in general are comparable to that of Scheduled Castes except for the fact that all of them did not suffer from the stigma of untouchability, the 16 per cent reservation suggested here is much lower to their proportion which is 22½ per cent of State population. It will not be fair to lump them together with the progressive section of the Backward Classes. In that event, the entire share will in all probability be taken up by the more progressive sections. This exactly has been their complaint so far; and this complaint is fully justified. So, without conceding proportional representation for these castes, we are suggesting lumping together the most inadequately represented castes in a separate group so that within the protection afforded by separate reservation, they will be able to improve their chances.

198. This formula is only rational and practicable. In conformity with the eight point guidelines we have set out in the opening chapter itself, if State help is to go to those who need it more than others, it is but reasonable that special protective measures are designed by the State to promote the well-being of the Most Backward Classes. By this separate reservation the Backward Classes (other than Most Backward Classes) do not stand to lose anything. There was a reservation of 25 per cent for a population of nearly 2 crores and now with a reduced population of only one crore the Backward Classes are assured of 16 per cent. Considerations of equity and social justice dictate that, not only that some benefit of the increase in reservation of 8 per cent goes to Most Backward Classes but they are also assured of their legitimate share. It is not possible for the Most Backward Classes to compete with the progressive section of the Backward Classes. It is for this purpose, it is thought desirable to give them a separate limited sphere of reservation in Government employment. To give them more educational opportunities without increasing employment opportunities will stultify the very object of education as far as these people are concerned. Denial of better employment opportunities for these people in a protected sphere will be denial of social justice. Social justice must have a distributive element. State assistance should reach those who need it particularly; but if it does not, it will encourage the better off people alone to get still better off. The gulf between the unequals will be widened still.

198(a). There is some apprehension that the sub-classification of Most Backward Classes may not be in conformity with the Constitution. Art. 16(4) enables the State to make provisions for any Backward Class which is not adequately represented in the services of the State. The word used here is "Class" as distinct from

"Classes", used in the general enabling provision contained in Art.15(4). As analogy, we would cite the policy in vogue in Kerala State where reservation is made separately for Thiyyas and Ezhavas, Muslims and others under "Other Backward Classes".

199. If these proposals for enhancing the reservation from 25 to 33 per cent and their apportionment between Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes as suggested here are accepted, the proportion for the various groups will be as follows:

Open competition	..	51 per cent
Backward Classes	..	17 per cent
Most Backward Classes	..	16 per cent
Scheduled Castes and Tribes	.	16 per cent

For purpose of regulating appointments, the present cycle of 25 may be changed to 100. It has been represented to us by the leaders of the Fishermen, Barbers and Washermen communities that they should get some special recognition, as their claims are bound to be lost in the general allotment for Backward Communities which comprise several large castes counting their population in many lakhs. In the Commission we also felt that something should be done, to give these people also a sense of participation, if their request for inclusion in the schedule is not feasible. We, therefore, recommend that amongst 16 posts for Most Backward Classes in a cycle of 100, three should go to the applicants from these utterly inadequately represented castes enumerated below who together contribute about 25 lakhs of population.

1. Navithar
2. Vannan
3. Parvatharajakulam
4. Odda
5. Valaiyan
6. Ambalakaran
7. Kuruba

It is quite possible that in the normal course, some applicants from this group might be able to get a place within the quota itself, but, if this does not happen, administrative instructions could be issued to the appointing authorities that for the 14th, 15th and 16th appointments in the group of 16 for the Most Backward Classes, preference should be given to qualified applicants from these specified communities, other things being equal. In fact, it is extremely essential that special protection is given to them and a watch be kept of the progress of recruitment from these castes. In view of some progress that has been made in education by communities like Navithar, Vannan and Parvatharajakulam, there will be enough number of candidates every year to compete for the last places in the Most Backward Classes group.

200. With a view to give a sense of participation to minor castes who have had no chance of entering into Government service, the 13th in every cycle for Most Backward Classes should be given to the applicant from one of the minor castes, whose progress in education and employment has been deplorably poor as the various statistical tables in Chapter on "Assessment of Progress" (Chapter VIII) clearly demonstrate. Such representations are

more essential in appointments at the District level as some of these communities are found only in particular districts and not spread all over the State. If candidates from these specially unrepresented castes are not available, the appointment could go automatically to the Most Backward group. It will be difficult to give a list of such castes, as many of them are confined to one or two districts only. The Departmental authorities should be asked to prepare a list for each district and they should be instructed to give these castes, representation in turn wherever possible. The Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission should also have a consolidated list for their recruitment.

Appointments at the Panchayat and District levels:

201. The regulation of appointments made by Heads of Departments, Collectors and the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission would be comparatively easy and such appointments are capable of being administratively audited to ensure conformity to the rules. But large number of appointments at lower levels viz., of clerks, elementary school teachers and the like, are being made by Panchayats and a complaint against the non-observance of the rules for protection of Backward Classes has come from the representatives, mostly directed against the Panchayat appointments. There are some castes which are purely local to some districts or areas within the district. Their representation should receive special attention, as they complain that they are ignored because of their small number and lack of political influence. The recommendation made in the previous paragraph might meet such cases normally. Nevertheless, strong directives have to be issued and the Collectors should be vested with powers to administratively audit the observance of relevant rules in accordance with the cycle proposed. We are suggesting elsewhere that the Backward Classes Department at headquarters should get returns from all appointing authorities and these should be subjected to proper scrutiny.

Selections to Colleges and Professional Colleges:

202. The same principles as for appointments should be extended for admission to educational institutions from P.U.C. upwards, including admission to professional colleges, viz. Medical, Engineering, Agriculture, Veterinary, etc.

Appointments in Corporate sectors-private and public.

203. In course of time appointments in industrial and commercial undertakings will assume greater importance and with the progress of Plans, more avenues of employment will also be open. We see no reason why public sector undertakings in which the State has complete control, or even a share of control (as for example, projects with Central Government participation or in collaboration with private entrepreneurs) should not also observe these rules for recruitment. In fact, the grievance now is that such undertakings pay scant regard to the State Rules. Public sector undertakings located within the State, like the Port Trust, and administered by the Central Government should be persuaded to fall in line with the procedure followed in this respect by the State Government and their undertakings.

204. The nationalised banks and any other sector of industry that may come under the State control, would be able to help the Backward Classes by literalising their rules of recruitment. Apart from this, any private undertaking which is dependent on State finance or assistance from State financial institutions, or which requires a licence or special facilities from the State, e.g. special electricity rates, should also be requested, as a condition of licence or obtaining facilities, to reserve a certain percentage of its appointments to all Backward Classes.

Upper layer in each Backward Caste.

205. We have mentioned in Chapter-I itself that, even among the Backward Classes, those who have made adequate progress educationally and economically, should go out of the orbit of State aid. This would cover some of the castes who have reached a level of progress in education and employment well above the average, as well a strata of persons in many or even all castes. Regarding the former category we make suggestions in our Chapter on "Assessment of Progress" where comparative studies are attempted. Regarding the latter, certain guide lines are set forth below.

206. In spite of our recommendation for raising the limit of income for scholarship very substantially, the comparatively affluent section will be excluded from getting the benefit of State scholarships. Till now, for employment, there has been no limit of income, and the sons and daughters of well-to-do people who cannot complain of social or environmental handicaps, are allowed to compete freely with the children of the poor who suffer from all the handicaps of a backward society. Applicants from the Backward Classes have to compete even within the reservation with applicants from particular castes which have a fairly high level of advancement in every sphere, and also from their own caste men who have overcome economic, environmental and therefore, social handicaps also to a considerable extent. We think, it is time that the Government recognises the inequity that is being perpetuated in this system. The sons of a senior official, or of a doctor, engineer, accountant, lawyer or anybody similarly placed in a good profession, and sons of landlords and business executives should have no reasons to complain of environmental handicaps. While scholarships are intended to overcome economic handicap, reservation in appointments is primarily intended to overcome social and environmental handicaps. If it is recognised that in every caste there is a class which has overcome environmental and social handicaps, that section should be regarded as forward section, though the caste may be included in the list of Backward Classes or may hold a ritually lower social status. By this argument, Government should discourage sons and daughters of this class from sharing the employment opportunities reserved for Backward Classes. We propose the following criteria for determining the advanced section in each Backward Caste:-

(a) In respect of persons drawing salaries, whether from Government or non-Governmental business undertakings, whose gross income exceeds Rs.9,000 a year.

(b) In respect of landowners, those who own land more than ten standard acres.

(c) In respect of those who are engaged in business or industrial activity, whose income, on which income-tax is paid, is not below Rs.9,000.

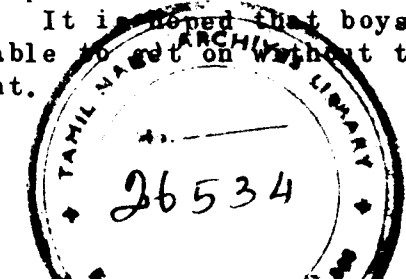
(d) It is quite possible that a person may derive income from more than one source. In that case, gross income from all the sources must be taken into account.

(e) In respect of candidates whose father and mother are independent salary earners or are in receipt of income from one or the other of the above mentioned sources, the gross income may be raised to Rs.12,000.

207. If this upper crust in each caste is not removed from competing with the less privileged, the object of social justice, especially distributive justice, will not be achieved. Benefits should not go sheerly by the accident of birth in a particular caste. It can be stated as an additional argument that the boys and girls of this class, i.e. the upper layer of the Backward Castes, should have acquired enough personality and general ability and would also have the resources necessary for trying for employment opportunities outside the State Government service. Candidates from these upper strata could successfully compete with the forward communities, both for State services as well as for Central Services, and where employment opportunities are open in the public and private sectors. This stipulation against a class of applicants of the upper strata of the society would also prevent the tendency for particular employments and careers in particular departments becoming more or less hereditary. This is particularly noticeable in the medical profession, where a doctor's son tends to become a doctor. This might very well happen in other learned professions for which the necessary qualifications are required through study in State institutions where reservation is given for Backward Classes. So, the limit of income proposed for excluding applicants from competing for reserved vacancies in Government services should equally well apply to the reserved admissions to the professional colleges. This is particularly necessary in the case of admissions to Medical Colleges where already the tendency of hereditary medical profession is manifesting itself.

Transitory provision.

208. For entitlement to scholarship we have recommended a lower income limit, on the assumption that those whose income exceeds the limit do not need State aid. We have recommended a substantially higher income level for eligibility to apply for reserved posts and admissions. The justification for this liberal limit is that parents with less than the income limit mentioned may not be able to give the environmental advantages on which we have already laid stress. This should be regarded purely as a temporary and transitory stage, and the level for scholarship and reservations should be equalised after a period of five years. It is hoped that boys who do not need scholarships will also be able to get on without the protection of reservation for employment.



Reservation for promotion posts.

209. We have described in an earlier Chapter that in some Departments the principle of reservation for Backward Classes is carried forward even to promotions. Even as early as 1927, the Government examined this matter and came to the conclusion that while the principle of reservation to redress inequalities is all right at the stage of initial appointment, a Government servant, once having entered service, should compete on equal terms with his colleagues and earn his promotion in the normal course by seniority or seniority-cum-merit. There has been some agitation all these years from Backward Classes for extending the principle of reservation to promotions in all other Departments also. The necessity for such reservation in promotion categories was put forward before us in very strong terms by representatives of several Backward Communities. In fact, amongst the more enlightened witnesses, with the exception of one, all the others were in favour of extending this principle. Recently it was brought to our notice that reservations in the case of promotions to Class-I and Class-II posts in Central Government services in favour of Scheduled Castes have been ordered. This reservation is designed to be operated by a particularly liberal method of interpreting the observations in the confidential character rolls of Government servants belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If any Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe employee obtains a remark "Good", the authority considering promotion should value it as "Very Good", and the likewise if a Government servant obtained the grade of "Very Good", it should be recategorised as "Outstanding". Such upward revaluation is intended to enable candidates from these classes to be promoted to superior posts against the reservation for their class. In view of the existence of the principle of preferential treatment in promotion in some departments of the Government of Tamil Nadu, and of the acceptance of this principle in all Central Government Departments for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there is an intensity of demand that these concessions should be extended to Backward Classes and, particularly to the Most Backward Classes. The Commission is very reluctant to make a specific recommendation on the subject except to observe that there must be some uniform treatment as between the departments of the Government. Either the principle of reservation for promotion should be extended to all departments or the practice obtained in some of the departments now must be revised. As long as the distinction between one group of departments and others exist, discontent is bound to prevail.

More frequent direct recruitment.

210. The motive behind this demand for professional treatment is the anxiety of the unrepresented classes to go up to senior posts in Government service where their representation is lowest as fast as possible. Their aspiration is not generally satisfied with the initial appointments which are in a large majority of cases only to Group-III categories. Their eye is always on the number of posts they should have in the ranks of Deputy Collectors, Subordinate Judges, Executive Engineers, Assistant Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries to Government etc., leaving apart the I.A.S., I.P.S. and higher judiciary etc. At the rate at which promotion is possible and in view of the blocks of varying degrees already in existence, and in order to satisfy the aspirations of inadequately represented

classes, we would suggest recruitment at different levels of Government service. The most practicable and the least harmful system would be to provide for direct recruitment at every alternate stage in the official ladder including the Secretariat hierarchy. The structure of the different departments is not always uniform and an examination of the hierarchy in each department should be undertaken so that there is recruitment at every alternate stage, reserving a percentage, however, for promotion from the lower to the higher grade. We refrain from making more detailed recommendations, as we have no opportunity of studying the administrative set up in detail. If this principle is accepted, a small Committee of Secretaries to Government should be able to work out the details.

Temporary and permanent posts.

211. Each Department has a certain number of permanent posts and it is usual to create temporary posts from time to time to meet emergencies. For some reason or other, temporary posts continue to remain temporary for several years even when circumstances might justify converting some of them into permanent posts. The following statement of posts in Group-I Services demonstrates that in the category of Deputy Collectors, the temporary posts exceed the number of permanent posts. In the categories of Joint Commercial Tax Officers and the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies, the number of temporary posts is only slightly less than that of the permanent posts. We are sure similar situations might prevail in some of the larger Departments like Education and Engineering. The Department of Industries and Commerce is a fast expanding one, with perhaps a large number of temporary posts on scales of pay comparable to Group-I Services. If a proper audit is made of the nature of these temporary posts, justification could perhaps be found for converting many of them into permanent posts. If the principle for allocating posts between direct recruitment and promotion avenues is settled, a considerably larger number of permanent vacancies could be announced for direct recruitment every year. Normally, a well settled service of 100 officers would have a wastage from retirements and deaths which would call for fresh recruitment at the rate of about 12 posts. If temporary posts are not continued indefinitely and if direct recruitment according to the required proportion is done from time to time, a larger number of posts will become available and the Backward Classes would get their proper quota. When fresh expansion is effected even on a temporary basis, in circumstances which may justify their long term retention, a fixed percentage may be thrown open for direct recruitment. The complaint that certain posts are not advertised and that posts are filled by promotion, which are being made from time to time, will cease to be made if these measures are taken.

Posts included in Group-I Service.

Sl. No.	Name of posts.	Total No. of permanent posts	Total No. of temporary posts	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.	Deputy Superintendent of Police (375-25-800)	102	15	117
2.	Assistant Commandant (375-25-800)	10	11	21
3.	Deputy Collectors (375-25-800)	82	100	182
4.	Joint Commercial Tax Officers (375-25-525)	53	41	94
5.	District Registrar (Registration Department) (300-25-600)	18	5	23
6.	Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies (300-25-800)	69	53	122
7.	District Employment Officers (300-25-600)	27	6	33

All India and Central Services.

212. There are over 20 All India and Central Services for which recruitment is made through the U.P.S.C. Besides, the U.P.S.C. recruits Engineering graduates for several technical services under the Central Government. Special recruitment is also made for the Indian Economic Service and Statistical Service. With the formation of some more All-India Services, the scope for direct recruitment will grow larger. The share of Tamil Nadu among the successful candidates in the examinations conducted by the U.P.S.C. is said to be steadily declining. The causes for this decline have been investigated from time to time. Even at the best of times, comparatively very few candidates from the Backward Classes were able to get in through open competition either for the general services or for technical services. Out of 153 officers in the I.A.S. cadre in Tamil Nadu as on 1st January 1967, 1972 are Brahmins and there are only 11 Backward (including Most Backward Classes). This number of course includes promotees. In the I.P. there is only one Most Backward Class Officer and 4 other Backward Classes in a cadre of 34 officers. The spokesmen of the bigger Backward Classes represented that the Government should prevail upon the Centre to make a reservation in favour of the Backward Classes as is done for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It is exceedingly doubtful whether such a demand, even if made by the State Government will succeed. But the State Government may find it useful to bring to the notice of the Centre the pressure of public opinion on this subject.

Special Training Institutes.

213. In any event, there is some justification for the other demand that the State Government should run a Special Training Institute to prepare qualified candidates for these U.P.S.C. examinations. Such an institute has been functioning for the Scheduled Castes candidates, but, it is reported that the results have not been very encouraging. The causes for the poorer results are worth investigating so that whatever is can be remedied and a better system is devised. The Commission ventures to submit that a similarly scheme for Backward Classes will definitely produce better results. While there is a reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes for the superior services, there is no reservation for Backward Classes. The reservation might produce complacency; but, without the reservation, as the candidates are chosen on merit, it is expected there will be more earnestness. We have in an earlier chapter on College Education, suggested a scheme for talent scouting. Such a scheme will take a few years to be well organised and to produce results. But the Training School need not wait till the other scheme has been completely set up. To begin with, a small number, not exceeding 50, of First Class, or high second class (more than 55 per cent marks), candidates should be selected on the basis of severe test in essay writing and general knowledge, followed by an interview. The interview should be done by a Committee consisting of a middle ranking I.A.S. officer (himself a direct recruit), a University Professor and a senior executive from one of the First Class private undertakings, like the I.C.I., Burmah Shell or one of the Foreign Exchange banks. The selected candidates should be given training in a residential school for a minimum period of nine months. The emphasis should be not purely academic education; but, on training them to write, speak and conduct themselves properly i.e. to give them the accomplishments, which should supplement their academic knowledge. Such candidates could also take the competitive examinations for Group-I service conducted by the Tamil Nadu Public Services Commission, the U.P.S.C. and the examinations or tests conducted by various Banks, the Life Insurance Corporation and other Public and Private undertakings for the executive grade. A detailed curriculum should be drawn up by a Committee of Officers as mentioned above. It should be the endeavour of this Training Institute to enable at least one third of the trainees to succeed in obtaining the superior service jobs indicated above. If this school is set up with a proper staff, its facilities can be made use for training State Service personnel by giving initial training on subjects connected with administration and for refresher courses as well. Several States have Administrative Colleges and their usefulness cannot be underestimated. An institution of this type is very badly needed for Tamil Nadu.

Defence Services.

214. Representatives of some communities, especially in Madurai and Ramanathapuram districts, suggested that Government should move the Defence Ministry to raise a Marava Regiment. Similarly fishermen from our Coastal Districts would like a better share in the Navy and the merchant navy. Whatever might have been the past history of army recruitment, we feel that it may not be proper to recommend regimental recruitment on a caste basis. Nevertheless, there is excellent material in the southern districts

and amongst the fisherfolk, and if more people are recruited to the Defence Services, the problem of unemployment and diversification of employment, will be met to some extent. In any case, the Backward Castes, who form the backbone in our Defence Services, should get a better share. Though we have not been able to obtain proper statistics, there is an impression that in the non-commissioned and lower ranks of the Army, Navy and Air Forces, the share of Tamil Nadu is not proportional to its population. We understand that, except North Arcot District, no other district has been benefiting substantially from Military pensions or from remittances of men in active service. In the officer cadre also, the share is not as good as it is of the Punjab or Rajasthan or Maharashtra. We would request the Government to examine this matter further and move the Defence Ministry of the Government of India to take more active interest in giving better publicity about Defence careers and possibilities in our backward districts. In addition to the ordinary fighting cadres in all the Services, there are possibilities for many specified trades and skills. The State Information Department also should bring to the notice of the people in the rural areas, the career potentialities in the Defence Services. Perhaps more recruitment centres could be opened in districts from which suitable type of personnel for the Defence Services could be had comparatively in larger numbers.

Class-II and Class-III Services in Central Government Departments' offices located in Tamil Nadu.

215. The biggest departments are of course Railways, Post and Telegraphs, Telephones, Income-tax and the Central Excise. These Departments have offices in almost in every district. Besides, there are big offices, like the Customs etc. both at headquarters and in other places. There is a general feeling that even clerical and lower executive jobs in these Departments are not open to suitable candidates from the Backward Classes. Comparatively few have been applying. The career possibilities in these offices should also be made known through Government Information channels and the importance of obtaining people's participation at least in the lower ranks of these Departments should be impressed on the concerned Ministries of the Government of India.

C H A P T E R VII

Economic Measures For The Alleviation of Poverty

216. While education will dispel ignorance, poverty, which is the twin of ignorance, cannot be obliterated by education alone. In certain circumstances education may aggravate the depressing effects of poverty and bring home to the people their misery more poignantly. Illustration of this is found in several areas of Kerala. Contentment and a sense of reconciliation with their lot kept the masses quiet through the centuries. This contentment that was the characteristic of Indian peasantry was the first casualty of the awakening caused by political agitation and the ideas spread by mass communication media and education. (Large sections of the people are still bound by tradition to particular vocations which in modern times do not give either full employment or living wages. With a view to overcome these limitations, they seek avenues of employment outside their traditional occupations. In a stagnant society, where agriculture is still the major occupation, such avenues are limited.) Some classes like the Washermen, Barbers and Fishermen, want to give up their traditional pursuits and take to others carrying no social stigma. (Even such traditional occupations like weaving, carpentry and smithy are now unremunerative. Unemployment in these occupations is chronic, wages are deplorably low, and living conditions are substandard as we have described elsewhere.)

Section (i) Magnitude of the Problem:

217. One of the common demands pressed by the representatives of almost all communities, big or small, was regarding the plight of their children in securing employment. To substantiate their view point a number of youths were produced before the Commission at various places. That unemployment of severe type and of various shades exists among Backward Classes is common knowledge and needs no proof. Even boys, who had undergone technical training in Industrial Training Institutes and Polytechnics, holding certificates and diplomas, find it extremely difficult to secure jobs. It is an irony that the expansion in industrial sector has not absorbed this skilled labour. Graduates, post-graduates and teacher trained candidates complain that they have been waiting for years and years for jobs.

218. (While admittedly the incidence of unemployment in general is high in the State, there is a vital difference between unemployment among Forward Classes and unemployment among Backward Classes. It is true that even youngsters belonging to Forward Class experience great difficulties in securing jobs. But here the demand is for dignified and better paid jobs. Among the latter the demand is for a job; among the former the demand is for a good job. There are many educated from the Backward Classes; but most of them belong to the first generation of educated youths and naturally do not possess competitive qualities found in their Forward Caste counterparts. Exceptions are there; these belong to the upper crust of a few Backward Classes. Uneducated and unskilled are in millions from amongst the Backward Classes eager to take up any type of work—manual, menial or defiling.)

219. If the figures of the Employment Exchanges are any indicator, one can easily understand the magnitude of the problem. The number of candidates registered and the number placed on jobs are given below for three years:

Year	No. registered.	No. placed on jobs.	Ratio of placement to registration.
1967	3,30,961	44,875	1 : 7.1
1968	3,53,759	41,581	1 : 8.5
1969	4,03,404	42,770	1 : 9.4

220. This is not a correct index to measure the level of unemployment in the State, because not all unemployed persons get themselves registered with the exchanges. Those who are not registered may be many times higher than the registered, particularly so in the rural areas. Nevertheless the trend is evident: while the number registered grows from year to year, number placed on jobs remain sticky, suggesting the obvious malaise that the increase in employment opportunities is not keeping pace with the increase in the army of unemployed.

Workers and Non-workers - disguised unemployment:

221. The last census classified the State population under workers and non-workers. Out of the total population of 33.7 million in 1961, 15.4 million or roughly 45.67 per cent were returned as workers. This, however, should not be taken as the level of active employment in the State. Because, the criteria adopted by the Census authorities for classifying workers is such that any one who was found to be working at least for one hour a day or continuously for 15 days prior to the Census, was returned as a worker. Evidently unemployment of other shades like under-employment, disguised unemployment, self-employment are camouflaged in this type of classification. It is common knowledge that these variants of unemployment are most spectacular in the agricultural sector, which in fact is the main source of employment for the bulk of the Backward Class population. Taking all these facts into consideration, we can say that the level of effective employment is considerably lower than the Census indication.

222. Even in agriculture in spite of the green revolution there is seasonal unemployment, as the wages in money terms are depressingly inadequate as the Ganapathia Pillai Report has pointed out. And with the adoption of modern techniques our available land will not sustain all the cultivating castes who have traditionally depended on it. The newly awakened people, with thousands of educated young men and women, therefore, look to Government to provide them with jobs. They are unable to visualise any other source of gainful occupation. This is the reason for the great importance attached to Government Service. Industries whether in the public or private sector have not expanded or likely to expand as fast as the surplus manpower is expanding. The solution to this problem of backwardness has to be sought in the larger economic sphere - a subject for beyond the scope and resources of this Commission, though we have here and there tried to touch its fringes.

The Right to work and Full employment:

223. The Constitution has promised all the citizens the right to an adequate means of livelihood (Art. 39(a)), and Art. 41 enjoins the State within the limits of its economic capacity and development to make effective provision for securing the right to work. Though full employment as such is not guaranteed, it should be the endeavour of the State to eradicate poverty in whatever form it may be found. Viewed in this context, a multipronged attack on all sections of rural economy may be more rewarding than the setting up of capital intensive urban based industries. Even in agriculture, the benefits of the Green Revolution have been over-publicized and exaggerated. In one of the surveys conducted by the United States Government's Economic Research Service with the co-operation of Research Organisations in India, it has been pointed out that the initial successes were achieved in only a small part of India's total agricultural area, under unusually favourable conditions. The general productivity of paddy lands has been increased by increasing input of manure and fertilisers and better seeds. But this advantage is largely confined till now in this State to the canal irrigated areas of Thanjavur district. Whether cultivation in these areas can be further intensified to produce more grains per acre and per unit of expenditure, and offer more employment to those dependent on land, is a problem, on which a positive answer cannot be easily offered.)

224. The vast majority of the Backward Classes people are to be found in the dry cultivation areas, in areas of poor soil, low water table and meagre rainfall usually referred to as Backward areas. Much of the cattle wealth of the State is also to be found there. Very little has so far been done to improve agricultural infrastructure in these tracts. There is evidence, however, of the awareness of the problems and many projects are now under examination.

Imbalance in the State Economy:

225. Our State occupies the 12th and 6th places among the States in India, as regards the area and population respectively. Consequentially, there is an acute pressure on land and the man land ratio is very low. If there are alternative sources for occupation and income for the people, limitation of land availability will not pose a serious problem. Actually the picture is different. Rural population in the State constitutes 73.31 per cent and working population engaged in agriculture is nearly 60.5 per cent of the State population. But the contribution made by the agricultural sector as a whole to the total State's income is not substantial. In the total annual of nearly Rs. 1900 crores generated in the State from all sectors for the year 1966-67, as estimated by the Director of Statistics, the share of agricultural sector has been only 45 per cent. This is an indication of the unproductive nature of our agriculture in the total economy of the State and explains the poor per capita income for the agricultural class as a whole excepting big land owners. Of the 39% of population engaged in pursuits other than agriculture only 10% can be said to be engaged in trade, commerce, communication, Government Services, banking etc. namely pursuits which give comparative affluence to those who are entrenched in them. If the

level of poverty is to be changed, substantial changes will have to be brought about, which will affect the lives of the majority of the people. These will involve both intensification of agriculture, as well as diversification and improvement in other possible avenues of employment.

Land-holding and Landless:

226. The All India Agricultural Labour Enquiry (A.L.E.) and the National Sample Survey (N.S.S.) conducted in 1963-64 have brought to light revealing information about the plight of rural population. Rural labour, and in particular agricultural landless labour, is entirely provided by our Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes. This section is the most vulnerable class of our rural society and its standard of living is deplorably low. The survey reveals that the per capita income of a rural labourer is only 42% of the average per capita income of the country. According to the survey, the proportion of people in rural areas holding some land, either owned or taken on lease, is on the decline. Though this phenomena is noticeable in States like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Mysore, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh, it is more marked in Tamil Nadu as could be seen from the figures given below:

Sl. No.	State.	Percentage distribution of Agricultural households			
		With land		Without land	
		1956-57	1963-64	1956-57	1963-64
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	Andhra Pradesh	33.0	27.3	67.0	72.7
2.	Assam	29.7	40.3	70.3	59.7
3.	Bihar	61.2	47.3	38.8	52.7
4.	Gujarat	27.1	13.7	72.9	86.3
5.	Jammu and Kashmir	32.8	50.0	67.2	50.0
6.	Kerala	56.1	69.9	43.9	30.1
7.	Madhya Pradesh	38.9	50.0	61.1	50.0
8.	Maharashtra	27.1	28.6	72.9	71.4
9.	Mysore	34.5	31.0	65.5	69.0
10.	Orissa	53.0	44.8	47.0	55.2
11.	Punjab	11.0	14.5	89.0	85.5
12.	Rajasthan	35.8	39.6	64.2	60.4
13.	Tamil Nadu	34.5	29.0	65.5	71.0
14.	Uttar Pradesh	54.3	51.5	45.7	48.5
15.	West Bengal	33.4	37.8	66.6	62.2

227. This establishes a correlation between the reduction in the percentage of agricultural labour households to total rural households and the relative increase in the percentage of landless agricultural labour households. This correlation suggests that the land reforms initiated in the State have not benefitted the agricultural labourers. This class of rural areas has been allowed to drift on the waves of changing situations.

228. This is surprising in the face of State policy on land ceiling and distribution of lands to landless Harijans. It could be understood only in the light of various devices which have been resorted to by landed gentry to circumvent land legislation. One obvious reason for the decline in the agricultural landed households is the large scale eviction of tenants by the landowners. Even after the latest legislation fixing 15 acres, circumvention is unavoidable and it is common knowledge that it has been already resorted to by many.

Land and Agriculture:

229. In paragraph 4 of our terms of reference, the Commission has been asked to make recommendations in respect of short-term and long-term measures to be taken by the State Government for raising the level of Backward and Most Backward Classes. We take it that we are directed to make recommendations generally to reduce the poverty of Backward Classes by measures which may not even be strictly covered by the specific headings under paragraph 3 of the terms of reference.

Upper Crust in each Caste:

230. We have already observed that an attack on poverty on all fronts is necessary. Excluding the artisans and Service communities, the main state of the others is agriculture and different forms of manual labour. Excepting for a small upper crust of well-to-do families in some communities, the rest of the population are tenant farmers or farm labourers or manual workers. The size of upper crust varies from district to district in the same caste; and from caste to caste in the same district. A good proportion of the total number of educated and employed men and women from each community belongs to this small upper crust. Illustrations of fairly well formed and thick upper crusts are the trading and master weaver group among the weaver castes, the rich mercantile section among Labbais, the wholesale and retail traders in the towns of Ramanathapuram and Madurai amongst the MNadars, the labour contractors among the Boyas, the descendants and relations of the old Zamindar families among the Kallars and Maravas. Among all castes, barring those pursuing ritually unclean professions, almost in every area, a few families in every generation tend to elevate themselves economically. In the earlier generation acquisition of landed wealth was the mark of success, as possession of land brought prestige. The best example of such progress is the large land owning group of Mooppanars amongst the Parkavakulam of Thanjavur and Salem, particularly Thanjavur. In recent decades these upper crust families began sending their children to schools and colleges and inevitably many of the educated migrated to towns and cities seeking salaried employment or taking to one of the professions open to them. In castes associated with some kind of trade and industry, the drift has been towards retail and wholesale trade and small industries. As observed earlier, an upper layer of land-owning, educated and service seeking people has been developing. That caste, which has a comparatively larger upper layer of landlords, educated men, business or service seeking population, should be regarded as progressive. It is also inevitable, following the snow-balling principle, this larger layer gradually grows up in economic prosperity and social esteem. The rest of the people following their traditional occupations in the rural areas are largely on the subsistence level.

Slow Transition from Agriculture:

231. Each caste or group of castes has its peculiar problem depending on the demand for their particular skill, trade, or craft, in our rural economy. To some extent their fortunes, meagre as they may be, are bound with agricultural prosperity. Taking the artisan and service communities, their trouble is inadequate wages and the diminishing demand for their skills and services. The poverty of all these classes, whether they are engaged in agriculture or trade, service or handicrafts, can be reduced only if a large percentage of population depending on farming or traditional occupations is transferred to what are known in Economics as secondary and Tertiary sectors. From statistics available, such transference is exceedingly slow because our economy is just in the process of transition. The problem is whether the transition can be accelerated.

232. Taking agriculture, we have pointed out earlier that the landless are increasing in number in spite of land ceiling legislation and other measures. The average landowner is finding it necessary and profitable to cultivate his own lands, and dispense with tenants as far as possible. It is partly because of this fear, there is an increasing clamour among the landless for owning lands. There is another aspect of the agrarian situation, which we would like to mention here.

Limitation of Land Reforms:

233. In a study of land reforms in India by Dr. Warriner recently published (Land Reforms in Principle and Practice, 1970), it has been pointed out that land reform in India had neither brought about social equality and security nor increase in agricultural productivity. The study shows that land legislation has only created a larger class of smaller land owners from non-cultivating upper classes of the traditional society. The legislation to be effective in achieving its social and economic aims, must be followed by increased interest and investment by individual farmers; by agricultural organisation, chiefly co-operatives and by the State Government. The cultivating castes remain where they were. In many areas, from being cultivating tenants they are converted into hired farm labourers. We saw several instances of this reduction in status in Thanjavur district in the domains of a wellknown landlord. This tendency has to be checked if the vast productive resources of the poverty stricken peasantry are to be utilised to the full.

Land Census and Land Distribution:

234. Representatives of all the castes, including the artisan and weaver castes, who are not traditional cultivators, pleaded before the Commission that surplus lands should be distributed to them. By surplus lands, they meant not only lands that are to be declared surplus by Land Ceiling Legislation but also lands which are classified as peramboke under various categories and lands which belong to temples and mutts. The State Government is already seized of the problem and assignment of cultivable lands to the members of the Scheduled Castes is already being made in a small measure. In view of the clamour, for equality of treatment with the Scheduled Castes, made by many of the more Backward Communities,

it is necessary for the Government to take stock of the situation and instead of allotting lands piecemeal on an ad hoc fashion a Census of all the surplus lands described above should be taken. It will not be out of place for us to mention, that if the right to land of tenants enjoying kudivaram or land-holding rights is confirmed, it is apprehended that there will be very little of cultivable land to be declared surplus. In any case, a Census of lands that could be used for cultivation should be a prelude to any policy of distributing land to landless. To the category of available cultivable lands should also be added forest lands which are not absolutely necessary for afforestation purposes.

235. In taking the land Census, account should be taken of water logged land, sandy belts and of hilly areas, village common and pastures. These should be separately classified and proper measures should be taken to drain water logged lands. The ground water resources of sandy lands should be ascertained and harnessed. Contour bunding of hilly tracts will convert them into terraced fields for better cultivation. Large tracts in these areas depend on tank and lift irrigation. Many of these tanks require large scale desilting operation. Desilting is a multipurpose operation; it offers a precious organic manure which, if used for soil improvement, will yield substantial benefit in terms of agricultural output. The fishing potential of these sources would improve by this process, benefiting the inland fishermen who are all Backward Class people, eking out a precarious living. The desilting process along with construction of link roads in villages would provide additional employment opportunities to the local people.

Priorities in Land Distribution:

// 236. In distributing land for the landless, priority should be given to the Most Backward Classes, along with Scheduled Castes, who are traditionally dependent on farming as a means of their livelihood. A policy declaration of the Government to make a land Census with a view to distribute these lands would, to a large extent, arrest spread of any illegal or violent agrarian movements. We feel it necessary to emphasise here that the man land ratio in the State will not be more than 1 : 0.22 hectares. Such a minimum holding is too small for any real economic cultivation. But, nevertheless, such a measure is necessary to give a sense of 'belonging' to the people. They must get the awareness of their stake in the country, which only ownership of land can bring about. If the Government were to assign surplus land only to the Scheduled Castes or give priority to Scheduled Castes in the matter of confirmation of rights, an extremely unpleasant situation, fraught with dangerous social and political consequences, might arise. When the present set of land reforms are enforced, there may arise a new class of small landowners amongst Scheduled Castes, while large number of Backward Classes tenant cultivators and farm workers will remain landless and economically worse off. Such disparity at that lower level will create more economic and political problems than the land reforms might solve. In the pursuit of social justice, the State may create circumstances leading towards creating more injustice. The policy of land distribution should, therefore, be broad based, while taking good care of the interests of the Scheduled Castes. //

Section (ii): Techno-Economic Surveys:

237. From the information gained from oral evidences and written representations, we could identify several blocks in almost all the districts as backward with a large Backward Class population. Such areas are found in South Arcot, Ramanathapuram and Dharmapuri districts and in several taluks like Nanguneri in Tirunelveli, Avanashi in Coimbatore, Ariyalur division in Tiruchirappalli and Polur in North Arcot. The Government through the Revenue Department can possibly make a more accurate assessment. It should be advantageous if a detailed techno-economic survey is undertaken of these areas, so that the line of development may be determined more accurately. The manpower potential, and the Backward Classes, who will be benefited can also be ascertained so that the people who deserve help actually get the necessary State aid in the wake of the development plans. In the draft outline in the Fourth Five Year Plan for Tamil Nadu, 31 taluks covering 40.86% of the area of districts are identified as chronically drought affected and consequently backward economically. For the sake of convenience, we reproduce below the lists of taluks against their respective districts.

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Taluk</u>
a. North Arcot	.. 1. Tirupattur
b. Dharmapuri	.. 2. Hosur 3. Krishnagiri 4. Harur 5. Dharmapuri
c. Salem	.. 6. Sankari 7. Tiruchengode 8. Namakkal
d. Coimbatore	.. 9. Dharapuram 10. Palladam 11. Avanashi
e. Tiruchirappalli	.. 12. Perambalur 13. Udayarpalayam 14. Karur 15. Kolathur 16. Alangudi 17. Tirumayam
f. Madurai	.. 18. Dindigul 19. Palani 20. Tirumangalam
g. Ramanathapuram	.. 21. Tiruvadanai 22. Paramakudi 23. Ramanathapuram 24. Mudukulathur 25. Aruppukkottai 26. Sattur
h. Tirunelveli	.. 27. Sankarankoil 28. Koilpatti 29. Nanguneri 30. Tiruchendur 31. Srivaikuntam

This list is by no means exhaustive. Kadampuliyur Block in South Arcot district is as backward as the worst region in Ramanathapuram district. There are several other areas visited by the Commission which are on a par with the taluks listed in the draft outline.

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Backward areas (Taluks)</u>
1. Thanjavur	Orathanad, Arantangi and Tiruthuraipundi
2. South Arcot	Gingee, Vridhachalam and Tindivanam
3. Chingleput	Ponneri, Tiruttani and Madurantakam
4. Kanyakumari	Thovala
5. Nilgiris	Gudalur
6. Madurai	Usilampatti

Dry Farming:

238. Recently Government of India and State Government have announced plans for revolutionising dry farming. Several projects are under study. For this purpose particular areas have also been identified for intensive applications of new techniques in dry farming. It is openly admitted that dry farming as at present practised is uneconomic except when commercial crops are grown with deep well irrigation facilities. Backward areas have the largest extent of dry cultivation and in these areas we find the largest concentration of Backward and Scheduled Castes.

Loans for cottage industries, petty trades and small business, for example, running a cycle shop, small hotel, opening of automobile workshops, retail shops, etc.

239. The Harijan Welfare Department grants loans ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 5,000. Similar loan facilities should be available to the Backward Classes also. The subsidy to be given to Barbers and Dhobies for starting saloons and laundries is being dealt with separately.

In view of the increasing use of manufactured consumer goods in rural areas and almost the total disappearance of barter economy, petty trade is increasing everywhere. There is no village of any size without a cycle shop or a small motor repair works. Constant road traffic has increased wants in different directions. It will be possible for the Backward Classes to partake in the new trade and business only if some financial assistance is given. The nationalised Banks are expected to extend loan capital for all such ventures by the poorer classes. The State can withdraw from the field if Bank assistance is adequate and easily obtained.

Facilities for Cultivation:

240. No separate facilities are now extended to land owners or cultivators of the Backward Classes except those available through the Co-operative Department and the Community Development Department. The Harijan Welfare Department gives a grant of Rs. 1,500 to anyone with a patta land of 1 acre and above for sinking

a well and the Elayaperumal Report has recommended relaxation of even this condition. The request of the Backward Classes is for extension of these facilities to them also. People who own more than 5 acres of dry lands are able to obtain loans for sinking deep wells and installing pump sets from Co-operative Societies and from other institutions. It is the small landholder owing less than 5 acres of dry land who needs special assistance. A large number of these people will be found in the backward areas in all the districts. In some villages we visited, even holders of patta land with less than 1 acre of land asked that they should be given this facility. In view of the enormous problems involved, we would like the concessions to be extended in a modified manner only to small landholders owing more than 1 acre and less than 5 acres of land. It will be uneconomic to extend the concessions to smaller land owners. The amount of Rs.1,500 mentioned above will be inadequate for deep wells in areas where water table is low. In South Arcot and in some parts of North Arcot, the water table is sometimes even below 150 feet. It is in these areas financial assistance is most needed. We, therefore, recommend a grant-cum-loan scheme, grant not to exceed 1/4th of the total amount and the total amount not to exceed Rs.2,000. The competent authority may, however, be empowered to relax the restriction on the maximum amount without increasing the quantum of grant which will in all cases be Rs.500. Peasants whose income is raised by well irrigation are generally prompt in repayment and they acquire the necessary capacity as well.

Section (iii) Homes for the Homeless:

241. Grants and loans are given for various purposes to the Scheduled Castes with a view to improve their economic condition. Requests have been received from all the Backward Communities almost without exception that similar grants and loans should be extended to them also. The most persistent request is for loans for building houses. It has been claimed that anything from 25 to 75 per cent of these people are living in rented houses or in huts erected on poramboke lands or on lands belonging to temples or some village landlords. Even weavers have their huts built in this manner and weaving of silk and art silk sarees are carried on in huts with half open thatched roof, mud walls and mud flooring without any kind of sanitation or ventilation or illumination. The Commission had visited several localities in almost all the districts and seen the living conditions of the poorer sections of many of the Backward Classes. The grievance may be slightly exaggerated. The actual number of people living under primitive conditions almost sub-human in their amenities is certainly much larger than any one would imagine. A massive scheme of housing is desirable. This can be undertaken only after a detailed survey has been made. This could be undertaken along with the Land Census which we have recommended in paragraph 234. We give below information pertaining to a few villages obtained by the Commission to illustrate the gravity of the situation. But we cannot assert with the information we have that the position is as bad as this throughout the rural areas.

Sl. No.	Village	Caste	Population	Housing condition
1.	Krishnampalayam.	Boya	500	Palmyrah thatched houses. All the houses are built on land under 'Nathan'. Almost all the houses are located in only an acre of land (poramboke).
2.	Vallam (South Arcot District).			
		Total families -	325	

Homeless.

a. Vanniakula Kshatriya	10
b. Yadava	4
c. Agamudaiyan	1
d. Kani, Kanisu	1
e. Muthuriyar	3
f. Vannan	2
g. Maruthuvar	2
h. Oddar	5
i. Koravan	2
	30

3. Servatharkuli (South Arcot District)	The entire village is on a poramboke land.
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Tiruchirappalli District. (Housing conditions of Peralai Vallala)

Village	No. of families	Homeless
1. Peraliyur	11	7
2. Malapaniyur	19	10
3. Kuzhipirai	14	11
4. Valaiyapatti	11	11
5. Ponnamaravathi	15	11

Whether housing should be done in an integrated fashion or separate colonies should be built for separate castes is a question that may be answered differently. But in the interest of social integration it is not desirable to encourage separatism. Unless people live together in mixed streets and colonies, caste taboos will continue to affect their lives. There are at present schemes for weaver colonies. Proposals have been made to us for building such colonies for carpenters, goldsmiths etc. and dhobies everywhere have been asking for dhobi colonies with dhobikhannas attached.

The Planning Commission has expressed in general terms the magnitude of the housing problem in rural areas and has suggested how financial institutions can be made to help. Pending formulation of a consolidated and integrated scheme for housing on a large scale in rural areas, we see no reason why the State Government should not extend the facilities now given to the Scheduled Castes to members of the Backward Classes also for building houses.

242. In the first instance, the State assistance should be extended to those who have their own lands but would require assistance for building only. The reason for assigning priority to this class is that in the case of those who have neither house sites nor houses, the question of first acquiring land to enable them to build thereon will arise, and that is a more time-consuming affair. For those who have house sites instead of giving outright grant or subsidy, loans to the extent of Rs.2,000 per house may be given on the mortgage of the building and/or the site, recoverable in 20 years in easy instalments. This type of assistance is given by Co-operative Housing Societies in cities and towns. Whether Co-operative Housing Societies can be formed in rural areas is a question on which the Co-operative Department should be consulted. In major villages and towns this may be feasible. In such cases Co-operative House Building Societies should be formed one for each chosen district and liberal loan assistance can be obtained from the existing financial institutions.

243. Preference should be given to the following classes in that order of priority:

1. Barbers, dhobies and fishermen
2. Most Backward Classes,
3. Artisan classes like Weavers, Carpenters, Goldsmiths, etc.
4. Backward Classes.

In order to make the system work, an incentive by reducing the rate of interest to be collected along with the instalments of repayment may be considered. It may be desirable to remit the interest altogether and make good the amount so foregone to the Co-operative Societies by special subsidy.

244. In respect of those who have already built huts on poramboke lands and have been in occupation for a continuous period of not less than 5 years, patta may be issued confirming their right of occupation. This is on a par with the practice of granting pattas for actual cultivators.

245. Whatever may be conditions prevailing in urban areas where house owning may be a difficult problem, every family in rural areas should own a house even if it does not own a piece of cultivable land. Elsewhere we have recommended a Land Census for listing all unused land which may be available for distribution to the landless, and such of these pieces of lands as are more suitable for house construction must be allotted to the homeless in the same order as we have mentioned above. The requirements of the first two categories may not be extensive because in villages they are not congregated in large numbers.

246. The pattas granted should be made non-transferable, except by inheritance, at least for a period of twenty years and land not used for building within five years of assignment should be resumed by the State. These restrictive measures will render trafficking in assigned land difficult.

Section (iv) - Diversification of Occupation:

247. Whatever expansion there had been in the large scale and medium industries has not very much relieved the problem of unemployment or under employment. The fond hope that our newer industries would help solve the problem has been falsified since our large industries are either automated or capital intensive; and not labour intensive. Most of them were started on foreign collaboration and hence employment potential and employment multiplier in them are very low. Hence, the need for diversifying our industries and occupational pattern in a manner that would serve the purpose without disturbing the social fabric. Development of agro-based industries and expansion of village and cottage industries are lines to be emphasized in this context. The problem of diversification must be attempted without too much urbanisation. This can only be done by localising industries either on a small scale basis or on cottage industries basis in areas where there is supply of raw material or where there is demand for the products. This type of industries alone will solve rural unemployment.

Agro - Industries:

248. Agro-industries can play a very useful role provided they are canalised on these lines. Normally agro-industries are taken to refer only to manufacture and distribution of agricultural machinery and implements. This is a very limited definition and the term should be given a very wide application to cover not only machinery and materials required as inputs in agriculture but also to industries directly using agricultural products, either for processing or conversion to other consumable or marketable products. Such a wider definition will cover textiles, plantation, sugar factories, vanaspathi factories and the like, many of which are already in the private sector as well as in the co-operative sector. Industries connected with milling of rice, processing of groundnuts, cashewnuts, tapioca, tobacco, etc. would also be agro-industries. Still further, the various industries using oil seeds like groundnuts, sesame, castor, etc. would also be agro-industries. Many of these are capable of efficient production in the small scale sector. There are industries associated with oil cakes and other by-products of the primary industries based on agricultural products. Fruit processing, poultry-keeping and the processing of chillies, turmeric and other spices are excellent items for small scale operations. Properly dispersed, each district could have numerous small scale industries of one type or other based on the local products. We would recommend that each district should have an agro-industrial complex and the authority in charge of this complex, whether it is related to an apex body or to a district or regional development body, should be able to give technical advice and financial assistance and make also arrangements for transport and marketing. Based on the evidence we had collected, we have given below types of agro-industries that could be developed for some of the districts.

Kanyakumari District: The District yields a good variety of fruits like mangoes, plantain, pine apple and jack fruits which can easily provide the base for fruit preservation and canning units.

Coimbatore District: Cotton seed oil is used in the manufacture of vanaspathi. There are more than 35 ginning factories at Tiruppur which process large quantity of cotton every year. This processing releases thousands of tons of cotton seeds which can be crushed into oil.

Salem District: The demand for cattle feed is gradually on the increase in the State and the present level of production is very low. The ingredients of cattle feed like tapioca flour, groundnut cake, coconut cake, rice bran, wheat bran, horsegram, etc. are available in the district itself. Salem district has the largest bovine population and the neighbouring districts like North Arcot and South Arcot also have a sizeable population. The existence of the cattle farm at Hosur is an additional factor that goes in favour of locating a production unit in the district.

Madurai District: Groundnut is an important commercial crop in the district. There are a number of oil mills in the district making use of the production in the district. But at present the groundnut shells are mostly used as fuel for the boilers. It is said that the shells can be profitably utilised for the manufacture of particle board. Particle board has a wide range of uses and the boards can be made to any desired thickness and density.

249. Huge quantities of fruits like plantain, mangoes and citrus varieties are grown in the district. There is excellent scope for starting some fruit canning and preservation units. Grape wine is a special crop of the district and is cultivated in large areas. The grapes that are mostly grown now are table variety and if proper assistance and guidance are given, the cultivation can easily switch over to the production of wine grapes. In course of time wine distilling unit can be started which will fare well in view of the great demand for wine for medicinal purposes and export.

250. These items are only suggestive and if a detailed techno-economic survey is undertaken, a very wide range of possibilities will become available. There should not be any difficulty in encouraging newer units manufacturing simple agricultural implements. Small units, manufacturing tools like ploughs, ploughshares, spades, green manure trawlers, wetland puddlers, etc., which are commonly in demand by the cultivators can be started in many places.

Resource based Industries:

251. During our district tour we had discussions with officers of almost all departments at the district level. We could gather a fund of information about the occurrence of mineral resources; availability of raw materials; the working of various small scale and village industries; feasibility of extending them or opening newer units; and the availability of local talents. To make an exhaustive study of these possibilities is beyond the scope of this

Commission. Nevertheless, we make a brief mention of them here, in as much as they have a vital bearing on the welfare of Backward Class people in general.

252. Cashew is an important crop grown in large tracts in South Arcot, Thanjavur and Chingleput districts. About 40,000 acres in South Arcot and another 10,000 acres in Thanjavur are under cashew cultivation. The economic value of cashew applies to the cultivators is practically nothing at present. Because of the unpleasant irritation its juice causes to the throat, cashew apples are used either as cattle feed or sold at a very nominal price in the market place. The Central Food Technological Research Institute, it seems, has evolved a method by which it would be possible to remove the irritating element. After this process, if the cashew apples could be preserved, it will be suitable for human consumption. There is a good demand for such preserved fruits in the cities and also abroad. Not less than 30,000 tonnes of cashew apples would be available if properly collected. Few preservation units could be started in South Arcot and Thanjavur districts.

253. Cashew shell oil is recommended for use in the preparation of paints and varnish. The demand for paints in the country is increasing at a cumulative rate of more than 10 per cent annually and, therefore, the demand prospects for the oil is bright. We understand that recent researches have shown that cashew shell oil can be profitably used in the manufacture of brackelining in automobiles. Hence, if proper encouragement is given, there is excellent scope for starting cashew shell oil units and paint units. These are two newer developments regarding cashew besides the processing of cashew kernels for marketing. Even here bulk of the kernels is processed, garnered and graded at home. A commercial method of processing may be more profitable and secure better returns.

Forest based Industries:

254. Similarly there are many forest resources available in Salem, Nilgiris and North Arcot districts. Lemon grass is available in plenty in Javad hills and Gudalur taluk. Lemon grass oil is now extracted on indigenous method, and is not exploited on a commercial basis using scientific methods. Lemon grass oil is a good foreign exchange earner. Sandalwood, bamboo, honey, bee wax and gall-nut are other products which should be exploited fully. The Nilgiris district abounds in bluegum and red gum trees from the leaves of which eucalyptus oil is extracted. It is understood that the oil is extracted by small groups of 4 to 8 persons following a crude method, and also that a major slice in the price is taken by middlemen in the trade. Efforts may be undertaken to popularise improved methods of distillation and to organise co-operative units so that the local people could be benefitted. A forest produce utilisation study is strongly recommended.

Minerals:

255. Mineral resources occur in many districts which so far have remained unexploited. Mica and bauxite deposits and China clay are available in Nilgiris district. Lime stone, the chief raw material for cement, occurs in abundance in the taluks of Sattur,

Srivilliputhur and Aruppukkottai. Gypsum occurs in Mudukulathur area. Clay of different varieties, white, yellow and black, is available in Sivaganga and Ramanathapuram taluks.

256. We have made several suggestions, based on evidences received, in our District Notes and these will be useful for Departmental authorities in planning local industries. Those suggestions may be treated as supplemental to the specific suggestions given here.

Industrial Co-operatives:

257. There are even at present a number of industrial co-operatives engaged in diversified lines like brick and tile manufacturing; matches; glassware; oil-pressing; furniture making and spinning and weaving. In each district there are more than one industrial estate; but the need for starting more industrial estates in places like Rajapalayam and Aruppukkottai is great, in view of the advantages industrial estates offer with the built-in-facilities to new and small entrepreneurs. It seems in Aruppukkottai area there are a large number of Asaris who have a special skill in manufacturing precision instruments. In fact, the pen nibs manufactured by them are very popular and sold throughout India. By utilising their traditional skill, units for the manufacture of electric components and precision instruments can be started in that area.

Commercial Crops:

258. There is a large potential for starting resource-based industries in every district. Tapioca is grown in Salem district. There are hundreds of small and large sago factories using tapioca imported from Kerala, besides the local produce. Tapioca starch is one of the ~~best materials required for the manufacture~~ of glucose. Glucose is extensively used in pharmaceutical preparations and in industries. The demand for indigenous glucose is bound to be high in the country and there are only a handful of glucose manufacturing units in the whole country, including the one at Coimbatore. The feasibility of opening one at Salem may also be examined.

259. Fruit preservation is another line which will have to be popularised. Mangoes, oranges and bananas are fruits extensively grown in Salem, Madurai and Tiruchirappalli districts. Demand for fruits continues to increase at not less than 10 per cent a year and there is good export prospects for preserved fruits.

260. Extending the cultivation of commercial crops like potato and tobacco will gainfully employ local people and generate more income to the State. Potatoes are popular in Nilgiris and Dharmapuri districts but they can be expanded further, especially in the Kodai hills. But irrigation is the main problem. Barring about 12,000 acres irrigated by Krishnagiri Reservoir Project, the rest of the area in Dharmapuri are either well irrigated or tank fed. The agriculturists mostly depend on bore wells and pump sets for irrigation. Much has to be done by the Government to provide irrigation facilities in the district.

261. The quality of Virginia tobacco grown in the district is fine and is being exported to foreign countries. There is excellent scope for large scale development of Virginia tobacco cultivation, in view of the possible reduction in acreage in the Guntur tobacco belt. But it is complained that the farmer gets a low price for his tobacco. Curing and grading of tobacco is a big problem to them and, therefore, they are open to exploitation by middlemen and merchants. The State can take the initiative in this direction, with the help of the Central Tobacco Market Development Department.

Khadi and Village Industries:

262. The Khadi and Village Industries Department is doing good work in popularising village industries like charkhas, leather, tannery, soap manufacture, oil extraction, handpounding of rice, match industry, bee keeping, pottery, etc., in the districts. The working of these units will have to be periodically examined and the advantages in terms of employment and increase in real income accruing to the artisans and villagers must be assessed. After proper assessment, units which are working well can be extended in other areas too and uneconomic units must be closed down lest they be a financial burden to the Government.

263. We could gather from the discussions we had with the concerned officials that cottage industries like tanning, leather making, soap manufacturing and oil extraction are working with profit in Ramanathapuram district. The employment potential in some of these industries is really good. For example, spinning yarn in the charkhas is quite popular and widespread in Coimbatore district. The Khadi and Village Industries Department is running about 10 rural textile centres. Each centre can easily engage about 35 persons and the average earning of a person is about Rs.2 per day. Because of the Central Government subsidy, the earnings of a Khadi weaver is slightly higher than that of a handloom weaver. A Regional Institute for training youths in tree climbing and neera processing is run in South Arcot district. The officials complained that, inspite of the fact that a stipend of Rs.50 is given to trainees, many are not coming forward. This is a matter to be looked into and it is quite possible that the Institute will be more popular if it is shifted to one of the southern districts like Tirunelveli or Ramanathapuram where palm-yrh tree climbing, neera processing and palm gur manufacturing is still popular. (The Institute will certainly attract many young boys from Shanai community, who are traditionally tree climbers and toddy tappers.)

264. The Department in South Arcot district is running pottery and oil crushing societies meant exclusively for traditional artisans. It is these kinds of industries that should be encouraged further in order to make the traditional occupation more attractive and remunerative. There are a large number of oil crushing societies in the district and by and large they all run on sound lines. In view of the fact that large quantities of groundnut are available in the district, there is still scope for opening up more such units.

265. Khadi spinning and weaving are popular in Salem district also and employ large number of people. There is a silk weaving unit at Salem employing about 120 weavers. Similarly, khadi cotton weaving employs about 150 workers. The wages earned by these workers are attractive which range from Rs.100 to 150 per mensem for cotton weaving and 150 to 200 for silk weaving.

Section (v): Infrastructure:

Roads and Bridges:

266. Provision of the socio economic overhead facilities is more important than merely identifying the agro-industries and locating them. Primary among such facilities is transport. Road mileage in the State including highways, district roads and village roads, is quite inadequate at present. It is noted that intensity of road mileage per square mile of area is only 0.797 and the intensity of road mileage per thousand of population is only 1.194 and these two figures are very much lower than the All India average. The fact that the State Government is already seized of this deficiency is evident from the stress that has been made in the State Draft outline of the Fourth Plan.

"....the intensity of road mileage per thousand population in Madras State continues to be well below the All India average..... The ratio is in particular even more adverse in the agricultural districts like Thanjavur, Chingleput, etc., where apart from the high pressure of population the development of communication system has also lagged behind because of concentration of efforts in the past on improving roads in the industrial belts around Madras, Neyveli, Tiruchirappalli and Tuticorin. This clearly underlines, particularly in view of the accent on maximising agricultural production within a short period, the need for giving greater importance to the development of communication system in the agricultural districts in the Fourth Plan period". (paragraph 104)

267. During our district tours many witnesses including Government officials stressed that link roads in districts are totally inadequate. There are many villages scattered, unconnected by link roads and more than 50 per cent of the villages are not connected by bus routes. Roads to many villages are totally closed during rainy season and there are only rough cart tracks rendered useless in rainy weather. As an illustration we would mention what the Divisional Engineer, Highways, Thanjavur district mentioned to us. He stated, with complete statistical support, how transport cost of paddy and other commodities could be substantially reduced by means of improving road facilities. According to the cost benefit analysis undertaken by him, a ryot at present has to spend 80 paise per mile to move one tonne of manure, paddy, etc. and if roads are developed and bridges constructed, the cost would be substantially reduced to 20 paise per tonne per mile. It is understood that a detailed proposal costing 14 crores has been submitted to the Government. If this scheme is implemented, the socio-economic condition of the people

in the Thanjavur district, who are mostly backward classes and Scheduled Castes, would appreciably improve. Similar benefit will accrue to the people of all other districts by stopping up the progress of roads.

Construction:

268. Incidentally, it will employ more labour and encourage the growth of certain subsidiary industries, like quarrying, brick-making etc.

Electricity:

269. Rural electrification plays a vital role in accelerating industrial and agricultural development in rural areas. The progress made in the State so far in increasing the installed capacity, extending power to villages and hamlets, connecting pumpsets to power for irrigation purposes and raising per capital consumption is really impressive. Further concerted efforts should be taken for augmentation of power and for extending rural electrification. The objective should be to cover all villages in the State with electricity within a reasonable time.

Water:

270. Water for irrigation is a bigger issue involving both technical difficulties and financial resources. Nevertheless, we have to mention here that the Commission witnessed many villages which are not assured of even drinking water. In some parts of South Arcot, the water table is even below 300 feet and ordinary wells go completely dry for some months of the year. There are small tanks with stagnant water which is used for bathing and washing cattle and the same water is used by the villagers for all purposes, including drinking. People suffer from dreadful diseases caused by guinea worms which thrive in contaminated water. It is, therefore, vitally necessary that every village is assured of hygienic drinking water. Villages, with enlightened persons as Presidents of Panchayat Boards, have availed of financial grants from Panchayat Unions for providing overhead water tanks for the supply of drinking water.

271. In respect of expenditure incurred for providing basic amenities like water supply, link roads and school buildings, a grant ranging from 50 to 80 per cent of the cost is given by the Government, and the local contribution insisted on is very little. Besides, for village works undertaken exclusively for the benefit of Scheduled Castes, Fishermen and Backward Classes, the local contribution is waived. With all that, improvement in villages is not spectacular. Many village Panchayats do not avail of these facilities for various reasons. If probably there is a better co-ordination between Rural Development Department, Backward Classes Department and Harijan Welfare Department things would improve.

Section (vi): Rural Credit, Marketing and Co-operation:

Rural Credit:

272. There are no separate societies administering rural credit for Backward Classes alone as there are for the Scheduled

Castes and Denotified Tribes. Many of our witnesses, however, said that these purely credit societies are not functioning satisfactorily. We have made recommendations under other heads for making credit facilities available from financial institutions and Government for building houses and starting small business etc. In addition to these, we are reluctant to make any specific recommendations for starting co-operative societies exclusively for Backward Classes. They could take advantage more freely of the existing facilities. Credit facilities will become easier, when the promises held out regarding Nationalised Banks are eventually translated into practice. The subject of providing rural credit for farmers and low income groups should be pursued with the nationalised Banks. Lead Banks have been nominated for the purpose and certain areas are demarcated for different banks to bring banking to a level accessible to farmers, artisans and labourers. It is also the intention of the Government of India to nominate representatives of artisans, workers and social workers as Directors. It should be possible for the State Government to influence the banking policy through these Directors or other nominees the State Government may eventually have on the Boards of Nationalised Banks. From the point of view of our rural economy, we strongly urge that the State Government should impress on the Central Government to nominate its representatives on all Boards for Nationalised Banks including Regional Boards for Banks with headquarters outside the State.

Tenant Farming Co-operatives:

273. There are in the State about 80 Tenant Farming Co-operative Societies. Instead of the actual cultivator being directly responsible to the owner of the land, whether a landlord or a temple or a mutt, the society discharges the responsibility of the tenant; and the membership of the society may vary from period to period without affecting the functions of the society. These societies are reported to have improved the lot of the cultivating tenants and we recommend the extension of Tenant Farming Societies wherever possible. These societies are mostly in the delta areas of Tirunelveli and Thanjavur districts. These may be extended also to other irrigated areas.

Labour Contract Societies:

274. There are at present about 100 Labour Contract Societies, whose membership is drawn largely from the Oddars, Boyars and other communities who are traditionally associated with manual labour, particularly digging earth, sinking wells, breaking stones, building roads and similar type of works. Some of these societies undertake even small construction work. By elimination of the middlemen, the society is able to secure better wages and conditions of work for its members. Some of these societies are reported to be working satisfactorily, though failures too are not uncommon. In view of the possible expansion of works of this nature connected with the development of minor irrigation and improvement and reclamation of tanks, well digging, new industrial projects, extension of road building and housing in rural areas, the practicability of encouraging more such labour societies should be sympathetically examined. These societies need not necessarily be confined to the traditionally earthworking and stone breaking classes, but may benefit all the under-employed rural population who are engaged in manual labour.

In the initial stage, the share capital may be advanced by the State or given as loan to be recovered in easy instalments after the society has established itself. The scope for expanding the number of labour co-operatives is particularly large in dry cultivation areas and in areas with poor rainfall.

Section (vii): Importance of Traditional Avocations:

275. Neither bringing into cultivation of uncultivated lands, nor rapid development of dry farming as contemplated in the Plan, would completely solve the problems of unemployment, under-employment and poverty. In devising other methods, the paramount social necessity for economic mobility should be borne in mind. Notwithstanding the promotion of economic mobility by diversifying employment opportunities, the traditional arts, crafts and services have also to be made more attractive. Inevitably large sections of the existing artisan, weaving and service communities will continue to depend on their traditional occupations for a long time to come. Purely in the name of social mobility, nothing should be done to discourage traditional crafts and occupations without making sure of alternative avocations. Almost several castes coming under these categories urge that other avenues of gainful employment be opened to them, and that they are not willing of their own free choice to follow the traditional pursuits. This aversion to follow the traditional pursuits in the case of the weaver group and the smith group is largely due to uneconomic wages and uncertainties in demand. The aversion of the barbers and dhobies, tree-climbers and to some extent even the Fishermen to follow their traditional profession, notwithstanding the reasonable wages, is due to the social stigma and low ritual status attached to their professions. The group of castes like the Vaniar (Oil-monger), Kulala (Potter) are disgusted with their hereditary professions, both on account of poor returns as well as on account of the slight social stigma. There are yet a large group of castes who perform menial temple services and suffer both from inferior status and also from utterly uneconomic earnings. So, for one reason or another, every caste wants to change over from its traditional occupation. This cannot be easily achieved except by massive industrialisation and urbanisation. Till that stage is reached, traditional occupations cannot be neglected. They must be made more attractive, if massive unemployment is to be arrested.

276. As the traditional occupation of many of the castes is agriculture, we have dealt with land and agriculture extensively. Any improvement in landholding, dry farming and tenancy reforms will bring about considerable amelioration to the numerous castes who make their living either as tenant-farmers or as farm workers. With the saving potential inherent here, under favourable conditions, some of the surplus population will gradually migrate to towns and/or take to other professions.

Barbers and Dhobies:

277. The communities who perform traditional occupations which are considered to be socially degrading are the barbers and dhobies. In the rural areas, they still suffer from social disabilities of varying kinds and they are subjected to certain indignities which are repugnant to self-respect. These have been

explained in our notes on these two communities. Compelling barbers and dhobies to perform demeaning services against their will must be brought within the ambit of the Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955, by expanding its provisions and extending its application to these castes, as the Act at present protects only the Scheduled Castes. If, instead of going to individual house for performing service, a change could be brought about so that the customer goes to the place of service, it would not only do a great improvement in their social status but also considerably add to the earnings of these two service castes. Hence we lay emphasis on housing on a priority basis for these still down-trodden people. Panchayats and municipalities should be asked to provide dhoby-khanas for the dhobies, and shops for the barbers as a part of the civic amenities for which they are responsible. Considerable criticism has been levelled against the kind of implements and equipment supplied to these people, i.e. tools for the barbers and washermen. These should be standardised and good quality equipment should be supplied free of cost to all the barbers and washermen in the villages, and on a part loan basis to saloons and laundries exclusively owned and run by members of these castes in town areas. It was impressed on us that dhobies and barbers especially working for infectious hospitals, suffer risk of infection. To cover this risk, health insurance should be made compulsory and suitable scheme should be drawn up in consultation with the Medical and Life Insurance authorities. While barbers as a whole are fed up with their lot, it is heartening to record that washermen are prepared to carry on their traditional occupation provided it is rendered more respectable and economically more attractive. In a developing society for a long time to come the demand on the services of these two castes will go on increasing as larger sections of the population become comparatively more affluent in the cities and industrial areas. Their earnings are not even now particularly unattractive in the towns; but their position in the rural areas has definitely to be improved and the above recommendations are made with that objective. For further details about their grievances and measures for redress, attention is invited to the separate note on these castes.

Fishermen:

278. We have a large population of coastal fishermen as well as inland fishermen. These two groups go by different names and form altogether distinct castes but their problems are more or less similar and their social status is also comparatively low. Coastal fishermen's representatives urged that their grievances are so many that a separate Commission for fishermen alone can do justice to them. We have dealt with extensively on these matters in our note on fishermen. Suggestions applicable to the State as a whole and suggestions which are of local nature are given therein. It is an accepted fact that the sea food wealth available has not been fully exploited. There must be a planned programme for making motor driven boats available for all coastal fishermen on individual basis or on co-operative basis. But much more important is a scheme for taking fishing fleets beyond the coastal limit where shoals and schools of fish are found in abundance. The concentration now is mostly on prawns and shrimps for exports; but if fish is to be made as a supplementary or as an alternative food, it should be made available at very much cheaper prices. Only abundance of

catch, proper preservation and better marketing and transport facilities would bring this about. The Fisheries Department is already doing very good work in all these lines. But a special study with a view to accelerate the various processes must be undertaken. One request made by inland fishermen is about the practice followed by the Government departments in letting out fishing lease in tanks. Their plea that the fishing rights should be given to their community on the basis of the average of the last few years' lease or auction amount, deserves consideration, as these people depend on fishing for their living. The loss to the Government is negligible. If inland fishermen adjoining major tanks and lakes form co-operative societies for this purpose, it will be easier for Government to deal with them.

279. The other problems of fishermen are housing, drinking water and sanitation. Most of the fishing villages suffer from lack of link roads which again affects marketing. Many of them do not have elementary schools, leave alone high schools, within their reach, except perhaps in Kanyakumari district. The natural inclination of the children to follow their fathers' footsteps, their low level of life and absence of any enlightened environment keep the fisherfolk steeped in ignorance and illiteracy. A massive adult literacy campaign should precede a campaign for children's education.

280. One of the points urged by the representatives of the fishermen community is that their population is so scattered that they are unable to exercise any sort of either in local Panchayats or in elections to higher legislative bodies. They believe that their neglect is due to their failure to use their franchise effectively. According to the Director of Fisheries, the population of coastal fishermen is 2.53 lakhs. Their plea is that a coastal constituency covering the coastal belts should be constituted. Though we consider this as outside our terms of reference, in view of the belief that this will greatly help their general improvement, we commend this to the notice of the Government.

The Weavers' Group:

281. For a large majority of the people from the Sengunthar, Devangar, Saliyana and Sourashtra castes, weaving is still their main source of income, though weaving has attracted recruits from other communities, including Muslims in several districts, also during the past few decades. The position regarding weavers is that in all these castes there is a class of 'master-weavers', who are comparatively affluent. But below them are the actual weavers who work long hours in insanitary and ill-lit and poorly ventilated huts for wages either on daily wages or on piece rate basis. Whether it be on daily wages or on piece-rate, we have ascertained, the average daily earnings of a weaver in cotton is Rs.2 and for art silk Rs.2.50 and for silk about Rs.3 to 3.50. The weaver always gets the assistance of his wife or a grown up child and, therefore, his wages must be reckoned as the wages of a husband and wife normally. It has also been mentioned to us that seldom do they get work for all the 30 days in a month even assuming that they get 25 days work in a month, a cotton weaver gets Rs.50 per month, an art silk weaver about Rs.65 and the silk weaver about Rs.80 per month. These are deplorably low and far below

the per capita income of the State. The per capita income would work out for a family of five members a little over Rs.200 per month. A poor weaver's family gets less than half of this. Several Committees and Commissions have gone into the problems of the handloom industry and a final solution for improving their lot has still to be found. Any reform that is undertaken should lead to assuring for a weaver's family a minimum of at least of Rs.100 per month. This Commission has neither the resources nor the equipment to make a full study of the subject and is, therefore, unable to suggest ways and means of ensuring this minimum wage for the handloom weaver. But the problem must be tackled from different sides. Urgency of this subject cannot be under estimated. The Commission visited several villages of handloom weavers in almost half a dozen districts. What struck us as appalling is the terrible deterioration in their physique. The Commission suggested to some leaders of Sengunthar community to undertake a test survey of the health conditions, especially of children. The incidence of communicable diseases, wasting diseases and the results of mal-nutrition have been recorded in these survey reports, which have been sent to us. We suggest that a State-wide health survey of the weaving communities should be taken and steps should be undertaken to arrest the spread of some of these dangerous diseases, lest the future generation of the poorer sections of the weaving community become a total liability on the State.

Kammala Group:

282. The group of castes known as Kammalan, including carpenters and smiths of different kinds, in their representations stressed the need for a revival of their traditional occupations and for making them economically more attractive. Much has been said about the Gold Control Order and its disastrous consequences. The Central Government had financed several rehabilitation measures and various concessions have been given to Goldsmiths, and children of goldsmiths affected by this order. If the goldsmiths have not been properly rehabilitated, it is again the duty of the Central Government to come to their rescue. There is no doubt about the prevalence of extensive unemployment amongst goldsmiths, though this is, for obvious reasons, consistently exaggerated. But this grievance must be brought to the notice of the Central Government.

283. Regarding carpenters and other smiths (workers of stone, iron, copper, etc.) it must be remembered that these professions have to face competition from mechanization. Articles of wood, articles of all metals, etc., are now produced in factories. The only course open to these people is to find employment in these factories. Some preference should be given to them in industrial establishments, which are making products which hitherto supplied to society by the Viswakarma classes.

284. The Government is already taking steps to preserve and encourage crafts and trades of artistic value. But here again the scope of lasting or extensive employment is limited. But all avenues for developing works of art, made out of wood, clay or of metal, should be explored and preference in employment should be given to the members of these communities. The Commission had impressed on the representatives of these people that they should seek other occupations and diversify their interest. It is rather

unfortunate that the educational progress of these communities is still not particularly impressive, inspite of their reputation for intelligence, common sense and hard work.

Temple Service Castes:

285. There are a number of small and big castes, who are engaged in some kind of a temple service or other, the most important of course is the Melakarans. Their complaint also is that the wages paid by the temples are inadequate and particularly so, after withdrawal of all inams and other perquisites. The Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration) Department should be requested to go into the wages of all classes of temple servants and to take necessary steps to ensure adequate payment to them. In these we would also include the request of the barbers for a better fee for removal of hair in various temples of Tamil Nadu where hair removal is done as a ritual offering. There is considerable difference in the rates from temple to temple. Though it may be difficult to agree to give them a share in the sale proceeds of the hair, though this is also done, better wages are definitely indicated. Any way the system requires to be regularised and placed on a uniform basis.

Makers of Mat, Baskets, etc:

286. There are a group of castes, who are depending for their livelihood on basket-making, mat-weaving, reed-weaving, etc. Their plea is for better access to raw materials at cheaper prices. This, indeed, is a difficult matter on which the State could take any uniform steps, but we recommend that the Co-operative Department, Forest Department, and the Khadi and Village Industries Department, should take sympathetic view of the claims and requests of these people and do whatever is necessary to make their traditional occupation more attractive economically.

287. Several complaints were made by barbers, washermen and potters about the restrictions placed by town Panchayats and Municipalities, on the location of their places of business on hygienic grounds. The provisions in the respective Acts should be sympathetically interpreted and all assistance should be rendered to reduce their hardships.

- 288. In view of our general plea that the State should encourage social and economic mobility, we would not like to say more about encouraging traditional occupations as such, because that would militate against the general policy of the secular State. But as we have stated earlier where there is no other means of livelihood, it is the duty of the State to ensure that the traditional occupations are made sufficiently attractive till such time that diversification becomes possible.

Section (viii): Need for Minimum Wage Legislation:

289. The Commission's enquiry into the socio-economic conditions of the Backward Classes and suggestion of ameliorative measures would be incomplete without a mention being made about the inadequate and disproportionately low wages earned by these people in many trades. As indicated earlier (Chapter IV), the occupational pattern of the people in the State is such that the Backward Classes generally fill the bottom layers, pursuing

menial, manual and degrading occupations. In all these spheres the prevailing wage level does not assure them even a subsistence standard. Exceptions to this can perhaps be found in the organised sector consisting of industries which are covered by Industries and Factories Act, where minimum wages are statutorily laid down. Collective bargaining is possible and State regulation is also effective here. But the employment potential of this sector is very small and consequently bulk of the Backward Classes continue to depend on agriculture and subsidiary occupations. Operations connected with agriculture continue to be the main source and even today they draw the entire labour force from the lowly and unfortunate class of people - people who could not find any support from other occupations.

Agricultural Labour:

290. All agricultural operations like ploughing, sewing, transplanation and harvesting; construction works like stone cutting, quarrying, earth work and road laying; subsidiary occupations like weaving, carpentry and blacksmithing; and services like barbering and laundrying are lines where collective bargaining is not possible, resistance from employers to better wages is great and state regulation is yet to make a beginning. Men and women workers, including child labour toil for long hours, under unpleasant, sometimes unhygienic conditions and with miserably low level of wages. It is here we find the operation of the vicious circle of poverty breeding weakness and weakness causing poverty, with no capacity to break through the circle. They are at the mercy of the employer who is not a competitive buyer but often a monopolist. Illiteracy of the worker and his ignorance of other occupations all tend to make the labour market virtually a buyer's market in the rural areas. Again, it is here we find the social and economic forces conspiring together against the betterment of their lot. Social forces in the past condemned the Backward Class people to take to lowlier occupations, and economic forces now have neither assured them reasonable returns and fair working conditions nor opened up newer vistas for occupational diversification. State intervention to regulate wages and to prescribe hours of work and conditions of work in these fields, is therefore necessary and urgently called for.

291. Reasons are not far to seek as to why this state of affairs affecting nearly half the size of the total population (including, of course, Scheduled Castes) which is socially unjust, continues even today. These are weak and almost non-existent bargaining power, abundant supply of unskilled labour, and unhealthy competition among workers themselves. Work in all trades mentioned above is casual and irregular. They are dispersed under different masters unable to combine and put forward their claims.

292. If wages are to be fair and reasonable one of the following courses must be open to the workers, i.e. (1) individual bargaining, (2) collective bargaining and (3) State regulation. Unfortunately all the three are conspicuously non-existent in all the trades described above. The unskilled individual worker has no strength to bargain. If he loses in the bargain, he loses whatever little he could have earned on the alternative. Collective bargaining is not possible for these workers. In view of the fact that the nature of work is diversified and period of work varies from area

to area, they don't have an opportunity to come under a common roof except perhaps when they are politically motivated. Barring Thanjavur district, agricultural workers have not effectively combined elsewhere. Again, in view of the enormity of the difficulties involved in working out commonly acceptable rates of wages for different kinds of operations and in enforcing them strictly, State regulation of wages has not been comprehensive till now.

293. Our district tours provided ample opportunity to enquire about wages obtained by workers in different unskilled occupations. It was distressing to hear that daily wage was in many places below a rupee a day per worker. During one of our tours, we found a group of women engaged in crop cutting of ragi fields in a village in North Arcot district. We made direct enquiries and heard that each one of them was paid 70 paise per day for harvesting operations. Of course, there are wide variations in wages from season to season and district to district. Generally, during agricultural season, wages are slightly higher because of the greater demand for labour. And in the wet areas in Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and in some pockets of districts like South Arcot, North Arcot and the Nilgiris, wages are comparatively higher than in dry areas. But no where does it exceed Rs.4 per day. Among agricultural operations, it is harvesting that offers fairly attractive wages; for which it ranges from Rs.2.50 to Rs.4 per day. Harvesting normally lasts for very short durations of two spells in a year.

294. From the figures published by the Director of Statistics it is seen that the average daily wage for ploughman is Rs.2.57 and for a transplanter Rs.2.58 if a man and Rs.1.57 if a woman. For works of unspecified nature it is only Rs.1.50 per day. Skilled labourers like carpenters and Blacksmiths earn slightly higher rates ranging on an average from Rs.4.85 to 5.25.

Handloom Weavers:

295. A study of the real earnings of the weavers is made difficult because there are various categories like winders, warpers, and weavers; and the system of piece wage management is almost universally prevalent. From what we could gather, a weaver gets on an average about Rs.2.50 per day and if it happens to be silk weaving he gets probably a rupee more. Earnings of weavers also vary according to the counts of yarn. Organisationally the weavers function under one of the three categories, i.e. (1) independent weavers, (2) member weaver of co-operative societies and (3) weavers under master weavers. The organisational differences do not seem to make much of a difference in the earnings of weavers. If at all there is any difference, it is marginal. If weavers attached to co-operatives do not get reasonably higher wages, then there must be basically something wrong in the organisation. These are all questions that must be taken up by an expert body.

Barbers and Washermen:

296. In the case of barbers and washerman, the returns for them in urban areas are fairly good. But in village sides they are very poorly paid. By tradition in most villages they are paid in kind in the form of paddy, corn, etc. once a year and this rate

had been fixed long time back. In view of the fact that these people live in small numbers in each village, they plead that they are unable to press for higher wages lest they be humiliated by the caste people.

Wages Index:

297. Wage level in all these trades are not only low but remain more or less sticky over a long period. The index numbers of wages for certain categories of labour constructed by the Director of Statistics, Madras, substantiate this. If 1950 is taken as the base year, the index of wages has risen to 166.7 for ploughmen, 173.5 for sowers and transplaters for the year 1968, while the cost of living index for workers has risen nearly 300 points during the same period. This proves that there had been large erosion into the real income or earnings of this class of workers. They have not enjoyed any share in the all round economic development, and increase in the national and per-capita incomes during the last two decades.

298. All these point to the need and urgency for State intervention to legislate minimum wages. It does not in any way imply that nothing has been done so far. Many manufacturing and agro-based industries have been brought under the minimum wages Act of 1948 from time to time. Minimum wages have been prescribed in beedi industry; match and fire works manufacturing units; tanneries and leather manufacturing units; bricks and tiles manufacturing units etc. Yet the coverage is not adequate enough; it must be extended to all kinds of labour whether they relate to agriculture or any other subsidiary occupations; whether the nature of work is regular or casual.

299. What should be the minimum wage, whether it should be need-based or based on the capacity of the employer to pay are all questions which should be studied in detail by an expert body. We would, however, like to stress here that the share contributed by the worker to the total value of the product must be taken as an important criteria for the determination of minimum wages. That means the cost composition of various products will have to be split up and in all fairness wages paid to workers should not be unduly lower than the contribution made by him. To work out a wide range of rates for different areas, trades, categories of occupations and categories of workers would, of course, take time. Nevertheless, in anticipation of such scientific study, Government can introduce legislation prescribing the floor level, below which actual wages should not go for any category of work. There is enough material for fixing such a floor wage.

Minimum Wage and Per Capita Income:

300. In our consideration the minimum that a family should be assured must have some approximation to the average per capita income in the country. The average per capita income in the State has been estimated at Rs.503 per annum, at current prices. Taking a worker's family to consist of 5 members on an average (wife and three children) the earnings of the worker's family should not be less than $503 \times 5 = 2,515$ per annum, if he is to be assured of a minimum share in the national product. In such families both

men and women are engaged in work and assuming that their relative contributions to be Rs.1,500 and 100, the minimum wages should be Rs.1,500 and Rs.100, respectively per annum. As is quite common with labourers depending on agriculture and casual work, they do not find employment throughout the year. Based on observation and oral enquiry we could estimate that workers in rural areas find employment only for about 150 to 200 days in a year, which means that their earnings made during a period of 150 to 200 days in a year must fetch a total income of Rs.1,500 for a male worker and Rs.1,000 for a female worker. On this basis we can say that a floor wage level can be prescribed at Rs.4 per day for a male worker and Rs.3 per day for a female worker to start with. What we contemplate is a bare minimum and actual wages can fluctuate above this level, depending upon the nature of work involved and the degree of skill acquired by the worker. There may be regional variations as well. These rates will have to be reviewed from time to time as fluctuations occur in the national income and cost of living. Side by side vigilant enforcement machinery must also be set up since violation of the act by the employers is much easier here than in organised industrial establishments. This kind of legislation might sound sweeping and far reaching to some but it must be said that we are only making a beginning in this direction which ought to have preceded many other reforms. When affluent countries like Canada, U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand have carried out measures of this nature in the beginning of this century, there is no reason why an underdeveloped country with enormous supply of labour should not begin at least now.

CHAPTER - VIII.

ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESSSection (i): Representation of Backward Classes in Government Services.

301. The Commission has been specifically asked in paragraph 2 of Terms of reference to review and assess the effectiveness of the State measures in improving the conditions of the Backward Classes and in particular matters relating to Education and representation in public services. (The Commission has also been specifically required to assess the improvements in the conditions of Most Backward Classes, and on the basis of such an assessment, to make recommendations as to the further steps to be taken by the State Government to improve the lot of the "Backward Classes" and "Most Backward Classes", in respect of reservation of seats in educational institutions; representation in public services; trade, commerce, industry, etc.)

302. The term used is "Classes". Assessment of the progress of each class, and groups of classes is therefore called for. Assessment of classes is achieved easily by making inter-class comparison between Forward Class and Backward Classes; and Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes. While such an inter-class comparison is useful in a limited way, since classes within each group are of different magnitudes not only in size but in the headway made, intra-class or classwise comparison becomes vitally necessary to assess the comparative progress made by such class; without which the whole picture of assessment would be incomplete. Unless the constituent units happen to be exact and identical, to make a study of a group as a whole would only be a study of average, which will not illumine the differential progress made by different classes. A dissection of the structure of classes is called for to locate the malady and to advocate appropriate measures.

303. We, therefore, propose to indicate the progress made by each group, Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes, as well as the constituents of each group under the heads: Employment, Education and Scholarship. On the basis of this assessment remedial measures have been suggested. These should be directed particularly to those particular constituents of the Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes as have made comparatively less progress. This is indicated in the directive principles the Commission agreed on, as expressed in Chapter I itself.

304. With a view to ascertain the present position of Backward Classes in Government employment, we addressed almost all Departments to furnish us castewise particulars of all categories of posts, both gazetted and non-gazetted. All Departments in the Secretariat complied with our request and complete information was furnished for all categories of posts. All District Collectors, except Thanjavur and Tirunelveli, also furnished us complete details for the entire establishment under their jurisdiction. Such information was given by Heads of Administrative and Technical Departments - 36 in all. Important Departments like Police,

Judiciary, P.W.D., Highways, Industries, Co-operation and Board of Revenue are covered in this. For convenience of tabulation and comparison we adopted a four-fold classification, i.e.

- (i) Staff in Secretariat Service;
- (ii) Staff in Collectorates;
- (iii) Staff in Heads of Departments; and
- (iv) Teaching staff in the Departments of Collegiate Education.

In spite of our repeated efforts, we were unable to obtain employment figures for Doctors in State Service, and Engineers in M.E.S. and Tamil Nadu State Housing Board. The figure obtained from P.W.D. and Highways Departments, however, covered both technical and non-technical staff. (Our general impression is that in Technical Departments, the share of the less privileged classes among the Backward Classes will be much less than their share in the general categories.)

305. It is needless to emphasize that the adequacy of representation of the Backward Classes as a whole and of individual classes, is to be viewed in relation to the size of the population. A statement that more than 200 persons from a caste are in Government service or a plea that not even half a dozen persons from a caste are in service would not convey a clear idea about adequacy or inadequacy of representation. We have castes in our list whose individual population size ranges from a mere thousand to several lakhs and even millions in some cases. Similarly, in the official hierarchy there are different categories of posts ranging from Junior Assistant and Typist in taluk office to that of highly paid and coveted gazetted officers and Heads of Departments. To illustrate this point, the comparison of two castes of even equal population, one having 50 clerks and 2 gazetted officers and another with 40 clerks and 12 gazetted officers and drawing the conclusion that both are adequately represented in an equal degree would be fallacious. More number in a lower category, or a larger number for a caste with a larger population suffers no certain guide lines of comparison. Therefore, an analytical study of representation of castes in Government services should take into consideration the importance attached to such posts apart from the mere number.

306. Thus, we have three important variables (i) size of each caste; (ii) number of persons from each caste in Government services; and (iii) the distribution of this number in different categories of posts. If these variables could be translated into two, comparative study would be rendered much easier and useful inferences could be drawn. By making certain realistic assumptions, the last two variables could be translated into one, which would give us a common denominator to measure the adequacy of representation. The common denominator to measure the adequacy of representation can be arrived at by equating higher posts for assessment purpose into a multiple of a lower post; in other words the post of Superintendent or a Deputy Collector as being say three or four times as valuable as that of a Junior Assistant. If these calculations are not made, and only the number of posts held are counted, a huge caste of five lakhs with perhaps 500 clerks or elementary school teachers to its credit will be regarded as having done better than

another caste of one lakh population with 200 clerks and a hundred in the higher categories of Tashildars, Deputy Superintendents of Police and Deputy Collectors.- No consideration is given in such a comparison (a) for the size of population and (b) for the value attached to the higher jobs.

307. We have used Junior Assistant as a yardstick and all other posts whether it be that of an Assistant in the Secretariat, Tahsildar, Executive Engineer or a Secretary to Government are converted into multiples of the post of Junior Assistant, by assigning differential values. While assigning values to different posts, all important considerations are taken note of; such as scale of pay, status, administrative power, promotion prospects and the like. A table showing values to different posts is given in the appendix. Once a common denominator is thus arrived at, it becomes as easy task to rank the castes in the descending order of representation in services for a unit of population. In constructing the re-ranking order we have taken only castes, each one accounting for more than 50,000 population. It would not be safe to prepare an index for very small castes. While this is possible, it is also likely to lead to erroneous conclusions. The ranking order according to this principle is shown in the appendix.

Representation of Backward Classes as a whole:

308. A study of the number of posts held by Backward Classes in comparison to the total actual strength in Secretariat and Collectorates would throw light on the adequacy of representation. Tables 1, 1(a), 2 and 2(a) shown below indicate the position.

TABLE 1.

Number of posts held by Backward Classes in Secretariat.

S. No.	Number of posts.					
	Non-Gazetted			Gazetted		
	Junior Assis- tant.	Assis- tant.	Super- inten- dent.	Asst. Secy.	Dy. Secy. I.A.S.	Secy. & I.A.S.
1. Total number of posts	739	804	367	88	35	36
2. Number held by Backward Classes	237	383	140	21	10	2
3. Percentage of posts held by Backward Classes.	32.1	47.6	38.1	23.9	28.6	5.6

TABLE 1(a)

Value of posts held by Backward Classes in Secretariat.

S.No.	Total value.
1. Total value of posts	9,482
2. Value of posts held by Backward Classes	3,245
3. Percentage of value of posts held by Backward Classes	34.2

TABLE 2.

Number of posts held by Backward Classes in Collectorates (Excluding two Collectorates of Thanjavur and Tirunelveli).

S.No.	Number of posts.						
	Non-Gazetted.			Gazetted.			
	Junior Assis- tant.	Dy. Tah- sil- dar.	Tah- sil- dar.	Dy. Col- lec- tor.	D.R.O.	I.A.S.	
1. Total number of posts	3,795	1,942	762	333	87	10	12
2. Number of posts held by Backward Classes	1,818	1,004	312	112	26	1	--
3. Percentage of posts held by Backward Classes.	47.9	51.7	40.9	33.6	29.9	10.0	--

TABLE 2(a)

Value of posts held by Backward Classes in Collectorates (excluding two Collectorates of Thanjavur and Tirunelveli).

S.No.	Total value.
1. Total value of posts	15,697
2. Value of posts held by Backward Classes	6,614
3. Percentage of value of posts held by Backward Classes	42.1

309. It is evident that though in lower categories the number held by Backward Classes is fairly good, yet it is not commensurate to the size of Backward Classes which account for nearly 51.6 per cent of the total population. The number of gazetted posts held is very much lower still. When the grade or status goes higher, representation declines deeply. On the whole, representation in Secretariat is about 34 per cent and in Collectors' establishments the percentage is slightly better, i.e. 42, though this higher

percentage is largely accounted for by larger number of persons in lower posts like Assistants and Deputy Tahsildars, many of whom were recruited during the last few years.

310. A better idea can be had, if all the posts are reduced to two categories, i.e. gazetted and non-gazetted to ascertain whether Backward Classes are well distributed in all layers. Table 3 gives this information.

TABLE 3.

Number of non-gazetted and gazetted posts held by Backward Classes in Secretariat and Collectorates.

S.No.	Number of posts.	
	Non-gazetted.	Gazetted.
<u>Secretariat:</u>		
1. Total number of posts	1,910	159
2. Number of posts held by Backward Classes	760	33
3. Percentage of posts held by Backward Classes	39.8	20.8
<u>Collectorate:</u>		
1. Total number of posts	6,832	109
2. Number of posts held by Backward Classes	3,247	27
3. Percentage of posts held by Backward Classes	47.5	24.8

The number of gazetted posts held by Backward Classes is very low, i.e., 20.8 per cent in Secretariat and 24.8 per cent in Collectorates. The slightly higher percentage in Collectorates is due to the fact that every year recruitment is made directly to Group-I posts in which Backward Classes get more number than the reserved quota. If this trend continues, we can expect the share of Backward Classes in gazetted ranks to increase gradually in years to come. In Secretariat service there is no scope for direct recruits except through I.A.S. It is for this reason we have suggested direct recruitment at more stages. It is also this gap in higher cadres which prompts leaders of the Backward Classes to demand preferential promotion or reserved quota in promotion, about which we have expressed our view earlier. The non-I.A.S. gazetted posts like Assistant Secretary and Deputy Secretary are filled by promotion from lower posts. Since the existing policy does not give preferential treatment to incumbents from Backward Classes in the matter of promotion, the lower percentage will continue for a longer period time. This gap can be filled only by recruiting directly to the Superintendents cadre, as is done in the Central Secretariat.

311. The position illustrated above refers to representation of Backward Classes in Government service at a point of time. Another closely related question is whether there had been any

significant progress in the share of Backward Classes over a period of time. Here we are very much handicapped, because though we made a request to all Government Departments, none was able to give us castewise particulars for an earlier year, say 10 years or even five years ago. Without this basic information making comparison is rendered impossible and consequently we had only to rely on certain available information to corroborate our generalisation.

312. From whatever information readily available to us it should be said that there had been some significant change in the class composition of Government services, since 1951. The position obtaining in 1951 in some Departments for the State as a whole is given below in Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 4.

Number of Non-Gazetted and Gazetted posts held by Backward Classes in Revenue Department in 1951.

S. No.	Number of posts.	
	Non-gazetted.	Gazetted.
1. Total number of posts	12,951	226
2. Number of posts held by Backward Classes	1,331	18
3. Percentage of posts held by Backward Classes	10.3	8.0

TABLE 5.

Number of Non-Gazetted and Gazetted posts held by Backward Classes in Police Department in 1951.

S. No.	Number of posts.	
	Non-gazetted.	Gazetted.
1. Total number of posts	17,980	122
2. Number of posts held by Backward Classes	2,407	5
3. Percentage of posts held by Backward Classes	13.4	4.1

313. When we compare this situation to that prevailing now (as shown elsewhere), it is evident that the share of Backward Classes has improved mainly due to the 25 per cent reservation made for them in recruitment. Now that recruitment to all permanent posts in Government services is made through Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission, the year to year trend in recruitment figures can also be relied on to indicate whether there is improvement in the share of Backward Classes. We could not get such particulars

for the last two decades and the information supplied by the Service Commission for the last three years alone does not help us to draw a very optimistic inference of progress. Details for three years are shown below in Table 6.

TABLE 6.

Recruitment made by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission for various Services during 1965-68.

Sl. No.	Year	Total number of vacancies.	No. of vacancies filled by candidates belonging to Backward Classes.	Percentage of vacancies filled by Backward Classes.
1. State Services	1965-66	310	117	37.7
	1966-67	122	44	36.1
	1967-68	124	56	45.2
2. Subordinate Services				
	(i) Technical			
	1965-66	1266	451	35.6
	1966-67	1070	459	42.9
	1967-68	1072	460	42.9
	(ii) Non-Technical			
	1965-66	882	509	57.7
	1966-67	708	429	60.6
	1967-68	1171	673	57.5
3. Ministerial Services	1966	2281	902	39.5
	1967	1485	492	33.1
	1968	1195	542	45.4

Though an upward, but unsteady, trend is noticeable, without figures for a longer period, drawing conclusion is not possible. There are fluctuations from year to year and also variations from one service to another. If the existing situation in Government Services is to change, then it is possible only by means of larger number of candidates being recruited every year from Backward Classes. If adequacy of representation is taken to mean that the number of posts held by Backward Classes should bear a reasonable proportion to be numerical size of such Backward Classes then the share as it exists now is totally inadequate. Logically it follows that not only the share of Backward Classes, when recruitment is made, should be more than what it is now, but that should be more than proportionate to the size of the Backward Classes, if the present trend is to be reversed and a reasonable balance achieved over a shorter period of time. The extent to which State action could help within the limits of prevailing circumstances is explained already in our Chapter on Employment. Without such corrective action, the present imbalance cannot be rectified.

314. Uneven progress among the constituents of Backward Classes: The foregoing illustrates the progress, though tardy, made by Backward Classes as a whole. An intra-class comparison, however, shows that the share of individual class and even group of classes within Backward Classes is uneven. The gulf between the forward among

the Backward, and the sluggards among the Backward is so wide that we have to make a particular mention about this, with the hope that the Government would effectively tackle this problem lest the existing gulf widens still, thereby defeating the very purpose for which such protective measures were designed, and violating every common of social justice. Our analysis shows that some classes had taken full advantage of the State protective measures and had made rapid strides, while many others continue to trail behind without even making a breakthrough. The former group can be described as having reached the take-off stage, while the others are still in the lower stages of stagnancy. Whatever the State might do in respect of the former, urgent action is called for in respect of classes who have not made satisfactory progress so far, inasmuch as priority of Government assistance in a welfare State should be legitimately given to those who need it most.

315. As an illustration we give below (Table 7) the performance of a group of nine classes who progress as amplified by our statistics, is impressive in comparison to others. This group is not only well represented in all Government departments but also well distributed in all categories of posts gazetted and non-gazetted and technical and non-technical.

TABLE 7.

Number of non-gazetted and gazetted posts held by a group of nine castes in all departments covered.

Caste	Population	Number of posts held	
		Non-gazetted.	Gazetted
1.	1,10,102	703	20
2.	2,00,000	1,050	44
3.	4,70,505	2,605	49
4.	1,87,829	1,058	21
5.	91,447	455	6
6.	1,62,812	521	13
7.	1,08,262	264	—
8.	7,00,207	1,312	47
9.	2,96,731	543	11
Backward Classes as a whole	2,06,67,928	22,839	438
Share of the group of nine castes (Number)	23,27,895	8,511	211
Share of the group of nine castes to total (percentage)	11.3	37.3	48.2

316. It would be interesting to note that while this group constitutes only 11.3 per cent of total Backward Class population, their relative share in the total number of posts held by Backward Classes is 37.3 per cent in the case of non-gazetted, and 48.2 per cent in gazetted posts. The higher development, the attraction is

for the better categories of jobs. That these classes together take away a major slice of the posts held by Backward Classes is further confirmed by statistics collected from the Service Commission office. It is therefore obvious that this group has entrenched itself strongly and is creating a virtual monopoly for them. Table 8, below shows the share of this group in the selection made to group II Services by the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission for several years.

TABLE 8.

Number of candidates selected for Group II Services by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission from a group of nine castes (1964-69).

Castes.	Population.	Year.					
		1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1.	1,10,102	4	10	9	1	12	11
2.	2,00,000						
3.	4,70,505	18	16	21	21	43	34
4.	1,87,829	3	8	7	8	9	14
5.	91,447	6	8	5	3	8	12
6.	1,62,812	3	5	5	3	13	5
7.	1,08,262	4	8	2	1	3	4
8.	7,00,207	6	10	16	5	13	18
9.	2,96,731	3	5	3	5	9	8
Backward Classes as a whole.	2,06,67,928	136	212	214	142	313	292
Share of the group of nine castes (Number)	23,27,895	47	70	68	47	110	106
Share of the group of nine castes to total (percentage).	11.3	34.6	33.0	31.8	33.1	35.1	36.3

317. In contrast to this we find that castes like Valayan, Yogeaswara, Muthuraja, Kuruba, Boya and Oddan, Ambalakaran and Parvatharajakulam are poorly represented and Table 9 illustrates their position.

TABLE 9.

Number of non-gazetted and gazetted posts held by individual castes in all departments covered.

S. No.	Caste.	Population.	No. of posts held	
			Non-gazetted.	Gazetted.
1.	Valaiyan	6,33,478	11	--
2.	Yogeaswaran	75,000	1	--
3.	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	3,46,682	153	--
4.	Kuruba, Kurumba	2,84,307	33	1
5.	Boya, Odda	5,07,248	56	1
6.	Ambalakaran	2,98,024	83	--
7.	Parvatharajakulam	3,50,000	88	2
Backward Classes as a whole		2,06,67,928	22,639	436
Share of the group of seven castes (Number).		24,94,739	425	4
Share of the group of seven castes to total (percentage)		12.1	1.9	0.9

(Regarding Valayan and Muthuraja, attention is invited to the comments in caste notes in Volume-II, Part-I).

Table 9 above may be compared with the number of candidates selected from these castes by Service Commission for Group-II Services for some years shown in table 10. All the castes enumerated in the table except Muthuraja come under the group of Most Backward Classes and form nearly 12.1 per cent of the total Backward Class population. When we look into the total number of candidates selected from these communities, we find that they constitute only 1.8 per cent of the total number of candidates selected from Backward Classes.

TABLE 10

Number of candidates selected from some castes to various posts included in Group-II Services during 1964-69 by the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

Sl. No.	Caste.	Population.	Year.						Total
			1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	
1.	Valayan	6,33,478	--	2	--	--	--	--	2
2.	Yogeaswaran	75,000	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3.	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	3,46,682	1	1	--	1	2	1	6
4.	Kuruba, Kurumba	2,84,307	--	--	1	--	1	1	3
5.	Boya, Odda	5,07,248	--	--	--	--	1	1	2
6.	Ambalakaran	2,98,024	--	1	3	1	2	1	8
7.	Parvatharajakulam	3,50,000	--	1	--	--	2	--	3
Backward Classes as a whole.		2,06,67,928	136	212	214	142	313	292	1309
Share of the group of seven castes (Number).		24,94,739	1	5	4	2	8	4	24
Share of the group of seven castes to total (percentage)		12.1	0.7	2.4	1.9	1.4	2.6	1.4	1.8

318. In addition to these, we have a number of smaller castes with little or no representation. They are Dasari, Beatha, Gangavaras, Jogi, Uppara, Thondaman, Thuluva Naicken, Vettaikara Naicken, Thottia Naicken. A perusal of the ranking order would show the plight of these castes. Unless some special provision is made to safeguard their interests, they would be completely lost sight of in the scramble.

Representation of Most Backward Classes:

319. We have argued at length the necessity for a distinction between Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes in an earlier Chapter. The facts revealed by a study of employment statistics more than adequately justifies the distinction, and offer the best vindication of the claim of these very under privileged people for continued protection. The Most Backward Classes account for 22.6% of the total population by a conservative estimate but their representation in services is totally inadequate. Out of the total Backward Classes population of 2,06,67,928, Most Backward Classes alone account for 43.80%. That is, the ratio between Most Backward Classes and Backward Classes would be roughly 11 : 14. But if we split up the representation in Government services into two categories of Most Backward Classes and Backward Classes, we find a revealing picture of Most Backward Classes being totally ignored. The ratio of such split up details works out to 4 : 21 between them. In simple words, of the total number of posts held by Backward Classes, which by itself is proportionately lower compared to their size, only 15.8% of them are held by Most Backward Classes as a group. Table 11 below illustrates the position.

TABLE 11.

Number of Non-gazetted and Gazetted posts held by Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes in all departments covered.

S. No.	Total No. of posts (All classes).	Share of B.C. as a whole to the total No. of posts.		Share of MBC to the total held by B.C. as a whole.	
		No.	Percentage.	No.	Percentage.
1. Secretariat:					
(i) Non-Gazetted	1,910	760	39.8	98	12.9
(ii) Gazetted	159	33	20.8	4	12.1
2. Collectorate:					
(i) Non-Gazetted	6,832	3,246	47.5	522	16.1
(ii) Gazetted	109	27	24.8	4	14.8
3. Education Department:					
(i) Non-gazetted	*	633	-	126	19.9
(ii) Gazetted	*	77	-	12	15.6
4. Heads of Departments:					
(i) Non-gazetted	*	18,200	-	3,420	18.8
(ii) Gazetted	*	301	-	22	7.3

* Not available.

320. While the share of the Most Backward Classes as a group in various Government Departments is very low as stated above, the year to year trend in recruitment to Government services made by the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission also confirms the view that the Most Backward Classes are very poorly represented. We have collected statistics from the Service Commission's Office for a period of 6 years from 1964 to 1969 relating to recruitments made to Group II services. During the six year period a total number of 1,309 candidates were selected from Backward Classes for various departments, out of which only 182 were from Most Backward Classes. This works out to a low percentage of 13.9. We give below in Table 12 the relevant statistics.

TABLE 12.

Recruitment made by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission for Grade II Services - (1964-69).

Sl. No.	Year						Total
	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	
1. No. of candidates selected from Backward classes as a whole.	136	212	214	142	313	292	1,309
2. Share of Most Backward Classes:							
Number:	13	31	31	19	36	52	182
Percentage :	10.6	14.5	14.5	13.4	11.5	17.8	13.9

321. The reason for the poor performance of Most Backward Classes is not far to seek. Barring one or two castes, all other castes listed as Most Backward Classes are not able to produce even qualified candidates for jobs. We sent our research staff to the Service Commission Office to compile information about the number of applications received castewise for various categories of posts for the last five years. An abstract of these details is shown below in tables Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16.

TABLE 13.

Number of applications received by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission for Group I Services (1965-69)

Sl. No.	Year				
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1. Total number of applications.	503	613	209	873	*
2. No. of applications received from Backward Classes as a whole.	369	401	169	596	418
3. Share of Most Backward Classes in the total Nos. received from Backward Classes:					
Number:	56	59	31	97	63
Percentage:	15.2	14.7	18.3	16.3	15.1

* Not available.

TABLE 14

Number of applications received by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission from some castes for Group-I Services. (1965-69)

Sl. No.	Name of the Caste	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1.	Ambalakaran	4	-	-	1	1
2.	Boya and Oddo	1	1	1	5	1
3.	Parvatharajakulam	2	2	1	4	1
4.	Valaiyan	1	1	1	1	2

TABLE 15.

Number of applications received by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission for Group-II Services (1965-69).

S.No.	Year				
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1. Total No. of applications	1349	1816	1234	1946	2730
2. No. of applications received from Backward Classes as a whole.	929	1202	833	1291	1796
3. Share of Most Backward Classes in the total No. received from Backward Classes as a whole:					
Number:	1527	172	130	184	239
Percentage:	13.7	14.3	15.6	14.3	13.3

TABLE 16.

Number of applications received by Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission from some castes for Group-II Services (1965-69).

S.No.	Year				
	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
1. Ambalakaran	4	10	4	6	7
2. Boya and Oddo	-	1	1	4	2
3. Parvatharajakulam	3	5	2	6	3
4. Valaiyan	4	4	6	4	3

The tables above show that some of the individual castes enumerated and Most Backward Classes as a whole are educationally so backward that they could not even produce sufficient number of candidates. Specific welfare measures will have to be designed for such castes. This is partly covered in our recommendation for Denotified Tribes. Other suggestions are given later.

322. We have made this detailed analysis in view of the doubts entertained in some quarters that there need be no distinction between Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes, and as long as Backward Classes as a whole have fared satisfactorily, there is no cause for complaints. We have referred, however, to the complaints from several castes that in the name of the Backward Classes, a few castes and the upper crust of a few others have made headway in Government Service, leaving the vast masses behind in the race. We have suggested monetary limits for excluding upper crusts for all castes and classes. But this alone will not do. This conclusion of ours has been reinforced by the recent judgment of the Supreme Court in Periakaruppan and Sobha Joseph Vs. State of Tamil Nadu. We quote below the relevant passage.

"There is no gain saying the fact that there are numerous castes in this country which are socially and educationally backward. To ignore their existence is to ignore the facts of life. Hence we are unable to uphold the contention that the impugned reservation is not in accordance with Art.15(4). But all the same the Government should not proceed on the basis that once a class is considered as a backward Class, it should continue to be backward class for all times. Such an approach would defeat the very purpose of the reservation because once a class reaches a stage of progress which some modern writers call as take off stage then competition is necessary for their future progress. The Government should always keep under review the question of reservation of seats and only the classes which are really socially and educationally backward should be allowed to have the benefit of reserving seats. Reservation of seats should not be allowed for three years, a vested interest. The fact that candidates from Backward Classes have secured about 50% seats in the general pool does show that

has come for the de novo comprehensive examination of the question. It must be remembered that the Government's decision in this regard is open to judicial review.

323. What the Supreme Court has said regarding reservation of seats in Medical Colleges holds good for reservation in appointments. To enable Government to review the matter we make the following observations, based on the ranking of progress in education and employment of all the major castes in the list, for whom figures are available. Attention is invited to the Two statements marked 'A' and 'B' in the appendices to this Report, where the ranking is indicated. Smaller castes are left undisturbed. It must, however, be emphasised that in a poor country like ours where poverty and ignorance have been the normal lot of most through centuries, even the most advanced caste cannot boast of cent percent literacy or higher education for all those who aspire for it or gainful and adequate employment for all its educated. Progress in education and employment can only be judged by comparative standards and not by absolute yardsticks of higher collegiate education for all who need or aspire to, or gainful employment according to their desert for all who are qualified. We are also not in a position by our terms of reference to make a comparison with the achievements of the advanced classes. All that we can do is to give a picture of comparative achievement among the Backward Classes and show the heights and depths. This enormous gulf should be bridged, and whatever finance Government can spare should be directed where it will yield the best results, where there has been little or no progress in any direction.

324. The additional reservation from 25% to 33 or 40% for employment in Government service can be justified largely on the need to improve the lot of the Most Backward Classes. There is a big upper layer consisting of about 10 classes as illustrated above (para. 315), whose share in the total number of posts of all categories far exceeds their proportion in the total Backward Classes population. Below this group of ten there is a steady tapering down and some of the big agricultural communities, farm labourers and manual workers, sheep and cow herds, people who live by hunting, etc., lag far behind the first 10 who are almost becoming professional or service classes like those, to counteract whose competition the list of Backward Classes was drawn up.

325. There is a perceptible gap after this and then begins the ranking of classes which are now classified as most backward classes. At the bottom of the ladder of the Most Backward Classes are the large classes of manual workers, farm labourers in dry areas, basket makers, stone cutters, quarry workers, fishermen, etc., and men and women who do not even get casual employment. From what we have seen and heard, if the pathetic cry of under-represented and less progressive section of the Most Backward Classes in this regard is to be met half-way, a separate reservation for the people at the bottom is a matter of the greatest importance. This is even more important than open-

Num. !

Percentage:

326. Whatever Government may do with the castes at the top, concentrated assistance is necessary at the bottom. As we have observed earlier, if some of the recommendations which we had made in our Chapter on Denotified Tribes are implemented, they will help the Valayan, Boya and Oddas substantially, besides the Maravas in the Backward Classes list. The recommendation regarding talent scouting should be observed with greater care in these cases. Welfare Officers should be directed to see that all who are likely to benefit by High School education do get admission, and as far as possible residential accommodation as well in hostels and boarding houses, in preference over other Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes. Attention is invited to the observation against each caste in Volume-II, Part -I.

327. We were considerably handicapped, as we have already explained at length, owing to the absence of statistics. Now that the Commission had collected ample data on the current position in educational institutions and Government Departments, identical information should be collected from all departments and educational institutions for every year beginning with March 1971 and for a period of four years. Information from all the technical Departments like Medical, M.E.S., etc. which were denied to us should also be collected. There will be enough data then to make a detailed comparative study of the progress made by each caste. A systematic review should then be undertaken of all the constituents in the list of Backward Classes to ascertain whether all of them had reached the same level of progress as the fortunate ones about whom special mention has been made earlier. In this manner every fifth year a review should be undertaken lest vested interests develop.

Section (ii) Scholarships - Distribution among various groups and Castes:

328. Apart from reserving seats in educational institutions and posts in Services, Government is also giving some financial and economic assistance to Backward Class people. But awarding scholarships to the Backward Class children in educational institutions has been the only substantial help rendered by the Government till now. Other forms of assistance like loans for the purchases of plough bulls, for digging wells and assigning house sites in poramboke lands are not adequate either in coverage or in quantum.

329. Scholarships both residential and non-residential types have been very liberally sanctioned in recent years. Generally, any eligible student applying for scholarship is automatically given. Therefore, a review of the scholarships both in number and quantum would be useful in assessing the progress of various castes. With a view to gain a clear picture of the cost to the Government under this head and the relative shares going to different castes, we called for castewise, categorywise and yearwise scholarship particulars from all the District Welfare Officers who generally are the sanctioning and disbursing authorities. We received the information for the last three years, i.e. 1967-68, 1968-69 and 1969-70.

330. The total amount of money disbursed during this period (1967-68, 1968-69, and 1969-70) by way of scholarships for the State as a whole works out to Rs.3,13,84,893.82. The year to year trend in the scholarship amount sanctioned shows a clear upward tendency as shown below:

Year	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70
Amount disbursed as scholarships (in Rupees).	76,06,149.30	99,25,356.34	1,38,53,388.18

This upward trend is partly due to a shift in policy, from being selective to liberal, of sanctioning scholarship; and partly due to increasing number of students from Backward Classes taking to education, particularly higher education. Incidentally, it may be noted that, in view of the fact that the number of schools and colleges keeps on increasing from year to year, and that the enrolled number of children from Backward Classes is on the increase and will be higher still in years to come; and also because we have recommended increased rates of scholarships and also higher income limit for the award of scholarships, the financial commitment to the Government would be steeply increasing from year to year. It is not, however, suggested that steps should be taken to keep this item of expenditure under check, because increased financial outlay under this head should be regarded more as an investment than as an item of current expenditure. If only proper administrative control is exercised and checks are maintained to ensure that the money flowing out of the Government reaches the persons and the purpose for which it is intended, such expenditure is bound to yield good dividends in the long run.

331. These figures would also give a general idea of the per capita expenditure incurred by the Government on the Backward Classes in the State. Though scholarships are given only to Children from Backward Classes, yet we are not far wrong in working out the per-capita expenditure for Backward Class population as a whole. Such a per-capita, with a simple assumption of static population, works out to Rs.1.52. That is, on an average the Government has spent at the rate of Rs.1.52 on every member of Backward Classes during the last three years. It would be interesting to compare this State average with that of individual castes and also groups of castes like Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes.

332. We have recorded the scholarship amount availed by each caste separately. Between castes there are wide variations suggesting that all castes are not equally placed in availing scholarships. Certain useful inferences can be drawn from these variations in scholarship amounts between castes. In fact we can also construct a ranking order of castes according to the scholarships availed as a ratio to the size of each caste. While such a ranking in the order of progress made by castes in the spheres of employment and education could be taken as scientific, care however has to be taken in an analysis of castes according to the

scholarships availed by them. A higher index for a particular caste in employment automatically suggests that that caste is better represented in Government services than another caste with a lower index. But a higher index of scholarships amount availed by a caste cannot lead to the only conclusion that the particular caste is progressive in the sphere of education. On the contrary it may also suggest that majority of the people in that caste are economically very poor, so that large number of boys and girls of scholarships from Government.

333. Therefore, if one caste has availed higher amount of scholarships, we may directly infer (1) that the educational standard among that caste people is good and therefore large number of children attend schools and colleges; (2) that the number of children in colleges is substantially higher because the scholarships amount is much more liberal for college studies than in schools; (3) that the people are economically poor and most parents have incomes less than Rs.2,000 per annum and (4) that the caste is rural in character and consequently their children have to stay in hostels situated in towns. The information may also lead to a conclusion that misuse of scholarships are widely prevalent either by means of suppressing their incomes or by falsifying caste names.

334. But castes which have availed very little of scholarships would normally suggest that their educational standard is low and that all children from these castes do not go to schools and colleges. Anyway, it would be safer to corroborate the information gathered from scholarship particulars with other evidences like progress in education and employment and economic status, before conclusions are drawn. Bearing in mind the limitations illustrated above certain inferences can however be safely drawn. For example if we distribute the total amount of Rs.3.14 crores between two groups, i.e., Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes, the information is quite rewarding. If we take the total Backward Classes population as 100, the ratio between Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes would be 56 : 44. But if we take the total amount of scholarship for the three year period under review as 100, the ratio between Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes works out to 78 : 22. In absolute terms, out of the total amount of Rs.3.14 crores disbursed as scholarships by the State, the share that has gone to Most Backward Classes is only about 70 lakhs or 22.4 per cent of the total.

335. It was mentioned earlier that the per capita expenditure by the State for Backward Classes as a whole is Rs.1.52. For Backward Classes alone as distinguished from Most Backward Classes, the per capita works out to Rs.2.10 and for Most Backward Classes alone it is Rs.0.78. This evidently shows that though scholarships have been very liberally sanctioned by the Government, the amount availed by Most Backward Classes is disproportionately low for its size. It would be ridiculous to argue that the castes classified as Most Backward Classes are economically better placed so that the parents' income is beyond the income needed. If economic aid is necessary, the need is felt more in these castes than others. The upper crust we find is either nil or negligible among these castes. classifica-

doubtful whether many castes classified as Most Backward Classes do have any crust or affluent section at all.

336. Therefore the only inescapable conclusion that could be drawn is that poverty is so acute among the Most Backward Classes that these people cannot even afford to send their children to schools and colleges; ignorance is so rampant among them that they do not, yet, realise the need for educating their children and that their daily earnings are so inadequate that they prefer to keep their children at home to help the parents rather than send them to schools. It is here that Government welfare measures should be concentrated more intensively than elsewhere. Merely liberalising the award of scholarships will not make these people avail the State aid. The problem is more deep-rooted and deserves more detailed a study.

337. We mention below (Table 17) some of the castes for whom the per capita State expenditure is very much lower than the average of Rs.1.52. The Department should probe further to ascertain the causes for the inherent apathy among such castes towards educating their children.

TABLE 17.

Per capita scholarships expenditure for certain castes:

Sl. No.	Caste	Population	Amount	Per capita
1.	Ambalakaran	2,98,024	1,89,586.50	0.64
2.	Boya, Odda	5,07,248	1,43,532.00	0.28
3.	Dommara	20,000	755.25	0.04
4.	Kulala	2,91,357	2,52,106.25	0.87
5.	Kuruba, Kurumba	2,84,307	1,42,829.25	0.50
6.	Maruthuvar	4,18,517	4,50,470.85	1.08
7.	Parvatharajakulam	3,50,000	1,55,980.25	0.45
8.	Valaiyan	6,33,478	89,242.75	0.14
9.	Vannan	4,61,239	1,97,300.30	0.43
10.	Vanniakula Kshatriya	48,61,742	45,45,296.15	0.93
Total		81,25,912	61,67,105.55	0.76

338. In contrast to the position illustrated above, we find a group of nine castes for whom the per capita State expenditure is very much higher than the average of Rs.1.52. Table 18 below illustrates their position. In the case of the former set of castes, they account for 39.3 per cent of the total Backward Classes population and the scholarships enjoyed by them works out to only 19.6 per cent. The group of 9 castes in Table 18 account for only 11.3 per cent of the total Backward Classes population and their share in the scholarship amount is as high as 34.3 per cent.

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TABLE 18

Per capita scholarship expenditure for certain castes:

S.No.	Population	Amount	Per capita
1.	1,10,102	20,13,256.50	18.29
2.	2,00,000	26,34,471.85	3.93
3.	4,70,505		
4.	1,87,829	10,30,659.45	5.49
5.	91,447	8,47,426.95	9.27
6.	1,62,812	7,08,813.60	4.25
7.	1,08,262	5,47,629.00	5.08
8.	7,00,207	18,29,782.10	2.61
9.	2,96,731	11,59,415.55	3.91
23,27,895		1,07,72,955.00	4.63

Section (iii) - Educational Progress of Backward Classes:

339. In assessing the progress made by Backward Classes in the educational fields, we are again handicapped by the non-availability of relevant statistical particulars. We could not get educational data castewise for any earlier year with which the present position could be compared. We requested all Directorates concerned with education to supply us castewise information of students in various courses. But complete information, which could be safely relied on and which covered the whole State, was available only in respect of (1) candidates from Backward Classes who appeared for the S.S.L.C. Public Examination held in March 1970, (2) number of candidates selected for admission into Engineering Colleges in the State during 1970 and (3) number of students studying in First Years M.B.B.S. course in all the Medical Colleges in the State (excepting Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70. We would therefore make use of only these particulars for our assessment purpose.

340. Here also, we adopted the same method used for assessing the progress of Backward Classes in employment. To standardise the yardstick the following values were assigned to students in different courses.

Course	Value
S.S.L.C.	One
Engineering	Five
Medical	Ten

Progressive Section:

341. The ranking order of castes according to made by each caste is shown in a separate Table is; and Since the ranking order here, as in employment, classifica-valued of students from various castes as a re

population, castes which top the list must be considered to have made good progress in the sphere of education, either by means of availing concession shown by the Government or by their own-self efforts. To have uniformity with employment assessment, if we take the first nine in the ranking order we notice that almost all castes which rank high in employment also rank high in education. Of course the ranking order within the nine castes do change marginally.

342. Table 19 below gives a picture about a group of nine castes among the Backward Classes. It is evident that a small section forming 11.3 per cent of the total Backward Classes population has made progress in an impressive way when compared to the rest.

TABLE 19

Educational particulars for a group of castes:

Caste	Population	(a)	(b)	(c)
1.	1,10,102	2,066	17	31
2.	2,00,000	5,755	47	83
3.	4,70,505			
4.	1,87,829	2,152	18	17
5.	91,447	1,216	4	7
6.	1,62,812	1,485	35	16
7.	1,08,262	1,026	13	16
8.	7,00,207	3,836	32	43
9.	2,29,731	1,817	28	37
Backward Classes as a whole	2,08,67,928	63,952	436	529
Share of the group of nine castes:				
Number	23,27,895	19,353	194	250
Percentage	11.3	30.3	44.3	47.3

343. In contrast to this we find numerous big castes, which should be considered as laggards in the field of education. Table 20 below illustrates their position.

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ever has to be take.

TABLE 20

Educational particulars for some castes.

S.No.	Caste	Population	(a)	(b)	(c)
1.	Valaiyan	6,33,478	332		
2.	Yogeeswara	75,000	10		
3.	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	3,46,682	632	1	
4.	Kuruba, Kurumba	2,84,307	2	2	
5.	Boya and Odda	5,07,248	348	3	
6.	Ambalakaran	2,98,024	374	1	
7.	Parvatharajakulam	3,50,000	448	1	2
	Backward Classes as a whole	2,08,67,928	63,952	436	529
	Share of the group of seven castes.				
	Number	24,94,739	2,137	8	2
	Percentage	12.1	3.3	1.8	0.4

Educational progress of castes under Most Backward Classes:

344. That Most Backward Classes as a group has made little or no progress in education and particularly in Engineering and Medical education is quite evident from the statistics compiled and shown in Table 21.

TABLE 21

Educational particulars of Most Backward Classes.

S.No.		(a)	(b)	(c)
1.	Total (all Classes)	1,91,853	1,089	*
2.	Backward Classes as a whole	69,952	436	529
3.	Share of Most Backward Classes in the total for Backward Classes	12,103	41	58
	Percentage	18.9	9.4	11.0

* Not available

- a) Number of students appeared for S.S.L.C. examination during March 1970
- b) Number of students selected for admission into Engineering Colleges during 1970
- c) Number of students studying in I Year B.S. Course in Medical Colleges (except Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70.

Section (iv) - Abuse of Scholarship Concessions:

345. These abuses fall into two broad categories:

- a. Production of false income certificates; and
- b. Declaration of a caste name under the classification entitled to concessions.

The abuse of the first category is widespread. All witnesses, including Principals and Headmasters in all districts testified to the prevalence of this practice even amongst well-to-do people. The only category of parents who could not produce false income certificates are salaried employees of Government. Periodical checks have been made; but unless these checks are made by an officer utterly unconnected with the Revenue Department, no useful purpose will be served. It is generally conceded that a very large percentage of people definitely above the income limit fixed are able to obtain scholarships by understating their income. Our recommendation for raising the income limit will, to a large extent, render these malpractices unnecessary. It is on this presumption we said that the extra expenditure under scholarships will not be much. Nevertheless, even at the upper income limit malpractices will continue. Rigorous administrative measures should be taken to check income certificates.

346. The other abuse is confined only to a few groups of castes. As we have stated elsewhere some forward or socially higher castes have sometimes a sub-section whose caste name is more or less similar or identical with a name found in the list of Backward Classes. Without compunction such loopholes are freely made use of. It is commonly said that Vellalas who are not in the list of Backward Classes in some areas declare themselves as Thuluva Vellalas or as Virakodi Vellalas and obtain scholarships. The abuse goes further, and far-sighted parents make such entries in school records even at the commencement of the children's education. Otherwise it is inconceivable that Virakodi Vellalas a small group confined to a few Vellalas near Pudukkottai appear even in the southern-most district of Tirunelveli. The use of 'Thuluva Vellala' is fairly widespread in all the northern districts. The large number of scholarships and admissions especially amongst the Virakodi Vellalas can be attributed only to the misuse of this obscure caste name.

347. The next group where this abuse takes place covers Vadugan and Kavarai in the list. Other branches of Telugu speaking people especially those who are entitled to describe themselves as Naidus or Naickers though they belong to different castes unhesitatingly describe themselves as Vadugans or Kavarais. We have dealt with these possibilities in our notes of these castes in Volume II. Similarly the entry, Ganjam Reddi is availed of by Reddis who are not really Ganjam Reddies. A similar situation arises in the abuse of the term, Nagaram. In Tamil Nadu at present there are no people who can be described as genuine Nagaram or Ganjam Reddies.

348. We have an entry for Sadhu Chetties including 24 Manai Telugu Chetties. It is alleged that Arya Vysia Chetties and other small sections of Chetties or Vysias who are not in the Backward Classes list sometimes describe themselves as Sadhu Chetties. This may be a reason for the figures under Sadhu Chetties under employment, education and scholarship, being very high.

348 (a). There is an abuse also of the term, Labbai by some Muslims who ordinarily in normal social life will not describe themselves as Labbais. Whatever might have been the original meaning of the word Labbai, as we have pointed out in Chapter I itself, the term has been in practice extended to cover Tamil speaking Muslims. There is a distinction between Labbai, Rowthar and Maracair in some districts even though all of them talk Tamil. It has been argued before us that this term is intended to cover all Muslims of Dravidian origin and that all the Tamil Muslims are entitled to describe themselves as Labbais. We have, however, ascertained that boys whose mother-tongue is Urdu, Arabic or Persian are also declaring themselves as Labbais. The term Labbai is used as synonymous with Muslims of Tamil Nadu.

348 (b). We have dealt with the complications arising out of the misuses of caste names in our caste notes in Volume II. Administrative measures should be taken to stop such abuses as public opinion by itself is not strong enough in this respect.

C H A P T E R IX

Denotified Tribes

349. Though our terms of reference do not specifically covered Denotified Tribes, in view of the fact that many of these Denotified Tribes belong to Backward Classes and as the administration of the ameliorative measures for Denotified Tribes now rests with the Directorate of Backward Classes, we have gone into this question in some detail. Except when the Denotified Tribe is also a Backward Class, our investigation is not particularly complete. However, we would like to record here our general impressions and recommendations regarding Denotified Tribes.

Kuravas.

350. In the list there are 21 entries relating to Kuravas--

1. Attur Kilnad Koravas,
2. Attur Melnad Koravas,
3. C.K. Koravars,
4. Changayabadi Koravas,
5. Dobba Koravas,
6. Dabi Koravas,
7. Ingi Koravas,
8. Kalingi Dabikoravas,
9. Kala Koravas,
10. Konda Koravas,
11. Ponnai Koravas,
12. Salem Melnad Koravas,
13. Salem Uppu Koravas,
14. Sakkarai Tamadai Koravas,
15. Saragapalli Koravas,
16. Thalli Koravas,
17. Thogamalai Koravas,
18. Uppu Koravas (Settipalli Koravas)
19. Vaduvarpatti Koravas,
20. Vetta Koravas,
21. Varaganeri Koravas.

Most of these descriptions have a regional qualification or a functional qualification. But all of them belong to Korava tribe. Since almost all the Korava population of the entire State appears to have been declared piece-meal as notified tribes and they have been denotified also piece-meal they do not find an entry in the list of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes, unless the entry No.2 Kuravan in the list of Scheduled Castes refers to Koravan (Denotified Tribe) as it obviously should. The difference in spelling adopted was accidental evidently as Koravan and Kuravan do not exist as two separate castes. From the representations we have received from various Koravas in different parts of the State they do not appear to be treated as a Scheduled Caste and the concessions and help which were originally being given to Denotified Tribes are also not given to them. Since before notification as a criminal tribe, they must have belonged to some caste or tribe, they must find a proper entry in the list

of Backward Classes or Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. In our view the item Kuravan in Annexure-E, Scheduled Caste throughout the State should cover all the Koravans in the Denotified list and a uniform spelling should be adopted. This should be Kuravan. That is also the spelling used in 1921 Census. In view of the fact that these people have been thoroughly neglected all along, by recognising them as legitimately belonging to a Scheduled Caste, Government will be making good at least hereafter for the past neglect. The fact that an entry Kuravan exists in the list of Scheduled Castes appears to have been ignored by all the staff concerned and at any rate the Denotified Koravans are not regarded as being covered by 'Kuravan', item No.2 in the list of Scheduled Castes. This is a sad mistake. It is very obvious that they must find a place in the list of Scheduled Castes, and this must now be made clear by using both forms of spelling-Kuravan and Koravan.

351. Regarding their population, the 1921 Census enumerates Kuravan under three categories - Telugu, Tamil and Kurava - and gives a population of 1,32,360 for the Composite State. There are Telugu speaking Kuravas in Tamil Nadu also. Having been a criminal tribe, their population would not have expanded at the same rate as the ordinary population. The 1961 population for Tamil Nadu for this caste is 78,470. These people live scattered in small communities in several districts, but nowhere in any big concentration.

Maravars and Kallars

352. The next big group is the various branches of Kallars and Maravars. The following entries are found in the list of Denotified Tribes:

1. Appanad Kondayam Kottai Maravars - Ramanathapuram and Madurai Districts--Item No.3, in the list of Denotified Tribes.
2. Maravars - Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli Districts--Item No.36,
3. Sembanad Maravars - Ramanathapuram District - Item No.55.

The bulk of the Marava population is in Thanjavur, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts and the entries cited above would practically cover all the Maravas whose population for 1971 is estimated as 8.31 lakhs.

353. There are the following entries relating to Kallars:

1. Kootappal Kallar - Tiruchirappalli District - Item No.32,
2. Piramalai Kallar - Ramanathapuram District, Madurai District and Thanjavur District - Item No.45,
3. Perala Siniyur Kallar - Tiruchirappalli district - Item No.46.

In practice it is difficult to separate Piramalai Kallars from other Kallars. These entries also would, therefore, practically cover a large section of the Kallar population, perhaps excluding the Thanjavur Kallars. Many Kallars in Thanjavur claim they are descendants of Piramalai Kallars originally of Madurai. The effect of these two groups of entries is to bring practically the entire Marava and a large section of the Kallar population under the Denotified Tribes category. These people are in the list of Backward Classes under the headings, Maravar and Kallar - Item No.72 and Item No.51 respectively, in the list of Backward Classes. There are some qualifications against both these entries; Maravar is supposed to include Karumaravar of Tiruchirappalli District and Kallar includes Esanatta Kallar. For all practical purposes these qualifications can be ignored. The Kallar population for the State is estimated as 9.75 lakhs for 1971.

Oddar and Boyars.

354. The next large group of entries relates to Oddars and Boyas--

1. Boyas of Tiruchirappalli, Nilgiris, Salem and Dharmapuri, etc. districts - Item No.6 in the list of Denotified Tribes,
2. Donga Boya without restriction of district - Item No.15,
3. Gorrela Dodda Boyar without restriction of district - Item No.21,
4. Kal Oddars - Chingleput, Ramanathapuram, Madurai, Tiruchirappalli, Tirunelveli, etc. districts -- Item No.29,
5. Kalvathila Boyas without restriction of districts - Item No.34,
6. Nellore Oddars - North Arcot District - Item No.41,
7. Oddars - Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and Madurai districts - Item No.42.
8. Pedda Boyas - Tiruchirappalli district - Item No.43,
9. Sooramari Oddars - Salem district - Item No.54.

These entries also, in view of several districts they cover, would practically embrace the Odda and Boya communities, which, in spite of their minor difference, appear to be one single big caste. Boya and Odda account for nearly 5 lakhs (1971) and from the educational point of view, the least advanced.

Valayans, etc.

355. There are several entries relating to Valayans and a few castes very closely related to them. These are --

1. Ambalagars - Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli districts - Item No.4.
2. Ambalagars - Surianur, Thanjavur district - Item No.5,

3. Chettinad Valayans - Ramanathapuram district - Item No.11,
4. Servai - Tiruchirappalli district - Item No.49,
5. Valayan - Madurai, Tiruchirappalli and Coimbatore - districts - Item No.64.

These entries covering Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Coimbatore districts would cover practically the whole of Valayan population and the communities more or less analagous to them like the Servai and Ambalakaran, though these latter titles are sometimes used by the people belonging to Mukkulathars in some places. Ambalakar and Valayan appear in the list of Most Backward communities as Item No.2 and 50 respectively. Their total population is also of the order of 10 lakhs.

Other Denotified Tribes and their place in the list of Backward Classes and Scheduled Tribes.

356. There are several other entries in the list of Denotified Tribes, which are not covered by the main groups, which we have classified above. Some of them exist in small pockets and no information is available regarding many others. In any case, their population must be comparatively small. A word must, however, be said about item No.47 in the list, viz. Padayachis of Vellayan Kuppam in South Arcot District and Tennore in Tiruchirappalli district. These people have been scattered throughout in their respective districts and cannot be distinctively identified now. What the Commission would urge is that such of these Denotified Tribes as can be related to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes should have identical entries in both the lists, as long as it is necessary to maintain a separate list of Denotified Tribes. As we have already observed, a Denotified Tribe should find a place under some caste or other either in the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes. We have admitted these correlations in respect of the four main groups. With regard to others, for whom the Commission has not been able to get any reliable data, the Collectors should be asked to identify them and relate them to their parent castes. It would be ridiculous if a name appears as a Denotified Tribe without a corresponding entry in any of the other lists of castes. The reason for the omission may be historical - the caste might have been in the list of Criminal Tribes when the list of Backward Classes was drawn up.

357. Excluding the main groups which have been enumerated above, there are the following entries in the list of Denotified Tribes:-

1. Battu Tur Kas,
2. Chakkala,
3. Domba,
- *4. Dommaras,
5. Donga Ur Korachas,
6. Devagudi Talayaris,
7. Dubbai Korachas,
8. Gudu Dasaries,
- *9. Jogis,
- *10. Jambuvanodai,

11. Kaladis,
12. Kepmaris,
- *13. Monda Golla
14. Muttakampatti,
15. Nokkars,
16. Punnam Vettuva Gounder,
17. Thelungapatti Chettis,
- *18. Thottia Naicks,
- *19. Urali Gounders,
20. Vayalpad or Nawalpota Koraches,
21. Vanganur Adi-Dravidas,
22. Veppur Parayars,
- *23. Vettikarans

We have put an asterisk against such of those entries as having a place in the list of Backward Classes. In respect of others, further enquiries should be made to identify whether they are related to or akin to or alias of any of the Backward Classes or Scheduled Castes. It is quite possible that some of these communities are extinct or have migrated or successively merged with some other communities. After ascertaining all these, the list of Denotified Tribes should be recast once again. For convenience of reference, we are attaching at list of Denotified Tribes showing against each entry the corresponding entry in the other list of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes or Most Backward Classes.

Application of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911.

358. By the application of Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, many communities were brought within its fold for police surveillance and after several years they were released from such surveillance and were thereafter known as Denotified Tribes. In view of the general backwardness in education as well as in economic condition of these people, who were driven to criminal activities due to their poverty and ignorance, Government felt it necessary to give special facilities to these people. These facilities were, however, not extended to all the Denotified Tribes. That is a complaint, which the Commission received. The Koravas who are obviously the worst of the lot educationally and economically are in the list of Backward Classes and not even in the list of Scheduled Caste and the difference in spelling was used against them. They have made no progress whatsoever, even though tribes of Koravas or Korachas were among the earliest to be brought under the Criminal Tribes Act, and settlements were formed for them and Veppur Parayars even before 1918. No special schemes or ameliorative measures appear to have been undertaken for the Valavan - Servai group or for the Padayachi group. Even the Maravas of Tirunelveli and Thanjavur complained to us that though they are also a Denotified Tribes they do not get the facilities, which are extended to the Kallars under the Special Reclamation Scheme. The general neglect of the people brought under the Criminal Tribes Act in many cases was due to the deliberate policy underlying the 1911 Act. The "Object and Reasons" of this Bill contain this significant statement -

"The object of this Bill is to enlarge the power of control by enabling the local Government to proclaim Criminal Tribes and provide for the registration of their members without reference to the possibility of settlement or of the means of living".

It is this policy which has actually accelerated the economic degradation of the people who were once brought under surveillance.

359. We have not been able to make a very intensive investigation into these complaints and Government may be pleased to ask the Collectors of these districts to report what reclamation facilities and special facilities have been extended to the various Denotified Tribes in their respective districts and what percentage of their Denotified Tribes people has been properly rehabilitated.

Reclamation work:

360. For the Denotified Tribes even as early as 1949, there were 257 schools and 4 boarding houses in Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Salem districts, costing the State Rs.6 lakhs for a year. No School fees are collected; free books and slates are distributed and the boarding grants at Rs.10 per mensem up to III Standard and Rs.12 per mensem per students above III Standard, given for pupils of Denotified Tribes living in recognised private hostels. These pupils are also entitled to scholarships on a par with the Scheduled Castes. It is understood that there are at present 270 schools and 39 boarding houses for Denotified Tribes - a larger increase in the number of Boarding homes.

Distribution of schools for Denotified Tribes

District	No. of High Schools	No. of Higher Elementary Schools	No. of elementary schools	Strength	Pre-dominant community admitted.
1. Madurai	4	34	204	31,001	Kallar
2. North Arcot	-	-	4	399	Koravar
3. Ramanathapuram	-	1	6	1,187	Maravar
4. Salem	-	-	2	294	Koravar
5. Dharmapuri	-	-	1	127	Koravar
6. Coimbatore	-	1	1	381	Koravar
7. Tirunelveli	-	-	10	942	Maravar
8. South Arcot	1	-	1	688	Veppur Parayars
Total ..	5	36	229	35,019	

Hostels for Denotified Tribes

District	No. of hostels.	Strength	To whom intended
1. Madurai	16	2,385	Piramalai Kallars
2. Tirunelveli	8	580	Maravars
3. Chingleput	2	180	Donga Dasari
4. Ramanathapuram	8	625	Koravars and Maravars
5. Tiruchirappalli	5	174	Koravars
	39	3,944	

361. In addition to these educational facilities, various measures have been undertaken for their economic upliftment like supply of bulls for cultivation purposes, loans for irrigation wells, lands for house building, loan-cum-subsidy for house construction, etc. A comprehensive statement showing the provisions made specifically for Denotified Tribes is given below:

Education:

1. Supply of midday meals.
2. Scholarship: Pre-matric and post-matric.
3. Construction of school buildings.
4. Supply of clothing.
5. Supply of books and slates.
6. Equipment for schools.
7. Opening and maintenance of hostels.
8. Construction of buildings for hostels.
9. Appointment of part-time tutors.
10. Appointment of additional teachers.
11. Houses for teachers.
12. Excursion.
13. Training centres for All-India Service Examinations.

Economic uplift:

14. Agriculture: .i. Supply of plough bulls.
ii. Subsidy for wells.
15. Cottage industries.

Health, housing and other schemes:

16. Housing.

362. There are 39 Government Denotified Tribes' Hostels in the State of which 16 are located in Madurai District. Here again, admission to the hostels is not strictly confined to Denotified Tribes alone. The allocation for admission to boarders in the schools is generally on the following lines:-

Denotified Tribes	..	60%
Scheduled Castes	..	25%
Backward Classes	..	10%
Forward Communities	..	5%
		100%

Even then, the main beneficiaries are the Denotified Tribes. We have given a statement of the distribution of Denotified Tribes Schools and Denotified Tribes Hostels in an earlier paragraph.

363. The hostels in Tiruchirappalli District are largely for Maravars and Koravars, but the strength of the inmates is comparatively smaller. The hostels in Chingleput district are for Dasaries. In Ramanathapuram district there are 2 hostels for Koravars and 6 for Maravars.

Kallar Reclamation.

364. Even as early as 1920, reclamation scheme for the Piramalai Kallars in Madurai district were introduced. In 1922-23 it was extended to the Ramanathapuram District also. The attempt to extend the reclamation scheme to the Thanjavur District made in the subsequent year, proved a failure. So also the scheme in Ramanathapuram district. The reclamation work, which was under the administrative control of the Police Department till then, was eventually concentrated in the Madurai District where in 1930 there were 970 Kallar villages. Besides opening schools and a hostel at Usilampatti for Kallar children, cottage industries were also introduced and vocational training was given to the school children. Lands were also assigned to such of these Kallar cultivators who expressed a desire to settle down. Co-operative societies were also formed for helping them with short and long term loans for agricultural operations. The Kallar community appears to have made proper use of these facilities. During the Second Five Year Plan, schemes for the reclamation of Denotified Tribes were undertaken both under State and Central Sectors. But the Third Five Year Plan schemes intended for Denotified Tribes over and above the level of development, reached at the end of the previous Plans, were undertaken under what are known as Centrally sponsored schemes. The bulk of the expenditure under the Denotified Tribes Programme has been incurred for Kallar Reclamation. Out of the 270 schools run for the benefit of the Denotified Tribes, in the entire State, 242 are located in Madurai district for Piramalai Kallars. The other 28 schools are scattered in Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Salem and Dharmapuri, Coimbatore, North Arcot and South Arcot districts. It must, however, be observed that these schools are not exclusively for any one Denotified Tribe.

Maravars:

365. From the various statistics we have collected, it looks obvious that the Maravars of Tirunelveli and elsewhere have not made much progress in education and in gaining employment as even the Kallars have made though even the Kallars' progress is by no means impressive. A sense of discontent and frustration prevails amongst the Maravars. Amongst the 270 schools and 29 boarding houses run for Denotified Tribes, the number in Tirunelveli which is the homeland of the Maravars is only 8 boarding houses and 10 Higher elementary schools, and the Marava population is over 3.58 lakhs for 1961, against the Kallar population in Madurai of 2.88 lakhs for whom there are 240 schools and 16 boarding houses including 4 High Schools.

Other Denotified Tribes:

366. Practically next to nothing has been done for that large group of castes covered by the descriptions Valayan, Ambalagar, Servai, etc., whose population (7.8 lakhs) is largely concentrated in the districts of Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli and Coimbatore. In the matter of elementary education and high school education, the Maravas and the Oddars are far behind the Kallars; but the Valayan nowhere in the picture. If economic assistance and schooling facilities were given to these people during the last 25 years on a par with the Piramalai Kallars, there is no doubt that at least the Maravas would have come up very high in educational and economic advancement. Whatever funds are available for the welfare of the Denotified Tribes should be directed towards rehabilitating these two groups - Maravars and Valayans. Central assistance is available for the rehabilitation of Denotified Tribes and the Commission is informed that the State has not fully utilised these facilities. In the Second Plan an amount of Rs.2.27 lakhs out of Rs.92.79 lakhs was not utilised. But during the period 1967-70 an additional amount of Rs.10.43 lakhs was spent by the State Government over and above the Central assistance released by the Government of India. As per the decision of the Planning Commission, all schemes intended for nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes would receive cent per cent Central assistance and several of the Denotified Tribes would come under this category also. Regarding Denotified Tribes as such which may not be covered by the definition of nomadic and semi-nomadic, the possibility of securing as much assistance as possible from the Centre which is responsible for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be explored. We have consulted the local officials of the Union Backward Classes Department on this.

Population of Denotified Tribes:

367. Collectors of districts gave an estimate of the population of Denotified Tribes for 1962-63 as 12.82 lakhs and gave the following distribution:-

Name of the district.	Approximate population of Denotified Tribes.	Areas where they are usually concentrated.
1. Madras City	1,500	Brizalenagar Settlement at Perambur.
2. Chingleput	2,500	Pammal Settlement, Villivakkam.
3. Coimbatore	8,980	Taluku - 1. Avanashi, 2. Bhavani, 3. Gobi, 4. Coimbatore.
4. Madurai	2,27,013	Taluku - 1. Tirumangalam, 2. Periakulam, 3. Madurai, 4. Nilakottai, 5. Dindigul.
5. North Arcot	1,931	Taluku - 1. Vellore, 2. Wallajah, 3. Cheyyar, 4. Arani, 5. Poltur, 6. Tiruvannamalai, 7. Tirupattur.

Name of the district.	Approximate population of Denotified Tribes.	Areas where they are usually concentrated.
6. Ramanathapuram	4,78,874	Taluku - 1. Mudukulathur, 2. Tiruvadanai, 3. Tiruppattur, 4. Sattur, 5. Srivilliputhur, 6. Aruppukottai, 7. Paramakudi, 8. Ramanathapuram and 9. Sivaganga.
7. Salem and Dharmapuri	9,758	Taluku - 1. Attur, 2. Dharmapuri and 3. Harur.
8. South Arcot	1,593	Aziznagar settlement at Oomangalam in Vriddhachalam Taluk.
9. Thanjavur	1,43,581	They are spread throughout the district. 50% of them live in Pattukkottai Taluk.
10. Tiruchirappalli	1,270	Taluku - 1. Manapparai, 2. Tiruchirappalli, 3. Karur, 4. Perambalur, 5. Lalgudi, 6. Alangudi, 7. Musiri, 8. Udayarpalayam, and 9. Tirumangalam.
11. Tirunelveli	4,05,000	Taluku - 1. Tenkasi, 2. Sankarankoil, 3. Shencottai, 4. Koilpatti, 5. Tirunelveli, 6. Ambasamudram, 7. Tiruchendur, 8. Srivaikuntam, 9. Nanguneri.
12. Nilgiris	--	
13. Kanyakumari	--	
	12,82,000	

368. This statement appears to be a gross underestimate. The break-up of the Denotified Tribes under various groups has already been given. In view of the fact that Maravars in three of the largest districts are Denotified Tribes and some of the other groups in almost all the districts are also in this category, the population according to our estimate would be about 30 lakhs and the split up is given below:-

Maravars	...	8.26 lakhs
Kallars (Madurai alone)	...	5.00 lakhs
Oddas, Boyas in the districts	...	3.00 lakhs
Ambalagarans	...	2.98 lakhs
Valayars	...	6.33 lakhs
Koravars	...	0.90 lakh
Other miscellaneous tribes about 23 in number.	...	3.00 lakhs

29.47 lakhs or

New Reclamation Schemes for Maravars and others.

369. The Marava concentration is in Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram districts, where they form 13.1% and 9.4% of the district population respectively. The Valayans are concentrated in Madurai - 4.3% of the district population, Tiruchirappalli - 3.5% of the district population, Thanjavur - 4.2% of the district population, Ramanathapuram - 5.2% of the district population. Any extra expenditure for the reclamation of the Valayans and the Maravas would contribute to the general economic improvement of Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts, where their population is the heaviest. The Commission very strongly recommend reclamation schemes on a par with the Kallar Reclamation should be started for the Maravas of Tirunelveli and for the Maravas and Valayans of Ramanathapuram district on a priority basis, in the first instance. If concentrated attention is paid to elementary, and high school education, their lag in this sphere will be made up in the course of 10 years. Along with this, cottage industries should also be developed and more attention should be devoted to craft based education. The Oddars occupy almost the lowest scale in educational advancement. The least Government should do is to start half a dozen High Schools with boarding in areas of their concentration in Dharmapuri and Salem Districts, and enable at least about 200 boys to do S.S.L.C. every year. This should be the beginning of their absorption with the rest of the society in the matter of participation in education.

Financing Reclamation:

370. For Denotified Tribes Government expenditure is incurred in two categories --

- (a) Non-Plan schemes; and
- (b) Centrally sponsored schemes.

The amount provided under Non-Plan Schemes covers the expenditure required to carry on schemes which were initiated under the earlier Plans i.e. for continuance of pre-existing schemes mainly under the category of schools and hostels and industrial institutes. The Centrally-sponsored schemes cover pre-matric and post-Matric Scholarships, construction of hostels, putting up of industries etc., which are undertaken newly during the year, in addition to the continuance of pre-existing expenditure which is classified as 'Non-Plan'. In the abstract of expenditure supplied by the Department of Backward Classes for the year 1970-71, following provisions are shown:-

(Non-Plan ..	Rs. 1,68,09,800
Centrally sponsored Schemes ..	Rs. 19,50,700
Centrally assisted schemes ..	Rs. 2,44,04,700
Total ..	Rs. 3,31,65,200

Out of Rs. 19,50,000 (excluding capital expenditure) mentioned above, the Government of India have allotted only Rs. 18.5 lakhs which includes Rs. 4.22 lakhs, for Kallar Reclamation as the amount for Centrally Sponsored Schemes. As the Union Government assumes responsibility for schemes for the amelioration of the

Denotified Tribes, advantage should be taken fully of this to promote new schemes for the various groups of Denotified Tribes other than Kallars under the second category. Under the orders of the Government of India, a bulk allotment is made for the amelioration of Denotified Tribes, Nomadic tribes and semi-nomadic tribes for expenditure under education and other schemes; but the schemewise break-up for the outlay approved for Notified Tribes and Nomadic Tribes has to be furnished to the Government of India.

Nomadic Tribes:

371. The Committee appointed to go into the condition of the Nomadic Tribes, in its report of 1961, has particularly mentioned the existence of numerous nomadic tribes for whom nothing has been done by the State Government. The Seminar in Human Rights, held under the auspices of the UNESCO in February 1969 in Madras also requested the Government to conduct an enquiry into the living conditions of the nomadic tribes and particularly mentioned 'Kurivikarans', 'Kudukuduppaikarans'. Our attention has also been drawn to Appendix 38 to the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1961-62, Part II, in which the Planning Commission had advised that at least two-thirds of the expenditure should be on rehabilitation and economic development. It is surprising that even in 1960-61 the adoption of illicit distillation as a regular source of income by many members of the Denotified Tribes was noticed. The practice still continues and it has been freely admitted to us. It is also true that there are a number of specialised occupations traditionally carried on by different groups of denotified tribes. A more comprehensive survey than we have been able to make should be undertaken of the conditions of the Denotified Tribes and, as we have already observed, giving their children elementary education should be regarded as the first charge on the State. It is also possible to devise on a co-operative basis, a number of rural industries with which these people are familiar. Even for most backward classes we have suggested setting up of nursery schools. Similar schools are more necessary for the children of Denotified Tribes, in view of the terrible backlog in education and prevalence of unhealthy social customs. In areas where the members of these tribes are given to such unsocial occupations as illicit distillation, petty thieving, etc., residential schools should be opened, where children should be kept and taught at least up to the Higher Elementary Standard. These schools would be of immense benefit to the various Kuruva communities and some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes who have unfortunately failed to find a place even in our list of Scheduled Tribes.

372. As the terms of such of these Denotified Tribes as belonging to the category of Scheduled Tribes and other nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes are of a similar nature, it is suggested that the welfare of these tribes along with that of the Scheduled Tribes may be looked after by the Department of Backward Classes.

373. General purpose Engineering Workshops, under the Director of Industries and Commerce (Rural Projects) have been established in V.K. Pudur in Tirunelveli district, Mudukulathur in Ramanathapuram district and in Chekkanurani in Madurai district, completely

financed by Central Government. These are not being fully utilised by the members of the Denotified Tribes. The absence of follow-up programme vitiates even this small endeavour to rehabilitate them. If industrial co-operatives are started for the benefit of these people in trades with which they are proficient, Central assistance to the tune of 90% towards the share capital, managerial expenditure and godowns is obtainable from the Union Government.

Propaganda:

374. It is our impression that these Denotified Tribes and nomadic tribes, much more than the Backward Classes or the Scheduled Castes, are totally ignorant of the facilities which are available to them, under the various schemes of the Central or State Government. They had endured poverty and misery so long that they are themselves unaware of the depth of their misery. It should be the endeavour of the State to inform people, by the use of different communication media and personal contacts by officers with a sense of social justice, that they should avail themselves of the various ameliorative measures open to them. This must be part of the education given to the people to make them aware of their place in society and of their right as citizens in a welfare State.

A project for the socio-economic study of Castes and Tribes.

375. No comprehensive study has been undertaken so far of the social and economic conditions of the tribal people in the State. The description "tribal people" will cover many of the Denotified Tribes whose parent caste may be a Scheduled Tribe. It will also cover a number of small groups of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, scattered throughout the State, particularly in the hilly and mountainous areas. The Government of India is interested in making a proper study of their ways of life and their requirements. A provision appears to have been made, almost every year, for such a study and this provision remains unutilised. It will be desirable if the State Government avails of this facility for making a sociological and economic study. The Chairman has recommended separately elsewhere a project for the study of the socio-economic conditions of the Castes and Tribes of Tamil Nadu. Part of the expenditure for this project can be met from this Central assistance.

C H A P T E R X

SIZE OF BACKWARD CLASSES

376. The method we adopted for estimating the size of Backward Classes in the State is described in Chapter II. Since castewise Census was not conducted recently, we had to rely completely on the earlier Census of 1921. We learnt that, when the 1951 Census was conducted, the State Government requested the Census Authorities to undertake an enumeration of Backward Classes (as found in the list). Since castewise enumeration was given up as a matter of policy, the figures were not incorporated in the Census Report, but were apparently furnished separately to the State Government. We thought our job would be made easier if this information was made available to us. We, therefore, made a request to the Chief Secretary, but after making a thorough search in various departments and Record Office, the Government replied that there is no trace of these papers.

377. The 88 castes enumerated in 1921 Census, cover most of the major castes in our list of Backward Classes. Even in respect of some of the smaller castes, enumeration was made in 1921 Census; they are however not included in the main table but are shown in a separate table with indication of the chief areas of habitation of such castes. Consequently only for a few castes we do not have information in the Census Report. We wrote to all the District Collectors to furnish us information about the size of various castes in their respective districts and reports were received from all Collectors except Madras. The Collector of Madras explained that this work could not be undertaken in view of the cosmopolitan nature of the City, which is understandable. Thus, making use exclusively of Census Reports and Collectors' Reports, we have estimated the size of each individual caste and that of total Backward Classes. We have estimated the population for the year 1971 mainly with a view to have conformity with the Census figures. The detailed statements are given at the end of the section. An abstract is shown below:—

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Total Tamil Nadu Estimated Population (1971)	4,00,34,200	100
Total Backward Classes Population (1971)	2,04,67,928	51.13
Backward Classes only (1971)	1,15,14,597	28.76
Most Backward Classes only (1971)	89,53,331	22.37

378. The statement covers 105 castes for the State as a whole in conformity with the residual list prepared by us recommending for deletion such of the castes: (1) which are found to be not existing in the State at present, (2) which are redundant, and (3) which are treated as Scheduled Tribes and Castes [refer section (ii) of this Chapter]. Population figures relating to castes in Kanyakumari district alone are shown in a separate statement.

379. Mention, however, must be made about one or two minor omissions which must be taken into consideration.

1. Population figures furnished by the Collectors, cover only 13 districts excluding Madras. In respect of castes for which we have made use of the information given by the Collectors, i.e., castes for which Census figures are not available, the total works out to 11,92,401. We must make a provision purely based on guesswork for the City of Madras. We have taken $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, more or less on a pro-rata basis.

2. Figures furnished by the Collectors relate to the current year, whereas our projections relate to 1971. Evidently we must take note of the probable growth for one year between 1970 and 1971. Therefore, the size of 11,92,401 must be further projected to 1971 making use of the annual growth rate of 1.88% arrived at by the Planning Commission. This growth in number would be roughly 25,000.

380. These items will account for about 2 lakhs which must be added to the total figures, previously arrived at. The size would, therefore, be 2,06,67,928. This final figure would represent 51.63 per cent of the total, out of which Backward Classes alone would account for 29.01 per cent and Most Backward Classes 22.12 per cent or roughly 29 and 22 $\frac{1}{2}$.

381. It must be stressed here, that though our estimation of the total population of the State is likely to be fairly accurate our estimation of the size of the Backward Classes as a whole and of the size of the individual castes might have erred on the modest or conservative side. All castes do not increase at a uniform rate. So far as population behaviour is concerned the growth rate is generally inversely proportional to social hierarchy. Socially lower castes with a lower standard of living have a higher propensity to multiply. Particular religious and social taboos too have an effect on population growth. Taking the Backward Classes as a whole, as many of them have a lower standard of living, we would have been justified if we applied a higher growth rate than the average based on total behaviour. If we had done that, the actual size would be marginally higher than what it is now. To avoid complications, we have used the conventional and conservative method of using the accepted average rates only. If actual Census of castes is undertaken the Backward Classes as a whole, and some of the major Most Backward Classes would be moderately higher than our estimation.

Statement - 1

SIZE OF BACKWARD CLASSES - 1971

Sl. No.	Caste Name	Estimate	Collectors' Report
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
11.	Agamudaiyan (including Thuluva Vellala)	670,505 (C)	1,387,172
2.	Ambalakaran	298,024 (C)	169,733
3.	Andipandaram	122,887 (C)	26,647
4.	Jangam	56,862 (C)	39,444
4.	Badaga	125,892 (D)	125,892
5.	Bestha, Siviari of Coimbatore	9,166 (C)	654
6.	Bhatraju	10,000 (C)	96
7.	Billava	5,000 (E)	
8.	Bondil	2,000 (D)	2,000
9.	Boya (Odde, Vodde) Vadde or Vaddai	507,248 (C)	90,760
10.	Dasari	11,708 (D)	11,708
11.	Devanga (Sedan)	296,731 (C)	214,162
12.	Dombara	20,000 (E)	30
13.	Dudekula	4,000 (E)	
14.	Enadi	8,494 (C)	
15.	Eravallar	1,403 (D)	1,403
16.	Gangavars	749 (D)	749
17.	Gavara (including Kavarai Naidu of Coimbatore district)	187,829 (D)	
18.	Gowda	59,053 (D)	59,053
19.	Gramani, Shanani, Nadar (including Kanyakumari district)	1,559,339 (C)	1,292,605
20.	Hegde	600 (E)	
21.	Idiga including Setti Baliya	28,793 (C)	30,055
22.	Illuvan (Ezhuvar, Illathan)	69,577 (C)	56,983
23.	Isai Vellalar or Melakkaran	150,000 (E)	47,220
24.	Jambuvonandai	2,000 (E)	
25.	Jhetty	1,115 (D)	1,115
			(Thanjavur)
26.	Jogi	15,621 (D)	15,621
27.	Kabbora	2,000 (E)	
28.	Kadupattan (Malabar)	1,500 (E)	
29.	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	700,207 (C)	450,209
30.	Kalingi	5,000 (E)	
31.	Kallar	975,712 (C)	504,569
32.	Kammalar (Kamsala etc.)	1,185,313 (C)	413,986
33.	Kani or Kaniyan and Kanisu etc.	1,600 (C)	594
34.	Kannadiyar	15,604 (D)	15,604
35.	Katesan or Pattamkatti	2,000 (C)	
36.	Kavuthiyan	2,000 (E)	
37.	Kerala Mudali (Kanyakumari)	16,842 (D)	16,842
38.	Kharvi	1,000 (E)	
39.	Khatiri	10,000 (E)	
40.	Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore district)	9,155 (E)	585
41.	Koppalavelamas	5,000 (E)	
42.	Koteyar	3,000 (E)	

Statement - 1--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Caste Name (2)	Estimate (3)	Collectors' Report (4)
43.	Kulala	286,873 (C)	125,109
	Kusavans (Kanyakumari district)	4,484 (D)	
44.	Kunnuvar Mannadi	15,000 (E)	
45.	Kuruba, Kurumba	284,307 (C)	122,920
46.	Kuruhini Chetty	139 (D)	139
47.	Labbai	613,166 (C)	614,345
48.	Lambadis	20,000 (E)	5,308
49.	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin or Namdev Mahratta)	33,011 (C)	35,590
50.	Mappilla	2,543 (C)	
51.	Maravar	831,299 (C)	97,512
52.	Maruthuvar	413,807 (C)	142,151
	Mangala	4,710 (D)	4,710
53.	Moniagar	10,937 (D)	10,937
54.	Moundadan Chetty	2,762 (D)	2,762
55.	Muduga, Medava, Mahendra Medavar	15,000 (E)	144
56.	Mukkuvan, Mukayan	71,455 (D)	71,455 (K.Kumari)
57.	Mutlakampatti	5,000 (E)	
58.	Muthuracha	346,682 (C)	229,902
59.	Muthirayar		
60.	Nagaram	14,777 (D)	14,777
61.	Narikoravan	20,000 (E)	2,241
62.	Nekkar	5,573 (C)	400
63.	Odiya	600 (E)	
64.	Pamulu	900 (E)	
65.	Panniyar or Pannayar	3,000 (C)	1,350
66.	Paravans (in area other than Kanyakumari district)	29,453 (D)	89,457
67.	Paravan Christian (in Kanyakumari district).	18,578 (D)	18,578
68.	Parkavakulam	481,322 (C)	202,498
69.	Parvatharajakulam	350,000 (F)	52,987
70.	Perike, Perike Baliya	2,463 (D)	2,463
71.	Poraya	500 (E)	
72.	Pulluvan	1,354 (D)	1,354
73.	Punna Vettuva Gounder	1,000 (E)	137
74.	Pusalar	3,500 (E)	
75.	Rajapuri	1,000 (E)	4
76.	Reddi (Ganjam)	60,754 (D)	60,754
77.	Sadhu Chetty (including Telugu Chetty or 24 Manai Telugu Chetty	108,262 (D)	108,262
78.	Saliyan (Padmasalai etc.)	120,837 (C)	79,599
79.	Sathatha Srivaishnava	29,186 (C)	3,392
80.	Senaithalaivar	150,000 (E)	120,840
81.	Sourashtra	162,812 (C)	115,989
82.	Sozhia Chetty	8,506 (D)	8,506
83.	Srisayana	3,000 (E)	
84.	Telugupathy Chetty	Included in item 77	
85.	Thiyyas of Ponnani, Palghat	3,143 (D)	3,143

Statement - 1--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Caste Name (2)	Estimate (3)	Collectors' Report (4)
86.	Thogata Veerakshatriya	4,000 (E)	
87.	Tholuva Naicker and Vettakara Naicker	67,715 (D)	67,715
88.	Thoriyan	6,089 (D)	6,089
89.	Thottia Naicker (including Rajakambalam etc.)	37,849 (D)	37,849
90.	Tondaman	8,000 (E)	4,707
91.	Uppara (Sagara, Uppara)	26,049 (C)	16,740
92.	Urali Goundan etc.	81,956 (D)	81,956
93.	Vaduvan (Vadugan)	110,102 (C)	249,634
94.	Valaiyan	633,478 (C)	85,383
95.	Valmiki	3,485 (D)	3,485
96.	Vaniyar	372,805 (C)	187,566
97.	Vannan	461,239 (C)	234,765
98.	Vanniyakula Kshatriya	4,861,742 (C)	3,515,402
99.	Vettaikaran	10,984 (D)	10,984
100.	Vettuva Gounder	53,568 (D)	53,568
101.	Virakodi Vellalar	91,447 (D)	91,447
102.	Vakkaliga	144,478 (C)	68,354
103.	Wynad Chetty	4,195 (D)	4,195
104.	Yadava	1,373,246 (C)	641,255
	Mond Golla	12,357 (C)	
105.	Yogeswaran	75,000 (E)	1,940
		20,202,012	

Statement - 2.

POPULATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES IN KANYAKUMARI
DISTRICT ONLY - 1971

Sl. No. (1)	Caste Name (2)	Estimate (3)	Collectors' Report (4)
1.	Araya	671 (C)	727
2.	Boyan	Included in the main list	
3.	Chavalkaran		
4.	Chettis	9,669 (C)	2,461
5.	C.S.I. Christians & S.I.U.C.	114,686 (C)	
6.	Ezhavas	Included in the main list	
7.	Ezhavathy	21 (C)	
8.	Ezhuthachan		
9.	Hindu Nadar	Included in the main list	
10.	Kalarikurups		
11.	Kammalas	Included in the main list	
12.	Kaniyan	616 (C)	
13.	Kerala Mudali	Included in the main list	
14.	Krishnavakar	24,435 (C)	
15.	Kudumbis		
16.	Kumbarans		
17.	Kusavans	Included in the main list	
18.	Labbaais	24,661 (E)	
19.	Latin Catholics	62,242 (C)	72,651
20.	Maravans	Included in the main list	
21.	Mukkuvans	Included in the main list	
22.	Naikkans		
23.	Odans		
24.	Pattariyars or Pattariar		
25.	Perumkollans		
26.	Saliyas	Included in the main list	
27.	Sourashtras	Included in the main list	
28.	Senaithalaivar (Ilavaniar)	341 (C)	
29.	Tholkollans		
30.	Valans		
31.	Vanias	Included in the main list	
32.	Veerasaivas	5,562 (C)	
33.	Velans	903 (C)	
34.	Veluthedathu Nairs	588 (C)	
35.	Vilakkathala Nairs	6,521 (C)	
36.	Yadava	Included in the main list	
		250,916	
	Approximate total population of castes in S.Nos.3, 8, 10, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28 and 29	15,000	
	Total ..	265,916	

Statement - 3

SIZE OF MOST BACKWARD CLASSES ONLY - 1971

S.No.	Caste Name	Estimate
1.	Ambalakaran	298,024 (C)
2.	Andipandaram (Jangam)	179,749 (C)
3.	Bestha, Siviari of Coimbatore district	9,166 (C)
4.	Bhatraja	10,000 (C)
5.	Boya (Odde or Vodde or Vadde or Voddai and Oddan - Donga)	507,248 (C)
6.	Dasari	11,708 (D)
7.	Dommara	20,000 (E)
8.	Eravallar	1,403 (D)
9.	Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar of Thanjavur District.	75,000 (E)
10.	Jambuvanondai	2,000 (E)
11.	Jogi	15,621 (D)
12.	Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore District)	9,155 (E)
13.	Kulala (Kuyavar-Potter; including Kusavans of Kanyakumari district)	286,873 (C)
	Kusavan (Kanyakumari district)	4,484 (D)
14.	Kunnuvar Mannadi	15,000 (E)
15.	Kuruba, Kurumba	284,307 (C)
16.	Kuruhini Chetty	139 (D)
17.	Maruthuvar (Mangala, Velakattalavan, Vilkurup, Navithar)	413,807 (C)
18.	Mangala	4,710 (D)
	Velakattalavan	6,521 (C)
19.	Mond Golla	12,357 (C)
20.	Moundadan Chetty	2,762 (D)
21.	Mudugar, Medavar, Mahendra Medara	15,000 (E)
22.	Mutlakampatti	5,000 (E)
23.	Marikoravan (Nakkale)	20,000 (E)
24.	Nokkar	5,573 (C)
25.	Padayachi, Palli, Vanniakula Kshatriya and Agnikula Kshatriya	4,861,742 (C)
26.	Paravans	89,457 (C)
27.	Parvatharajakulam (Pattanavan, Sembadavan)	350,000 (F)
28.	Punnan Vettuva Gounder	1,000 (E)
29.	Sathatha Srivaishnava	29,186 (C)
30.	Sozhia Chetty	8,506 (D)
31.	Telugupathy Chetty	50,000 (E)
32.	Thottia Naicker (including Rajakambalam, Gollavar, Sillavar, Thockalavar and Tholuva Naicker)	105,564 (D)
33.	Tondaman	8,000 (E)
34.	Valaiyan	633,478 (C)
35.	Vannan	461,239 (C)
36.	Vettaikaran	10,984 (D)
37.	Vettuva Gounder	53,568 (D)
38.	Yoggeeswaran	75,000 (E)
		8,953,331

- C: Major castes enumerated in 1921 main Census table
 D: Information given by District Collectors
 E: Estimate made making use of the information given in 1921 Census Report for minor castes
 F: Information given by Director of Fisheries

C H A P T E R - X I

Reclassification of the lists of Backward Classes.

Section I -- Main list.

382. We have already observed that there are three States Lists of Backward Classes and that there are anomalies in them. One list is annexed to the prospectus issued by the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and is used for the 25 per cent reservation for Government appointments and for admissions to educational institutions. Another list is appended to Madras Educational Rules and this is followed by the Education Department for granting half and full fee concessions to students. There is yet a third list found in the notification of Social Welfare Department for purposes of awarding scholarships of various types. It is seen that a comprehensive list of Backward Classes was drawn up 1951 and incorporated in Madras Educational Rules. The same list was followed by the Social Welfare Department. Thereafter as and when the request of particular communities for inclusion in the list was conceded by the Government, an administrative order to that effect was issued, but not amendment of the list was made. Consequently even these two lists are not comparable at present. The following are some glaring defects in the lists requiring rectification:-

(1) The lists were drawn along time back when Madras was a Composite State covering parts of the neighbouring States, i.e. Kerala, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh. Many castes which are not found in our State still continue in the lists. These are apparently found in areas which have since acceded to other States.

(2) Some castes found in one list do not figure in the other lists.

(3) There is no separate list of Most Backward Classes for Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission, for the obvious reason that there is no separate reservation in appointments for Most Backward Classes now.

(4) Some of the castes shown under Most Backward Classes do not figure under Backward Classes which are supposed to include them.

(5) Some castes are enumerated more than once under different names or titles.

(6) Some castes which are recognised by the Government of India as Scheduled Castes and Tribes are also found in the Backward Classes list at present. Moreover there are some other castes which can be legitimately classified as Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Such cases can be recommended to Government of India for inclusion in the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

383. The existing lists have been thoroughly examined and a separate list of Most Backward Classes is drawn up; but care is taken to include all such castes under the Backward Classes also figure under Backward Classes for the purpose of

uniformity. If the Government agrees to our recommendation for maintaining a separate list of Most Backward Classes also for appointment to services, then the final list we have prepared may be uniformly adopted for all purposes, with one exception. Scheduled Castes converts (those who are themselves Converts) figure at present only in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list. For educational concessions and scholarships they are treated as 'eligible community'. This exception will continue.

384. In respect of Kanyakumari district, for special reasons explained elsewhere, a separate list is maintained at present. This is dealt with under a separate heading.

385. The final list thus prepared is shown in statements 1, 2 and 3 appended to this section. Seventy castes are recommended for deletion from the existing lists after very carefully study. No representation from these castes have been received by the Commission inspite of several notifications in the newspapers, obviously suggesting that they no longer exist in our State. All available records have been thoroughly checked. In the Census conducted in 1951, though castewise figures were not given, useful information about the areas (taluks and districts) in which the various castes were to be found were given. The Director of Harijan Welfare in the past, while recommending some castes to the Government for inclusion, had also given clear description of the castes, their occupation and the areas in which they were found living. These materials have been extremely useful in locating the places of origin of these castes. Castewise particulars of employees in Government services and scholarship records for the last three years were also carefully scrutinised to make sure that no caste is recommended for deletion, children from which are enjoying educational concessions and members from which are at present in Government services. These castes were also referred to the District Collectors and they were requested to verify if these caste people live anywhere in their districts.

386. The castes which are recommended for deletion are shown in a separate statement (Statement 4) and the reasons for deletion are given against each case.

Note.— In view of the difficulties sometime experienced with the English spelling of caste names, and also taking into consideration the requests of some people about how the caste names should be pronounced and written, we have given the Tamil spelling, which in case of doubt should be regarded as more authoritative.

STATEMENT - 1.

Residual list of Backward Classes after deleting redundancies and clubbing together of alternative descriptions.

Present entry	Description suggested	
1. Agamudaiyans (including Thuluva Vellala)	a) Agamudayar of South-ern Tamil districts belonging to Mukkulathors.	அ) தென் தமிழகம் உள்ள முகலாதர்கள்.
	b) Agamudayar of Northern Tamil districts.	ஆ) வட மாவட்டங்களில் உள்ள அகமதையர்.
	c) Thozhu or Thuluva Vellala.	இ) தொழுவல்லையர்.
2. Ambalakaran	Ambalakarar	அம்பலக்காரர்
3. Andipandaram	Andipandaram	ஆண்டிப்பண்டாரம்
4. Badaga	Badagar	படகர்
5. Bestha or Siviari of Coimbatore district.	Bestha or Siviari.	பெத்தா, சிவியர்.
6. Bhatraju	Bhatraju	பட்டராஜர்
7. Billava	Billava	பில்லவர்
8. Bondil	Bondil	புண்டில்
9. Boya (Odde, Voddai, or Voddai-Oddan (Donga))	Boya, Oddar.	பேயர், ஒட்டர்.
10. Dasari	Dasari	தாசரி.
11. Devanda (Sedan)	Devangar (Sadan)	தேவாங்கர் (சேடன்).
12. Dudekula	Dudekula	துடகூலா
13. Enadi	Enadi	ஏனாதி
14. Eravallar	Eravallar.	ஏரவல்லர்.
15. Gangavars	Gangavar	கங்கவார்
16. Gavarai (including Kavarai Naidu of Coimbatore district)	Kavarai (Gavarai) and Vadugan (Vadugan) - (other than Kamma, Kapu, Balija and Reddi)	கவரை. கடுகன் (கடுகன்). தமிழர், பவிஜர், காப்பி மங்கும் ஏரட்டி. நீங்கலாரு.

Present entry	Description suggested	
17. Gowda (including Gammala, Kalali)	Gowda (including Gammala, Kalali)	கொட்டி (கம்மலா கலாலி உட்பட)
18. Gramani, Shanan and Nadar.	Nadar, Shanan and Gramani.	நகர், ஷானன், கிராமனி.
19. Converts from Christianity from Scheduled Castes (only persons who are themselves converts)	i) Converts from Christianity from Scheduled Castes. ii) Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes: for the purpose of award of fee concessions and scholarships.	கிறித்தவ மதம் மாறிய நபர்களைப் பற்றி. அ) நாமே மதம் மாறியவர்களுக்கு மட்டும்: கல்வி நிறுவனங்கள், அரசுப் பணிகள் ஆவற்றில் இயற்கை உரிமை.
20. Hegde	Hegde	ஹேக்டே.
21. Idiga (including Setti Baliya)	Idiga	இடிகா
22. Illuvan (Ezhuvan, Illathar)	Illathu Pillaimar	இல்லத்தூட்டி மிள்ளைமார்.
23. Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar.	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar.	இசை வேளாளர் அல்லது மேளக்காரர்.
24. Jambuvanodai	Jambuvanodai	ஜாம் பவனோடே.
25. Jangam	Jangam	ஜங்கம்
26. Jhetty	Jhetty	ஜெட்டி
27. Jogi	Jogi	ஜோகி
28. Kabbera	Kabbora	கப்பிரா
29. Kadupattan (Malabar)	Kadupattan (Malabar)	கடத்திய மலபார் மலபட்டத்தை சார்ந்த கார்பட்டர்கள்.

Present entry.	Description suggested	
30. Kaikolan, Sengunthar	Kaikolar, Sengunthar	கைகோலர் செங்குந்தர்
31. Kalingi	Kalingi	கலிங்கி
32. Kallar (including Easanattu Kallar)	Kallar	கள்ளர்
33. Kammalar (Kamsalas, Viswabrahmins or Viswakarmas).	Kammalan or Viswakarma and Viswakarmala (including Thattan or Por-kollan, Kannan, Karuman or Kollan, Thachen and Kalthacher)	கம்மலாளர் அல்லது கிஷ்கர்மா மதம் மாறியவர்கள் (பெரும்பாலும் கலிங்கர், கலிங்கர் கம்மலர், கொல்லர், தச்சர், கல்தச்சர் உள்ளிட)
34. Kannadiyar	Kannada Sainegar Kannadiyar	கன்னட சைனிகர்
35. Katesan or Pattamkatti	Katesan or Pattamkatti	கட்டேசன் அல்லது பட்டம் கட்டி.
36. Kavuthiyan	Kavuthiyan	கவுத்தியன்.
37. Kerala Mudali	Kerala Mudali	கேரள முதலி.
38. Kharvi	Kharvi	கார்வி.
39. Khatri	Khatri	கத்ரி.
40. Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore district)	Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore district)	கோயம்புத்தூர் மாவட்ட கொங்கு செட்டியார்கள்
41. Koppalavelamas	Koppalavelama	கோப்பல வேலம்மா
42. Koracha	Koracha	கொராச்சா.
43. Koteyar (Sheragara Kshatriya of South Kanara)	Koteyar	கோட்டேயர்.
44. Kulala (Kuyavar-Kusavans-Kumbarans)	Kulala including Kuyavar and Kumbaran	கிலாலா, குயவர், கும்பரன்.
45. Kunnuvar Mannadi	Kunnuvar Mannadi	கன்னுவர் மன்னடி.

Present entry.	Description suggested	
46. Kuruba, Kurumba	Kurumba	கூரும்பர்.
47. Kuruhini Chetty	Kuruhini Chetty	கூருகினி செட்டி.
48. Labbai	Labbai	லப்பை
49. Lambadis	Lambadi	லம்பாடி.
50. Mahratta (Non-brahmins) Namdev Mahratta	Mahratta (Non-brahmin) including Namdev Mahratta	மிதம்மாஸரலிங்க மதாபிடியர், நாமம் குமார் மதாபிடியர் உள்பட.
50. (a) Malayan	Malayan	மலாயன்
51. Mapilla	Mapilla	மாப்பிலிள்ளி
52. Male	Male	மாலி.
53. Maravar (including Karumaravar of Tiruchirappalli district)	Maravar	மறவர்.
54. Maruthuvar (Mangala) Velakattalavan, Vilkurup (Navithar).	Maruthuvar, Navithan, Mangala, Velakattalavan, Velakatalanair and Pronopakari.	மருத்துவர், நாவிதர், மங்கலா, விலகத்தலவன், விலகத்தலநாயர், நாடார், பரதேவதாசர்.
55. Moniagar	Moniagar	மொனியார்.
56. Moundadan Chetty	Moundadan Chetty	மவுண்டான் செட்டி.
57. Mudugar, Medavar, Mahendra Medara (Vethakkara of Salem district)	Mahendra Medara	மகேந்திர மேதார.
58. Mukkuvan or Mukayan alias Mogayan (including Bovis)	Mukkuvan or Mukayan	முக்குவன் அல்லது முகயன்.
59. Mutlakampatti	Mutlakampatti	முடிகம்பட்டி
60. Muthura or Muthuraja, Muttiriyar or Muthiriyar.	Muthuraja (Muthuracha, Muttiriyar and Muthiriyar).	முத்துராஜா, (முத்துராஜா, முத்திரியர்).
61. Nagaram	Nagaram	நகரம்

Present entry	Description suggested	
62. Narikoravan (Nakkale)	Narikoravan	நரிக்குறவன்.
63. Nokkar	Nokkar	நொக்கர்.
64. Odiya	Odiya	ஒடியா.
65. Pamulu	Pamulu	பாபூ.
66. Panniyar or Pannayar	Pannayar	பன்னையார்.
67. Paravans (in areas other than Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district)	Paravan	பரவன்.
68. Paravan Christians (in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district).	Paravan Christians (in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district).	கிறித்தவ பரவன் (கன்னியாகுமரி மாவட்டம் மற்றும் ஷென்கொட்டா தாலுக்கா திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டம்).
69. Parkavakulam (Surithiman, Malayaman, Nathaman, Moopanar and Nainar)	Parkavakulam (Surithiman, Malayaman, Nathaman).	பார்க்கவ குளம், (சுரீதிமன், மலையமன், நாதமன்).
70. Parvatharajakulam (Pattanavan, Sembadavan).	Meenavar, (Parvatharajakulam, Pattanavan, Sembadavan).	மீனவர் (பரிவதராஜகுளம், பட்டாவன், செம்படவன்).
71. Perike, Perike Baliya	Perike	பெரிக்கி.
72. Poraya	Poraya	பொறயா.
73. Pulluvan	Pulluvan	புல்லுவன்.
74. Punnan Vettuva Gounder	Punnan Vettuva Gounder	புன்னவெட்டி, வேட்டி கவுண்டர்.
75. Pusala (Pusalavadu)	Pusala	புசலா.
76. Rajapuri (South Kanara)	Rajapuri (South Kanara)	ராஜபுரி (தெந்திய குதன் கவுண்ட மாவட்டம்).

Present entry	Description suggested	
77. Reddi Ganjam	Reddy (Ganjam)	கந்திசம் ரெட்டி.
78. Sadhu Chetty (including Telugu Chetty or 24 Manai Telugu Chetty).	Sadhu Chetty (including Telugu Chetty, Telugupatty Chetty, 24 Manai Telugu Chetty).	சாதசுச்செட்டி (தெலுங்குச் செட்டி, தெலுங்குப் பட்டிச்சு செட்டி, 24 மனைத் தெலுங்குச் செட்டி).
79. Saliyar (Padmasalai, Pattusalai, Thogata Koramibhaktulu Senapathulu Sali Saley Karikambattulu Pattariyar and Adaviyar (Throughout the State).	Saliyar (Padmasaliyar, Pattusaliyar Pattariyar, Adhuviyar).	சாலியர் (பத்மசாலி, பட்டசாலி, பட்டாரியர், அடவியர்)
80. Chattadi Srivai-shnava	Sathatha Srivai-shnava (including Sathani).	சாத்தாத ச்ரீவைஷ்ணவா (சாத்தானி உள்பட).
81. Senaithalaivar Senaikudiyar	Senaithalaivar Senaikudiyar and Illaivanianar	சேனாத்தலையர் சேனகி இலையார், இலையானியர்.
82. Sourashtra Pattunulkaran	Sourashtra (Patnulkaran)	சூரஸ்திர அட்டிரா, பட்டினுல்கரன்.
83. Sozhia Chetty	Sozhia Chetty	சோழியச்செட்டி.
84. Srisayans	Srisayan	ஸ்ரீசயன்.
85. Thiya of Ponnai, Palghat, Wallivanad and Ernad taluks of Malabar.	Thiyya of Ponnani, Palghat, Walluvanad and Ernad taluks of Malabar.	திய்யா (முத்திய மலபார் மாவட்டம் பெரணினி, பாலக்காடு அன்னா நகர் மத்தியம் குதருகடு).
86. Thogata Veera-kshatriya	Thogata Veera-kshatriya	தொகட்ட வீர சூத்திரியர்.
87. Tholuva Naicker and Vetalakara Naicker	Tholuva Naicker and Vetalakara-naicker.	தலுவ நாயக்கர் வெத்தலகரா நாயக்கர்.
88. Thoriyan	Thoriyan	தோரியன்.

Present entry	Description suggested	
89. Thottia Naicker (including Raja-kambalam, Gollavar, Sillavar, Thockalavar Naicker).	Thottiya Naicker (including Raja-kambalam, Gollavar, Sillavar, Thockalavar).	தொட்டிய நாயக்கர் (ராஜகம்பலம், கொல்லார், சில்லார், தொக்கலார்).
90. Tondaman	Thondaman	தொண்டமான்.
91. Uppara (Sagara, Uppilia)	Uppara	உப்பரா.
92. Urali Goundan (Throughout the State including Orudaya Goundan in Madurai, Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli districts).	Urali Gounder (through out the State, Orudaya Goundar in Madurai, Coimbatore and Tiruchirappalli districts).	உரலிகுண்டன் (மதுரைப் பூதூதம் ஒடுதாய கண்டன் மதுரை, கோயம்புத்தூர், திருச்சிரப்பள்ளி மாவட்டங்கள் அடங்கியும்).
93. Vadugan (Vaduvan)	See Gavara	
94. Valaiyan	Valaiyar	வலையர்.
95. Valmiki	Valmiki	வாலமீகி.
96. Vaniyar	Vaniyar, Vania Chettiar (including Gandla, Ganika, Telikula and Chekkalar).	வானியர், வானிய செட்டியார் (கண்டலா, கனிகா, தெலிகுலா, செக்கலார்).
97. Vannan	Vannan (Salavai Thozhilalar)	வன்னன், சலாவைத் தொழிலாளர்.
98. Vanniakula Kshatriya including Vanniya, Vanniyar or Vanniya Gounder, Kander or Vanniya Gounder, Gounder and Vannia Konder (other than Vellala Gounder) belong to Vanniyakula Kshatriya, Agnikula Kshatriya in Tamil District Palli)	Vanniyakula Kshatriya including Vanniya, Vanniyar, Vannia Gounder, Gounder or Kander, Padayachi - Palli.	வன்னியகுல சூத்திரியர் வன்னியர், வன்னியா, வன்னிய கண்டன், பதையாச்சி கண்டன், பன்னி உச்சபட்டி.

Present entry	Description suggested
99. Vettaikaran	Vettaikaran வேட்டைக்கிரகம்.
100. Virakodi Vellala	Virakodi Vellala (in old Pudukottai State, Thanjavur Taluk and Tiruchirappalli taluk) excluding Panisaivan) வீர கோடி வெள்ளாளர் (பண்டித புகுத்தோட்டை தாலிக், தஞ்சாவூர், திருச்சிரப்பல்லி தாலிக்) பன்னிசையன் நீங்கலாக.
101. Vokkaliga	Vokkaligar வுக்கலிகள்.
102. Wynad Chetty of the Nilgiris district.	Wynad Chetty of the Nilgiris district. வைநாடு செட்டி நிலவரி மாவட்டம்.
103. Yadava	Yadava (including Idaiyan, Telugu speaking Idaiyan known as Vaduga Ayan or Vaduga Idaiyar; Mondgolla, Asthantha Golla) யாதவர் (இடையன், தெலுங்கு இடயன் உருக் அயன், உருக் இடையன், ரெகஸ்ஸா, மொண்ட், அஸ்தந்தா கல்லா).
104. Yogeeswaran	Yogee swarar யோகீஸ்வரர்.
105. Yerukula	Yerukula ஏறுகலா.

STATEMENT - 2

Residual list of Most Backward Classes.

Present entry	Description suggested	
1. Ambalakaran	Ambalakarar	அம்பலகீதாரர்.
2. Andipandaram	Andipandaram	அனீபிப்பனாடரம்.
3. Bestha and Siviari of Coimbatore district.	Bestha and Siviari	பெஸ்தா, சிவியர்.
4. Bhatraju	Bhatraju (other than Kshatriya Raju)	பத்ராஜு (கேத்திரஞ்ஜா அல்லாதாரர்).
5. Boya (Odde or Vedde or Vadde or Veddai and Oddan-Donga)	Boya, Oddar	பேயர், ஒட்டர்.
6. Dasari	Dasari	தாசர்.
7. Dommara	Dommara	டொம்மாரா.
8. Eravallar	Eravallar	ஏரவல்லர்.
9. Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar of Thanjavur district.	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar of Thanjavur district.	இசை வேளாளர் அல்லது மேளக்காரர், (தஞ்சாவூர் மாவட்டத்தில்)
10. Jambuvanodai	Jambuvanodai	ஜாம்பவானோடை.
11. Jangam	Jangam	ஜங்கம்.
12. Jogi	Jogi	ஜோகி
13. Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore district).	Kongu Chettiar (Coimbatore district).	கோயம்புத்தூர் மாவட்ட தொழிற் தொழியாளர்கள்.
14. Koracha	Koracha	கொராசீதா.
15. Kulala (Kuyavar-potter; including Kusavans of Kanyakumari district).	Kulala including Kuyavar and Kumbaran	கிலாலா, குயவர் பத்திய கும்பரன்.

Present entry	Description suggested	
16. Kunnuvar Mannadi	Kunnuvar Mannadi	கூணுவர் மன்னடி.
17. Kuruba (a) Kurumba	Kurumba	குருபர்.
18. Maruthuvar (Mangala Velakattalavan, Vilkurup, Navithar)	Maruthuvar, Navithar, Mangala, Velakattalavan, Velakatalanair and Proonopakari	மருதுவர், நாவிலர், மலிகளா, விளக்கத்தலவர், விளக்கத்தல நாயர், பரணொபகரி.
19. Kuruhini Chetty	Kuruhini Chetty	குருகினி செட்டி.
20. Mond Golla	Mond Golla	மோண்டு கொல்லா.
21. Moundadan Chetty	Moundadan Chetty	மதுண்டான செட்டி.
22. Mudugar, Medavar Mahendra Medara	Mahendra Medara	மகேந்திர மேதரா.
23. Mutlakampatti	Mutlakampatti	முலகம் பட்டி.
24. Narikoravan (Nakkle)	Narikoravan	நரிக்குறவர்.
25. Nokkar	Nokkar	நொக்கர்.
26. Padayachi, Palli, Vanniakula Kshatriya and Agnikula Kshatriya	Vanniakula Kshatriyar including Vanniya, Vanniyar Vannia Gounder, Gounder or Kander, Padayachi Palli.	வன்னிய குல சூத்திரியர் வன்னியர், வன்னியா வன்னிய கவுண்டர், கவுண்டர் அல்லது கண்டர், பதையாச்சி பள்ளி உள்பட).
27. Paravans	Paravan	பரவன்
28. Parvatharajakulam (Pattanavan, Sembadavan)	Meenavar, Parvatharajakulam, Pattanavan, Sembadavan)	மினவர் (பர்வதராஜ குலம், பட்டனவான், செம்படவன்).
29. Punnan Vettuva Gounder	Punnan Vettuva Gounder	புன்னவர் வேடுவர் கவுண்டர்.
30. Chattada Srivai-shnava	Sathatha Srivai-shnava (including Sathanani).	சாத்தாத்த சரீகவாஷ்னவா (சாத்தானி உள்பட).
31. Sozhia Chetty	Sozhia Chetty	சோழிய செட்டி

Present entry	Description suggested	
32. Telugupathy Chetty	Telugupathy Chetty	தெலுபத்தி பட்டி செட்டி
33. Thottia Naicker (including Raja-kambalam, Gollavar, Sillavar, Thockalavar and Tholuva Naicker)	Thottia Naicker (including Raja-kambalam Gollavar, Sillavar, Thockalavar and Tholuva Naicker).	தொட்டிய நாயக்கர், தாஜகம் பலம், கொல்லவர், செல்லவர் நாயக்கர்).
34. Tondaman	Thondaman	தொண்டமான்.
35. Valaiyan	Valaiyan	வலையன்.
36. Vannan	Vannan	வன்னன்.
37. Vettaikaran	Vettaikaran	வேட்டைக்காரன்.
38. Vettuva Gounder	Vettuva Gounder	வேடுவர் கவுண்டர்.
39. Yoggeeswaran	Yogeeswarar	யோகீஸ்வரன்.

STATEMENT - 3

Residual list of Backward Classes in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah Taluk of Tirunelveli district.

Present entry	Description suggested	
1. Alwar	Alwar	அலர் வார்.
2. Arayan (Nulayan)	Arayan (Nulayan)	ஆரையன் (நுலையன்)
3. Aryavathi	Aryavathi	ஆரியவத்தி.
4. Chavalakkaran	Chavalakkaran	சவலக்காரன்.
5. Chettu or Chetty including Kottar Chetty, Elur Chetty Pathira Chetty Valayal Chetty Pudukkadai Chetty	Chettu or Chetty including Kottar Chetty, Elur Chetty Pathira Chetty Valayal Chetty, Pudukkadai Chetty	செட்டு அல்லது செட்டி கோட்டார் செட்டி, எலர் செட்டி, பதிரா செட்டி, வலையல் செட்டி, படுக்கடை செட்டி.
6. Ezhuthachan	Ezhuthachan	எழுத்தாச்சன்.

Present entry	Description suggested	
7. Ezhavathy	Ezhavathy	ஏழை வாத்தி.
8. Ezhavas	Ezhava	ஏழைகள்.
9. Kalari Kurup (Kalari Panicker)	Kalari Kurup (Kalari Panicker)	கல்வரி குரூப் (கல்வரிபனிக்கர்)
10. Kudumbi	Kudumbi	குடும்பி
11. Naikkan	Naikkan	நாயக்கன்.
12. Odan	Odan	ஒடன்.
13. Perumkollan	Perumkollan	பெரும் கொல்லன்.
14. Sakkaravar (Kavathi)	Sakkaravar (Kavathi)	சக்கரவரீ (காவத்தி)
15. Tholkollan	Tholkollan	தொல் கொல்லன்.
16. Valan	Valan	வாலன்.
17. Veerasaiva	Veerasaiva	வீர வசைவர்
18. Velan	Velan	வேலன்.
19. Veluthedathu Nair	Veluthedathu Nair	வேலுத்தத்து நாயர்.
20. Krishnavaka	Krishnavaka	கிருஷ்ண வாகா.
21. Latin Catholics	Latin Catholics	லத்தின் கத்தோலிக்கர்கள்
21. C.S.I. formerly S.I.U.C.	C.S.I. formerly S.I.U.C.	பென்செட்டா எஸ். இ. யு. சி பென்செட்டா சி. எஸ். இ.

Note. -

- (1) Attention is drawn to the note on the succeeding pages (para 387) wherein description is given about castes which should legitimately be treated either as Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes.
- (2) The following castes relate to other States and were included in the list of composite state of Madras. On verification it is found that a very number from each of the castes are living in Tamil Nadu even now. Without depriving them of the concessions, these entries will have to be deleted in course of time.
- 1) Nagaran (2) Kadupattan (Malabar)
3) Kotayar (Sheragara Kshatriya of South Kanara) (6) Reddy (Ganjam) and (7) Thiyyas of Ponnani, Palghat, Walluvanad and Ernad Taluks of Malabar.
- (3) Attention also is drawn to the caste notes in Volume-II wherein detailed description of each caste is given.
- (4) The following communities are treated as Backward classes only for the purpose of Reservation of seats in educational institutions and for the posts in public services.
- (i) Parayan Christian in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
- (ii) Lattin Catholic
- (iii) Krishnavaka
- (iv) C.S.I. formerly S.I.U.C.

List of castes for deletion

Castes in classes (a) who do not appear to be existing in Tamilnadu at present
(b) who are either scheduled castes or Scheduled Tribes and
(c) whose descriptions are repeated.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No. (3)		Identification of the caste (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list.	SWD list.		
1.	Agasa	2	150 BC	Agasas are a set of washermen in South Kanara. Agasa is one among the three district classes of washermen there. Letter No.A.12071/54, dated 27th Marsh 1955 from the Director of Harijan Welfare Department to the Government which recommended the caste for inclusion confirms this. The list of Backward Classes prepared from the Census Report of 1951 indicates that these people are concentrated in South Kanara.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. He representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had only availed scholarship during the last three years.
2.	Ambika	153	3 MBC	Ambikas are Konkani speaking fishermen and cultivators.	
3.	Annadan	4	3 BC	They are Malayalam speaking people found only in Kerala	-do-
4.	Archukavandu	8	7 BC	The Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh reported, "This Community is found only in Visakapatnam and Guntur districts. This is a small community with a population of less than 2,000. The traditional occupation of the community is dyeing and manufacturing the brushes for the weaving looms".	-do-

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Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No. (3)		Identification of the caste (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list.	SWD list.		
5.	Are Mahratti			Are Mahrattis are Mahratti or Konkani speaking people in Kasapur taluk in the List of Backward Classes prepared from the Census Report of 1951 is this.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
6.	Arya (South Kanara)	6	5 BC	'Arya' (noble) is a class of potters and a division of Samaga. The entry indicates that it applies to Arya of South Kanara only.	
7.	Atagara	7	6 BC	Secretary, Backward Classes Commission Andhra Pradesh reported "This is a minor caste found mostly in Kurnool district with a population of about 7,800. Their occupation is sale of betel leaves. Some are engaged in weaving and cooli work. Literacy ranges from 12% to 6%. There are no politicians in the community. The average income of a family is about Rs.500 p.a. They live in huts. Remarriages, widow marriages and divorce are common in the community".	-do-

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Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the Castes (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list	SWD list		
8	Balelika	10	9 BC	They are Konkani speaking people engaged as traders and cultivators in South Kanara district. They are said to be one of the 66 classes of 'Konkanasta' people, who inhabited the sixty six villages of konkan.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
9	Phandari	12	11 BC 6MBC	They are barbers of Oriya country living in Ganjam area and are said to be barbers to Zamindars.	-do-
10	Bisoy	14	13MBC	Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh reported that Bissoys are telugu speaking people found in Ganjah district.	-do-
11	Chaptegara	17	16MBC	Chaptegaras are Konkani speaking people and Carpenters by tradition in Kanarese districts.	-do-
12	Devadiga	20	19MBC	They are Kanarese speaking temple servants in South Kanara.	-do-
13	Devalkars	21	20 BC	This caste does not seem to exist in our State at present.	-do-
14	Dhakkada	22	22 BC	They are a small class of Oriya cultivators. According to 1891 Census Report they were found in Jaipur Agency tracts.	-do-

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Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the Castes (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list	SWD list		
15	Galada Konkani	27	25 15 MBC	In the list of backward Classes prepared in the Census of 1951 the caste is stated to have been found only in South Kanara district.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
16	Gatti	31	29 BC	Gatti is a small caste of cultivators found in the Kasapur taluk of South Kanara. The Census of 1951 confirms this.	-do-
17	Godaba	33	31 BC	1891 Census report describes them as a tribe of agriculturists, coolies and hunters in Vizagapatnam district. The tribe probably owes its name to the fact that its ancestors immigrated from the banks of Godavari (Godavari). The Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh, reported that the caste is found only in Srikakulam district now.	-do-
18	Gonde	34	32 BC	This probably refers to the caste 'Gond'. In Census reports 'Gond' has been reported only in Visakapatnam district.	-do-
19	Gadigara	36	34 BC 14 MBC	This is a class of burners, weavers and wood carvers found living in Shimoga district of Mysore.	-do-

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Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the Castes (2)	Item No. TNPSC list (3)	Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
20	Jakkula	not included 39 BC	This is an offshoot of Balija caste and considered inferior by Balijas proper. They are concentrated only in Tenali and Krishna districts.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government services now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last xx three years.
21	Jandara	42 40 BC 17 MBC	The Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh reported that this is a Telugu caste and silk weaving is the traditional occupation of this caste people. They are mostly found in Mehboobnagar district.	-do-
22	Irulas	41 Not included	This is a Scheduled Tribe and is classified as such.	-do-
23.	Kadaiyan	47 45 BC	'Kadaiyan' means last or lowest. This is a sub-division of pallans. They are mostly engaged in lime gathering and burning in the neighbourhood of Rameswaram. Kadaiyan figures as Item 22 in the list of Scheduled Caste.	-do-
24	Kalavanthula	50 49 BC	Kalvanthilas are dancers and singers who like other dancing girls are court dancers. The name appears not only in South Kanara but also in Telugu country. According to the list of backward classes prepared from the Census report 1951, Kalvanthila people have been recorded only in Coondapur of South Kanara.	-do-
25	Kelasi	56 56 BC	This is a barber community in South Kanara district. The letter from the Director of Harijan Welfare to the Government recommending the inclusion of this caste in the list of Backward Classes confirms this.	-do-

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Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No. TNPSC list (3)	Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
26	Kohdala	60 60 BC	They are basket makers supposed to have come from Oriya country. They are said to be chiefly concentrated in Ganjam district, and are more familiarly known as 'Kohdalo' in that area.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government services now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
27	Kolaris or Muniyanies	61 61 BC	This caste does not exist in the State.	-do-
28	Koracha	63 63 BC 20 MBC	'Korachas' is another name for Kuravan. In Telugu country they are also called as Yerukula. They are known by different names in different regions. Kuruvan figures as an item in the list of Scheduled Castes.	-do-
29	Madivala	70 Does not figure as a separate item but is included in item 150 Vannans 56 MBC.	Madivala and Agasa are synonyms. They are a set of washermen in South Kanara district. The letter from the Director of Harijan Welfare to the Government recommending this caste for inclusion in the list confirms this.	-do-
30	Malayan (Malabar)	75 73	Malayans are a class of untouchables in Kerala and is recognised as such now throughout the State in Kerala. This caste people, few in number, have been reported in Salem and Coimbatore district. This is recognised as a scheduled tribe in Kanyakumari and Shenkottah taluk.	-do-

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Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list (3)	SWD list (3)		
31	Malaiali	74 Not included		Malaialis are tribal people living in North Arcot and Tiruchirappalli districts. This is classified as a scheduled tribe. Replies to the questionnaire have been received.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
32	Male	76	74 BC	Male is a exegamous sect of 'Heleya' and people belonging to this sect are found living in Coimbatore and Nilgiri districts. Heleya is listed as a scheduled caste (Item 19). As such this caste also may be recommended for treatment as a synonym of Heleya.	
33	Mangala	77	76 MBC 27. MBC	This is the barber caste in Telugu country. The Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh reported that this caste is spread over Andhra Pradesh with an estimated population of nearly 5 lakhs in 1968. Their traditional occupation is hair cutting and they play musical instruments too. In villages they serve as native doctors and their women-folk act as mid-wives. In brief they are the counter parts of our 'Navithan'. Collector, Dharmapuri, has reported that one section of barbers in the district style themselves as 'Mangala' and they number only 4,710. This however need not figure as a separate item in the list. There is an entry Maruthuvan (Navithan) in the list relating to Babbers and this may be amplified to include Mangalas also, so that the small section in Dharmapuri will not be deprived of their	-do-

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes. (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list (3)	SWD list (3)		
34	Mannodora	Not included	75 BC	This caste does not seem to exist in the State now.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government services now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
35	Marati of South Kanara (Hill Tribe)	79	Not included	The entry itself suggests that it is a hill tribe that too confined to South Kanara.	
36	Melakudi or Kudiyan	82	80 BC	According to 1891 Census Report, they are "hill tribe people of South Kanara district. Tula is their mother-tongue. They are said to have been found in Mariyu, Darmasathali and Sisila areas in South Kanara, engaged in carrying cardamoms to the Mysore frontiers and selling them profitably to contractors and merchants.	
37	Modi Banda	83	81 29 MBC	This caste does not seem to exist in our State at present.	-do-
38	Mogaveera	84	82 BC	They are a set of fishermen in South Kanara district. The letter from the Director of Harijan Welfare to the Government recommending this caste for inclusion in the list confirms this.	-do-
39	Moili	85	83 BC	Moili and Devadiga are one and the same. They are temple servants and speak Tulu. It is found that they are localised in South Kanara district as seen from the list of Backward Classes prepared from the Census Report of 1951.	-do-

Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes. (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list	SWD list		
		(3)	(3)		
40	Mond Golla	163	30 BC	This is a shepherd class of Telugu or Kanarese origin equivalent to our Yadavas. Few students have availed scholarships in recent years suggesting that these people, though small in number, live in the State. Instead of retaining this as a separate item, this may be included under Yadava amplifying the latter suitably.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made to the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
41	Muduva	87	86 BC	Muthuvan is classified as a Scheduled Tribe in Kanyakumari and Shencottah taluk. 'Mudugar' or 'Muduvan' is classified as a tribe throughout the State. In view of this Muduva need not figure as an item of Backward Classes.	-do-
42	Mukhari	88	87	In the list of Backward Classes prepared from the Census Report of 1951 this caste was found only in South Kanara district.	-do-
43	Nakkale	93	92 BC	This is another name for Narikuravans. Legitimatively this should go under Scheduled Tribe.	-do-
44	Nalkedaya	94	93 BC	They are Tulu speaking people and their main occupation is mat weaving, basket and umbrella making. Even now they are classified as a Scheduled Castes (Item 34).	-do-
45	Navundiyan	166	35 MBC	Navundiyan is a synonym of Velakatalavan who are chieftains among barbers. They are found only in Kerala State.	-do-

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Statement 4--cont.

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes. (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list	SWD list		
		(3)	(3)		
46	Oddan (Donga)	96	95 BC	Oddan (Donga) is only a small section of Odda or Odde. This need not figure as a separate item, as this will be covered by the main entry Odda, Odde, etc. No separate representation has been received from Oddan (Donga).	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made in the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
47	Oiulu	99	98 BC	This caste does not seem to exist in our State.	-do-
48	Omanaito	100	99 BC	They are a class of Oriya cultivators. They are concentrated only in Visakapatnam district.	-do-
49	Oriya	101	100 BC	Oriya and Odiya refer to the same people who speak Oriya language. Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh reported that there is no caste by name Oriya but people who speak Oriya language are colloquially known as Oriyas. This is a linguistic group covering several castes who had migrated from Orissa and domiciled in Andhra Pradesh. They are found in the border districts of Srikakulam and Visakapatnam.	-do-
50	Padayachi (Villayan-kuppam).	102	101 BC	Once, Padayachis of Villiankuppam village were treated as a criminal tribe and hence Villiankuppam is parenthesis. Since Padayachis are covered by the item Vanniakula Kshatriya, this entry is redundant. Hence may be deleted.	-do-
51	Pangadikara	105	104 BC	This caste does not exist in this State.	-do-

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Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No. TNPSC list SWD list (3)	Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
52	Parel Madivala	169 41 MBC	They are said to be barbers to Billavas. Another version is that they are toddy drawers in South Kanara.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made in the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
53	Parivar Bunt of South Kanara not included	Bunt of 106 BC South Kanara not included	Parivar is a sub-division of Bunt which is confined to South Kanara district. They are Tulu speaking people.	-do-
54	Pentias	110 110 BC	Pentias are also known as Holuya and Halal Census Report of 1901 describes them as Oriya betal leaf sellers.	-do-
55	Peruvannan	112 113 BC	The letter from the Director of Harijan Welfare to the Government recommending this caste for inclusion in the list states that they are washermen in Malabar district. List of Backward Classes prepared from the Census Report of 1951 also confirms this.	-do-
56	Pichigunta	113 114 42 MBC	Secretary, Backward Classes Commission Andhra Pradesh reported that they are a class of wandering beggars found only in Andhra Pradesh.	-do-
57	Purageri Kshatriya.	Not included. 107 BC	It is said that they are Kshatriyas who went into retirement and made hills (giri) their home (pura). This section is concentrated only in Visakapatnam district.	-do-

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No. TNPSC list SWD list (3)	Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
58	Rajaka	137 150 BC 56 MBC	Rajaka is the sanskrit name for Vannans and in usage only in Malabar	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made in the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
59	Ronas	119 121 BC	Ronas are a class of Uriya speaking hill cultivators who came from the former capital of Raja of Jaipur and settled down in Orissa.	-do-
60	Setti Balijsa (in the Visakapatnam, East and West Godavari, Krishna district)	Not a separate item but included under 38 Idiga (including Balijsa).	Setti Balijsas are toddy tappers. But this item relates to people of Andhra Pradesh district only. In view of the fact that there is another item i.e. Idiga (including Setti Balijsa) this may be.	-do-
61	Sugalis	128 122 BC	Sugalis is a synonym of Lambadis. Lambadis figure as a separate item.	-do-
62	Tatapu	129 123 BC	This caste does not exist in this State.	-do-
63	Thurpukapu	134 139 48 MBC	This caste does not exist in this State.	-do-
64	Tigala (Tigla)	135 140 BC	Census report of 1901 sums up tigala as a Kanarese synonym for Tamil Pallagi, applied also by the Kanarese people to refer to any Tamil Sudra of the lower classes. In parts of Mysore State, Tamil language is called Tigalu.	-do-
65	Vada Balijsa (Ganjam and Visakapatnam district.)	Not included. 144 BC	Vada Balijsas are fishermen on the coasts of Ganjam and Visakapatnam.	-do-

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list	SWD list		
66	Vathis	149	154 BC 51 MBC	Vathis are probably a set of barbers in Kerala State.	It is seen from the Collector's report that this caste does not exist in the State at present. No representation was made in the Commission by this caste. From available records it is seen that no member of this caste is employed in Government service now. No student from this caste had availed scholarship during the last three years.
67	Velakatalavan	146	152 BC	Velakkatalavan means chieftain among barbers. It is a name for the members of the family from which persons were selected to serve Kings and nobles. Some persons from this caste are in Government service now. However, this need not figure as a separate item. The main entry Maruthuvan may be amplified to include this item also.	
68	Veluthadan	147	Not a separate item but included under 150 Vannan 56 MBC.	Veluthadan refers to Washermen in Malabar.	
69	Vilkurup	175	55 MBC	Vilkurups or Vilkolakurups are the priests and Barbers of the Malayalam Kammalans. They also make umbrellas, bows and arrows. Representation has been received from this caste. Some are in Government service. This need not figure as a separate item. May be included under 'Maruthuvan'.	-do-

Sl. No. (1)	Name of the castes (2)	Item No.		Identification of the caste. (4)	Remarks. (5)
		TNPSC list	SWD list		
70	Yerkula	151	157 BC	Yerkulas are a tribal people leading a precarious life wandering about the country selling wood and leaves, carrying salt and grain, making basket hunting etc. Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Andhra Pradesh reported that the question of including Yerkula in Telangana area also in the list of Scheduled Tribe is under consideration of Government of India. Few people of this caste living in our State will also be benefitted if included under Scheduled Tribe. Representation has been received. Population has been reported in Salem district. Few students have also availed scholarships.	

Caste which appear more than once in the list of Backward Classes.

S. No.	Name of the Caste	TNPSC list	Item No. in S.W.D. list.	Description	Remarks.
1	Bestha Siviari	11 125	10 129 B.C.	No distinction is maintained between these two castes. The caste people also claim that both are the same.	
2	Boya Odden (Donga) Odde (Vedde or Vaddai)	16 96 97	15 95 B.C. 96 B.C. 8 MBC. 37	These are some of the many names by which the people, whose traditional occupation is earth and stone cutting are called. Boya is more in usage in Coimbatore and Salem districts.	
3	Devanga Sedan	22 122	21 B.C. 124	Sedan, which is also traditionally a weaver caste is a synonym of Devanga.	
4	Kulala (Kosava-potter) Kosavans	65 160	65 B.C. 22 MBC. 21	Kulala and Kosavans are different names referring to potters.	
5	Kuruba or Kurubar (Tamil district) Kurumba	66 67	66 67 B.C. 24 MBC.	Kuruba, Kurubar and Kurumba are the names for a class of shepherds who rear a special kind of sheep.	
6	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin) Namdev Mahratta	73 95	72 B.C. 94	The caste name Mahratta is usually applied to the various Mahratta Sudra castes found in Tamilnadu. The representatives of this community have stated that Namdev Mahratta is only a sub-section of Mahratta (Non-Brahmin).	

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Sl. No.	Name of the caste	TNPSC list.	Item No. in S.W.D. list.	Description	Remarks.
7	Mangala Maruthuvar (Navithan) Velakkattalavan Vilkurup	77 81 146	76 79 B.C. 152 52 (Velakathalavan) 55 (Vilkurup) MBC	Mangala, is a telugu name. Velakkattalavan and Vilkurup are a barber class of Malayalam origin.	
8	Mudugar or Medavar or Vethakaran of Salem district Mahendra (Medara)	71 72	70 B.C. 71 26 MBC	In view of the close identity among these Castes, they are clubbed together and shown as one entry under Most Backward Classes. The same method may be adopted in the Backward Classes list also.	
9	Parvatharajakulam Pattanavan Sembadavan	123 109	125 B.C. 109 40 MBC	parvatharajakulam, Pattanavan and Sembadavan are clubbed together in one entry under Most Backward Classes list. Similarly they may be combined together in Backward Classes list also.	
10	Perike Perike Baliya	111 (Perike)	111 (Perike) 112 (Perike Baliya) B.C.	Perike and Perike Baliya are the sub-divisions of Baliya and they are one and the same. They need not figure separately.	
11	Sourashtra Patnulkaran	108 126	108 B.C. 130 B.C.	Sourashtra and Patnulkaran are weavers who came from Sourashtra, which can be shown as one entry.	

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Scheduled Castes and Tribes figuring under Backward Classes:

387. In our Backward Classes list there are castes which can legitimately go under Scheduled Castes, or Scheduled Tribes. This will considerably reduce the size of the list. They will enjoy more privileges and concessions if classified under Scheduled list.

1. IRULARS.

Item 41 in Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission's list of Backward Classes. 'Irular' is classified as Scheduled Tribe throughout the State -- vide item No.2 in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

2. DOMMARA.

Item No.23 in the list of Backward Classes and Item No.11 in the list of Most Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department and Item No.24 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission. Dommara is classified as a Scheduled Caste - vide item No.15 in the list of the Social Welfare Department.

3. KADAIYAN.

Item No.47 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.45 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. Kadaiyan is classified as a Scheduled Caste throughout the State except in Kanyakumari District and Shencottah taluk - vide Item No.22 in the list of Scheduled Castes.

4. KANI OR KANIYAN AND KANISU OR KANIYAN PANIKKAR.

Item No.54 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and item No.53 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. Kaniyan, Kanyar are classified as Scheduled Tribes in Coimbatore district and in Tirunelveli district except Shencottah Taluk.

5. KORACHA.

Item No.63 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and item No.68 in the list of Backward Classes and item No.20 in the list of Most Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. 'Korachas' is another name for Kuravas. Kuruvan figures as an item in the list of Scheduled Castes. Hence Kurachas also may be recommended for treatment as a synonym of Kuruvan.

6. MALAIALI

Item No.74 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission. 'Malaiali' is classified as a tribe in North Arcot district, Salem and Tiruchirappalli districts. In fact these people are found only in these districts. 1961 Census has also recorded these people as a tribe.

7. MELAKUDI OR KUDIYAN:

Item No.82 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.80 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare department. Kudiyan or Melakudi is declared as a Scheduled Tribe throughout the State except in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk - vide item No.9.

Sl. No.	Name of the caste.	TNPSC list.	Item No. in S.W.D. list	Description	Remarks
12	Chekkala	4 BC of Kanyakumari	Item No. in S.W.D. list	Chekkala, Gandla, Ganika (including Nagavamsam), Telikula and Vaniyan (Oil-monger caste all over the State) are all occupationally the same people. Hence may be shown in one entry. To avoid repetition and over crowd in the other four nomenclatures are clubbed together with Vaniyar (Oilmonger caste all over the State).	
	Gandla	28	26		
	Ganika (including Nagavamsam)	30	28		
	Telikula	130	134	B.C.	
	Vaniyar (Oilmonger caste all over the State)	143	149		
14	Palli	103	102	B.C.	Palli, Vanniyakula Kshatriya and Agnikula Kshatriya are clubbed together in one entry under MBC list. Similarly they may be combined in Backward Classes list also.
	Vanniyakula Kshatriya etc.	145	1	MBC	
15	Yadava	150	156 (Yadava)		The representatives of Golla community requested that their community may be included with Yadhava.
	Mond Golla	163	30 BC (Mond Golla)		
				MBC	

8. MALAYAN.

Item No.75 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.73 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. Malayans are a Class of untouchables in Malabar. The letter from the Director of Harijan Welfare to the Government recommending this caste for inclusion in the list confirms this. In Kerala State this caste is classified as a Scheduled Caste throughout the State except in Kasargode Taluk. From the Collectors' reports, it is seen that these people are found living in Salem and Coimbatore districts, though in very small number. There this caste may be recommended for inclusion in Scheduled Caste list in our State also.

9. MALE.

Item No.76 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.74 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. 'Male' is an exogamous sect of 'Honela' found in Coimbatore and the Nilgiris districts. Honela is recognised as a Scheduled Caste throughout the State (Item No.19). Besides, 'Mala' which is another name for 'Male' is also classified as a Scheduled Caste (Item No.30). Therefore 'Male' also must legitimately find a place under Scheduled Castes. Recommendation may therefore be made to the Government of India to amplify the entry in the Scheduled Caste list to accommodate 'Male' also.

10. MUDUVA.

Item No.87 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.86 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. The 'Muduvans' or 'Mudugars' are a tribe of hill cultivators in Coimbatore, Madurai, Malabar and former Travancore. They are also included in the list of Scheduled Tribe in the State. 'Mudugar' or 'Muduvan' throughout the State -- Item No.15.

11. NALKEDAYA.

Item No.94 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.93 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department, but mentioned as Nalkodaya. The item Nalakeyava mentioned as a Scheduled Caste should presumably refer to Nalkedoya.

12. NARIKURAVAN.

This is a semi-nomadic tribe found all over the State. This is a fit case for recommendation to Government of India for inclusion under Scheduled Tribes.

13. VELANS.

Item No.33 in the list of Backward Classes in Kanyakumari district. Velans in Kanyakumari district is treated as a Scheduled Caste - vide item No.20.

14. YERUKULA.

Item No.151 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission and Item No.157 in the list of Backward Classes of the Social Welfare Department. They are tribal people of Nellore, leading a precarious life wandering about the

country, selling wood and leavers, carrying salt and grain, making basket and huntings. In Khalelkar Commission's Report, 'Yerukula' is recommended for inclusion under Scheduled Tribes (Item No.5 -- page 221). This is now treated as a Tribe in Nellore district and the question of including the Yerukulas in Telangana area also is under the consideration of the Government of Andhra Pradesh. Though they are predominantly found in Andhra, a small number (1037) has been reported in Salem district. This may, therefore, be recommended for inclusion under Scheduled Tribe.

Entries recommended for deletion from the list of Backward Classes for the reason that same or similar caste is already in the list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:

- (1) Irulars,
- (2) Dommara,
- (3) Kadayan,
- (4) Kani, Kaniyan, Kanisu or Kaniyar Panickar,
- (5) Malayali,
- (6) Melakudi or Kudiyan,
- (7) Muduvan,
- (8) Nalkedaya,
- (9) Velan.

Castes recommended for inclusion -

(a) in the list of Scheduled Castes.

- (1) Malayan,
- (2) Male,
- (3) Koracha.

(b) in the list of Scheduled Tribes:

Yerkula,
Narikoravan (Nakkale).

These require the approval of the Government of India.

Section - II.

Backward Classes in Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk in Tirunelveli district.

388. At the time of the linguistic re-organisation of States, the predominantly Tamil-speaking areas in the south of Travancore and the Tamil part of the Shencottah taluk were transferred to the State of Madras. In the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State, there was a list of Backward communities and this automatically was inherited by the successor (Madras State). That list (for purpose of grant of full fee concessions only) contained 34 castes as reproduced below:--

1. Alwar,
- *2. Anglo-Indian,
- *3. Arayan (Nulayan),
- *4. Aryavathi,
- *5. Boyan,
- *6. Chakkala,
- *7. Chavalakkaran,
- *8. Chetty, Telugu Chetty,

- *9. Elavaniyas,
- *10. Ezhavathi (Vathi),
- *11. Kalarikurup or Kalavi Panicker,
- *12. Kaniyan (alias Gunaka),
- *13. Kerala Mudali,
- *14. Kudumbi,
- *15. Kumbaran,
- *16. Kusavan,
- *17. Maravan,
- *18. Mukkuvan,
- *19. Naicken,
- *20. Odan,
- *21. Perumkollan,
- 22. Pronopakari,
- 23. Sakravar (Kavathi),
- *24. Saliya (Pattarya),
- *25. Tholkollan,
- 26. Thondaiman,
- *27. Valan,
- *28. Vaniya,
- *29. Veerasaiva,
- *30. Velan,
- *31. Velathedathu Nair,
- *32. Vilakkathala Nair,
- *33. Viswakarmala,
- *34. Yadava.

There was the principle of reservation for Government appointments for Backward Classes in the Travancore-Cochin State but the benefit of this reservation did not extend to all the castes in the above list. We are indicating by an asterisk the castes for whom the benefit of reservation in Government appointments was extended.

389. In addition to the castes marked with an asterisk in the above list, the following castes were also entitled to reservation in appointments only, though not for fee concessions, viz.,

- 1. Ezhavas,
- 2. Ezhuthachan,
- 3. Hindu Nadar,
- 4. Krishnavaga,
- 5. Latin Catholic,
- 6. Sourashtra,
- 7. S.I.U.C.,
- 8. Muslims.

390. Among the castes who were entitled to fee concessions as per the list above, the following castes were not entitled to share in the reservation of appointments, viz.

- 1. Alwar,
- 2. Aryavathi,
- 3. Pronopakari,
- 4. Sakravar,
- 5. Thondaiman.

391. While the award of fee concessions was continued by the Madras State till 1957-58, in accordance with the rules in force in the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State, it was ordered in G.O. Ms.

No.348, Education, dated 1-3-1958, that with effect from the academic year 1958-59, the award of fee concessions to students studying in the colleges in Kanyakumari district should be in accordance with the provisions of the Madras Educational Rules. In other words, they were made eligible on a par with Backward Classes in the Madras State only for half-fee concessions; and no exemption from payment of special fees was granted. As this was a reduction in the privileges enjoyed by these communities in the Travancore-Cochin State, representations were made for reconsideration of these orders. The Government directed in G.O. No.2091, Education, dated 25th November 1958, that full fee concession previously enjoyed by them should be restored. But special fees and examination fees were not remitted, pending a general decision on the entire subject. Government also further ordered in 1959 that the full fee concession should be enjoyed by the students of Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk wherever they may study, as this did not mean grant of any new concession. All along it appears to have been the intention of the Government of Tamil Nadu to bring about uniformity in rules pertaining to educational concessions between the transferred territories and the other districts of Madras State. In pursuance of this policy, after consultation with the Collector of Kanyakumari and the Director of Public Instruction, an attempt was made to streamline the old Travancore-Cochin list, and those castes which appeared in the Madras general list of Backward Classes were deleted from the Kanyakumari and Shencottah list, because the Madras general list of Backward Classes would also apply to the transferred areas. The list of communities so deleted are mentioned below. It would be noticed that when there was a slight change in the spelling or form of the caste name, an approximate equation was made with the entries in the Madras Educational Rules and this also is indicated in the statement below.

List of communities of Travancore-Cochin State in Kanyakumari district.		Community found in the list of Backward Classes appended to Madras Educational Rules.
1. Boyan	..	Boya (No.10)
2. Chetty, Telugu Chetty	..	Sadu Chetty (No.119)
3. Ezhavathi (Vathi)	..	Vathi (No.150)
4. Kaniyan (alias Gunaka)	..	Kani or Kaniyan and Kanisu or Kaniyar Panickar (No.55)
5. Maravan	..	Maravan (No.81)
6. Mukkuvan	..	Mukkuvan or Mukayan alias Mogayan (including Bovis)
7. Pronopakari	..	Maruthuvar (S.No.82)
8. Thondaiman	..	Tondaman
9. Vaniya	..	Vaniyar (No.144)
10. Viswakarmala	..	Kammalan's (Kammalas, Viswa Brahmins and Viswakarma)
11. Yadava	..	Yadava (S.No.151)
12. Anglo Indians	..	--

392. After this equation, 21 communities were left in the special list of Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk, as is mentioned in G.O. Ms. No.998, Education, dated 16th May 1960:

1. Arayan (Nulayan),
2. Arayavathi,
3. Alwar,
4. Chakkala,
5. Chavalakkaran,
6. Kalari kurup or Kalavi Pancker,
7. Kerala Mudali,
8. Kudumbi,
9. Kumbaran,
10. Kusavan,
11. Naicken,
12. Odan,
13. Perumkollan,
14. Sakravar (Kavathi),
15. Saliya or Pattariya,
16. Tholkollan,
17. Valan,
18. Veerasaiva,
19. Velan,
20. Velathadatha Nair,
21. Vilakkathala Nair.

393. Some time after the merger, the Government of Madras decided to regularise the position regarding sharing the 25 per cent reservation appointments for Backward Classes in view of the divergence in practice in the old Travancore-Cochin State. In consultation with the Kerala Government, which was the successor for the major part of the old Travancore-Cochin State, a list of 35 castes as given below, was drawn up for purposes of Art.16(4) of the Constitution (G.O. Ms.No.1024, Public (Services), dated 28th July 1960):--

1. Arayas,
2. Boyans,
3. Chavalakkarans,
4. Chekkalas (whose normal avocation is oil-crushing like Vaniyans),
5. Chetties,
6. Ezhavas,
7. Ezhavathy,
8. Ezhuthachans,
9. Hindu Nadars,
10. Kalarikurups (Kalari Panicker),
11. Kammalas (Viswakarmala),
12. Kanians,
13. Kerala Mudali,
14. Krishnavaga,
15. Kudumbis,
16. Kumbarans,
17. Kusavans,
18. Latin Catholics,
19. Maravans,
20. Mukkuvans,
21. Naikkans,
22. Odans,
23. Pattariyas or Pattariars,
24. Perumkollans,

25. Saliyar
26. Sourashtas,
27. Senaithalaivar (Elavaniyas),
28. S.I.U.C.,
29. Velans,
30. Vaniyas,
31. Veerasaivas,
32. Valans,
33. Veluthedathu Nairs,
34. Vilakkathala Nairs,
35. Yadavas.

394. By a special dispensation, the following five communities were also treated as Backward Classes for the purposes of reservation of seats in educational institutions only and not for the grant of educational concessions:--

1. Church of South India Christians who were originally members of the S.I.U.C.
2. Hindu Nadars,
3. Krishnavaga,
4. Latin Catholics,
5. S.I.U.C. Christians.

395. In respect of the last five communities, the Hindu Nadars enjoyed the educational concessions in view of their equation with the Nadar--Shanan of the Madras General list and the other four communities were not eligible for any educational concession under the Madras Educational Rules. Nor were they eligible for any book allowance and scholarships awarded by the Backward Classes Department.

396. It should be remembered that the Backward Classes of the transferred areas were upto 1960 entitled to fee concessions under the Madras Educational Rules and for sharing in the reservation for admission to educational institutions and for entry into services. The question of extending to them scholarships which were then administered by the Harijan Welfare Department, was taken up. The position then was that those castes like Maravas, Thondaman, etc. who were equated with the castes in the general list were entitled to apply for the Harijan Welfare Scholarships. But the exclusively Kanyakumari castes in the residual list of 21 in paragraph 392 were not entitled to Harijan Welfare scholarships. When an enquiry was made, the Collector of Kanyakumari reported that some of these communities who are found in larger numbers in the Kerala State, are not given any scholarships in the latter State and the Government of Madras ordered in 1961 that these communities in the residual list, with the exception of Kerala Mudali, need not be granted Harijan Welfare Scholarships following the principle that existing concessions should not be reduced and new concessions are not automatically extended. By separate representation at an earlier stage, 'Kerala Mudali' alone was included in the general list of Backward Classes of the Madras State - vide G.O. Ms.No.776, Industries, Labour and Co-operation, dated 28th February 1958 and no action was taken to delete this entry in view of the accrued vested interest.

397. The anomalies in the present system resulting in some kind of discrimination or other can be seen from the statement below. A few who enjoyed fee concessions are not entitled to apply for scholarships and a few who are entitled to reservations in

appointments and admissions to colleges are not entitled to one of the other of the educational concessions. In the statement below, we reproduce the names as they appear in the old Travancore-Cochin State list and indicate against each caste the concession or privilege it enjoys in the Tamil Nadu State. Rectification of anomalies and simplifying of the list is being attempted later.

Name of the communities in Kanyakumari district which were approved as Backward Classes by the T.C. State.	Whether it is found in G.O.Ms.No. 998, Education, dated 16.5.60 for the award of fee concession.	Whether it is found in G.O. Ms.No. 1024, Public(Ser.), dt.28.6.60, for the purpose of reservation of posts in public services.	Whether it is found in the list of Backward Classes of the prospectus for admission in professional colleges.	Whether it is found in the list of Backward Classes of the Harijan Welfare Department for the purpose of award of scholarship.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Alwar	Yes	No	No	No
2. Aryavathi	Yes	No	No	No
3. Arayas	No	Yes	No	No
4. Arayan (Nulayan)	Yes	No	No	No
5. Boyans	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Chavalakkarans	Yes	Yes	No	No
7. Chekkalas (whose normal avocation is oil crushing like Vaniyas)	Yes	Yes	No	No
8. Chetties (a) Chetty, Telugu Chetty	No	Yes	No	No
9. Ezhavas	No	No	Yes	Yes
10. Ezhavathy (a) Ezhavathi (Vathi)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
11. Ezhuthachans	No	Yes	No	No
12. Hindu Nadars	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
13. Kalari Kurups (Kalari Panicker)	Yes	Yes	No	No
14. Kammalas (Viswakarmala)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
15. Kaniyan	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
16. Kerala Mudali	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
17. Krishnavaga	No	Yes	No	No
18. Kudumbis	Yes	Yes	No	No
19. Kumbarans	Yes	Yes	No	No
20. Kusavans	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
21. Latin Catholics	No	Yes	No	No
22. Maravans	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
23. Mukkuvans	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
24. Naikkans	Yes	Yes	No	No
25. Odans	Yes	Yes	No	No
26. Pattariyas or Pattariars	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
27. Saliyas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
28. Perukollans	Yes	Yes	No	No
29. Sourashtas	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Name of the communities in Kanyakumari district which were approved as Backward Classes by the T.C. State.	Whether it is found in G.O.Ms.No. 998, Education, dated 16.5.60 for the award of fee concession.	Whether it is found in G.O. Ms.No. 1024, Public(Ser.), dt.28.6.60, for the purpose of reservation of posts in public services.	Whether it is found in the list of Backward Classes of the prospectus for admission in professional colleges.	Whether it is found in the list of Backward Classes of the Harijan Welfare Department for the purpose of award of scholarship.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
30. Sakravar (Kavathi)	Yes	No	No	No
31. Senaithalivar (Elavaniyas)	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
32. S.I.U.C.	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
33. Tholkollans	Yes	Yes	No	No
34. Thondaimans	No	No	Yes	Yes
35. Valans	Yes	Yes	No	No
36. Vaniyas	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
37. Veerasaivas, Pandaram, Pooppandaram, Pappada Pandaram, Vairagi, Vairavi, Yogeeswarar, Matapath	Yes	Yes	No	No
38. Velans	Yes	Yes	No	No
39. Veluthedathu Nairs	Yes	Yes	No	No
40. Villakkathala Nairs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
41. Yadava	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
42. Pronopakari	No	No	No	No
43. Muslims	No	No	No	No
44. Anglo-Indians	No	No	No	No
45. C.S.I. Christians of the Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of the Tirunelveli district who were originally members of the S.I.U.C.	No	Yes	No	No

398. The list of Backward Classes appended to Madras Educational Rules were not amended even though several communities were treated as Backward Classes by executive orders. To ensure uniformity the Director of Public Instruction, the Director of Technical Education and the Director of Medical Services were requested by the Government in Memo. No.12769/E5/62-2, Education, dated 31.12.1962, to adopt the list of Backward Classes in force in the Harijan Welfare Department, for the purpose of grant of the concessions under Rule 92, Madras Educational Rules, and for reservation of seats in educational institutions. As a result of this, the four communities, viz. Krishnavaga, Latin Catholics, S.I.U.C. and C.S.I.C. were omitted from the list of Backward Classes incorporated in the prospectus for admission into professional colleges during 1967. Meanwhile, the list of Backward

Classes appended to the prospectus was held valid by the Supreme Court in their judgment delivered against some writ petitions filed by some of the unselected candidates to the Medical Colleges. When the Government examined the question for the reinclusion of the above four communities, they ordered a reference to the Collectors of Kanyakumari and Tirunelveli districts about the educational and other attainments of these four communities. The Collector of Kanyakumari reported that the four communities could not be treated as Backward when compared to the general educational, social and economic conditions of the rest of the people, and gave the following figures for literacy:-

1. Krishnavaka	..	94%
2. Latin Catholic	..	97%
3. C.S.I. (Formerly S.I.U.C.)	..	73%

399. As we had some doubts about the population figures, these were checked up again with the Collector against the figures projected from Census Report 1941.

Name of the Community.	Census.	Population figures as furnished by the Collector.
1. Krishnavaka	24,435	23,877 (1968)
2. Latin Catholic	62,242	72,651 (1970)
3. C.S.I., formerly S.I.U.C.	1,14,686	1,06,567 (1968)

The Collector of Tirunelveli who was also consulted because of the inclusion of Shencottah in that district, however, reported that there is no Krishnavaka Community in his district and furnished the following information about the other three:--

Community.	Population.	Literacy.
1. Latin Christians	2,226	47%
2. S.I.U.C.	697	39%
3. C.S.I. Christians	201	34%

400. In this connection the observations of the Collector of Kanyakumari are much more relevant because these communities belonged properly to that area and were concentrated there and if there are members of these communities in Tirunelveli, it would only be the normal overflow of population to the neighbouring area. Shencottah taluk as such would not have made much contribution to the population of these three groups mentioned by the Collector, Tirunelveli. While the literacy percentage of these three communities concerned was exceedingly good, in Kanyakumari, it was definitely well above the State average even in Tirunelveli district (State average then being 31% in 1961). It is understood that the question of withdrawing these entries from the list of Backward Classes is under the Government's consideration. These four communities, in spite of their high literacy, are now treated as backward for purposes of reservation of appointments in public services and for admission to educational institutions though they are not eligible for fee concessions and scholarships. In view of

the general policy of the State from the very beginning that educational concessions should take precedence over other concessions, it is incongruous that communities who are not considered deserving of educational concessions in view of their very high achievements are included in the list for benefit of reservation of appointments and reserving admissions to coveted professional colleges.

401. We made a reference to the Collector of Kanyakumari for the latest figures of employment in all departments in respect of Latin Catholics and C.S.I. formerly of the S.I.U.C. in this district and the statistics furnished by him are quoted below:

	Latin Catholic.	C.S.I. formerly S.I.U.C.	Krishnavaka.
1. Population	72,651	1,06,567	23,877
2. Number of Government appointments	2,952	5,290	127
3. Number working as teachers	196	350	--
4. Number employed in private firms	1,073	1,374	392
5. Number working as Doctors, Engineers and Lawyers.	51	172	3

402. We have not been able to get any accurate figures of employment of these communities in the Secretariat or in the departmental offices. It is likely that the figures for Latin Catholics and C.S.I. get mixed up under the general category of Christians in State level employment. In any case, the representation of Christians taken as a whole for the State of Tamil Nadu is, by no standards, inadequate. For a population of 72,651 of Latin Catholics and a little over a lakh of C.S.I. (formerly S.I.U.C.), the Collector's figures are quite impressive. The figures under Doctors, Engineers and Lawyers show a very high achievement.

403. 'Krishnavaka' is a very small caste which even in area of high literacy, has reached outstanding heights in education and its employment position compares exceedingly favourable with any of the forward castes in Tamil Nadu.

404. Bearing in mind the observations made in the earlier paragraphs, we are giving below a list of the residual castes for Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk for the grant of educational concessions, scholarships and reservations. This is not an entirely new list, but a list for which redundancies and duplications have been removed. This is exactly on the lines on which we have streamlined the Madras General List.

1. Alwar,
2. Arayan (Nulayan),
3. Aryavathi,
4. Chavalakkaran,
5. Chettu or Chetty including Kottar Chetty, Elur Chetty, Pathira Chetty, Valayal Chetty, Pudukkadai Chetty.

6. Ezhuthachan,
7. Ezhavathy,
8. Ezhavas,
9. Kalari Kurup (Kalari Panicker),
10. Kudumbi,
11. Naikkan,
12. Odan,
13. Perumkollan,
14. Sakkaravar (Kavathi),
15. Tholkollan,
16. Velan,
17. Veerasaiva,
18. Velan,
19. Veluthedathu Nair,

The other communities of Kanyakumari district have been clubbed with the corresponding communities which are now in existence in the list of Backward Classes of "Tamil Nadu".

405. We must also make a mention here that two castes (1) Kambar (Parisaivar), and (2) Uvachar, relating to Kanyakumari district appeared before the Commission pleading for inclusion in the list. Their case (Kambar) is on a par with the Melakarans of the Tamil districts. Short notes on these two castes are recorded in Volume-II.

CHAPTER XII

Administration

406. The Social Welfare Department is in overall charge of the Directorate of Backward Classes which was created only on 2nd May 1969. Till then the work connected with the administration of scholarships, etc., for Backward Classes was performed by the Directorate of Harijan Welfare. The creation of a separate Directorate of Backward Classes was itself a sequence to the creation of a separate Department of Social Welfare in 1969, under a separate Secretary in charge. In addition to the Harijan Welfare and Backward Classes, Welfare Department looks after the following items:

Women's Welfare,
Stationery and Printing,
Information, Publicity and Tourism.

407. The Director of Backward Classes has only a small staff consisting of a Personal Assistant and a few clerical assistants. He makes use of the services of the District Welfare Officers who are under the Director of Harijan Welfare for field work. These latter officers carrying the rank of Deputy Collectors are under the administrative control of the Collectors of respective districts, though they receive instructions from the two Directors directly on matters relating to their spheres of work. Their selection, posting, etc., are done by the Board of Revenue. In view of the Harijan Welfare activities being very extensive, it will not be wrong to treat the District Welfare Officers as Harijan Welfare Department Officers. The work of the District Welfare Officer particularly falls under the following categories:

<u>Backward Classes:</u>	Administration of scholarships and supervision over hostels.
Harijan Welfare:	Administration of scholarships, maintenance of hostels and work connected with grants, loans, assignment of lands, etc., for Harijans.

There is a separate Welfare Officer exclusively for the Welfare Reclamation Schemes in Madurai district (besides the District Welfare Officer).

408. With the Constitution of a separate Department, the work after the Welfare of Backward Classes, the expectations of the various backward communities have been considerably aroused. It is clear that every community has special problems arising out of its traditional occupation, environment, etc., and the social and economic condition of each community varies from district to district and in many cases from village to village within the same district. In this respect, the problems of the various communities constituting the Backward Classes are more complicated than these of the Scheduled Castes whose occupational and social problems do not present such diversity. The Commission noticed that the needs and aspirations of these communities vary considerably; while in some areas emphasis is more on employment, in others the demand is for more educational and economic facilities.

The impact of facilities offered also varies from district to district and from caste to caste depending on the stage of social, cultural, educational and economic conditions prevailing therein, and as there are numerous Backward Classes in varying stages of development, the possibilities of social tensions, arising out of uneven development, will have to be carefully watched.

409. We are recommending extension of the scope of Scholarships at the elementary, higher elementary and high school stages and also at the College level. The additional work would largely arise from the extension of scholarships at the elementary and higher elementary school stage, because of the enormous additional number of students covered. Besides, we are recommending extension of the schemes for loans, grants, assignment of lands, house sites and other welfare schemes to Most Backward Classes, more or less on the lines now followed for the Scheduled Castes. The quantum of welfare work in each district on all these counts would easily be doubled.

410. As the tax-payers' money is spent on ameliorative measures, it is incumbent on the State to see that the money is well spent on the sections of the people for whom these measures are intended, and the benefits actually reach them. It is not enough to give sanction for scholarships and loans and sit back feeling that the work is done. It should be necessary to ensure that the scholarships reach the recipients in time, and the loans, grants and other aids also reach the correct person at the appropriate time without wastage and delays in the initial stages. This kind of supervisory work is necessary to ensure that the privileges are not claimed by people who are not entitled to it. Many witnesses have told us about false certificates of caste as well as of income. With the steps suggested in this report, these abuses will be reduced; but one can never successfully anticipate all loopholes, and new methods of evasion may will arise. Loans are also claimed on fabricated evidence of performance. There is imperative need for complete verification and this should be done by the officers other than those who issue the original certificates relating to income and caste classification, so that the check is free and independent.

411. It is obvious that the Welfare of Backward Classes is interwoven largely with the general welfare of the rural population and the aim of the Backward Classes Department should be to keep an eye on the developmental activities in the rural areas by keeping close watch with all the Development departments like Agriculture, Industries, Education, Animal Husbandry, Rural Development, etc. A little more attention is specially called for when rendering assistance to the most underprivileged among the Backward Classes--like dhobies, barbers etc. As more measures for the rehabilitation of Denotified Tribes are recommended, a substantial addition of work is anticipated from these as well. The social handicaps and other peculiar problems of some of these castes have to be understood and the Departmental officers must be in a position to inspire confidence in them.

412. A continuous study of the impact of the aid given by the Government and the assessment of the progress made has become imperative, in view of the latest judgment of the Supreme Court which calls on the State to periodically assess the progress made

by the backward community. The observation of the Supreme Court in its judgment is as follows:

*The Government should always keep under review the question of reservation of seats and only the classes which are really socially and educationally backward should be allowed to have the benefit of reservation".

413. In view of the intensity of the field work that would arise under these circumstances we strongly recommend that the work connected with the Backward Classes welfare should be separated from that relating to Harijan Welfare. There must be a provision for periodical inspections and administrative audit of the work done at the level of the Welfare Officers. There must be a regular flow of information from the field through properly designed returns. A large number of returns will have to be prescribed and data collected from all Departments and not merely from the Education Department, to assess the progress made by each community. The impact on the aid recipients must be studied and suitable measures must be taken from time to time to expand aid wherever necessary and curtail it where it is redundant, superfluous or ineffective. As already observed, the Welfare Officers must maintain close contact with the educational officers in the district and the officers belonging to co-operative and Industries and other Departments. We, therefore, recommend the creation of a separate cadre of Social Welfare Officers of the same rank, status and pay of group III officers.

414. The cadre should be service oriented with a large sense of devotion, and the officers should be familiar with the social and economic conditions of the poorer sections of the people. Though in the initial stages officers may be borrowed from other Development Departments like Co-operation, eventually a self contained cadre with a large percentage of direct recruits will be necessary.

415. We envisage the following set up for the Directorate:-

1. Senior I.A.S. Officer as head of Department.
2. Two Joint Directors of rank and pay comparable to District Revenue Officers. Of these one Officer should have research experience on socio-economic problems and the other should have experience of Co-operation or Industries Department. The former should be in charge of statistics and research. As a progressive review of the Backward Classes is now necessary, information under various heads will have to be collected similar to what the Commission did, and with the Commission's statistics as the starting point, evaluation will have to be done. This Statistical and Research Branch must have some competent assistants. The second officer should be in charge of inspections, in view of the larger staff that may be employed and the additional expenditure that will be incurred.

416. At the District level, each district should have a District Social Welfare Officer with separate adequate ministerial staff. Each office should have a Research Assistant for the collection of statistics and other information on socio-economic conditions. He should be assisted by a few investigators of the rank of Revenue Inspectors.

417. Apart from making these general recommendations on the scope of the Department, we are not in a position to make any detailed proposals on the quantum of staff at the lower levels either at Headquarters or in the Districts.

Before formally completing the Report, we would like to record that this Report is the result of a year's strenuous labour. A year is perhaps too short a period for a major inquiry of this nature; we would not have been able to achieve, what we have done except for the whole-hearted devotion of the entire staff of the Commission. We would like to mention particularly the arduous work our Research Staff turned out under the competent guidance of our Deputy Secretary, Professor G. Chidambaram. We benefited a great deal from the knowledge and experience of our office Superintendent Thiru G. Govindan to whom our special thanks are due. The Secretary of our Commission who is also the Director of the Backward Classes looked after the arrangements for our tours efficiently, and made it possible for us to complete our work sooner than we expected.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the Hon'ble Minister for Backward Classes, Thiru N.V. Natarajan, and officers of the Secretariat for their encouragement, and interest in our work.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.)

(A.N. SATTANATHAN)
Chairman

Subject to my dissenting note

(Sd.)

(S. CHINNAPPAN)
Member

Subject to my dissenting note .

(Sd.)

(M.A. JAMAL HUSSAIN)
Member

26th November 1970

Madras-2.

Minute of dissent by Thiru M. A. Jamal Hussain, Member.

I am constrained to write this Minute of Dissent, since on certain important matters I find myself in disagreement with the views and recommendations of the learned Chairman as adumbrated in the main report; as regards:

- (a) his recommendation to form a sub-class in the Backward Classes as 'Most Backward Classes';
- (b) his recommendation to increase the reservation for Backward Classes to 33 per cent and divide the same into two; allotting 17 per cent to Backward Classes and 16 per cent to Most Backward Classes;
- (c) his recommendation and approach as to how the Backward Classes should be gradually lifted from their present condition;
- (d) his stand regarding the claim of the Christians; and
- (e) his denotation of the term Labbai as 'Tamil speaking Muslims'.

a) At the outset it must be reiterated that our Constitution does not recognise any separate sub-class within Backward Classes. In Part XVI, three main categories of classes are contemplated. They are:

1. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes,
2. Backward Classes,
3. Anglo-Indians.

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been defined respectively in Arts. 366 (24) and 366(25). The Anglo-Indian community has been specially chosen for a description in Art. 366(2). The Backward Class (category 2) has not been defined in so many words in the Constitution. However, there is a mention about them in Art. 338(3) as "such other Backward Classes"; whose backwardness, we can take it, is similar to the backwardness of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Thus, our Constitution recognises only one group of Backward Classes whose backward conditions, if I may say so, is akin to or in par with the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. To introduce, or, worse still, to recommend the formation of another set of Backward Classes will be directly violating the concerned provisions of the Constitution. A very interesting question was posed before the Supreme Court in M.R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore (AIR 1963 S.C. at page 649). On the recommendation of the Naganna Gowda Committee, the Mysore State proceeded to make an order under Art. 15(4) dividing Backward Classes into two categories; one 'Backward Classes' and the second 'More Backward Classes'. 68 per cent was fixed as quota for the reservation of seats for other Backward Classes; 28 per cent out of this was reserved for Backward Classes so called and 22 per cent for More Backward Classes. One of the points which came before the Supreme Court was 'whether such classification of such other backward classes into two categories was permissible and justified under Art. 15(4) ?

held that the sub classification made by the order of Mysore Government as 'Backward Classes' and 'More Backward Classes' was not warranted under Art. 15(4). In coming to the above conclusion, they have observed as follows:

"In this connection it is necessary to add that the sub-classification made by the order between Backward Classes and More Backward Classes does not appear to be justified under Art. 15(4). Art. 15(4) authorises special provision being made for the really Backward Classes. In introducing two categories of Backward Classes what the impugned order, in substance purports to do is to devise measures for the benefit of all the classes of citizens who are less advanced compared to the most advanced classes in the State, and that in our opinion, is not the scope of Art. 15(4). The result of the method adopted by the impugned order is that nearly 90% of the population of the State is treated as backward, and that illustrates how the order in fact divides the population of the State into most advanced and the rest, and puts the latter into two categories of Backward and More Backward. The classification of the two categories, therefore, is not warranted by Art. 15(4)."

In a very recent decision of the Supreme Court, in A. Peeria-karuppan and another Vs. State of Tamilnadu (in writ petitions Nos. 285 and 314 of 1970) the same question was mooted before the Supreme Court with reference to the alleged classification by the Tamil Nadu State of Backward Classes into Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes. It was contended by the petitioners before the Supreme Court that such a classification was illegal. In support of that contention, the attention of the Supreme Court was invited to the prior decision of that Court in M.R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore. But the Supreme Court did not give any definite finding under the following circumstances:

"It is unnecessary to go into that question because for the purpose of the present selection the backward classes were not sub-divided into Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes what had happened is that the list of Backward Classes supplied to the selection committee showed that some of the communities are more backward than others, but that list was prepared for the purpose of fee concessions for the purpose of the present selection all the classes shown therein were treated as Backward Classes."

Thus, though in the recent decision of the Supreme Court no express view has been stressed; as the position now stands it cannot but be said that there is an authoritative decision of the Supreme Court that the further classification of Backward Classes is not warranted under Article 15(4). The reasons in support of the same are also found in that Supreme Court decision. I have discussed this point in detail in my note titled "Constitution - What is provided for the Backward Classes?", submitted to the Commission on 13.5.1970.

Both in Chapters III and VI the learned Chairman has relied upon Art.16(4). Under Art.14(4) the State has no doubt, powers to make any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any Backward Class of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State. That power vested in the State under Art.16(4) could not be used in a way as to cause discrimination between one class and another class. Art.16 deals with only a limited subject namely equality of opportunity in matters of public employment or appointment by the State. Art.15 is more general in its application and deals with all classes of discrimination; hence even if there is no discrimination under Art.16 it may well be a case of discrimination under Art.15 and will be unconstitutional unless saved by one of the saving clause. There is a direct decision under Art.16(4) that there cannot be a further classification of Backward Classes. No doubt the learned Commentator Basu has expressed a different view which is his own and could not certainly be pitted against the observations of the Supreme Court in more than one decision.

But in our State, a separate list for Most Backward Classes has been in vogue from 1957 onwards. I have seen the entire file relating to the Most Backward Classes. I have no hesitation to say that the Most Backward Class list drawn and maintained by the Tamil Nadu State has nowhere been recognised as one coming within the ambit of either Art.15(4) or any other connected Articles in the Constitution. On the contrary, there is a definite order recognising the Backward Classes list under Art.15(4) soon after the amendment of the Constitution in 1951. G.O. Ms.No.353, Industries and Commerce and Co-operative Departments, dated 31-1-1957 only provides 'that the communities mentioned in the Annexure be granted, for the present only some educational concessions admissible to Scheduled Castes.' The above is quite in line with the view taken all along by the Government that these concessions should not be extended to matters like reservation in appointments and admission to seats in Educational Institutions. The circumstances under which that list had come into existence and how the communities were included only show that it was never recognised as a list either under Art.15(4) or 16(4). In this connection, it would not be out of place to point out that 29 communities or classes which are mentioned in that list of Most Backward Classes are not to be found in the list of Backward Classes maintained by the Backward Classes Department'. While the file relating to Most Backward Classes was in the offing, the Kaka Kalelkar Commission's Report became available where certain weaker sections among Backward Classes were star-marked for special attention. That opportunity appears to have been readily seized and a good number of classes and communities star-marked in Kaka Kalelkar Commission's Report have been included in our State list with little consideration and examination. One such community is the very numerically large community of Vanniyakula Kshatriya. It is very significant that communities like that have not been suggested in the first list submitted by the Director of Harijan Welfare in 1955 for inclusion even in the Backward Classes list. Another important fact to note in this connection is that even in the Kaka Kalelkar Commission's Report there is no recommendation nor a suggestion that a new sub-classification should be made and a new sub-class formed as Most Backward Class among Backward Classes. In the summary of recommendations what all

they have recommended as regards the starred communities is as follows:

"In awarding scholarships the claims of all communities among the Backward Classes should be taken into consideration and the allotment in the first instance should be on the basis of population of various communities in a State, preference being given always to those who are extremely backward, viz. starred communities, in the lists prepared by the Commission."

In my view any further sub-classification of the Backward Classes would only throw open the flood gate of discrimination, widen the gulf and cause inequality, disparity, discontent and frustration which are already prevailing. Still after 20 years we have not been able to adopt a uniform criteria for determining backwardness. What yardstick are we going to adopt in discriminating and differentiating Most Backwardness from Backwardness? Any formula or basis which we may adopt is likely to create more problems than solve them. Take the present list of Most Backward Classes. Is there any uniformity of backwardness among them? Can one community which is more than 50 per cent of the alleged Most Backward Classes and nearly 24 per cent of the entire Backward Classes and concentrated in three or four contiguous districts and having much political and social importance and influence in our State be equated with a helpless, shattered, poor class or community like Vannans or Barbers or Fishermen or Valaiyan or Oddan etc.? The Chairman was much agitated about the figures he had obtained as a result of the assessment made by the Commission. I am going to point out in another portion of this note the data which we have used for assessment are scanty, unreliable and could not be relied upon for giving a very correct or unassailable inference. Assuming for arguments sake that our assessment shows an appalling degeneration and degradation in respect to certain communities the remedy in my view is not by further bifurcating them, but solving by other means. It is for the above reasons, my view is that any attempt of further classifying Backward Classes as 'Backward Classes' and 'Most Backward Classes' would be unconstitutional offending Arts.15(4) and 16(4) and other relevant provisions of the Constitution.

Even in the Terms of Reference to this Commission the distinction between Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes have been very carefully maintained. In the first term relating to Backward Classes the Commission has been enjoined to review the measures taken by the State for the welfare and betterment of the conditions of Backward Classes ... and to examine the effectiveness of such measures in improving the conditions of Backward Classes. But in the second term relating to Most Backward Classes the Commission has been asked only to examine and assess the concessions, privileges and benefits given to Most Backward Classes in education and other matters. The distinction is clear. The terms of reference are quite in line with the stand taken by our State all along in keeping a distinction between the steps and measures taken 'for the betterment and conditions of the Backward Classes' as such; ~~and~~ to certain concessions, privileges and benefits given to some Most Backward Classes in matters like education etc.' There is no point in creating a confusion between the two

In Chapter III of Vol. I of the main report the learned Chairman finds a distinction between the classes enumerated in the two lists and goes on to justify a list of Most Backward Classes as a distinct sub-class in the category of Backward Classes. In my humble view there is no justification for making such a distinction. As pointed out in the earlier discussion such an attempt to sub-classify the Backward Classes is not only unconstitutional but also likely to create problems to the State in helping very weaker sections of the society like Barbers, Washermen, Kammalan, Kuyavan, Actual Weavers, Actual tree climbers (Sanan), Fishermen, etc.

The stand taken and recommendations made by the learned Chairman as regards Most Backward Classes in Chapters, III, IV, VI, VIII, X, etc., would mean that he recommends the formation of a distinct sub class among the Backward Classes as 'Most Backward Classes' as per the list now in existence. The above list itself as explained in the prior portion of this note has sprung in a haphazard fashion. In my view, to adopt that list would be doing injustice to the really weakest sections in our society. The recommendations found in Chapter VI that out of the reservation meant for Backward Classes as such, a sizable portion should be taken and allotted to the classes in the present Most Backward Class list is still more objectionable. From the discussion I had with the learned Chairman, I felt he was trying to get some inspiration from the reservation suggested by the Kerala Backward Classes Commission. That Commission was only directed to investigate matters coming under Art.15(4). Another Commission appointed to investigate matters under Art.16(4) met us and has yet to submit its report. The suggestions and recommendations on this point by the Kerala Commission are based upon reasoning and logic which we do not accept and upon social circumstances which do not exist here. Making such a reservation would, I fear, besides offending Art. 15(1), also offend Arts.14, 29(2) and in a way contravene Arts.15(4) and 46.

(b) I have no objection, to increase the reservation to a reasonable limit provided we do not act against the authoritative observations of the Honourable Judges of the Supreme Court. On this point the Supreme Court in more than one decision had expressed its view and set the limit. It is not open to us to go to beyond that limit. In M.R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore, the Supreme Court has observed as follows:

*A special provision contemplated by Art.15(4) like reservation of posts and appointments contemplated by Art.16(4) must be within reasonable limits. The interests of weaker sections of society which are a first charge on the States and the Centre have to be adjusted with the interests of the community as a whole. The adjustment of these competing claims is undoubtedly a difficult matter, but if under the guise of making a special provision, a State reserves practically all the seats available in all the Colleges, that clearly would be subverting the object of Art.15(4). In this matter again, we are reluctant to say definitely what would be a proper provision to make. Speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50% would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case."

A reasonable interpretation of the above observation of the Supreme Court would be that the reservation should normally be less than 50 per cent and 'how much less than 50 per cent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case.' In the recent decision before the Supreme Court in A. Peeriakaruppan and another Vs. State of Tamilnadu (Writ petitions Nos.285 and 314 of 1960) it was contended that even the present 41 per cent reservation (B.C.25% + S.C. 10% = 41%) is excessive. For want of materials the Supreme Court was not able to hold that the said reservation was excessive. I would think, taking the general demand for increase of reservation; especially, from the weaker sections in our society, the reservation for Backward Classes can be justifiably increased to 33 per cent from 25 per cent. But in these matters it is the State which has to take the decision after considering the relevant matters. However, I wish to record once again that if the increase in reservation is meant to make available some portion of that to a sub-class of the Backward Classes, I am opposed to it. The recommendation in Chapter VI that a definite percentage of 16 per cent out of the suggested increase of 33 per cent be set apart for Most Backward Classes will tantamount to bringing by back door proportional representation for some favoured caste and communities while denying to others.

c) Lastly on the broad approach as to how the Backward Classes in our society should be gradually lifted from their present conditions, I am in general agreement with the suggestions made by the learned Chairman in the main report. Even so, I feel in duty bound, I must state the spheres where I differ from him under this head.

At the outset I have to record that I am opposed to a purely caste approach. For most of our present day evils we can trace back to the prevalence of caste system in our midst. If we still persist in trying to solve our problems purely on the basis of caste approach, we are not likely to get out of the rut. I am conscious that in the present existing conditions it is not possible to eschew caste entirely from our consideration. As suggested by the Supreme Court in Balaji's case, the caste approach should be limited to the extent possible.

Another important matter on which I wish to record my view is that the view prevalent in some quarters that caste is synonymous with class is not justified and an approach based upon that wrong postulate is likely to cause incalculable harm and wrong.

In this context I am bound to record that the (caste oriented) questionnaire was shown to my learned colleague Thiru Chinnappan and myself in the final form; just before giving to print; and, it is not correct to record, as found in para 7 of Chapter I of Vol. I; 'it was decided that the questionnaire should be caste based'. The decision, 'if any, was not ours. In Chapter I, Vol. I para 6 the Chairman himself has owned responsibility for the use of the term 'caste' in the questionnaire in preference to the term 'class'. The Note explaining that in the Questionnaire was first seen by us only in the printed form. The troubles so far as our Commission is concerned started with this wrong approach. Behind all these

* Please refer to observations in the Supreme Court decision: M.R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore (AIR 1963 S.C.649) Viswanath Vs. State of Mysore (AIR 1964 S.C.132) and also my note "Constitution" - What it provides for Backward Classes? (Chapter II, page 7 to 14)

one could deduct an obsession that the backward class list mainly consists of 'Hindu Jathis' or castes. There is reference to this by the learned Chairman in the middle of para 7 in Chapter I. As a matter of fact repeatedly the Christian representations were told that the backward class list is a list mainly consisting of 'Hindu Jathis' and converts from Hinduism to Christianity have no place there. (Refer to the questions put by the Chairman at Tiruchirappalli and at Madurai to the Catholic Association). The evils of such a wrong approach has been pointed out by me even in my note on the Christian claim submitted to the Commission so early as March 1970.

Under this head I agree with the learned Chairman that the list drawn for Backward Classes must be checked periodically and such of the communities or classes which have progressed in the period prior to the check up; socially, educationally and economically to an extent equal to any of the forward class or community may be pruned out. But the above suggestion pre-supposes that there should be one list for Backward Classes. In the act of pruning out, an invariable uniform criteria should be adopted. In the interest of justice and fairness, the yardstick should not be expanded nor curtailed in the actual application.

In deciding the progress made by each class or community we should have the correct data on the following important matters:

1. Population of each Backward Class;
2. Educational progress made by that class in
 - (a) literacy (b) study in schools (c) in colleges (both in the Arts and Professional) etc. and
 - (d) employment both in the public as well as private sector.

Here I have to observe that on this aspect we did not have any response at all from the private sector. There are certain fields where there are collaboration between private and public sector and we should have data from this sphere also.

Unfortunately our Commission with all its efforts was able to collect only some materials and data from some sources. In my judgment these are neither here nor there. In the assessment Chapter VIII our difficulties in the matter have been set out. The same Chapter will indicate our limitations. I can easily demonstrate how unreliable is the data on which we have acted. It is well accepted that population of each class is an important item in the matter of indexing the progress of each class or community. For our purpose we could only take as basis the population of castes in the Census of 1921; which is half a century back. We have projected those figures to arrive at the estimated population of each caste at the present time. I could not get away from the feeling that the estimate we have made as regards the present population of each caste or class is more a guess work. We have adopted one formula for all communities and classes! Almost all the classes and communities that appeared before us did not accept the Census figures and gave their own figures - sometime staggering and unacceptable. That only shows where we stand on this important point. My above views find full support from what has been detailed in para 27 to 31 of Chapter II, Vol. I of our report. Even the figures given in the 1921 Census could not be accepted and acted

upon as an unassailable data. One has to read only Chapter II of Vol. XIII of part I of 1921 Census Report to know the unreliability of the caste figures given in that Census. Explaining the marked increase in the kshatriyas (increase of 97.4% from 1901 to 1911 - followed by an increase of 100.8% from 1911 to 1921), the Census authorities record as follows in the middle para 15:

"A desire for social advancement or some more subtle reason induces various bodies such as Razas of Circas, the Pallis (of both Tamil and Telugu branch) or the Nadars to return their caste as 'Kshatriyas'."

In the same way a decrease in the Labbai population and a corresponding increase in the other Muslim groups contra to the figures of the 1911 Census in the districts of Ramanathapuram North Arcot, Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and Pudukkottai have been explained in the following words:

"The apparent fall in the number of Labbais is accounted for by the common tendency of a Labbai as he rises in the social scale, to claim membership of the Sheik, Saiyad, Pathan, etc. tribes." (vide para. 26 of Census of India, 1921, Vol. XIII Part. I)

So the figures given in the 1921 Census Report either for Kshatriya or for Labbais or for similar classes could not be taken as reflecting the real population of that class in 1921. Projection of such incorrect figures over a period of 50 years of so is likely to result in errors; perhaps to lakhs. To rush to conclusions on the basis of assessment from scanty or inadequate data could be termed only hasty. Worse still, to act upon such hasty conclusions, will be disastrous. My learned colleague Thiru Chinnappan and myself checked the data collected for employment etc., some are misleading. There is no special data for converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes who alone as now are included in the Backward Classes list. Employment figures for either for the entire Christian community or Scheduled Caste converts as such; would not be a proper basis. Same remark applies to backward classes like Labbai etc. In the recent years employment and admission figures in educational institutions are not available purely on class or caste basis. So, in the circumstances, I would strongly recommend that our State should prevail upon the Census team for 1971 to collect the data which we require for making the assessment for our purpose; if that is not possible; entrust that work to a team of experts attached to the Backward Class Department itself; who would in collaboration with the Census authorities may easily gather the necessary particulars for us.

It is a well accepted fact that even within a Backward Class there are layers. It is equally well known that the upper layers in different castes easily make the best use of the help offered by the State. The bottom layers remain helpless. It should be our effort to see that the aid given by the state reaches the bottom. On this point I am in agreement with some practical suggestions found in the main report.

(d) My attitude towards the claim of the Christian community has been set out elaborately in the note submitted by me titled "A Historical and Critical Study of the claims of Christian community for being treated on par with the Backward Classes." That was prepared by me as per the direction of the Chairman and was submitted by me to the Commission on 28-3-1970. In that note I have not only sketched the historical background but also critically considered their present claim to be treated on par with other Backward Communities. It is unnecessary for me to restate my view on this important subject.

Speaking broadly, the Christian community or such portion of the Christian community which are Backward could not be excluded solely on the basis of religion. In our Backward Class list, the Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity have been listed, but there is a restriction restricting them to self-converts alone. Why should such a restriction be placed? This restriction should be removed and all the converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes, if they are Backward should be enabled to get all the concessions open to similarly placed communities or classes. It is no argument to satisfy that these converts get some special educational fee concessions, etc. otherwise. They can get those special concessions as one among the weaker sections along with other weaker sections in the Backward class list itself.

Secondly, my view is that converts from Backward Communities, if they are found Backward should without any restriction be enabled to get all concessions open to similarly placed Backward Communities or Classes and if any section among them are found to be very weak they may be star-marked along with other weaker sections in the Backward Class list itself and given special attention.

(e) I would say the same thing for the sister minority community, the Muslims, in whose case, however, the position is little better. Among the Muslims, the LABBAIS, the MAPPILLAS and DUDEKULAS are listed in the Backward Classes list. In some quarters some misconception and doubt are harboured, regarding the actual denotation of the term 'Labbai'. Our spade work had cleared those doubts and mis-givings to establish that the term 'Labbai' should cover and comprise all Tamil Muslims, I am bound to point out at this stage that I differ slightly from the view entertained by the Chairman that 'Labbai' connotes "Tamil speaking Muslims". On this point of difference my stand is as follows:

"Labbai is the Tamil form of the Arabic word Labbae. The above is the root word; which means 'Here I am; and, at your service'. (Labbaik is also derived from the root word Labbae.) The early converts to Islam were known as Labbai because of their ready response to the Devine call. It is noteworthy that the early converts were mostly from the socially oppressed castes; like, Harijans, Maravars, Vanians, etc.

Even before the invasion from the North (during Alludin Kilji's time) there were large number of Muslims in the Tamil portion of Southern India; particularly in the Pandya Kingdom;

either the offsprings of Arab settlers and traders or converts from the local people. It is this fact that has been summarised in the well known book by TARA CHAND 'Influence of Islam on Indian Culture' in the following words:

"Thus, before the arrival of Malik Kafur's army into the South Musalmans had established their settlements in the important centres of trade; they had entered into relationship with the people living round them; and from this intercourse of Arabs and Tamils a number of communities of mixed descent had arisen e.g. the Revuttans and Labbes."

An important fact to note is that the then Muslim population mostly consisted of converts from the Dravidian race or consisted of persons of mixed blood between the Arab settlers and traders and the Tamilians. But Malik Kafur's army consisted of Turks, Afghans, Pattans; men mostly drawn from outside India. After the Northern inroad, the difference between the two sets, namely the early converts who mostly hailed from the local Dravidian population and the others mainly consisting of foreign elements was felt. The invading heard imagined that they were Sheiks; meaning leaders or highly placed. A few among them claimed that they were descendents of the Holy Prophet; and so, Sayyads. Besides, there were the Pattans. These three distinctive groups have been separately indicated in the early Census Reports as 'Sheiks' 'Sayyads' and 'Pathans'. The Tamil Muslims were rightly indicated as Labbais.

The above finds full support from the Census Reports of 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921. In the Census Report of 1881 a very interesting description of the Labbais is found:

"found chiefly in Thanjavur and Madura. They are Mappillas of the Coromandel coast, that is to say, converted Dravidians, or Hindus, with a slight admixture of Arab blood."

Similarly in the Census Report of 1891, there is a reference to the Labbais as follows:

"The Muhammadans of this Presidency are mostly of Dravidian origin, but a few are descendants of Pathan and Moghal immigrants and present the unmistakable type of features found in these races in Upper India. These and a small proportion of the indigenous Musalmans speak Hindustani or Daccani, but the majority retain the vernacular of their ancestors, Tamil in the case of the Labbais, and Malayalam in the case of the Mappillas."

In all Census Reports upto 1921 the distinction as Sheik, Sayyad, Pathan and Labbais are indicated. But in the Census Report of 1931, only the Labbais are mentioned. The reasons are not far to seek. In the 600 or 700 years of close living the Muslims who came from the North got so mixed with the local Muslim population that they slowly got absorbed among them; and vice versa. Thousands of Tamil Muslims have inter-married with the above three groups. As indicated in the Census Report of 1921; round about those years there has been a marked tendency for the local Tamil Labbai Muslims as they rose in social scale and status to claim membership among the other three groups. (Vide observations in para 26 Chapter II, Caste, Tribe or Nationality, 1921, Census Vol. XIII, Part I). Particularly, in the recent years many Labbai families have adopted Urdu as their mother-tongue; and consciously or not assumed certain living habits of the Muslims who came from the North, as for instance, the Labbai Muslims in North Arcot and some families in the city of Madras itself. So much so, it is hardly possible now to pick a purely Tamil Muslim family with its origin dating back to 11th or 12th century, or vice versa. About 85 to 90 per cent of the local Tamil population are only mixed population as indicated above and all of them contend that they are Tamil Muslims; who in one way or other can claim that they are the offsprings of either the original local Dravidian converts or the local population which mixed with Arab settlers and traders. The remaining; who either by force of circumstances or for any other reasons did not get mixed up with the local population find themselves excluded from being called Labbais. Terms like; Ravuttan, Ambalan, Marakayan, Saheb are titles. Even in the Census Report of 1921 the Ravuttans are included among the Labbai category. There are research works on the subject as to how titular names like Ravuttans, Ambalan etc. came to be conferred and in vogue. It is for the above reasons I am of the view that it is not apt to denote or connote the Labbais as 'Tamil speaking Muslims'. It is more apt and correct to say that that term Labbai denotes 'Tamil Muslims'. For the same reason I am of the view that it is wrong to describe the Non-Labbai population as 'Urdu speaking Muslims'. In Islam there is no division on the basis of language. You find Muslims all over the world from China to America speaking different languages; yet they are neither separate class or caste."

We learn that the Government had clarified, the term Labbai as denoting 'Tamil speaking Muslims'. In the light of the above historical background and developments; not to speak of the present state of things, it would be considered just and proper to local Muslims if the Labbais are described as 'Tamil Muslims', not only comprising Tamil speaking Muslims, but also such portion of the local Muslim population who have adopted Urdu as their mother tongue.

Assuming for arguments sake, that the term 'Urdu speaking Muslims' apply to a portion of the Muslims who could not bring themselves under the broad classification of either Labbais or Mappillas or Dudekulas; their condition, as the learned Chairman has set out in the main report is far more deplorable than the weakest sections in our society. In a suburb of Vellore we found their habitation side by side with those of their Scheduled Caste brothers; and conditions as bad as theirs. The evidence and materials we gathered clearly establish without any shadow of doubt that they should be taken as among the weakest sections of our society. The representatives of the All-India Muslims League in particular; and some individuals and organisations to some extent were one in stressing that their case deserves the most sympathetic consideration.

In this connection it would not be out of place to point out that the Muslims in general have been very adversely affected in the matter of appointments to Government services; particularly to key posts. Some of the Muslim representatives were very much agitated about that. From the time of G.O. 1971, Public, dated 4-11-1937 the Muslims were getting 2 out of 12 in turn. That turn system continued nearly for 20 years. After the attainment of Independence a change was introduced by G.O.Ms.3447, Public Service, dated 21-11-1947 by which the turn of the Muslim was reduced to 1 out of 14. In the main report, at the end of paragraph 54 of Chapter III, Vol. I, the learned Chairman concedes that on account of the above reduction the Muslims came to suffer more than the Anglo-Indians and Christians. Few years later when recruitment and admissions on communal basis were struck off as unconstitutional, the Non-Labbai population among the Muslims came to be hit most. Atleast the Labbais had the benefit of the 25 per cent reservation meant for Backward Classes. So in the past 15 or 20 years except through open competition the Non-Labbai Muslims lost the advantage of reservation in recruitment to Government appointments as well as admission in educational institutions, etc. As correctly stated by the learned Chairman in para. 183 Chapter VI, there is a special grievance among the Muslims that since Independence they have not had a fair deal in the matter of Government appointments. I would add that their grievance is also that in key posts there has been a reluctance to give the Muslims their due share; particularly, in Police and Military. It is gratefully acknowledged, however, that after the advent of the present Government certain key posts have been given to the Muslims. It is this that has kindled hope and assurance once again among the local Muslims. Their request in simple are:

- a) that without any distinction, all Muslims should be made eligible for the benefits given to Backward Classes;
- b) that the term Labbai should be made to connote and denote 'Tamil Muslims' in general not only Tamil speaking Muslims but also those who have adopted Urdu as their mother-tongue;
- c) that in the matter of recruitment to Government services; particularly to key posts the Muslims should be adequately represented, so also in admission to educational institutions; and

- d) that in the matter of economic upliftment the suggestions made by this Commission in the note on Labbais in Vol. II, Part I to be kindly implemented.

Before ending this note I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Government of Tamil Nadu for appointing me as Member of this important Commission. I believe that the efforts of this Commission as reflected in our Reports would be of some help to our State who is all set out for lifting the conditions of the Backward Classes in our society. I take this opportunity to thank the learned Chairman and my learned colleague. It was a rich experience for me to work with them. I also thank the staff who spared no effort to make the Commission's work effective and fruitful to the extent possible.

(Sd.)

M.A. JAMAL HUSSAIN,
Member.

Date:

MINUTE OF DISSENT BY S. CHINNAPPAN, MEMBER:

I must admit that the design and execution of the entire Report is the creation of the learned Chairman after very strenuous efforts, presumably spread over a long period of years. It is no doubt a magnificent structure for which the Chairman has spared no pains. But, if it proves to be a pre-fabricated steel structure, planned long ago with a definite objective and does not admit of any adjustments or improvements however, small they may be, it may not serve the purpose and its utility is even liable to be questioned.

2. I honestly feel that the entire structure seems to be based on the sole foundation of 'caste' and that it is applicable to Hindus and by equating 'caste' with 'class'. Caste as such has to be only one of the deciding factors. Other factors also have of necessity to be added to sustain its validity.

3. In view of the above, I am constrained to write this note of dissent, since I differ on fundamental issues regarding the following:--

- (a) Increase of percentage of reservation of Backward Classes;
- (b) Whether the list of Most Backward Classes for the fee concessions, etc., to be extended to reservation in Professional Colleges and in Services;
- (c) Claims and representations of Christians;
- (d) Latin Catholics and C.S.I. of Kanyakumari district.

(a) The Supreme Court has observed in Balaji's case (AIR 1963 S.C.649) that Art. 15(4) is a special provision and is in the nature of an exception and that the fundamental rights of the citizens constituting the rest of the society cannot be completely or absolutely ignored. The Court has referred to the observations of the University Education Commission that the percentage of reservations shall not exceed a third of the total number of seats and that the Central Government in its communication to the State has suggested that the reservation for Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be upto 25 per cent with marginal adjustments not exceeding 10 per cent in exceptional cases. The Court held that a special provision should be less than 50 per cent and it is only, how much less than 50 per cent, would depend upon the prevailing circumstances in each case. So, it can never exceed 50 per cent of the total number of seats for all, including Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was held that the order reserving 68 per cent of the seats for the Backward Classes amounted to a fraud on the Constitutional power conferred on the State by Art.15(4).

4. The Court has observed that what is true of Art.15(4) is equally true in regard to Art.16(4), that the Constitution makers must have assumed that care would be taken not to provide for unreasonable, excessive or extravagant reservation.

5. Khalelkar in his forwarding note to the Commission's Report at page IX p.31 has observed that in respect of reservation in services one clear principle must be accepted and observed. Reservations, if contemplated, must not exceed 49 per cent, whatever the total population of all the Reserved Communities. I am of the view that the present 25 per cent can be raised to 33 per cent only.

6. In this connection, I wish to add that as the list exists now, based mainly on caste, a mere increase in the percentage without the further direction as to how it has to be given effect to, will be a retrograde step, and will only aggravate the caste feelings.

7. Prima facie there is abundant evidence that some communities are far advanced in education and representation in services. They have made substantial progress and are liable to be eliminated from the list by applications of certain fixed and uniform standards.

8. So also, the upper layer or advanced section in each community has to be removed from the list.

9. Further these small communities who are not represented at all or very poorly represented in education and in services have to be separated and also given some weightage to come up to the level of others.

10. Besides the above, the extremely poor or the weakest section have to be provided for. This is absolutely necessary and may be fixed at 25 per cent of the total reservation for Backward Classes. This is absolutely necessary to satisfy any possible objection to the removal of any communities as progressive. The interests of the poorer section in those communities are thereby sufficiently safeguarded. The really progressive section will compete with the other communities in open competition. This provision is purely on the economic basis. My general impression is that the majority of public opinion, including that of many legislators and other public workers is that relief could be mainly on the economic basis, which is the dominating factor now. This provision for the extremely poor, as stated by Khalelkar, will certainly be the first step in the proper direction towards the aim and goal of our State for ultimately evolving a casteless society. The progress may be reviewed every three years.

(b) MOST BACKWARD CLASSES:

11. The origin of Most Backward Classes started in 1954 with the move by the Washermen that they were very backward and must be treated on a par with the Scheduled Castes. The Director of Harijan Welfare who was asked about communities similarly placed, after getting the reports from the Collectors, recommended a list of very few communities including Scheduled Caste Converts as "more backward". But in the meanwhile, Khalelkar Commission's Report was available and from that, this long list of 57 communities which have been described as 'Most Backward' and marked by asterisks for preference for concessions has been merely copied

from that general and bigger list. In this, a large number of communities which were not at all in the Backward Classes list of the Education Department of our State are included. This anomalous situation is pointed out in para.37 of the Report. The fact that out of 57, 29 were new castes not in the Education list, along with the fact that prior to that, only a few castes were under consideration as 'More Backward' only indicate that the entire starred items in Khalelkar's Report were incorporated without further scrutiny by our State. The inference in para 41 that the list of Most Backward Class was compiled after careful investigation extending over a period of nearly three years does not appear to be quite correct. The starred items appear to have been merely copied from the general list in Khalelkar's report, without any scrutiny. The observation in para 192 that the circumstances that led to the recognition of some of the Backward Classes as Most Backward and the inference that the distinction arrived at by stages, after piecemeal examination from time to time is found to be sound, will not apply to most of the communities in the list and is nor correct.

12. It was expressly stated in the G.O. in 1957 that it should be confined to the sphere of educational concessions. So far as concessions are concerned, it is purely a matter in the discretion of the Government and one cannot legitimately claim as a matter of right that another has been granted more.

13. In Mysore where an attempt was made for having two lists, the Supreme Court has held that the classification as Backward and as More Backward Classes was not warranted under Art.15(4). Now, that State has gone far ahead, by abandoning caste as the only criterion.

14. So far as our State is concerned, the question came up for consideration very recently before the Supreme Court in Writ Petitions 285 and 314 of 1970 decided on 23rd August 1970 regarding admission to Medical Colleges. It was held that it was unnecessary to go into the question, because in that selection for the Medical Colleges, the Backward Classes were not subdivided into Backward and Most Backward Classes, that only the list supplied to the Commission showed that some are More Backward than others, but that the list was prepared for the purpose of fee concessions, that for the purpose of selection, all the Backward Classes were considered together. The classification in the medical colleges list is stated as "Backward Classes including Most Backward Classes". So no distinction was made. So, from the stand taken by our State in the Supreme Court in the latest proceedings, though the question has not been decided specifically as a matter-in-issue, I think there is no question of again reviving now two separate lists as Backward and Most Backward regarding admission to Professional Colleges as such.

15. Coming to services, the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission has been maintaining only one list for all Backward Classes which included almost all in the Most Backward list. The observation in paragraph 37 that Service Commission list did not contain 29 castes is not quite correct.

16. In this case the proposal amounts to separation from the general list, a large number without further investigation as to their backwardness and this does not appear to be justified.

17. The Most Backward list mainly consists of very small communities which may be socially and educationally very backward. But it is doubtful whether it can be said so far all of them. It cannot be said that all have made the same progress with better fee concessions. Now, if some reservation of seats in professional colleges are to be made on that basis separately for that group, it will only benefit the advanced section of the communities which are numerically strong among them and also especially when most of the other small communities included in the Most Backward Classes list are really at a very low level in education and will not be in a position to avail themselves of the opportunity. This is admitted in paragraph 321: "Barring one or two castes, all other castes listed as Most Backward Classes are not able to produce even qualified candidates for jobs."

18. In the Report of the Kerala Commission under Art.15(4), in paragraph 13, reference is made to the dangers involved in taking 'caste' as the sole or dominant test, especially in the case of a numerically big community, socially backward by and large, but with an effective minority which is socially and educationally far more advanced. So, if some special preference is to be given as the Most Backward Class, only sections of such major communities will be able to avail themselves of a large or even entire portion of the reservation, the others being incapable, as at present, to avail themselves of the opportunity at least for sometime to come. It will also be incongruous to combine big communities with these comparatively insignificant and far less advanced, together in one group.

19. Mere inclusion of the list separately to Reservation in services will not only be unjust, but illegal. There cannot be two lists of Backward Classes and any omissions could be rectified by including in the general Backward list and it must be as one list for reservation of seats in colleges and for services.

20. In this connection I wish to rely on the evidence of some of our elder statesmen and administrators. Thiru M. Bakthavathsalam, Ex. Chief Minister, Madras has stated as follows:

Question: What do you think of the classification of the Most Backward Classes?

Answer: This must be confined to communities which are small in numbers and which perform very low and hazardous nature of work like fishermen, barber, washermen, etc. It is they who are politically weak and cannot represent their cases. There are some very big communities with the big population like Vanniakula Kshatriyas, who are educationally and economically backward; but they have political strength and are able to agitate and draw the attention of the

Government. But the small communities do not have the strength and therefore need some help and support. The root cause of backwardness is want of education. They should be given educational opportunities.

21. Thiru Sivanandam who has been the Chairman of the then Madras Public Service Commission for a full period of six years has stated that there is no justification to classify Mudaliars who call themselves Thuluva Vellalas, Vadugan who call themselves as Kavarai, Agnikula Kshatriya, Sengunthars, Kongu Chettiers of Coimbatore and Padayachis as Most Backward Classes.

22. Thiru T.P. Meenakshi Sundaram, Vice Chancellor, Madurai University has stated that numerically big communities like Yadhavas and Vanniars have realised their political power through voting strength.

23. Thiru Alagamuthu, M.L.A. "Among the Backward Classes, some advanced i.e. economically and politically, are getting concessions as Backward Classes. This has to be noted. Such advanced communities should be separated and removed. The Commission has to scrutinise the list. Those who are numerically strong, are able to get benefits by showing their strength. They have opportunities to influence and are able to get benefits by political influence. Smaller backward Communities have no such opportunity. The remedy is to give first preference to those small communities and later to the bigger ones."

24. It is stated that the Central Government was against this further classification of Most Backward list separately and that it has been considered by R.A. Gopala Swami in his report. This may have to be verified.

25. Considering all aspects, my view is that there is no necessity to have two lists as Backward and Most Backward, that as at present for purposes of educational concessions only, the Most Backward list may be continued as the "weaker section". This should not be extended as an entire group, to Reservation in colleges and for services. The very few communities which are not already in the Backward Classes list of the Service Commission may be so included, if found to exist even now. Adequacy of representation in Services is to be considered separately. The different statements to justify the existence of Most Backward Classes group as such is vitiated by this circumstance of mixing up communities both big and small put in one group for the purpose of fee concessions.

26. At the same time I am of the view that most of the small communities who are not at all or very poorly represented in services and education may be grouped together as the weaker section in the same list.

(c) CLAIMS AND REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRISTIANS:

27. When I came to know in March, that the Chairman had sent a letter on 3.3.1970 to the Hon'ble Minister for Backward Classes along with a note recorded by him on 27.1.1970, I sent a memorandum addressed to the Hon'ble Minister on 25.3.1970. In that, I have pointed out among other things, that his assertion that no Backward Caste in the Christian community could be recognised and that they are outside the Commission's Terms of Reference and that the Commission was concerned with castes in the State list and the Christians are outside its scope is not correct. Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes (only persons who are themselves Converts) are in item 152 of the Public Service Commission list of Backward Classes and all Scheduled Castes Converts are described as one of the eligible communities for concession and scholarships under the Harijan Welfare Department Notification and so within the scope of the Commission. I have also pointed out that according to the Chairman's view, if 'Caste' is the sole criterion for determining the backwardness of a community or group, it would make the Commission's proceedings invalid, as held by the Supreme Court in Balaji's case (AIR 1963 S.C. 649). I have also pointed out that there was much disparity between the two minority communities Muslims and Christians, that while Labbais who are Tamil speaking Muslims are about 11 lakhs, among Christians, by restricting it to self-converts from the Scheduled Castes, only one or two hundred will be treated as Backward and that this amounts to discrimination and injustice. I have also pointed out that most of the Scheduled Caste converts live in the same cheris and can be identified in rural parts even after several generations, and from the school records, and that there may not be any legal, administrative or practical difficulties in the matter. Out of the total population, 89.94 per cent i.e. 90 per cent are Hindus. Excluding 16 per cent of Scheduled Castes, 74 per cent are caste Hindus. Out of this 51 per cent are treated as Backward. Out of 5.23 per cent of Christians about 2.5 per cent may be Scheduled Caste Converts. It has to be noted that 2.8 per cent of Muslims are enjoying the benefits of the concessions, etc. For Reservation purposes, among the Scheduled Castes of 16 per cent, the entire communities are treated as backward i.e. 100 per cent. Out of caste-Hindus 74 per cent of total population 51 per cent are Backward. This works out to 69 per cent of caste Hindus who are backward. Among Muslims 75 per cent to 80 per cent of them are backward as Labbais. Excepting Kanyakumari, so far as Christians are concerned, by restricting to self converts from Scheduled Castes who form 50 per cent of Christians, not even 5 per cent of the Christians population are treated as Backward for services and admissions to colleges. Both Muslims and Christians have been converted from Hinduism. The question of generation does not apply to Muslims. Only Christians are to be penalised for the action of their fore-fathers. I am referring to this not with a view to oppose or object to the reliefs granted to Muslims, or even for others, but only to point out the step-motherly treatment of Christians by putting a restriction as self-converts.

28. In this connection I wish to rely upon the following passages in Khalelkar Commission's Report relating to castes among Christians and Muslims:

i. page 15, para. 6;

29. Even a change of religion often does not destroy caste. For instance converts to Islam and Christianity sometimes carry caste practices with them, though their religions do not recognise any such distinction.

ii. page 20; para. 30;

30. The advent of Islam and Christianity into India, also brought about some change in the outlook of Hindu society. A large number of people belonging to lower castes, and in particular from among the untouchables, became converts to these religions to escape the rigour and humiliation of the Hindu Caste system. It is sad to note, however, that even these converts could not easily shake off their old caste disabilities. Caste clung to them and even now there are clearly discernible caste influence among Muslims and Christians.

iii. page 27, para 3 Christians:

31. Representatives of the Christian community met the Commission and pleaded for recognition of backwardness among them and for Government help on the same footing as Other Backward Classes. They argued that converts to Christianity, particularly from amongst the Scheduled Castes, still carry their old stigma in the Christian fold and are subject to social disabilities.

32. The Government of Tamil Nadu and Andhra recognise only the first generation of converts for the purpose of educational concessions. The Government of India in the Ministry of Education, on the other hand, have recognised converts from the Scheduled Castes into Christianity as other Backward Classes.

Para. 5;

33. Christianity has consistently refused to recognise caste, taboos on inter-marriage, inter-dining and widow marriages are systematically opposed in Christian society. There is no segregation of communities as such amongst them. And yet, in practice we found that segregation of converts from Scheduled Castes was not successfully overcome in certain parts of South India. We were informed that this segregation has spread even beyond the secular side of life and sometimes Harijan converts were not allowed to pray together with the upper class Christians. We were also told that in some places in the South, these classes are forced to have a separate cemetery for their dead. We could not refuse to recognise this unchristian state of affairs and have recommended that such communities, especially in the South, should be recognised as backward and given all concessions and facilities available to the other Backward Classes.

iv page 39. Para. 1, Causes of Backwardness:

34. Even Islam and Christianity could not escape the all pervasive influence of caste. They too found it necessary for social prestige to observe untouchability and thus they condemned a section amongst their converts to remain backward and neglected.

35. Out of 5.23 per cent of the total population who are Christians, only about 2.5 per cent are descendants and converts from the Scheduled Castes. As regards the fear that a large number will claim the privilege, I wish to point out the essential difference. Several communities want to be included in the Scheduled with a view to claim more privileges. But they will be separate entities as such. Some were careful to claim reliefs as on a par with the Scheduled Castes but not to be included in that list as such. But the Christian converts want to claim the rights as descendants from those depressed classes who were considered as untouchables, and are even now to some extent suffering from that disability. In Khalelkar Commission's Report Chapter V, page 45, para. 22 it is stated as follows: "In the South, Scheduled Caste converts into Christianity were found to be generally backward, and there was no free social intercourse with the rest of the Christian community". I do not think that anyone would falsely degrade himself to that extent to get some advantage. The addition of 2.5 per cent to the already existing 51.5 per cent of Backward Classes is not going to materially affect the rights of others.

36. So far as Services are concerned, item 152 in the list restricts to only persons who are themselves converts. I wish to point out that this restriction is only for converts to Christianity and not for others. By this restriction the very provision is made a nullity, as seen from the figures for employment in Government offices.

37. From the figures got from the Departments, that from the Service Commission stated as 1 self convert as Superintendent. He joined Service more than 20 years ago and there is none in that office after that. In Chingleput Collector's office 11 Lower Division Clerks and 10 Assistants were shown as Scheduled Caste Converts. On verification it was found that none of them are self-converts under Backward Classes. This could not be ascertained from other departments. The observation that to give more educational opportunities without increasing employment opportunity will stultify the very object of education and that denial of better employment opportunities for these people will be denial of social justice will apply with greater force to the Scheduled Caste Converts to Christianity who till suffer from their original disabilities. (vide page 198)

38. Besides applying different standards which is not justified, the one great advantage which other Backward Classes amounting to nearly 67 per cent (51.5% B.Cs., and 16% S.Cs.) of the total population enjoy is denied to the Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity.

39. Para 4 of the Instruction to Candidates issued by the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission is as follows:

"The age-limit, if any, prescribed for the appointment does not apply to an applicant belonging to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe or to any of the Backward Classes, if he possesses a general educational qualification which is higher than the minimum general educational qualification and he is otherwise qualified for appointment."

40. Except where specific mention is made of age, regarding particular posts, this concession of "Age Unlimited" subject of course to 55 the retiring age, is denied even to the poor Scheduled Caste Converts to Christianity as a punishment for the act of their fore-fathers.

41. So far as the 'list of Backward Classes' is concerned, it does not mention as "Hindu" Backward Classes. In practice it has been restricted to Hindus only. As caste system prevails among Christians also as seen from the extracts noted above and admitted in para 74 also, it must be declared that the list makes no discrimination on the basis of religion and so converts from the "Hindu" Backward Classes or their descendants should be entitled to the benefits. After all, this section of Christians will be 2 per cent of the total population of the State. No special privileges are claimed. They do not want any discrimination. Khalelkar's Report Chapter V page 50 para 42 states "Names of castes that we have listed have not been specified as Hindu or Muslim and they should invariably be treated as caste names common to both". Reference to this in the summary is at page 167 to the same effect.

42. So orders have to be passed that item 152 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list be amended as "Scheduled Caste Christians" and that list of Backward Classes includes Christians in those communities also.

43. In this connection the case of Muslims who do not observe caste as such has to be considered. 75 to 80 per cent of the Muslims come as Tamil Muslims or Labbais. The claims of the Urdu speaking Muslims, among whom also there are very poor people have to be considered. Language as such may not be sole criterion. In Khalelkar Commission's Report page 45 para 22 it is observed as follows:

"Among Muslims, the pinjaras or carders, the Momins or the weaving communities Kassaira or Butchers, Ethistis or Water-carriers, Fakirs or Beggars, Labbes, Moplahs and many others were found to be backward".

44. They must be given relief subject to the economic test which is now being applied to the Backward Classes. This invidious distinction among Muslims which is resented by all of them has to be remedied, by including all Muslims subject of the general economic test applicable to all.

45. Kaka Khalelkar, the Chairman in his forwarding letter has observed as follows - page vi para 19;

"My eyes were, however, opened to the dangers of suggesting remedies on caste basis, when I discovered that it is going to have a most unhealthy effect on the Muslim and Christian sections of the nation"

page vi (para 20):

"We discovered to our pain and sorrow that untouchability did obtain in the extreme South among Indian Christian, and Indian Christian were prepared in many places to assert that they were still guided by caste not only in the matter of untouchability but in social hierarchy of high and low."

page 21:

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

page 22:

"It is only when the Report was being finalised that I started thinking a new and found that backwardness could be tackled on a basis or a number of bases other than that of 'caste'. We must be able to help both Indian Christians and Muslims without their being driven to accept the fissiparous principle of caste Once we eschew the principle of caste, it will be possible to help the extremely poor and deserving from all communities."

46. So far as Scheduled Caste Converts to Christianity are concerned, the Joint Council of Christians in their printed memorandum have produced copies of two letters.

Annexure II is that of Prime Minister Nehru, dated 7.11.1950 to the President, Catholic Regional Committee, Nagpur. It stated that his deduction that all State-aid and facilities are going to be confined only to those Scheduled Castes members who profess Hinduism is completely wrong, that the enumeration was only for purposes of reserving seats for their representatives in Parliament and State Legislatures and nothing to do with aid and facilities. It states that all State aid and facilities are to be given not only to members of the Hindu Scheduled Castes, but also equally to all other educationally and socially backward Classes, whether they profess Hinduism, Christianity or any other religion.

47. Another letter dated 17.12.1950 by President Dr. Rajendra Prasad refers to Fr. Jerome D'Souza's meeting the President on 6-12-1950 and it states that so far as educational and economic facilities to the Backward Classes are concerned, it is not the intention of the Government that there should be any differentiation on grounds of religion or caste and that the differentiation was in regard to certain political rights, such as separate representation.

48. Very Rev. Fr. Jerome D'Souza has appeared before the Commission and given evidence. An extract of his speech in Parliament then has also been filed as Annexure I. One other strong circumstance proves discrimination on the basis of religion. A Scheduled Caste man, if he becomes a Christian loses all

the benefits and is treated as Forward, though it is not correct. But if he gets reconverted, he is to get all the benefits as a Scheduled Caste member'. This has been pointed out by Smt. T.N. Anandanayaki, who was also co-opted as a lady member for Madras State during the visit of Khalelkar Commission.

"There is an anomaly, if I may say so, in the Backward Class Classification; for example, a Hindu Harijan is a Scheduled Caste, but not a Christian Harijan. It does seem to me that the consideration of backwardness is not to be based upon religious demonstration." (denomination)

- page 25 Vol. III. Report of Backward Classes Commission.

49. Her evidence before this Commission is as follows:

Question: What are your views about the Scheduled Castes converted Christians?

Answer: They should be treated as Backward Classes even if they were converted to Christianity during their fore-father's time, because even in Christianity inter-caste marriages do not take place.

50. From the above, it is seen that Scheduled Caste converts are entitled to the educational and economic facilities as given to the Scheduled Castes. For reservation in colleges and in services, they must be treated as Backward Class without any restriction as to self-converts only.

51. The recommendations of Elayaperumal Committee and further steps taken may also be considered.

52. As directed by the Chairman, my learned colleague Mr. Jamal Hussain prepared an elaborate note several months ago on Christians pointing out that 'caste' approach is detrimental to the communities which do not observe caste as such, as against the rulings of the Supreme Court. He had also prepared a note on "Constitution and what it provides for Backward Classes" and submitted the same to the Chairman.

53. Thiru T.P. Vedachalam, President of the Bar Association at Tiruchirappalli and a prominent social worker has stated that the Scheduled Caste converts lead a secluded life, that they are economically very poor, that the position of Harijan Christians is not much better than Hindu Harijans and that they require some concessions atleast on a par with Most Backward Classes.

54. Representations have been received from converts from other Backward Classes of Hindus and it is but proper that all Backward Classes should be treated without discrimination as to religion.

55. I wish to draw the attention of Government to para 7 (iif) of the Notification I para 7 cl-iii "pupils belonging to Backward

Classes who are converts to Christianity or any other religion are not eligible for scholarships from the Department of Backward Classes". Dudekula (24) Labbai (68) are in the list. Kalelkar's letter p.vi para 19 "It is a patent fact that the bulk of the Muslims and Christians in India are converts from the Hindu fold". The clause which savours of discrimination on the basis of religion has to be deleted.

56. In this connection, I wish to rely on the evidence of Thiru M. Bhaktavatsalam, Ex-chief Minister, then Government of Madras:

Question: What is your view about the concessions to converted Christians? As it is, he is not eligible for concessions, unless he, himself is a convert to Christianity?

Answer: Because of converting themselves to Christianity they cannot become forward all on a sudden. They should be placed as Backward Community, if they originally belonged to the Backward Classes in Hindu religion. If they are Scheduled Castes they should be placed as most Backward or Backward, as there is no untouchability in Christianity. This will be consistent with the secular spirit of the constitution.

Thiru Mayavan, M.P. at Chidambaram has stated as follows:

Chairman: There is a demand from Christians that people converted to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes or from the Backward Classes should also be treated on a par with their Hindu brethren.

Witness (Mayavan, M.P.): They also must be given the privileges.

58. The disadvantages of having 'caste' as the sole basis for determining backwardness, is pointed out by the Joint Council of Christians in their representation. I also wish to rely upon the following passages in Kalelkar's commission's Report to prove the same (Page 26)

"In the context of society today, the caste system and much that goes with it are wholly incompatible, reactionary, a restrictive and barriers to progress."

page 20, para 31;

"Caste creates caste patriotism and prevents national solidarity".

page 25, para 51:

59. Jawaharlal's speech refers to numerous movements to break the tyranny of caste among the middle classes and that

because of the conditions of modern life, atleast this heary the tenacious relic of past time must die.

page viii para 25:

60. A general formula of helping all persons, to whatever caste or community they may belong, provided they belong to the special Backward Class of the extremely poor, covers such cases of extremely poor, who have been cruelly neglected by their own community.

page xiii para 58:

61. The result of our inquiry is, that caste-consciousness, caste loyalties and caste aspirations have increased throughout the country and some of us were responsible for encouraging people to think that the Backward Classes could be organised with a party to wield political power through universal adult franchise.

para 59:

62. Communalism and casteism are bound to destroy the unity of the nation and narrow down the aspirations of the people.

para 60:

63. Two years of experience have convinced us of the dangers of the spread of casteism and the warning of the well-wishers have led us almost towards the end of our investigations to the conclusion that it would have been better, if we could determine the criteria of backwardness on principles other than caste.

para 122:

64. Time has come, when all the poor and deserving should, and could be helped, so that no communal consideration need be introduced in the field of education.

65. The representation of the Christians pray:

1. That item 152 in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission list be substituted as "Scheduled Caste Christians".
2. That Christians converts and their descendants from Backward Class Hindus be given the same reliefs as for Hindus.

Other general questions:

66. As regards promotion out of turn, solely on the basis of caste, I had occasion to send a detailed note as Member of the then Madras Public Service Commission in connection with recruitment by transfer of Joint Commercial Tax Officers pointing out how it was working great injustice, because of the caste basis. I have given full particulars as to how much prejudice is caused by one person getting seniority over another, solely on the basis of caste. I have also pointed out how a proper interpretation of rule 22, (b) and (d) of the Service Rules together, safe-guards

the interests of the Backward Classes and at the same not allowing anyone to take advantage of or be at a disadvantage. So I differ from the Chairman's view that the matter is left open for decision. To extend it to other departments would certainly be a retrograde step. My considered view is that it should not be recognised or given effect to even in the 3 or 4 departments, as it causes great hardship and ill-feeling, by juniors getting over their seniors. Thiru M.A. Manickavelu Naicker our respected leader has objected to this strongly and stated that he is against this practice. There is also other abundant evidence to support this view, except some die-hards, who would like to take advantage because of caste superiority.

67. As regards adequacy, it can only be in respect of the 50 per cent of the posts being the subject matter of reservation and not of the entire services. Here also, the basic and fundamental principle that an exception or a provision in the nature of a proviso cannot abrogate the general rule will apply. It cannot be based on the dictionary meaning of the word 'adequacy' which I fear will savour of a vested right in favour of particular sections to share in the entire services, as in a family partition. If adequacy in respect of 50 per cent of the services is assured, then they will be in a position to compete in open competition on an equal footing with others, which is the ultimate goal.

68. Regarding reliefs to Denotified Tribes, I must say that the Criminal Tribes Act 1911 has been repealed long ago. It was being applied to particular localities and groups where crimes were on the increase, and was useful as an effective and drastic remedy to put down crime. Its effect on the people has to be seen from the facts as to what period it was in force in a particular locality or to people and whether such people can be identified now and their economic status ascertained. Further particulars may be gathered from the Police Department and in deserving cases special provisions may be made.

d) Latin Catholics and C.S.I. of Kanyakumari district:

69. Art. 15(4) relates to Social and Educational Backwardness. The particulars relied upon relate to:

- a. Population
- b. Literacy
- c. Social Backwardness

70. The Collector of Kanyakumari in his letter, dated 26.6.68 has mentioned the population of Latin Catholics as 1,96,315. But on 3.3.1970, the Welfare Officer has given the figure as 72,651, when the discrepancy was pointed out by wire, he has replied by wire that the latter figure is correct. It is stated that the Census figures projected from 1941 comes to 62,242. Anyhow the discrepancy has to be further scrutinised.

71. As regards literacy, the Collector of Kanyakumari in his letter dated 26.6.1968 stated that literacy is 97 per cent for Latin Catholics and 94 per cent for Krishnavakas.

72. Kerala State appointed a Commission under Art.15(4) for reservation of seats in Educational Institutions in Kerala and it

has submitted a very valuable report in 1965. In para. 18 it is stated that Kerala has the highest literacy in India, excepting Delhi, that the Census Report in 1961 shows the rate of literacy in Kerala as 468 per thousand, and 527 in Delhi.

73. But the Collector's figure as 970 per thousand is more than double this rate and would mean that there were only 3 illiterates among 100. The Report describes Latin Catholics in para 23 and that many of them were coastal fishermen. These particulars would make it evident that the figures of literacy is, to say the least, highly exaggerated. But the figures given by Tirunelveli Collector agrees with that of 1961 Census. The Supreme Court in Balaji's case has observed that the literacy test from Census by itself may not be adequate.

74. The Collector of Kanyakumari in his letter dated 26.7.68 has stated that regarding social and economic status these four communities Latin Catholics, C.S.I., S.I.U.C., and Krishnavakas are Backward and that their occupation was agriculture and labour. But on 8.7.1968 he has considered these along with Hindu Nadars and generally observed that the above communities cannot be treated as Backward, when compared to the general economic conditions of the general public as a whole. The fact that Hindu Nadars are economically better off must have influenced him to take that view, which is contradictory to the earlier one. Further, the Collector's observation that other small sections of the Christian community may also claim, is not a valid ground for coming to this conclusion.

75. The Collector of Tirunelveli who is concerned with Shencottah taluk which formed part of Travancore State has observed that Latin Catholics, S.I.U.C., and C.S.I. are mostly poor and earn their livelihood by manual labour and that their monthly income may range from Rs.50 to 100 and that their occupation is agricultural labour, as palmyrah tappers, traders, etc.

76. The volume of evidence recorded by this Commission at Nagercoil and in particular that of the local M.L.As clearly show that those Latin Catholics who are mostly fishermen and the other Christians are socially very backward. The Kerala Commission has gathered elaborate particulars as shown in the several Appendices of their report and based on a sample socio-economic survey conducted by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics with the sanction of the Government. It has come to the conclusion that the Latin Catholics, S.I.U.C., and converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes are socially and educationally backward and have been and are being given a small percentage of reservation in seats to professional colleges. The above findings are more reliable and can easily apply to Kanyakumari district.

77. In our State, in view of some proposed general amendments, it appears that the effect of separate G.O.s were not carried out by incorporating them in M.E.R. So, the omission of these four communities has occurred in the Prospectus for admission to Medical Colleges in 1967. It does not appear to have been directed to be omitted, after due consideration on merits. The Supreme Court considered the list of Backward Classes in a general way and not with reference to these communities. On the other hand recently on 21.8.1969 a Bench of the Madras High Court consisting of the

Chief Justice and Justice Gokula Krishnan in writ petition 2509 along with others of 1969 has pointed out the anomaly. It related to C.S.I. candidates from Kanyakumari. It was held that, when it is in the list of Backward Classes, a mere omission in the list appended to the prospectus cannot justify elimination from consideration of that community as Backward and to do so will be unreasonable and illlogical. They are included in the list of 1970.

78. As seen from the correspondence with the Kerala Government and the Report of that Commission, educational concessions and reservations of seats are being granted by that Government to these communities at present.

79. It is only legitimate that they should expect at least similar treatment in Tamil Nadu State as their social and educational standard cannot be said to vary much from that in Kerala State.

EMPLOYMENT: ARTICLE 16(4):

80. In 1968, the Collector of Kanyakumari has given the occupation of these classes as "Agriculture" and "Labour"; but in the letter dated 14.9.70 it is stated that among the Latin Catholics, 2,952 are in Government appointments and 196 are Teachers and 1,073 are in private firms. Adequacy of representation in Government services is the question under Art.16(4). Such employment particulars castewise are not readily available and have to be collected and verified. Unless the full particulars regarding the abnormal figures are obtained, I do not think it can be safely acted upon.

81. The Collector of Tirunelveli who is concerned with Shencottah taluk which formed part of Travancore State, has observed that Latin Catholics, S.I.U.C. and C.S.I. are mostly poor and earn their livelihood by manual labour and that their monthly income may range from Rs.50 to 100 and that their occupation is agricultural labour, palmyrah tappers, traders, etc.

82. The index of employment prepared by this office with some available data shows as follows:

1. Latine Catholics	..	1 in 1447.4
2. C.S.I. and S.I.U.C.	..	1 in 113.4
3. Krishnavagas (No.35)	..	1 in 788.2

83. It is admitted in para.402 of the Report that accurate figures of employment of these communities in the Secretariat or in the departmental offices have not been got. It is incongruous to link these with Christians in the whole State and as adequately represented. So also is the argument in para.401 that because of the high literacy reported by the Collector which appears to be prima-facie exaggerated, they should not continue in the list for reservation of appointments and admissions to colleges. The Chairman's conclusions and inference both under Art.15(4) and 16(4) drawn together on such unreliable data gathered in haste in the face of other better evidence contra cannot be supported.

With regard to some of the observation of the body of the report, I have to add the following remarks:

Chapter VIII on Assessment:

84. The Backward Classes differ in size and progress made, in education and employment and so, the units have to be assessed individually to have a clear picture of the progress made.

85. I appreciate the attempt to have a yardstick and to assign differential values to the higher posts on the grounds mentioned in para 307. The value given for different posts in Appendix C, page xi.

86. I am of the definite view that such valuation should be had separately for Gazetted and Non-Gazetted posts. One who starts as a Clerk in the Revenue Department normally expects to retire as a Tahsildar and if not, atleast as a Deputy Tahsildar. So also, it is in other departments. Only a few can become Deputy Collector or get higher posts. So according to normal expectations, it is just and proper to value the non-gazetted employees separately.

87. As regards gazetted posts, they are very limited, Any day, a Deputy Collector cannot be equated to 12 Junior Assistants or a District Revenue Officer to 20 or an I.A.S. Officer to 25 such Clerks. The fact is that most of them get gazetted posts by promotion after meritorious service for a number of years, as compared to a few who get a start at a higher stage as I.A.S. The chances of promotion and the period during which it normally occurs may have to be taken into consideration for assigning differential values. So also a direct recruit as I.A.S. and a promotee cannot be equated in view of the scope of further period of service. The future period has to be kept in view. So, the ranking based on the combined basis will certainly lead us to wrong conclusions.

88. In para 308 Table 2 for Backward Classes in Collectorates the conclusions are drawn from available figures. For the Collectorates, it is excluding two Collectorates of Thanjavur and Tirunelveli. I do not know whether the figures for two districts were received subsequent to the draft calculation made. I know that in Thanjavur the District Revenue Officer is a Senguntha Mudaliar from a Backward Class. So 2 out of 10 would work out as 18 per cent in that post and not 10 per cent. Further I understand that several of the same rank are on other duty or on special duty. Unless complete figures are obtained and the basis worked out, it is not safe to rely on the conclusions arrived at in the tabular statements. The fact that the Backward Classes have got a substantial percentage in the lower grades is an indication that their future is normally secure. There are 112 Tahsildars out of 333 and they stand to get a good percentage in promotion in the normal course.

89. As regards Secretariat also, one Assistant Secretary cannot be equated to 6 Junior Assistants or 3 Assistants. So also one I.A.S. officer cannot be equivalent to 3 Superintendents. There are 140 Superintendents among Backward Classes out of 367. They have chances of promotion in the normal course.

90. In para 306, it is pointed out that a caste of 5 lakhs with 400 Clerks cannot be said to have done better than one with 1 lakh with 200 Clerks and 100 in the higher categories. Different

views are possible. Dr. Ambedkar was of the view that a few people with high qualifications and in high posts will be 2000 times better than 2000 boys educated in Marathi or Gujarathi. But the Chairman rightly pointed out that if there is primary, secondary and higher education in a particular community, it takes the shape of a hill. But if selected persons are taken to the top, it takes the shape of a tower. The tower will fall down and the hill will always remain—vide Kalelkar's Report, vol. iii, page 74.

91. Another important factor has been ignored in the tabular statements. 1951 was a crucial period when the communal rotation rule was set aside. In the Revenue Department Table 4 for N.G.Os, it is stated Backward Classes are 1331 out of 12,951. It has completely forgotten Labbais out of 1,078 Muslims. So also in Table 5, only 2,407 has been considered as Backward and 3,160 Muslims are omitted. Then all Muslims had reservation. Anyhow out of 3,160, a substantial number will be Labbais and even now Backward.

92. The observation in para 327 that the Commission has collected ample data on the current position in Government Departments does not appear to be correct. It must be complete and correct. And only then can definite inferences be drawn.

Summary of Conclusions:

I. At the outset, I wish to formulate the following fundamental principles which will form the foundation for further progress:

1. No discrimination on the basis of religion or caste;
2. No relief solely on the basis of caste;
3. Weaker section should be given some preference or weightage in reservation;
4. Some relief for all the extremely poor, i.e., solely on economic basis;

II. The next stage is application of the above principles to the situation in Tamil Nadu:

1. Increase of reservation for Backward Classes in services and admission to colleges from 25 per cent;
2. The unwieldy list of Backward Classes to be pruned:—
 - (a) by elimination of those who have made substantial progress
 - (b) by removing the upper crust in each community
 - (c) the separation of the weaker section
 - (d) the proportion of percentage to each group.

III. 1. Law permits for reservation of only less than 50 per cent on the whole, i.e., along with that for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. So the proposed increase from 25 to 33 per cent for Backward Classes comes to 49 per cent, i.e., the maximum allowed. Having provided for the maximum reservation, proper distribution of that is obligatory.

2. (a) As regards elimination, it is no doubt difficult. By substantial progress, I would fix at 25 per cent above the State average by proper standard that may be fixed as criteria.
- (b) So also the upper layer can be removed by imposing an economic standard, at present
- (c) The weaker section is to consist of very small communities who are not or very poorly represented in Services, and education. The weaker section may be given some weightage more than that given to the Backward Classes generally in view of their smallness both in numbers and in representation in services.
- (d) The reservation for the extremely poor or the weakest section may be about 25 per cent of the total reservation for Backward Classes, i.e. 8%

IV. Adequate representation can be only in respect of 50 per cent i.e. the subject matter of reservation.

V. Proportional representation according to population cannot be given effect to in each selection or post or at every stage. Further it cannot be a fixed factor always. A community will continue in the Backward list till it reaches the standard fixed for removal.

VI. Reservation in promotion and that based only on caste is irrational and such traces if any have to be removed.

VII. Christians:

a) Population basis: Scheduled Caste 100 per cent get reservation. 70 per cent of the Caste Hindus come as Backward Classes. Muslims: 70 to 80 per cent get as Labbais come in as Backward. Among Christians only Scheduled Castes and even they only self-converts which will be not even 5 per cent of the Christians population.

b) Services: In services also the representation of Scheduled Caste Christians is very poor. So they must be included in the weaker section and as 'Scheduled Caste Christians'.

VIII. Muslims: Muslims have no castes as such, though inequalities, in society exists sections other than Labbais also must be included on the economic basis.

94. I am in agreement with the detailed and elaborate recommendations in the Report subject to the condition that it is applicable to all really Backward Classes.

95. It is my humble wish that all the hard work put in by the Chairman and the Deputy Secretary in building up this imposing structure proves beneficial and useful to all irrespective of caste or creed.

96. I wish to place on record that the entire credit must go to the Chairman for his drive and speed, with which I was unable to cope up. I must express my gratitude to my colleague Thiru M.A. Jamal Hussain for his co-operation. I also thank the Director of Backward Classes and Ex-officio Secretary, for the excellent arrangement made during the Commission's tour of the districts. The staff has been co-operating. I have to acknowledge the special efforts taken by most of the members of the staff and in particular the Deputy Secretary.

Last but not least, I am bound in duty to thank the Tamil Nadu Government for giving me this opportunity of doing some service to the down-trodden.

(Sd. S. Chinnappan)
Member,
BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

CHAIRMAN'S POST-SCRIPT ON DISSENTING NOTES.

It is a matter of gratification to me that the disagreement is only over the recommendation in the main report on reservation for Most Backward Classes. This short note is intended, however, to pinpoint some inaccuracies, and wrong twists occurring in the dissenting notes.

(1) Thiru Hussain's Note:

a) Questionnaire: My colleague who is an ex-judge states that he saw it just before it was sent to the Press. This is a wrong statement. The facts (as recorded in the Commission's diary and correspondence are:--The questionnaire was discussed piece-meal from 18th to 22nd November 1969 and Thiru Chinnappan expressed his agreement and left Madras on the 22nd, and Thiru Hussain took two more days before he gave his agreement on 24.11.1969, and the questionnaire was sent to the Press thereafter.

b) Chapters I to VI were discussed in draft and the final draft incorporating their amendments were read and signed by them early in September 1970. Disagreement was expressed only in respect of the proposal for reservation for Most Backward Classes in Chapter VII when it was discussed early in October. References to the Earlier Chapters are obviously due to after-thought, perhaps to prepare the ground for denial of the proposed reservation for Most Backward Classes. The succeeding Chapters, (barring Chapters VII and VIII) and appendices were agreed to without any demur.

c) I did not ask my colleagues to prepare any note on any subject, nor was any discussed in the Commission.

d) Regarding the "caste" approach, I interpreted the lists as they stood. Converts from Backward Classes were not all along treated as Backward Classes. As Chairman I merely conformed to the known policy and practice of the State. The Commission was not competent to give its own connotation to the entries in the list of Backward Classes. It is for the Government to say that Backward Classes Converts are Backward Classes. This they have not. The only entry in the list regarding Christians reads "Converts to Christianity from the Scheduled Castes (only persons who are themselves Converts). Item No.152, Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission's list. Nevertheless all Christians were heard as others who are not in the list were also heard.

The same observations hold good regarding Labbai. I explained the existing practice. If all Muslims are to be treated as covered by the term Labbai; or if all Muslims are to be treated as Backward, this was not a matter for the Commission's interpretation; but a matter for Government's policy decision. This is explained in Chapter-I itself. The Commission was asked to restrict itself to the classes in the lists.

e) Statistics: If the various people's claims are accepted the State will have a population of over 10 crores! The figures of two decennial Censuses checked and counter-checked, were utilized for all major castes; for others not mentioned in the Census, Collectors' and other estimates were taken. I am afraid nothing better is feasible. If there are errors these are not confined to any one class.

All other statistics regarding employment and education are from Government Departments. These are as extensive as would could manage to obtain. Progress in employment is amply illustrated by statistics. Literacy statistics, though useful, do not materially influence comparative assessment of educational progress.

f) The report is intended to convey to Government the aspirations of the people and not merely the views of the Members. As explained in Chapter-VII, many asked for proportional representation. The division of reservation is suggested as a compromise for reasons stated in the report.

(2) Thiru Chinnappan's Note:

He has traversed the same ground as is done by his colleague, Thiru Hussain, except that he has written at length on the Christian case, as is only to be expected.

His general thesis is that State aid for the weaker sections should be on the basis of economic backwardness! While this is entirely unexceptionable, the Commission is bound by its terms of reference. As pointed out in Chapter-I this Commission was asked to assess the progress of the classes in the State lists, and it was not asked to examine the criteria for classification or to evolve a fresh criterion for determining who should be regarded as backward.

If economic criterion is to be adopted, there was hardly any need for my colleagues to argue at length about Muslims and Christians. There are poor sections in all communities.

I fail to understand Thiru Chinnappan's point about Denotified Tribes. Perhaps he means no assistance is necessary for the Kallars and Maravars, leave alone the others who were not cared for at all.

(Sd.)

(A.N. Sattanathan),
Chairman.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

EDUCATION

Chapter V

1. Nursery schools: Since enrolment of children from Backward Classes in schools is very poor and drop outs are also heavy among such children, nursery schools must be opened up in very backward rural areas in a phased programme. A pilot project may be tried in a few selected areas. The aim should be to open 500 new schools every year for a period of five years. At the end of the five-year period, the whole programme must be assessed and evaluated.

To encourage enrolment, each child enrolled should be provided with two sets of simple uniforms. To minimise the cost of running such schools, the members of 'Mather Sangams' in villages may be appointed as part-time teachers in such schools on a fixed salary of Rs.30 to Rs.40 per mensem. The agency to be entrusted with this task can be either the Women's Welfare Department with a separate Directorate or the Backward Classes Department with a woman officer of Deputy Director grade (Paras 104 to 106).

2. Elementary Education: (Incentives) Enrolment of children from Backward Classes at elementary school stage is still unsatisfactory. In order to give some sort of incentives to such children, books, slates, pencils, etc. at a cost not exceeding Rs.5 per head per annum and two sets of uniforms may be supplied free of cost to the children from Most Backward Classes, studying in elementary schools, whose parents' income is very low. (Para 104).

Evaluation of Elementary Education:

3. One of the reasons for poor quality of education is the inadequacy of existing facilities, namely building, equipments, teacher-pupil ratio, etc. An **Expert** Committee may be appointed to go into the whole field of elementary education in all those respects. (Para 109).

Scholarships

4. Higher Elementary Education: The pupils from Most Backward Classes studying in Standards VI, VII and VIII may be given a non-residential scholarship of the value of Rs.12 per head per annum. (Para 111).

5. High School education. More schools: To ensure that all villages in rural side are covered by high schools within a reasonable distance, the Education Department may undertake a survey of places where viable high schools could be conveniently located with particular reference to Backward areas. (Para 112).

6. Hostels - Private: The demand for hostels for high school pupils is very high and the number of Government hostels at present is totally inadequate. Therefore hostels attached to high schools under private management which satisfy Government's requirements, may be recognised so that the residents can avail themselves of the scholarships given by the Government. This would also considerably reduce the demand for more Government hostels. (Para 115).

7. Phased Programme: A phased programme to open more hostels is recommended so that the financial strain will be distributed over a period of years. At least 100 hostels should be opened during the next 2 years. In the matter of admission to such hostels, an order of priority must be laid down. (Paras 117 to 119).

8. The rate of maintenance charges given to boarders in hostels should be enhanced from Rs.20 to Rs.25 per mensem. (Para 118).

9. Hostel supervision: Each hostel should provide residential accommodation for the warden who should be from the teaching side. Assistant Warden and Residential Tutor may also be appointed. If necessary they may be paid extra remuneration in consultation with the Educational Officers, which, however, should not exceed 20% of the incumbent's basic pay. (Para 120).

10. In providing hostel facilities, since the primary objective is to provide better environment as far as possible, the present rule of denying admission to the hostel if a pupil lives within 5 miles radius should be relaxed to the extent possible. (Para 121).

11. The present rate of non-residential scholarship of Rs.35 may continue, but this scholarship should be disbursed in kind (Books and equipments) rather than in cash. (Para 122).

12. Under the existing system, a pupil to become eligible for scholarship should have scored not less than 40% in the aggregate marks in the annual examinations. This may be modified and all Backward Classes pupils in 9th, 10th and 11th Standards may be given scholarships subject to the condition that they do not fail in the annual examinations (Para 122-A).

13. Girls' Education: To encourage girls' education among Backward Classes, separate hostels for girls may be opened in places where there are separate girls schools or in places around which there are two or more girls or co-educational schools. (Para 123).

13.(a). The incidence of drop-outs among girls in school education is substantially higher than among boys. Steps should be taken to discourage this wastage and to surmount the social taboos against girls' education in rural areas. (Para 130).

14. Teachers: To redress the main grievance of teachers in villages, a programme of building residential accommodation for married and unmarried teachers may be undertaken in all places where high schools are located. (Para 124).

15. Since women are more suited for teaching in school education, at least 25% of the teachers in high schools should be women and it would be desirable if all the teachers in elementary schools are women. (Para 124).

16. To draw talented teachers to rural areas, some incentives must be given to them. (Para 124).

17. Children of teachers working in rural areas must be assured of residential scholarships, if they are studying in colleges. If such children are not eligible for scholarships, special loan facilities should be given to them. (Para 124).

18. Incentive scholarships: To promote competitive spirit amongst the children from Backward Classes in their studies, a system of special incentive scholarships may be instituted. Incentive scholarships of the value equal to the non-residential scholarship should be given on the basis of merit. A special competitive examination may be conducted in all the districts every year for such of those Backward Classes children who volunteer to take it and a limited number may be selected from each district. This scholarship should be given in addition to any other scholarship, enjoyed by the recipient. (Para 125).

19. Special Coaching Classes: To improve the standard of slow-learners in schools, special coaching classes should be organised for standards 9, 10 and 11. This may be undertaken first on an experimental basis in select high schools. (Para 126).

20. Common reading rooms: To inculcate reading habit among pupils, whose home environment is not conducive, common reading rooms should be provided in all schools. (Para 127).

21. Medical Check-up: At the 9th standard, there should be a systematic medical check-up of all pupils with particular reference to sight deficiency. The Government should supply a pair of spectacles free of cost to those who are deficient in eye-sight. (Para 128).

22. Vocational training: An Expert Committee of specialists may be constituted to go into the question of imparting vocational training in high schools. (Para 129).

23. Collegiate education: With a view to encourage more colleges being started under private initiative, the Government must recommend to the universities to reduce the present level of endowment requirements for newly starting a college. (Para 134).

24. In order to enable students from Backward Classes to take to science courses in Colleges, the number of seats available in science groups both in Government and private colleges should be steadily increased from year to year. (Para 135).

25. To rectify the existing anomaly, the present income limit of Rs.1,500 for the award of half-fee and full fee concessions under Madras Educational Rules should be raised to Rs.2,000. (Para 139).

26. To ensure that the non-residential scholarships are utilised properly by the students it must be insisted that the recipients produce receipts for purchase of books etc., at least to the value of 50% of the scholarship sanctioned. (Para 141).

27. In order to reduce the inconvenience caused by delays in sanction, a lump sum grant may be placed at the disposal of the Principals to advance money to students for the purchase of books in really deserving cases. (Para 141).

28. To meet the increased demand from Backward Class students for hostel admissions, a phased programme must be undertaken to increase hostel accommodation. The long term objective should be that every college should be equipped to provide hostel accommodation for at least 75% of the students, who need it. (Para 143).

29. The definition of 'City' for scholarship purpose should be so modified to include Tiruchirappalli, Madurai and Coimbatore towns also. The present rates of residential scholarships of Rs.40 for city and Rs.35 for moffussil places are very meagre. These should be raised to Rs.60 and Rs.55 respectively. (Para 144).

30. To recognise and to encourage talent among Backward Classes students, a system of merit scholarships based on the performance in the P.U.C. examination should be introduced. The first 500 Backward Classes students in the P.U.C. examinations should be given scholarships each to the value of Rs.100 per mensem. This must be tenable up to Post-Graduate level. (Para 143).

31. To improve the educational standard of slow-learners in colleges, special coaching classes should be conducted outside college hours for selected students. (Para 147).

32. Stipend: To relieve the financial strain of poor parents, a stipend of half the value of residential scholarships may be given to students of professional colleges even though they do not reside in recognised hostels. This should be in addition to the non-residential scholarships availed by them. (Para 150).

33. Loan scholarship: A special loan scholarship scheme may be instituted and to start with this may be confined to students in professional colleges, as recovery in their cases would be easier. Students, whose parents' income is above Rs.3,600 but below Rs.6,000 may be given loan scholarships, not exceeding Rs.500 per year if they reside in hostels. The total amount for one student for the entire course need not exceed Rs.2,500. (Paras 152 to 153).

34. Assistance for higher studies: Candidates from Backward Classes with exceptional qualifications, but who experience difficulties in getting selection for research courses in Universities should be sponsored by the Government. A limited number of fellowships of the value of Rs.300 per mensem for Junior scholars and of Rs.500 per mensem in the case of senior scholars may be awarded. (Paras 154 and 155).

35. To encourage higher studies, at least five scholarships per annum should be awarded to candidates from Backward Classes to secure admission in foreign universities. (Para 156).

36. Special training institutes: Special training institutes must be started on regional basis to train candidates in select trades and professions for which research employment opportunities exist. (Para 157).

37. Regional training institutes should be started in Madras and in four other centres in the districts to give special training for graduates and post-graduates so that their performance during selection and interview for jobs would improve. (Para 158).

38. Income limit for scholarships and fee concessions: The income limit of Rs.1,500 for fee concession and Rs.2,000 for the award of scholarships, were fixed several years back. In view of the fact that the cost of living has steeply risen, the limit for the latter (i.e. scholarships) can be raised to Rs.3,600 per annum; and for fee concessions the limit should be Rs.2,000. (Paras 159 and 160).

39. Since N.G.Os in State service deserve special consideration, the income limit for scholarships should be raised from Rs.3,600 to Rs.5,000 in their case.

EMPLOYMENT

Chapter VI

Reservation for Backward Classes.

40. In view of the huge size of backward class population, the present reservation of 25% is totally inadequate. In order to give adequate representation to them, the percentage of reservation should be raised to at least to 33 percent, though a case is made out for 40%. (Para 195).

41. The representation of Most Backward Classes as a group in Government service and in professional colleges is disproportionately low compared to their population taken together or singly. It is, therefore, recommended that castes treated as Most Backward Classes, should be lumped together. The increased percentage of reservation of 33% should be distributed among Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes in the following manner:

Backward Classes	..	17%
Most Backward Classes	..	16%

(Para 195)

A detailed cycle is proposed with specific turn in this rotation for utterly inadequately represented class (as far Navithar, Vannan, Parvatharajakulam, Odda, Valayan, Ambalakaran and Kurumba etc.) (Para 199-200).

Recruitment in Local Bodies:

43. There are complaints that in Panchayat Unions, the principle of reservation is not followed when appointments are made to posts like teachers and clerks. The Government should issue strong directives and the Collectors should be vested with powers to administratively audit the observance of the relevant rules in accordance with the cycle proposed above. (Para 201).

44. The principles to be adopted for recruitment to services should also be extended for admissions to educational institutions from P.U.C. Upwards, including professional courses. (Para 202).

45. Public Sector Undertakings: Employment opportunities in public sector undertakings are growing from year to year. But there is a grievance among Backward Classes that there undertakings pay little consideration to the principle of reservation for Backward

Classes. Therefore, all Public sector undertakings, both directly under State Government control and undertakings administered by the Centre but located within the State, should be persuaded to follow the procedure adopted in State Government services in the matter of recruitment. (Para 203).

46. Private Sector: Even private sector undertakings which are dependent on State assistance and protection should be requested to reserve a certain percentage of their appointments to Backward Classes. Issuing licences may be made conditional to adherence to these principles.

47. Removal of upper crust: There is a progressive section, though varying from caste to caste, in very many castes. This affluent section in each caste does not require protection from Government. From the point of equity this section should be precluded from reservation made for Backward Classes. The following criteria may be adopted to determine the advanced section in each caste:

- (a) In the case of salaried people, whose gross annual income exceeds Rs.9,000.
- (b) In the case of landowners, who own more than 10 standard acres of land.
- (c) In the case of business people, whose taxable income is above Rs.9,000 per annum.
- (d) If a person derives income from more than one source, gross income from all sources must be taken into consideration.
- (e) In the case of both father and mother earning incomes, their total income together not to exceed Rs.12,000.

(Para 205, 206).

48. This formula of removing the upper crust in each caste should be viewed as a temporary and transitory one; and in course of time the income limit prescribed for availing scholarship and the limit permissible for reservation of posts in services and seats in educational institutes should be equalised. (Para 208).

49. Reservation for Promotion: In State services, in some departments the reservation principle is applied in the matter of promotion also. It is recommended that a uniform policy should be adopted by the Government viz. if preference is to be shown for Backward Classes in promotions, then the preferential treatment should be extended to all departments or else the principle should be revoked even in departments where the principle operates now. (Para 209).

50. Direct Recruitment: The claim by Backward Class representatives for preferential treatment in promotion arises out of their anxiety to find better representation in service posts. This grievance could be met by making more frequent direct recruitments. The practicable system would be to provide for direct recruitment at every alternate stage in the official ladder. A small Committee of Secretaries to Government may be set up to work out details for each Department. (Para 210).

51. Number of posts in various Departments are kept on a temporary basis indefinitely. If administrative audit is carried out, justification would be found for converting many such posts into permanent posts. Correspondingly, the number to be recruited directly would increase and more number of posts would become available for Backward Classes. Even when expansion is effected on a temporary basis under circumstances which may justify their long term retention, a fixed percentage must be reserved for recruitment and the balance may be filled by transfer. (Para 211).

52. The spokesman of the bigger Backward Classes pleaded that reservation must be made for Backward Classes in All India Services as in the case of Scheduled Castes. It is doubtful whether this will be feasible, but the State Government may bring to the notice of the Centre the pressure of public opinion on this subject. (Para 212).

53. Special Training Institute: A Special training institute must be started to coach up candidates from Backward Classes appearing for Competitive Examinations for All India Services and corresponding positions as executives in public and private sector business Houses. Limited number of candidates must be selected by a Committee consisting of high ranking officials and professors every year for intensive training. The facilities in this institute can also be used for training State Service personnel, for initial training in subjects connected with administration and for refresher courses as well. (Para 213).

54. Defence Services: The representation of the people from this State in Defence Services is not adequate. The Government may consider this matter more fully and move the Defence Ministry to take active interest in giving publicity about defence careers in our backward districts. The State Information Department also should popularise the openings in rural areas. (Para 214).

55. Central Government Offices located in the State: There is a general feeling that even clerical and lower executive jobs in Central Government departments located in the State are not open to suitable candidates from the Backward Classes. The State Government should impress upon the concerned ministries the importance of local Backward Classes people's participation at least in lower grade posts. (Para 215).

ECONOMIC MEASURES

Chapter VII

56. Since there is a pressing demand for land from all Backward Classes, a land census should be undertaken in the State which would give a clear idea about the surplus lands available for distribution. (Para 234 and 235).

57. After the Census, the surplus lands should be distributed to the landless with priority being given to Most Backward Classes along with Scheduled Castes who are traditionally dependent on farm labour for their livelihood. (Para 236).

58. A detailed techno-economic survey should be undertaken to locate and study the backward areas in each district so that developmental activities could be started to benefit the Backward Classes in such areas. (Para 237).

59. Loans: Loans ranging from Rs.250 to Rs.5,000 must be sanctioned to Backward Classes people to enable them to start cottage industries and to carry on petty trades like running a cycle shop, small hotel, automobile workshops, retain shops, etc. This assistance can be withdrawn when these services are fully undertaken by nationalised banks. (Para 239).

60. In dry areas with no irrigation facilities financial assistance should be given to agriculturists for sinking deep wells. A grant-cum-loan scheme can be extended to small land-holders owning more than one acre and less than 5 acres of land. The total assistance should not exceed Rs.2000 in which the grant portion may be restricted to one fourth of the total. (Para 240).

61. A detailed survey should be undertaken along with the land Census to study the magnitude of housing problems among Backward Classes.

Loans to the extent of Rs.2,000 per house can be given to such of those who own house sites and require money for house construction. In consultation with the co-operative department, co-operative house building societies can be formed one for each district and assistance could be obtained from existing financial institutions. While sanctioning loans preference should be shown to the following classes in that order of priority.

1. Barbers, Dhobies and Fishermen,
2. Most Backward Classes (Others),
3. Artisan Classes like Weavers, Carpenters, Goldsmiths, etc.,
4. Backward Classes (Paras 241 to 243).

62. In respect of those who have already built huts on poramboke lands and have been in occupation for a continuous period of not less than 5 years, patta may be issued confirming their right of occupation. (Para 245).

63. Occupational diversification must be attempted on an extensive scale to solve the problem of rural unemployment among Backward Classes. Expansion of agro-industries is strongly emphasized in this respect. Each district should have an agro-industrial complex and the authority in charge of this complex should be able to give technical advice and financial assistance and also make arrangements for transport and marketing. Following are some of the suggestions:

Fruit preservation and canning units in Kanyakumari and Dharmapuri districts

Cattle feed production unit in Salem District,

Particle board units and wine distilling units in Madurai district,

Cotton seed oil extracting units in Coimbatore district,

Cashew, apple preservation units, cashew shell oil units and cashew processing units in South Arcot, Chingleput and Thanjavur districts. (Paras 247 and 248).

64. The available forest resources are not fully and properly utilised and therefore a forest produce utilisation study is strongly recommended. There is excellent scope for starting forest-based industries in Salem, Nilgiris, North Arcot and Madurai districts. (Para 254).

65. The number of industrial estates should be increased and estates must be started in places like Rajapalayam and Aruppukottai. (Para 257).

66. Extension of cultivation of commercial crops like potato and tobacco would gainfully employ local people and hence they must be encouraged. With the extension of commercial crops the scope for enlarging the resource based industries in rural areas would also improve. (Paras 258 to 261).

67. At present there are a large number of Khadi and Village Industries operating in all districts. While some of them are working very efficiently, others are not so. The working of these units should be periodically examined to assess the advantages in terms of employment and increase in the real income of the local people. (Paras 262 and 263).

68. Greater attention should be paid for building roads and bridges, extending rural electrification and providing drinking water facilities. (Paras 268 to 270).

69. The State Government should impress on the Central Government to nominate its representatives on all Boards of Nationalised Banks including Regional Boards for Banks with headquarters outside the State. (Para 272).

70. Wherever possible Tenant Farming Co-operatives should be extended since the working of such societies in the State have been satisfactory.

71. Labour Contract Societies to undertake construction works like minor irrigations, reclamation of tanks, well digging, road laying and house building must be encouraged so that workers would earn better returns for their labour. (Para 274).

72. The tradition bound social structure can be changed only by massive industrialisation and modernisation and this will take long time. Till then traditional occupations must be made more attractive for castes like Barbers, Dhobies, Fishermen, Weavers and Kammalans if massive unemployment is to be avoided. (Paras 275 to 288).

73. Minimum wages: Wage level prevalent in many trades including agriculture and weaving in rural areas is miserably low. An Expert Committee must be constituted to study the question in detail.

74. Pending enquiry by such an Expert Committee, the Government must prescribe a floor wage level at Rs.4 per day for a male worker and Rs.3 per day for a female worker to start with.

Specific recommendation in respect of
individual castes

Barber and Dhobies:

75. The practice of compelling barbers and dhobies to perform demeaning services against their will must be brought within the ambit of the Untouchability (Offences) Act of 1955. (Para 277).

76. Providing housing facilities on a priority basis to these communities must receive immediate attention. (Para 277).

77. Panchayats and Municipalities should be asked to provide dhoby-khanas for the dhobies and shops for the barbers as a part of the civic amenities. (Para 277).

78. Tools and equipment of good quality should be supplied free of cost to all the barber and washermen in the villages, and on a part loan basis to saloons and laundries owned and run by members of these castes in town areas. (Para 277).

79. To cover the risk of infection, health insurance must be made compulsory and a suitable scheme should be drawn up. (Para 277).

80. The fee paid to the barbers in temples, for removal of hair, is complained to be very low and that there is disparity in the rates from temple to temple. The barbers should get a better share for their service in temples and a uniform rate may be introduced in all the temples. The Hindu Religious Endowment Department should take up this matter seriously. (Para 285).

81. The Barber, Dhobies and potters face hardships on account of the restrictions placed on the location of their places of business on hygienic grounds by the town panchayats and municipalities. The provisions in the respective Act should be sympathetically interpreted and all assistance should be rendered to reduce their hardships. (Para 287).

Fishermen:

82. The available sea food wealth has not been fully exploited. There must be a planned programme for making motor driven boats available for all coastal fishermen on individual basis or on operative basis. A special study must be undertaken to go into the question of increasing the catch, preservation of fishes, marketing and transport, so that the earnings of the fishermen would improve.

83. The problems of fishermen villages, i.e. housing, drinking water, sanitation, schools must receive immediate attention. (Paras 278, 279).

84. The plea of the inland fishermen that the fishing rights in tanks, should not be auctioned out but, should be given to their community on the basis of the average of the last five years' lease deserves sympathetic consideration. (Para 278).

85. In view of the belief that a separate coastal constituency covering the coastal belts would greatly help the fishermen's general improvement, we recommend this to the notice of the Government. (Para 280).

Weavers:

86. The health condition of the actual weavers living in slum areas in towns and villages and especially of their children are very poor. The incidence of communicable diseases, wasting diseases and the results of mal-nutrition is very high among them. Therefore a statewide health survey on the weaving community is strongly recommended and steps should be undertaken to arrest the spread of these diseases. (Para 281).

Kammalans:

87. The grievance of unemployment among goldsmiths as a result of the Gold Control Order should be brought to the notice of the Central Government. (Para 282).

88. Preference should be shown to the sons of carpenters and smiths in employment in industrial establishments. All avenues for developing works of art, should be explored and preference in employment should be given to these people. (Paras 283, 284).

Temple Service castes:

89. The wages paid to temple servants i.e. players on Nathaswaram and Thavil are stated to be very low, and the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Department should be requested to go into the wages of all classes of temple servants. (Para 285).

Basket Weavers, Mat Weavers/etc.

90. The Co-operative department, Forest department and the Khadi and Village Industries department should take sympathetic view of the claims and requests of some castes who are depending for their livelihood on basket making, mat weaving, reed weaving, etc. (Para 286).

ASSESSMENT

Chapter VIII

91. Periodical assessment of the progress made by the various castes in the list of Backward Classes in Government Employment and in Education must be undertaken by the Government to ascertain whether the very backward castes had reached the level of other castes in the list. (Para 327).

92. Rigorous administrative measures should be taken to check the abuse of scholarships by the people by producing false income certificates and by falsifying the caste names. (Paras 345 to 348(b)).

DENOTIFIED TRIBES

Chapter IX

93. A Denotified Tribe should find a place under some caste or other either in the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or Backward Classes. This could be done in consultation with the Collectors concerned.

94. Complaints were received by the Commission that several facilities given by the Government to Denotified Tribes were, however, not extended to all Denotified Tribes. The Collectors should be asked to report what reclamation facilities and special facilities have been extended to the various Denotified Tribes and what percentage of Denotified Tribes people in that district has been properly rehabilitated.

95. Reclamation schemes should be extended to Maravas, Valayans, Ambalakars and Servais, Oddars and Boyas. The possibility of securing as much assistance as possible from the Government of India which is responsible for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Denotified Tribes should be explored.

96. Reclamation schemes on a par with Kallar Reclamation should be started for the Maravas of Tirunelveli, and for the Maravas and Valayans of Ramanathapuram district on a priority basis, in the first instance.

97. Cottage industries should also be developed and more attention should be devoted to craft based education.

98. The Oddars occupy almost the lowest scale in educational advancement. The Government should start at least half a dozen High Schools with boarding facilities in areas of their concentration in Dharmapuri and Salem Districts.

99. As the Union Government assumes responsibility for schemes for the amelioration of the Denotified Tribes, advantage should be taken fully of this to promote new schemes for the various groups of Denotified Tribes other than Kallars.

100. A more comprehensive survey should be undertaken on the conditions of the Denotified Tribes.

101. Nursery schools should be opened for the children of Denotified Tribes.

102. Rural co-operative industries may be formed for Denotified Tribes.

103. The areas where the members of these tribes are given to unsocial occupations as Illicit distillation, petty thieving, etc., residential schools should be opened, where children should be kept and taught at least upto the Higher Elementary standard. These schools should be of immense benefit to the various Kurava communities and some of the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes who have unfortunately failed to find a place in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

The Welfare of those of denotified tribes, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes along with that of Scheduled Tribes may be looked after by the Department of Backward Classes.

104. The general purpose workshops established in Tirunelveli, Ramanathapuram and Madurai districts are not being fully utilised by the members of the Denotified Tribes. Follow-up programme should be taken up.

105. Industrial co-operatives should be started for the benefit of these people in trades with which they are proficient.

106. The State Government should inform the people by the use of different communication media and personal contact by officers with a sense of social justice, about the facilities which are available to them, so that they would avail themselves of the various ameliorative measures open to them.

This must be part of the education given to the people to make them aware of their place in society and of their right as citizens in a welfare State.

107. No comprehensive study has been undertaken so far of the social and economic conditions of the tribal people including nomadic and semi-nomadic people. The Government of India is interested in such a study and the financial assistance given by the Centre for this purpose has so far not been utilised. The State Government must avail of this assistance and under a study.

Chapter XI

Reclassification of the list of Backward Classes.

108. At present there are three lists relating to Backward Classes and there a number of inconsistencies between them. An uniform list must be adopted as suggested in the Report. Castes which can be legitimately classified as Scheduled Castes and Tribes must be represented to Government of India for recognition as such.

ADMINISTRATION

Chapter XII

109. To strengthen the administrative set up of the Department of Backward Classes, two posts of Joint Directors in the grade of District Revenue Officers with necessary office staff must be created, carry out the programmes of the department more effectively a arate cadre of District Social Welfare Officers must be set up.

FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RECOMMENDATIONSA. Opening of Nursery Schools (Para 104 - 106)

(a) No. of children in a school	..	50
(b) No. of villages in a block	..	30
(c) Total No of children to be covered in a block	..	1500
(d) Approximate cost per child per month including distribution of milk, food, equipments, salary for parttime teachers and rent for the school building	..	Rs.15
(e) Cost per school for 50 children per month	..	Rs.750
(f) Cost per year (9 months)	..	Rs.6,750

Capital Expenditure:

(g) Purchase of equipments for one school (non-recurring)	..	Rs.500
(h) Total cost per school per annum	..	Rs.7,250
(i) Cost for a Block (30 villages) per annum	..	Rs.2,17,500

Total for the pilot scheme consisting of 4 Blocks.

Rs.8,70,000

B. Award of Incentive Scholarships:I. Elementary Education: (Para 108)

(a) Total No. of children in the age group of 5 - 10	..	Rs. 48,00,000
(b) No. of children from Most Backward Classes of this age group	..	Rs. 12,00,000
(c) Children who will be eligible for the incentive scholarships	..	Rs. 8,00,000

Total cost per annum at Rs.5 per pupil.

Rs. 40,00,000

II. Higher Elementary Education: (Para 111)

(a) Total No. of children in the age group of 11 to 13	..	Rs. 27,00,000
(b) No. of children from Most Backward Classes of this age group	..	5,00,000

Total cost per annum at Rs.12 per

B. Award of Incentive Scholarships--cont.III. High School Education: (Para 125)

(a) Value of scholarship per annum	Rs.30 in Mof-fasil.
	Rs.35 in City of Madras.
(b) No. of scholarship for Dharmapuri, Kanyakumari and the Nilgiris.	150 x 3 = 450
(c) No. of scholarships for the remaining districts.	200 x 11 = 2200
	<u>2650</u>

Total cost per year at the rate of Rs.30 for districts and Rs.35 for the city.

Rs. 80,500

C. Enhancement of maintenance charges for Boarders staying in the Government Hostels:

(a) Enhanced cost for 10,000 boarders per month	..	Rs. 2,50,000
(b) Present cost per 10,000 boarders per month	..	Rs. 2,00,000
(c) Additional expenditure per mensem	..	Rs. 50,000
<u>Total Additional expenditure per annum (10 months)</u>	..	Rs. 5,00,000

Collegiate Education:Residential scholarship: (Para 145)

(a) Difference between the old and new rates Rs.20 per head per annum.	
(b) No. of scholarship holders during 1969-1970	.. 17,893
(c) Present number approximately	.. 20,000
(d) Additional cost per month 20,000 x 20	.. Rs.4,00,000

Total additional cost for 10 months in a year
4,00,000 x 10

Rs.40,00,000

Merit scholarships: (Para 146)

(a) Amount of Scholarship per student per month ..	100
(b) Amount of scholarship per student per annum 100 x 10 ..	1,000
(c) Cost for 500 students 1000 x 500	5,00,000
(d) Cost of other scholarships to be deducted ..	2,00,000
<u>Total additional cost per annum.</u>	3,00,000

Stipends to students of professionalColleges: (Para 150)

(a) Cost of stipend per head per annum 30 x 10 = 300 ..	
(b) Approximate number who would claim the stipend. 2000	
<u>Total additional cost per annum 2000 x 300</u> ..	6,00,000

Loan scholarships (Para 152)

(a) Scholarship amount per annum per head ..	500
(b) Approximate number who would claim the scholarship. ..	1000
<u>Total additional cost per annum 1000 x 500</u>	5,00,000

Assistance for higher studies: (Para 154-155)

(a) Value of Junior fellowships ..	Rs. 300 p.m. per head.
(b) Approximate number claiming the fellowships ..	20
(c) Cost per annum 300 x 20 x 12 ..	72,000
(d) Value of Senior fellowship Rs. 500 per annum per head	
(e) Approximate number claiming the fellowship	8
(f) Cost per annum 500 x 8 x 12	48,000
<u>Total additional cost</u>	1,20,000

Foreign Scholarships: (Para 156)

(a) Value of each scholarship per annum ..	20,000
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<u>Total cost for five scholarships 20,000 x 5</u>	1,00,000
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Special Training Institutes: (Para 157)

Cost to be worked out by the Government after deciding the No. of Institutes duration of training, No. of candidates to be admitted and type of training to be imparted.

Additional cost due to raising of income limit:

Probable additional No. of applicants for scholarships consequent to raising the income limit .. 7,000

(a) Cost per each scholar ..	Rs. 550 per annum.
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<u>Total additional cost 7000 x 550</u>	38,50,000
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Probable additional No. of applicants for scholarships consequent on raising income limit to Rs. 5,000 for N.G.Os 3000

<u>Total additional cost 3000 x 550</u>	Rs. 16,50,000
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<u>Grand Total</u> ..	Rs. 2,25,70,500
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In practice the increase will be much less as the present abuse of producing false certificates and claims will be largely eliminated.

APPENDIX AEMPLOYMENT PARTICULARSCONSOLIDATED VALUE

1. Total value for Backward Classes as a whole ..	66,358
2. Total value for Most Backward Classes only	10,488
3. Share of Most Backward Classes in the total value for Backward Classes as a whole ..	16.8%

Ranking of Castes in the order of progress in Employment.

Rank.	Caste	Value	Estimated population for 1971	Caste Index
1.	Valugan	2,216	1,10,102	1:49.7
2.	Thuluva Vellala	3,695	2,00,000	1:54.1
3.	Agamudayan including Thuluva Vellala	12,308	6,70,505	1:54.5
4.	Agamudayan	8,613	4,70,505	1:54.6
5.	Gavara	2,939	1,87,829	1:63.9
6.	Veerakodi Vellala	1,243	91,447	1:73.6
7.	Sourashtra	1,444	1,62,812	1:112.8
8.	Sadhu Chetty	758	1,08,262	1:142.8
9.	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	4,539	7,00,207	1:154.3
10.	Devanga, Sedan	1,711	2,96,731	1:173.4
11.	Illuvan, Ezhavan, Illathar	352	69,577	1:197.7
12.	Badaga	620	1,25,892	1:203.1
13.	Saliyan	553	1,20,837	1:218.5
14.	Labbai	2,625	6,37,827	1:243.0
15.	Reddi (Ganjam)	234	60,754	1:259.6
16.	Vaniyar	1,258	3,72,805	1:296.3
17.	Kallar	2,713	9,75,712	1:359.6
18.	Maravar	2,288	8,31,299	1:363.3
19.	Senaithalavar	404	1,50,000	1:371.3
20.	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	4,150	15,59,339	1:375.7
21.	Kammalan	2,924	11,85,313	1:405.4
22.	Yadava	3,105	13,85,603	1:446.2
23.	Vakkaliga	309	1,44,478	1:467.6
24.	Parkavakulam	923	4,81,322	1:521.4
25.	Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar	287	1,50,000	1:522.6
26.	Kulala	537	2,91,537	1:542.9
27.	Andipandaram (Jangam)	327	1,79,749	1:549.7
28.	Marathuvar	675	4,18,517	1:620.0
29.	Vanniakula Kshatriya	6,633	48,61,742	1:733.0
30.	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	384	3,46,682	1:902.8
31.	Vannan	451	4,61,239	1:1,022.7
32.	Parvatharajakulam	281	3,50,000	1:1,245.6
33.	Paravans	57	89,457	1:1,569.4
34.	Ambalakaran	178	2,98,024	1:1,674.3
35.	Boya, Odde	162	5,07,248	1:3,131.2
36.	Kuruba, Kurumba	75	2,84,307	1:3,790.8
37.	Mukkuvan	10	71,455	1:7,145.5
38.	Yogeeswaran	5	75,000	1:37,500.0
39.	Valaiyan	16	6,33,478	1:39,592.4

Castewise Employment particulars of Backward Classes
Consolidated Value.

S.No.	Caste	Secre- tariate.	Collec- torate	Education Dept. (Col- legiate Teaching staff only)	Heads of Depts.	Total value
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1.	Agamudaiyan	368	520	562	7,163	8,613
2.	Thuluva Vellala	286	472	430	2,507	3,695
3.	Ambalakaran	3	26	34	115	178
4.	Andipandaram (Jangam)	3	28	-	296	327
5.	Badaga	-	70	46	504	620
6.	Bestha, Siviari	-	-	-	21	21
7.	Bhatraz	-	-	8	-	8
8.	Billava	-	8	-	-	8
9.	Bondil	6	2	8	55	71
10.	Boya, Odde	3	6	24	129	162
11.	Dasari	-	-	-	12	12
12.	Devanga, Sedan	38	224	222	1,227	1,711
13.	Dommara	-	-	-	-	-
14.	Dudekula	-	-	-	-	-
15.	Enadi	-	-	-	-	-
16.	Eravallar	-	-	-	3	3
17.	Gangavars	-	-	-	-	-
18.	Gavara	148	292	234	2,265	2,939
19.	Gowda	6	36	8	175	225
20.	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar.	186	465	320	3,179	4,150
21.	Heide	-	-	-	2	2
22.	Idiga including Setti Baliya	34	5	14	254	307
23.	Illuvan, Ezhuvar, Illathar	8	30	8	306	352
24.	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	33	14	42	198	287
25.	Jambuvanodai	-	-	-	-	-
26.	Jhetty	-	-	8	34	42
27.	Jogi	-	2	-	20	22
28.	Kabbora	-	19	-	2	21
29.	Kadupattan	-	2	-	-	2
30.	Kaikolan, Sengun- thar	211	554	654	3,120	4,539
31.	Kalingi	-	-	-	-	-
32.	Kallar	117	132	278	2,186	2,713
33.	Kammalar	133	331	162	2,298	2,924
34.	Kani, Kaniyan and Kanisu, etc.	8	3	-	57	68
35.	Kannadiyar	17	28	-	99	144
36.	Katesan or Pattamkatti	-	-	-	-	-
37.	Kavuthiyan	-	-	-	-	-
38.	Kerala Mudali	-	6	-	8	14
39.	Kharvi	-	-	-	-	-

Castewise Employment particulars of Backward Classes
Consolidated Value--cont.

S.No.	Caste	Secre- tariate.	Collec- torate.	Education Dept. (Col- legiate Teaching staff only)	Heads of Depts.	Total value
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
40.	Khetran	-	-	-	11	11
41.	Kongu Chettiar	-	2	-	39	41
42.	Koppalavelamas	-	-	-	-	-
43.	Koteyar	-	-	-	13	13
44.	Kulala	10	32	24	471	537
45.	Kunnuvar Mannadi	-	-	-	3	3
46.	Kuruba Kurumba	-	13	-	62	75
47.	Kuruhini Chetty	-	-	-	-	-
48.	Labbai	294	212	216	1,903	2,625
49.	Lambadis	-	-	-	-	-
50.	Mahratta Non- Brahmin	23	16	16	208	263
51.	Mappilla	11	11	24	92	138
52.	Maravar	95	316	64	1,813	2,288
53.	Maruthuvar	25	31	44	575	675
54.	Meniagar	-	1	-	4	5
55.	Mounda Chetty	-	3	-	-	-
56.	Muduga Mahendra Medava	-	-	6	12	18
57.	Mukkuvan	-	-	-	10	10
58.	Mutlakkampatti	-	-	-	-	-
59.	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	20	29	48	287	384
60.	Nagaram	10	7	28	109	154
61.	Narikoravan	-	-	-	-	-
62.	Nokkar	-	-	-	-	-
63.	Odiya	-	-	-	11	11
64.	Pamulu	-	-	-	-	-
65.	Panniyar, Pannayar	-	-	-	4	4
66.	Paravans	-	-	-	57	57
67.	Paravan Christian	4	2	-	9	15
68.	Parkavakulam	20	59	126	718	923
69.	Parvatharakulam	11	37	76	157	281
70.	Perike, Perke Baliya	-	-	-	20	20
71.	Poraya	-	-	-	-	-
72.	Pulluvan	-	-	-	6	6
73.	Punnan Vettuva Gounder	-	-	-	-	-
74.	Pusala	-	-	-	8	8
75.	Rajpuri	11	4	-	36	51
76.	Reddi (Ganjam)	25	15	-	194	234
77.	Sadhu Chetty	4	41	58	617	758
78.	Saliyan	49	44	32	428	553
79.	Sathatha Srivai- shnava	11	7	22	123	163
80.	Senaithalaivar	5	24	16	359	404

Castewise Employment particulars of Backward Classes
Consolidated Value--cont.

S.No.	Caste	Secre- tariate.	Collec- torate.	Education Dept. (Col- legiate Teaching staff only)	Heads of Depts.	Total value.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
81.	Sourashtra	83	172	122	1,067	1,444
82.	Sozhia Chetty	2	23	8	79	122
83.	Srisayana	-	-	-	-	-
84.	Telugupathy Chetty	-	(included in item No.77)			-
85.	Thiyya	19	6	-	60	85
86.	Thegattaveera Kshatriya	-	-	-	20	20
87.	Tholuva Naicker and Vettaikara Naicker	-	13	-	149	162
88.	Theriyar	-	-	-	2	2
89.	Thottia Naicken	16	5	-	23	44
90.	Tondaman	3	-	-	70	73
91.	Uppara	-	1	-	37	38
92.	Urali Goundan	2	7	-	86	95
93.	Vadugan	93	256	228	1,639	2,216
94.	Valaiyan	-	3	-	13	16
95.	Valmiki	-	-	-	2	2
96.	Vaniyar	92	128	152	886	1,258
97.	Vannan	8	51	32	360	451
98.	Vanniakula Kshatriya	276	700	726	4,931	6,633
99.	Vettaikaran	-	-	-	2	2
100.	Vettuva Gounder	-	-	8	82	90
101.	Virakudi Vellala	21	216	150	856	1,243
102.	Vokkaliga	9	1	36	263	309
103.	Wynad Chetty	-	-	-	-	-
104.	Yadava, Mondgolla	110	366	168	2,461	3,105
105.	Yoggeswaran	-	-	-	2	2
106.	Araya	-	-	-	2	2
107.	Chettis	-	9	-	19	28
108.	C.S.I. & S.I.U.C.	28	-	-	75	103
109.	Ezhavathy	-	-	-	-	-
110.	Ezhuthachan	-	-	-	2	2
111.	Krishnavaka	-	13	8	10	31
112.	Latin Catholics	8	-	-	35	43
113.	Pattariyars or Pattariar	8	-	-	4	12
114.	Veerasaivas	-	-	-	23	23
115.	Velans	-	-	-	5	5
116.	Veluthedathy Nairs	-	-	-	-	-
117.	Vilakkathala Nairs	3	4	-	25	32
118.	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	52	31	-	392	475
119.	Other Backward Classes	138	428	44	2,629	3,289

APPENDIX B.

EDUCATIONAL PARTICULARS

CONSOLIDATED VALUE.

1. Total value for Backward Classes as a whole.	..	71,422
2. Total value for Most Backward Classes only.	..	12,888
3. Share of Most Backward Classes in the total value for Backward Classes as a whole.	..	18.0%

Ranking of Castes in the order of Progress in Education.

Rank.	Caste	Value	Estimated population for 1971	Caste Index
1.	Vadugan	2,461	1,10,102	1:44.7
2.	Vaniyar	5,442	3,72,805	1:68.5
3.	Virakodi Vellala	1,306	91,447	1:70.0
4.	Gavara	2,412	1,87,829	1:77.9
5.	Illuvan, Ezhuvar, Illathar	854	69,577	1:81.4
6.	Sadhu Chetty	1,251	1,08,262	1:86.5
7.	Sourashtra	1,820	1,62,812	1:89.4
8.	Agamudayan including Thuluva Vellala.	6,820	6,70,505	1:98.3
9.	Devanga, Sedan	2,327	2,96,731	1:127.5
10.	Badaga	984	1,25,892	1:130.6
11.	Kaikolan, (Sengunthar)	4,426	7,00,207	1:158.2
12.	Saliyan	632	1,20,837	1:191.2
13.	Labbai	3,140	6,37,827	1:203.1
14.	Vakkaliga	685	1,44,478	1:210.9
15.	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	7,187	15,59,339	1:217.0
16.	Rechi (Ganjam)	220	60,754	1:276.2
17.	Maruthuvar	1,456	4,18,517	1:287.4
18.	Kallar	3,227	9,75,712	1:30.1
19.	Senaithalvar	440	1,50,000	1:340.0
20.	Yadhava	3,645	13,85,603	1:380.1
21.	Kulala	720	2,91,357	1:404.7
22.	Kammalan	2,913	11,85,313	1:406.9
23.	Andipandaram (Jangam)	432	1,79,749	1:416.1
24.	Maravar	1,948	8,31,229	1:426.7
25.	Mukkuvar	159	71,455	1:449.4
26.	Parkavakulam	1,000	4,81,322	1:481.3
27.	Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar	290	1,50,000	1:517.2
28.	Muthuraja or Muthiriyar	628	3,46,682	1:552.0
29.	Vannan	835	4,61,239	1:552.4
30.	Paravans	147	89,457	1:608.6
31.	Vanniyakula Vshatriya	6,786	48,61,742	1:716.4
32.	Parvatharajakulam	473	3,50,000	1:740.0
33.	Ambalakara	379	2,98,024	1:786.3
34.	Boya, Odde	363	5,07,248	1:1,397.1
35.	Valaiyan	332	6,33,478	1:1,903.0
36.	Yoggeswaran	10	75,000	1:7,500.0
37.	Kuruba, Kurumba	12	2,84,307	1:23,692.3

Caste

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Castewise Educational Particulars of Backward Classes-by value.

S.No.	Caste	SSLC*	Engi-neer-ing**	Medi-cal***	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1.	Agamudayan	5,755	235	830	6,820
2.	Thuluva Vellala				
3.	Ambalakaran	374	5		379
4.	Andipandaram (Jangam)	417	5	10	432
5.	Badaga	894	10	60	964
6.	Bestha, Siviar	10	-	-	10
7.	Bhatraju	-	-	10	10
8.	Billava	-	-	-	-
9.	Bondil	62	-	10	72
10.	Boya, Odde	348	15	-	363
11.	Dasari	7	-	10	17
12.	Devanga	1,817	140	370	2,327
13.	Dommara	1	-	-	1
14.	Dudekula	-	-	-	-
15.	Enadi	-	-	-	-
16.	Eravallar	-	-	-	-
17.	Gangavars	10	-	-	10
18.	Gavara	2,152	90	170	2,412
19.	Gowda	201	5	20	225
20.	Gramani, Shanan, Nadar	6,402	255	530	7,187
21.	Hegde	-	-	-	-
22.	Idiga including Setti Balija	381	-	50	431
23.	Illuvan, Ezhuvar, Illathar	809	5	40	854
24.	Isaivellalar or Melakkarar	250	10	30	290
25.	Jambavanodai	-	-	-	-
26.	Jetty	20	-	-	20
27.	Jogi	4	-	-	4
28.	Kabbora	-	5	-	5
29.	Kadupattan	-	-	-	-
30.	Kaikolan (Sengunthar)	3,836	160	430	4,426
31.	Kalingi	-	-	-	-
32.	Kallar	3,047	20	160	3
33.	Kammalan	2,723	110	80	
34.	Kani or Kanisu, Kaniyar Panikkar	21	-	-	-
35.	Kannadiyar	1	15	20	
36.	Katesan or Pattamkatti	-	-	-	-
37.	Kavuthiyan	3	-	-	-
38.	Kerala Mudali	-	-	-	-
39.	Kharvi	5	-	-	-
40.	Khatra	5	5	-	-
41.	Kongu Chettiar	35	-	-	-
42.	Koppalavelamas	-	-	-	-
43.	Koteyar	-	-	-	-
44.	Kulala	685	15	-	-
45.	Kunnuvar Mannadi	7	-	-	-
46.	Kuruba, Kurumba	2	10	-	-
47.	Kurihini Chetty	-	-	-	-
48.	Labbai	2,495	1	-	-
49.	Lambadies	3	-	-	-
50.	Mahratta (Non-Brahmin)	211	-	-	-

Castewise Educational Particulars of Backward Classes-by value--cont.

S.No.	Caste	SSLC*	Engi- neer- ing**	Medi- cal***	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
51. Mappilla		3	-	10	13
52. Maravar		1,798	30	40	1,948
53. Maruthuvar		1,396	20	40	1,456
54. Moniagar		13	-	10	23
55. Moundadan Chetty		-	-	-	-
56. Muduga, Medavar, Mahendra Madara		90	-	-	90
57. Mukkuvan		159	-	-	159
58. Mutlakampatti		-	-	-	-
59. Muthuraja or Muthiriyar		623	5	-	628
60. Nagaram		149	5	20	174
61. Narikkoravan		-	-	-	-
62. Nokkar		2	-	-	2
63. Odiya		-	-	-	-
64. Pamulu		-	-	-	-
65. Pannayar or Pannaiyar		3	-	-	3
66. Paravans		142	5	-	147
67. Paravan Christian		-	-	10	10
68. Parkavakulam		900	50	50	1,000
69. Parvatha Rajakulam		448	5	20	473
70. Perike, Perike Balija		-	-	20	20
71. Poraya		-	-	-	-
72. Pulluvan		4	-	-	4
73. Punnan, Vettuva Gounder		1	-	-	1
74. Pusala		-	-	-	-
75. Rajpuri		11	-	-	11
76. Reddi (Ganjam)		170	20	30	220
77. Sadhu Chetty		1,026	65	160	1,251
78. Saliyan		507	55	70	632
79. Sathatha Srivaishnava		105	10	10	125
280. Senaithalaivan		400	10	30	440
271. Sourashtra		1,485	175	160	1,820
Sozhia Chetty		37	-	10	47
28. Srisayana		-	-	-	-
29. Telugupathy Chetty		(included in item No.77)	-	-	-
30. Thiyyas		-	5	-	5
31. Vagataveera Kshatriya		-	-	-	-
32. Paruva Naicker and		-	-	-	-
33. Ambataikkara Naicker		70	10	10	90
34. Boya, man		29	-	-	29
35. Valaiyan		8	-	-	8
36. Yoggeswara Naicken		48	-	-	48
37. Kuruba, K		27	10	-	37
lan		131	10	40	181
		2,066	85	310	2,461
		332	-	-	332
		90	-	-	90
		5,367	45	30	5,442
		835	-	-	835
viya		6,301	95	390	6,786
		6	-	-	6
		110	-	-	110

Castewise Educational Particulars of Backward Classes-by value--cont.

S.No.	Caste	SSLC*	Engi- neer- ing**	Medi- cal***	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
101. Virakodi Vellala		1,216	20	70	1,306
102. Vokkaliga		640	15	30	685
103. Wynad Chetty		20	-	-	20
104. Yadava, Mond Golla		3,350	75	220	3,645
105. Yogeeswaran		10	-	-	10
106. Araya		-	-	-	-
107. Chetties		236	-	-	236
108. C.S.I. and S.I.U.C.		-	5	10	15
109. Ezhavathy		-	-	-	-
110. Ezhuthachan		1	-	-	1
111. Krishnavaka		143	-	-	143
112. Latin Catholics		-	-	-	-
113. Pattariyars or Pattariar		-	-	-	-
114. Veerasaivas		23	-	-	23
115. Velans		1	-	-	1
116. Veluthadathu Nairs		-	-	-	-
117. Vilakkathala Nairs		1	-	-	1
118. Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes		361	-	-	361
119. Other Backward Classes		65	95	10	170
Total		63,952	2,180	5,290	71,422

* Value of candidates appeared for S.S.L.C. examination during March 1970.

** Value of candidates admitted in Engineering Colleges during 1970.

*** Value of students studying in I Year M.B.B.S. Course in Medical Colleges (except Christian Medical College, Vellore) during 1969-70.

APPENDIX-C.

VALUE GIVEN FOR DIFFERENT POSTS.

Sl. No.	Name of the post.	Value
1	Junior Assistant (Collectorate)	1
2	Assistant, Collectorate	2
3	Junior Assistant, Secretariat	
4	Assistant, Secretariat	3
5	Deputy Tahsildar	5
6	Tutor and Demonstrator	6
7	Tahsildar	8
8	Superintendent, Secretariat	
9	Assis. Professor	8
10	Deputy Collector	12
11	Assistant Secretary	
12	Professors in Government Colleges	20
13	District Revenue Officer	
14	Deputy Secretary/Secretary (Non-I.A.S.)	
15	Principals of Government Colleges	25
16	I.A.S.	

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 175, 176, 177
 183 to 190
 280
 285, 286, 287
 290, 293