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Scheduled Castes

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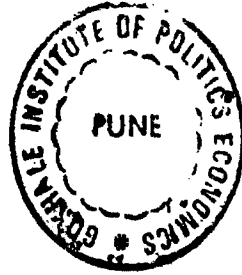
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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION



The Problem

Untouchability is one of the unique features of the Indian society. Those castes within the orbit of the Hindu religion which were treated as untouchables were listed in a schedule in 1936 by the British government for the purpose of giving these castes some concessions because of their disadvantageous position in the social hierarchy. They came to be later known as scheduled castes and were called "Harijans" by Gandhiji. However untouchability and social, economic and other types of discriminations on this ground continued to be there.

Untouchability and discriminations following from it exist in one form or the other in both the rural and urban areas of all the states in India. It is evident that the discrimination and harassment of people belonging to the so called scheduled castes are more rampant in the rural areas than in the urban areas. This is a feature which can be observed every day although incidents concerning injustices done to people of the scheduled castes are not reported as much as they deserve to be.

The untouchable castes are not known by the same names in all the states of India. There are 1106 major untouchable castes in India¹ as given in table 1.1. One should remember that this list is not exhaustive as the major caste, in the list of scheduled castes, namely, Chamar itself had as many as 1156 Chamar castes and subcastes as

1. A list of the major scheduled castes in each state of India is given in the appendix.

reported in the census of India,² 1891. Some of these castes are found in more than one state but not in all the states. It is probable that a small number of people comprising a negligible proportion of the total number of persons belonging to the scheduled castes like Chamar is spread throughout India. But they are not reported as untouchables and hence are not included in the scheduled castes population. The census of India enumerated and classified untouchable castes only of the Hindu religion and not of the other religions such as Sikh, Christian and Buddhist. Practically untouchable castes who converted themselves into Christianity and Sikh religion continued to be untouchable despite their change of religion. Untouchability and discrimination on this ground continues and yet these people are not enumerated as untouchables by the census of India.

Unfortunately untouchability has a religious sanction. Consequently in spite of the best efforts of many and also of changes in different directions in the society, untouchability has remained operative and continues to pollute the social fabric of our country. Religious sanction added social, economic and political dimensions to untouchability based on discrimination. The religious sanction created a social code of conduct which in turn created economic and political codes. For example the untouchables were not supposed to touch animate as well as the inanimate objects because it was believed that those things would get polluted if they were touched by the untouchables. In such a situation the untouchable cannot become economically independent. Every thing touched by him would get polluted

2. G.W. Briggs, *The religious life of India: the Chamars* (London: Oxford University Press, 1920).

TABLE 1.1 : STATEWISE CASTES ENUMERATED AS SCHEDULED CASTES

Sl. No.	States/union territories	No. of castes enumerated as scheduled castes
1.	Andhra Pradesh ...	60
2.	Assam ...	16
3.	Bihar ...	23
4.	Gujarat ...	42
5.	Jammu and Kashmir ...	13
6.	Kerala ...	70
7.	Madhya Pradesh ...	73
8.	Tamilnadu ...	79
9.	Maharashtra ...	77
10.	Karnataka ...	127
11.	Orissa ...	94
12.	Punjab ...	37
13.	Rajasthan ...	114
14.	Uttar Pradesh ...	66
15.	West Bengal ...	63
16.	Delhi ...	36
17.	Himachal Pradesh ...	52
18.	Manipur ...	7
19.	Tripura ...	37
20.	Daḍra and Nagarhaveli	4
21.	Nagaland ...	16

Total:		1106

Basis: Compiled from the list given in the census of India, 1961, Vol.I, Part V-A (i)-special tables for scheduled castes.

and therefore persons belonging to the other castes will not touch anything that he prepares. Hence he cannot start even a restaurant. This is just one of the many examples which points out the sheer helplessness of an untouchable in the matter of pursuing a viable, gainful economic activity.

According to the code of Manu, the untouchables were not supposed to own any property. As a result they remained poor and economically dependent in spite of the great changes in our society and the country. Similarly political rights were also not conferred on them. As a result they were treated like cattle and became slaves. Anyone who is familiar with the conditions of the slaves in the history of mankind can realise the extent of misery that these people have had to go through. The social, political and economic discrimination based on religious sanction was glorified and explained through the theory of divinity and Karma. Moreover these dimensions were well linked with each other in the process since time immemorial.

Methodology

An attempt is made in brief to study the development and growth of the caste system in general and untouchability and discrimination on its ground in particular. Demographic characteristics of the scheduled castes, their position in caste hierarchy and occupational pattern in the various regions of India are studied with the various historical books and documents, census and other reports. Qualitative and quantitative techniques of analysis are used with emphasis on historical, logical and statistical methods of analysis.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To explore the historical background of the development and growth of untouchables and untouchability.
2. To study the social, economic and political profiles of the scheduled castes in India with reference to their social, economic and political status in the Indian society.

Data and Their Limitations

The required data for analytical purposes are collected from religious scripts, historical books and reports. The quantitative analysis is mostly based on the data made available in the reports of the census of India.

The number of scheduled castes enumerated in the census of India is much underestimated due to the following reasons:

1. Those castes which were untouchable castes were not listed in a schedule in 1936 by the then British government, which were later referred to as the scheduled castes. The untouchable castes in India were enumerated as the scheduled castes but there was no such enumeration of the untouchables within Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists in the later census reports.
2. The listing of the scheduled castes has taken place according to regions. As a result a caste which is included as a scheduled caste in a region has not been included as such in another region.

3. Some scheduled castes were removed by the government from the list of the scheduled castes in certain regions.
4. At times the scheduled castes themselves do not report as belonging to the scheduled castes due to the association of the stigma of untouchability and inferior social status. Moreover their stay in the localities other than their own castes is insecure. Therefore they do not voluntarily declare their castes. They know that if their caste is known to the caste Hindus they are bound to suffer in a variety of ways.
5. Some castes have also changed their castes names to conceal their caste identity.
6. Politically motivated enumerators do not report the number of the scheduled castes so that these may be deprived of reservations in political elections such as the taluka and district bodies, assemblies and parliament.

Thus there is a gross underreporting of the actual population of the scheduled castes. Hence the quantitative analysis is subject to these limitations.

Chapter Plan of the Study

The study is presented in ten chapters. Chapter I introduces the problem in brief and discusses the methodology, objectives and the required data and their limitations.

In chapter II the historical background, origin of the Varna system, its development and discrimination against the lowest Varna are given.

Some issues like who the scheduled castes are and how they are pushed to the lowest status in the society and are oppressed in day to day life are analysed in chapter III.

Chapter IV gives the statewise population distribution of the scheduled castes along with non-scheduled castes. Some issues such as their density, urbanisation and educational levels are also elaborated.

Chapter V deals with the statewise distribution of the scheduled castes labour force and its absorption in the various industrial categories. Its regional specialisation of industrial activities is also discussed.

Chapter VI brings out the participation of the scheduled castes in politics. It makes a case for the restricted electorate for the scheduled castes as the reservation in the elections does not serve the purpose for which it was meant.

Chapter VII describes the social reforms before independence and the constitutional safeguards for the scheduled castes after independence.

Passing of the untouchability (offences) act, 1955, was a major step taken by the parliament of India for abolishing untouchability. The success and failure of this act are analysed in chapter VIII.

Chapter IX indicates the roots of exploitation in India which are in the caste system, though apparently class conflict is visible. The caste hierarchy and class hierarchy have one to one correspondence in the Indian society. 'Production relationship determines economic exploitation, while social relations determine the economic exploitation and social oppression.'

Chapter X is concerned with summing up and conclusions

castes increased only by one. The reserved seats for the scheduled castes in Maharashtra were reserved because the scheduled castes refused to be called untouchables and embraced Buddhism. It may be noted that by their accepting Buddhism their socio-economic condition did not improve much. On the contrary they were hit hard economically because the Hindus did not employ them on their farms. In many villages in Maharashtra the scheduled castes who embraced Buddhism were driven out of their villages. They argued that the government wanted to give them reservation only if they accepted slavery and untouchability.

More members of parliament from among the scheduled castes come from Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Tamilnadu as compared to the rest of the states in India. This is because the scheduled castes population in these states is comparatively more than in the rest of the states in India. This representation of scheduled castes members in the parliament is approximately in proportion to the proportion of scheduled castes population to the total population in the respective states. It may be observed from table 6.1 that during the 1957-1967 decade that the increase in the parliamentary seat of scheduled castes by one is much less than the expected proportionate increase.

State Legislative Assemblies

As per provisions in the constitution of India, the number of reserved seats for the scheduled castes in the state legislatures and parliament should be in proportion to the percentage of the scheduled castes population in the total population of the state/country. One would see from table 6.1 and 6.2 that the proportions of the reserved seats in the totals have been going down continuously since 1957. These reductions in the proportion

of reserved seats for scheduled castes in legislatures are due to:

- (a) reservation of some of the constituencies on account of underreporting of the number of the scheduled castes population,
- (b) removal of names of the scheduled castes from the list of scheduled castes, and
- (c) restricting their enumeration to certain notified areas even within a state.

Table 6.2 shows that among the state legislatures the Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana legislatures have a sizable number of scheduled castes members. On the other hand state legislatures of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Assam have very small number of scheduled castes members as out of 270 strength in Maharashtra legislature only 15 are reserved for the scheduled castes and out of 168 in the Gujarat legislature only 11 are reserved for scheduled castes.

It is not only the quality of the member of the legislature but also the strength of like minded members in the house that is important in passing the bill. The experience of the state legislatures and parliament in India shows that it is not even the like mindedness of the candidates but the wishes of their political parties that determine the fate of any bill. Since most of the candidates belong to non-scheduled castes, it is rather difficult to pass a bill in the interest of scheduled castes and impossible if it is contrary to the interests of the non-scheduled castes who are in majority. This is why in spite of the provision of giving representation to the scheduled castes to voice their grievances and redress them by peaceful means their problems have remained unsolved

Chapter II
GENESIS OF CASTE SYSTEM IN INDIA

Origin of Varnas

The origin of caste system is in the Varnashrama Dharma, the division of society into four Varnas¹ (four castes) viz. Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. It was believed and preached that for the prosperity of the world the creator created the four Varnas. The creator created these Varnas from different parts of his body i.e. the Brahmin was born from his mouth; the Kshatriya from his arms; the Vaishya from his thighs and the Sudra from his feet. He created Brahmins with Gayatri (metre); the Kshatriyas with Trish-tubh; the Vaishyas with Jagati and the Sudras without any metre.²

The first three Varnas are twice born (Dwija), the first birth being from the mother and the second from the investiture with the sacred girdle. In the second birth Savitri is the mother and the teacher is the father because he gives instruction in the Vedas.³ Therefore the first three Varnas are born twice while the Sudra is born only once.⁴ Among the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Sudra Varnas, each preceding Varna (caste) is superior by birth to the one following. It is popularly held that in the beginning there were only three Varnas and the fourth Varna of the Sudra is an outcome of the fight between Brahmins and Kshatriyas for the supremacy in the Varna (caste) hierarchy.⁵

1 Manu Smriti, Chapter I, Verse 31.

2 Vasistha Dharma Sutras, Chapter IV.

3 Ibid., Chapter II, Verses 1-4 and Chapter IV, Verse 3.

4 Manu Smriti, Chapter X, Verse 4.

5 B.R. Ambedkar, Who Were the Sudras (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1946) p.69.

Status of the Sudra

Many restrictions were imposed on the Sudras of which a few could be mentioned in brief. The Sudra was prohibited from milking a cow whose milk was to be used for Agnihotra,⁶ from witnessing performance of sacrifice,⁷ from taking Soma drink,⁸ from initiation (Upanayana or the wearing of the sacred thread), from studying the Vedas, and from kindling the sacred fire (right of sacrifice).⁹

If a Vaishya or Sudra comes as a guest to Brahmin's house he should be served food along with the servants.¹⁰ If a Sudra comes as a guest to a Brahmin's house, he shall be given work,¹¹ for his hospitality he is punished (100 pannas),¹² because the Sudra is not worthy of respect on the ground of his age or wealth or knowledge, howsoever considerable those may be.¹³ He cannot be anything else but a servant.¹⁴ Even if one is young, if one is learned in the Vedas, he is elder to a Brahmin.¹⁵ The Sudras were not

- 6 The Kathaka Samhita (xxxi.2) and the Maitravani Samhita (iv. 1.1: i. 8.2).
- 7 (a) Satapatha Brahmana (III.i.110)
(b) The Maitravani Samhita (vii.1.1.6)
(c) Panchavimsa Brahmana (vi.1.11)
- 8 Satapatha Brahmana (xiv.1.31) and Kathaka Samhita (xi.10).
- 9 B.R. Ambedkar, Who Were the Sudras (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1946) p.31.
- 10 Manu Smriti, Chapter III, Verses 110-112.
- 11 Apasthamba Dharma Sutras, Prasana II, Patala 2, Skanda 4, Sutras 19-20.
- 12 Apasthamba Dharma Sutras, Chapter V, Sutra 115.
- 13 Manu Smriti, Chapter II, Verses 135-36.
- 14 (a) Ataraya Brahmana, Chapter VII, Verse 29.4.
(b) Panchavimsa Brahmana (vi.1.11).
- 15 Manu Smriti, Chapter II, Verses 154.56.

only prohibited from learning the Vedas, the Vedas could not even be recited before the Sudras by law.¹⁶ The recitation of the Vedas was interrupted merely by a look at the Sudra women.

The food touched by the first three Varnas is impure but not unfit for eating, while if it is touched by the impure Sudra it should not be eaten.¹⁷ If a Brahmin dines with a Sudra at a Shradha ceremony (ceremony of worshipping dead ancestors) all merits of the dinner will be destroyed. If a Brahmin dies of food given by a Sudra he is reborn as a village pig or in a Sudra family. After the food if he indulges in sexual intercourse with a Sudra woman and a child is born, it becomes a Sudra and shall not ascend to the heaven.¹⁹

Neither the Sudras are carried by the twice born nor the twice born are carried by the Sudras.²⁰ A Brahmin may not dwell in the kingdom of a Sudra or invader or low born men.²¹ Such was the discrimination among the Varnas. Most of the rules were to the advantage of the higher Varnas. The higher was the position of a Varna in the social hierarchy, the more was the advantage to that Varna from these rules. It is therefore needless to say that in this scheme of things, the Sudra had few privileges because of his lowest position in the Varna system.

16 Vishnu Smriti, Chapter XVIII, Verses 11-15.

17 (a) Apastamba Dharma Sutras, Prasana 1, Patala 5, Skanda 16, Sutras 21-22

(b) Vasistha Dharma Sutras, Chapter XIV, Verses 1-4.

18 Manu Smriti, Chapter III, Verse 178.

19 Vasistha Dharma Sutras, Chapter VI, Verses 27-29.

20 Vishnu Smriti, Chapter XIX, Sutras 1-4.

21 Manu Smriti, Chapter IV, Verse 61.

Discriminative Justice

Law is an instrument made and used by the powerful class to keep the subordinate classes in subjugation resulting in the perpetuation of poverty. According to Plato, law is a convention devised for regulating conduct; therefore it is an arbitrary power the obeying of which depends on one's capacity to flout it. Even the judiciary was discriminative. For similar offences punishment prescribed was rigorous for the lower Varnas in general and the Sudras in particular. But for the same offence the Brahmins were subjected to very light punishment. One comes across innumerable discriminative laws against the interests of the Sudras, all of which are not given here; however a brief account of some of them is given in tabular form in table 2.1 in the interest of economy and compact presentation.

TABLE 2.1: DISCRIMINATIVE JUSTICE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
Killing ²²	Any one	Kshatriya	Giving 100 cows to Brahmins
Killing ²²	Any one	Vaishya	Giving 100 cows to Brahmins
Killing ²²	Any one	Sudra	Giving 10 cows to Brahmins
Abusing ²³	Kshatriya	Brahmin	100 (karshapanas)
Abusing ²³	Kshatriya	Brahmin	200 (karshapanas)
Abusing ²³	Vaishya	Brahmin	150 (karshapanas)
Abusing ²³	Brahmin	Kshatriya	50 (karshapanas)
Abusing ²³	Brahmin	Vaishya	25 (karshapanas)
Abusing ²³	Brahmin	Sudra	Nil

TABLE 2.1: (Contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
Reviling ²⁴	Vaishya	Kshatriya	100 panas
Reviling ²⁴	Kshatriya	Vaishya	50 panas
Reviling ²⁴	Kshatriya	Sudra	20 panas
Abusing ²⁴	Sudra	Vaishya	Compelled to pay fine
Abusing ²⁴	Sudra	Kshatriya	Payment of fine double that of Vaishya
Abusing ²⁴	Sudra	Brahmin	The highest fine
Reviling ²⁵	Kshatriya	Brahmin	100 panas
Reviling ²⁵	Vaishya	Brahmin	150 - 200 panas
Reviling ²⁵	Sudra	Brahmin	Corporal punishment
Insult ²⁶	Brahmin	Kshatriya	50 panas
Insult ²⁶	Brahmin	Vaishya	25 panas
Insult ²⁶	Brahmin	Sudra	12 panas
Murder ²⁷	Any one	Brahmin	Penance
Murder ²⁷	Any one	Kshatriya	1/4 of the penance prescribed for slaying a Brahmin
Murder ²⁷	Any one	Vaishya	1/8 of the penance prescribed for slaying a Brahmin

TABLE 2.1: (contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
Murder ²⁷	Any one	Sudra (Virtuous)	1/16 of the penance prescribed for slaying a Brahmin
Slaying ²⁷	Brahmin	Kshatriya	1000 cows and bulls or three years (with senses) subdued and locks braided, follow the observances of one who has slain a Brahmin living in a place far from town, his dwelling place shall be the foot of a tree.
Slaying ²⁷ (Involuntary)	Brahmin	Vaishya (Virtuous)	Punishment for one year as above and giving of 10 cattle (heads of cattle) to Brahmins
Slaying ²⁷ (Involuntary)	Any one	Sudra	Same observance for six months or giving of 10 white cows and a bull to a priest (Brahmin)
Insulting ²⁸ superior caste by limbs	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	King shall cut off the limb
a) Seating on a seat of superior	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Banishing with a mark on buttocks
b) Spit on superior caste	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Lose both lips
c) Breaking wind against superior caste	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Lose his hind parts

TABLE 2.1: (contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
d) Abusive language	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Lose tongue
e) Instructing about duties with pride to higher caste	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Hot oil be dropped into his mouth
f) Mentioning the name of superior revilingly	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Ten inches (hot red) iron pin shall be thrust into his mouth
g) Teaching the precepts of religion or uttering Vedas insulting a Brahmin 29	Sudra	Nil	Cutting off his tongue
i) Listening ³⁰ intentionally to the Vedas	Sudra	Nil	i) Ears shall be filled with (molten) tinlac
ii) Reciting ³⁰ Veda	Sudra	Nil	ii) Tongue shall be cut off
<u>Prohibitions</u>			
i) Teaching Suara or learning from Sudra 31	Dwija	Nil	Unfit for being invited at the performance in honour of Devas and Pitris
ii) Advising, giving food or butter to Sudra what has been ³² offence	Dwija	Nil	Together with Sudra shall sink in the darkness of hell called Asamyrita

TABLE 2.1: (contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
iii) Teaching of law to Sudra 32	Dwija	Nil	Together with Sudra shall sink in the darkness of hell called Asamvrita
iv) Giving instructions on religious matters 32	Dwija	Nil	Together with Sudra shall sink in the darkness of hell called Asamvrita
Adultery ³³	Dwija	Sudra Women	Shall be banished
Adultery	Sudra	Dwija Women	Capital punishment
Criminal intercourse ³⁴	Sudra	Any Women	Organ (penis) shall be cut off and property be confiscated. If the women has a protector (i.e. under guardianship of somebody) Sudra shall be executed after having undergone above prescribed punishment
Loving a girl of Dwijas ³⁵	Sudra	Dwija Women	Corporal punishment
Cohabiting with Dwija Women ³⁶	Sudra	Dwija Women	If she is not guarded, deprive his members and all his property and of anything if she is guarded

TABLE 2.1: (contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
d) Abusive language	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Lose tongue
e) Instructing about duties with pride to higher caste	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Hot oil be dropped into his mouth
f) Mentioning the name of superior revilingly	Any one (except Brahmin)	Superior caste	Ten inches (hot red) iron pin shall be thrust into his mouth
g) Teaching the precepts of religion or uttering Vedas insulting a Brahmin 29	Sudra	Nil	Cutting off his tongue
i) Listening 30 intentionally to the Vedas	Sudra	Nil	i) Bars shall be filled with (molten) tinlac
ii) Reciting 30 Veda	Sudra	Nil	ii) Tongue shall be cut off
<u>Prohibitions</u>			
i) Teaching Sudra or learning from Sudra 31	Dwija	Nil	Unfit for being invited at the performance in honour of Devas and Pitris
ii) Advising, giving food or butter to Sudra that has been 32 offence	Dwija	Nil	Together with Sudra shall sink in the darkness of hell called Asamvrita

TABLE 2.1: (contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
iii) Teaching of law to Sudra ³²	Dwija	Nil	Together with Sudra shall sink in the darkness of hell called Asamvrita
iv) Giving instructions on religious matters ³²	Dwija	Nil	Together with Sudra shall sink in the darkness of hell called Asamvrita
Adultery ³³	Dwija	Sudra women	Shall be banished
Adultery	Sudra	Dwija women	Capital punishment
Criminal intercourse ³⁴	Sudra	Any women	Organ (penis) shall be cut off and property be confiscated. If the women has a protector (i.e. under guardianship of somebody) Sudra shall be executed after having undergone above prescribed punishment
Loving a girl of Dwijas ³⁵	Sudra	Dwija women	Corporal punishment
Cohabiting with Dwija Women ³⁶	Sudra	Dwija women	If she is not guarded, deprive his members and all his property and of anything if she is guarded

TABLE 2.1: (contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
Internationally reviling by criminal abuse or assault 37	Sudra	Dwija Women	Shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends
Assuming equal position with twice born in laying down, in conversation or on the road 38	Sudra	Dwija women	Corporal punishment
Assault with virulent words 39	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off his tongue
Mentioning names in insulting manner 39	Sudra	Dwija	Red hot iron rod ten fingers long should be thrust into his mouth
Instructing priest regarding his duties 39	Sudra	Brahmin	Boiling hot oil be poured into his mouth and ear
Lifting up hand or staff 40	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off his hands
Smites with feet in anger 40	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off his feet
Sits down by the side of high born 40	Sudra	Dwija	To be banished after being branded on his hip or his back-side be cut off
Spitting 40	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off lips
Making water 40	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off penis
Breaking wind 40	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off anus
If he seizes by the locks 40	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off both his hands, also (if he seize by feet) hand, neck, testicles

TABLE 2.1 (Contd.)

Offence	Offender	Victim	Punishment to offender
1	2	3	4
False accusation ⁴⁰	Sudra	Dwija	Split tongue and put on stake
Insulting, referring with contempt ⁴¹	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off tongue, ten fingers long red hot iron rod should be thrust into his mouth
Giving lessons to Brahmins about their duty ⁴¹	Sudra	Brahmin	Hot oil be poured into his mouth and ear
Offending ⁴¹	Sudra	Dwija	The concerned limb should be cut off
Seating with high caste ⁴¹	Sudra	Dwija	To be branded on hip banished or backside be gashed
Arrogance spit ⁴¹	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off both lips
Making water ⁴¹	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off penis
Breaking wind ⁴¹	Sudra	Dwija	Cut off buttocks

Footnotes for Table 2.1

- 22 Apasthamba Dharma Sutras, Verses 1-3
- 23 Apasthamba Dharma Sutras, Chapter XII, Sutras 8-15; same points are mentioned in Brihaspati's Dharma Sastras.
- 24 Brihaspati's Dharma Sastras, Chapter XX, Verses 7-11
- 25 Manu Smriti, op.cit.
- 26 Manu Smriti, Chapter VIII, Verses 267-68
- 27 Ibid., Chapter XI, Verses 127-31
- 28 Vishnu Smriti, Chapter V, Sutras 19-25
- 29 Brihaspati Smriti, Chapter XII, Verse 12
- 30 Gautam Dharma Sutras, Chapter XX, Sutras 4-6
- 31 Manu Smriti, Chapter III, Verse 156
- 32 Ibid., Chapter IV, Verses 78-81
- 33 Apasthamba Dharma Sutras, Prasana II, Patala 10
- 34 Gautam Dharma Sutras, Chapter XII, Sutras 2-3
- 35 Manu Smriti, Chapter VIII, Verse 366
- 36 Ibid., Verse 374
- 37 Gautam Dharma Sutras, Chapter X Sutras 50, 56-59
- 38 Ibid., Chapter XII, Sutras 1-7
- 39 Manu Smriti, Chapter VIII, Verses 270-72
- 40 Ibid., Chapter VIII, Verses 279-84 .
- 41 Narada Smriti, Chapter XV, Verses 22-27

Duties of Sudras

Discrimination by the judiciary against Sudras as given in table 2.1 presents an idea of the iron hand with which the Sudras were ruled. Even the duties of the Varnas and their status in the caste hierarchy had one to one correspondence. As a result the Sudras were given menial work which in turn placed them in the lowest position in ritual purity. Some of the duties which were assigned to the Varnas are given below. It was believed that for the sake of preserving all creations, the most glorious being ordained separate duties for those who sprang from the creator's mouth, arm, thigh and feet. For the Brahmins he ordered teaching, study, sacrifices (as priest) for others and also giving and receiving gifts. Defence of the people, giving alms, sacrifice, study and absence of attachment to objects of senses were ordained for the Kshatriya. Tending of cattle, giving (alms), sacrifice, study, trade and agriculture were ordained for Vaishya. Serving the upper castes without grudging was the duty of the Sudra.⁴²

A Brahmin may take the belongings of the Sudra with perfect peace of mind as nothing belongs to the Sudra but to his master.⁴³ The mere sight of possession of wealth by the Sudra injures a Brahmin.⁴⁴ A Sudra giving judicial decision would sink the kingdom into misfortune.⁴⁵ The region chiefly inhabited by the Sudras is bound to be oppressed by famine and disease.⁴⁶ Even if freed by his

42 Manu Smriti, Chapter I, Verses 87-91

43 Ibid., Chapter VIII, Verse 417

44 Ibid., Chapter X, Verse 129

45 Ibid., Chapter VIII, Verses 20-22

46 Ibid.

master, the Sudra, whether bought or not by the Brahmin, may be compelled to practise servitude as he was created merely to serve the Brahmin.

Only two classes of Sudras were exempt from taxes:⁴⁸

(1) Those Sudras who used to like washing the feet of the Brahmins and (2) those who were deaf and dumb or were suffering from diseases. In such a case the relaxation was to last till the infirmities continued.

To serve the upper three castes was ordained for the Sudra. The higher the caste he served the greater would be the merit.⁴⁹ If the Sudra pursues his duties without complaining against the system, then he gains in this as also the other world.⁵⁰ His mild speech, submissiveness to the Brahmins give him a higher birth.⁵¹ He may serve the Kshatriya for subsistence, the Vaishya for support of life and the Brahmin for the heaven. However food which was left over, old clothes, blighted part of grains and very old furniture could be given to the Sudras.⁵²

Sudras Were Kings

Originally the Sudras were kings and belonged to the ruling class.⁵³ They were made slaves. The Kayasthas of Bengal,⁵⁴ the Lingayats of Karnataka, the Marathas

47 Ibid., Chapter VIII, Verses 412-14

48 Apastamba Dharma Sutras, Prasana 11, Patala 10

49 Ibid., Prasana I, Patala 1, Skanda 1, Sutras 7-8

50 Manu Smriti, Chapter X, Verse 128

51 Ibid., Chapter IX, Verses 334-35

52 Ibid., Chapter X, Verses 121-25

53 B.R. Ambedkar, Who Were the Sudras (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1946), pp.119-20

54 Asita Mohan Vs Nirode Mohan (1916) 20. C.W.N. 901, 901, 35 I.C. 127, (1917) A.C. 292; Biswandh Vs Sharashibala (1921) 48 Cal.926, 934, 68 I.C. 590; (1921) A.C. 48; Bholanath Vs Emperor (1924), 51 Cl. 488, 492-93, 81 I.C. 709, (1924) A.C. 616, Quoted in P.T. Borale, Segregation and Desegregation (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1963), pp. 1-80.

excluding the 5 and 96 families of Maharashtra,⁵⁵ king Shivaji,⁵⁶ the Vaidyas of Bengal,⁵⁷ who were all converts to Hinduism,⁵⁸ Madura Ramayana Chavadi, thousands of Yadavas residing chiefly in Madura and adjoining villages, even Gupte, Ahirs, the Gopes of Bengal, Chettis, the Jats, the Khatiks of the Punjab,⁵⁹ Jats,⁶⁰ Goldsmiths known as Panchamas or Vishwa Brahmin of Marwar⁶¹ and so many other castes were once regarded as Sudras. However they are not treated as untouchables now.

Untouchability in Ancient India

Sudras were divided into 'bhojyanna' (food prepared by whom is not partaken by Brahmins) and 'abhojyanna' (food prepared by who is not partaken by Brahmins). The first includes owned slaves.⁶² Historically untouchables were abhojyanna and therefore were not Dasas or slaves or domestic servants in ancient times. Sudras known as Chandalas, Vishadas, Vartyas or untouchables are out of the Varna system. They lived outside the localities.

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55. Ibid.
56. The Tanjore branch of descendent of Shivaji were Sudras as decided by the case of the Maharaja of Kolhapur Vs Sundaram Iyer, Madras 497; quoted in P.T. Borale, Segregation and Desegregation (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1968), p.15.
57. Rajanardhini Vs Aswinikar, AIR (1941) Cal.20; quoted in P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.15.
58. Muthaswami Vs Masilamani (1910) 33 Mad. 342, 5 I.C. 42; quoted in P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.15.
59. S.V. Gupta, Hindu Law (second edition; 1947), p.45.
60. Mewa Ram Vs Lal Sahani, AIR (1927), All 410. The Jaths (Sanskrit Yadavas) are the descendants of an aboriginal race in ancient India; quoted in P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.15.
61. Kalappa Vs Shivappa (1937), 39 B.L.R. (1282); quoted in P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.15.
62. P.V.Kane, History of Dharmashastras Chapter III, (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1974), pp.121-22.

For example Madiga, an untouchable caste in Karnataka state, Mang and Mahar castes in Maharashtra, Adi Dravidas in Tamilnadu, Chamars in North India and Domes in Bengal live on the Outskirts of the villages. These castes are also known as 'Avarnas' meaning thereby that they do not belong to the 'Varnas'.

There was no fifth Varna in the earlier Smritis⁶³ but untouchables were referred to as Panchamas. Panchamas were also regarded as 'Hinas' of four types; (1) Hina Janmana (born against rule of marriage⁶⁴), (2) 'Vratyas'⁶⁵ (failure of Dwija in performing 'Upanayanam' at proper time), (3) Mlechas living in Mlecha land⁶⁶ (4) Kshatriyas who stopped performance of sacred ceremonies.⁶⁷ The Hinas did not accept the authority of the Vedas, the system of the twice born and the caste system laid down by the Brahmins. The Jains and the Buddhists⁶⁸ did not accept the Vedas, the Varnashram system of twice born.

Dasas or Dasyus were non-Aryans and did not belong to the Varnas.⁶⁹ Hence they were treated as Avarnas. They were opposed to Varna system and did not follow Brahminic ceremonies.⁷⁰ They were conquered and gradually

63. Ibid., p.168.

64. Manu Smriti, Chapter X, Verses 11, 31 and 39.

65. Ibid., Chapter II, Verse 39.

66. Manu Smriti, Chapter II, Verse 23.

67. Ibid., Chapter X, Verses 43-44.

68. Rani Bhagwan Kuar Vs Jogendra Chandra Bose, 30, I.A. 249; quoted in P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.41.

69. Manu Smriti, Chapter X, Verse 45.

70. A.C. Das, Rigvedic Culture, p.133; quoted in B.R. Ambedkar, Who were the Sudras, op.cit., p.104.

made slaves.⁷¹ They had to suffer a lot. The very name Sudra is derived from shue (sorrow) and Dru (overcome) which means that one who has overcome sorrow.⁷² Dasyus or Dasas are the same as Nagas. Dasa is a Sanskritised form of the Indo-Iranian word 'Dahaka' who was the king of Nagas.⁷³ Indra consigned the base Dasa Varna to the cave⁷⁴ and under took task of subjugation⁷⁵ and destruction of Dasas.⁷⁶ He made Dasyus Hinas⁷⁷ and gradually transformed them into Sudras.⁷⁸ Dasas and Dasyus are synonymous and in some places they are described as Asuras.⁷⁹ It seems several wars were fought between Aryas or Aryans and Dasas. During these wars the Aryas prayed to Indra for subduing the Dasas in favour of Aryas.⁸⁰

+ Mlechas

Buddhists are regarded as Mlechas.⁸¹ They resided

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- 71 P.V. Kane, Dharmashastras, Vol.II, Part 1, p.33
 72 Ibid., p.155
 73 B.R. Ambedkar, The Untouchables: Who were they and Why They Became Untouchables? (New Delhi: Amrut Book Company, 1948), p.47.
 74 Rigveda, Chapter II, Verses 4 and 12
 75 Ibid., Chapter V, Verses 6 and 34
 76 Ibid.
 77 Ibid., Chapter IV, Verses 4 and 23
 78 P.V. Kane, History of Dharmashastras, Vol.II, Part 1, P.33
 79 Ibid., p.26
 80 Rigveda, 1, 51, 8, 1.103.3, quoted in P.T.Borale op.cit., p.53
 81 During Andhra-Dushana period (30 E.C. - 150 A.D.) Sakas, Kushanas and others who spoke different languages came from Central Asia to India through North-Western passages and accepted Buddhism as their religion and so the Brahmins always regarded them as foreigners or Mlechas. For details see: Narmadeshwar Prasad, The Myth of Caste System (Patna: Samjna Prakashan, 1957), pp 72-73.

beyond three Aryan countries⁸² i.e., Brahmavarta,⁸³ Brahmarshi land next to Brahmavarta⁸⁴ central land.⁸⁵ They spoke a barbarian language⁸⁶ which was different from the Aryan⁸⁷ and opposed the Varna system⁸⁸ and the Ashram system⁸⁹ and did not believe in the Vedas.⁹⁰ They were branded as impure⁹¹ and referred to as foreigners⁹². Those Mlechas who accepted the caste system became Hindus.⁹³ They resided beyond the Vindhya mountain ranges (beyond Aryan culture) in Andhra, Anga, Vanga and Kalinga. Countries like Arattak, Karaskara, Pundra, Sauvira and Pranuna were also known as Mlecha countries.⁹⁴ After they were conquered, they were given position similar to that of the Chandalas in Aryavarta.⁹⁵ Greeks and Romans were treated as Mlechas and were reduced to slavery by Kautilya.⁹⁶ This was natural as John Locke states that the conqueror uses one of the following four methods to rule the conquered people:

82 Manu Smriti, Chapter II, 23.

83 Ibid., Chapter II, Verse 17.

84 Ibid., Chapter II, Verse 19.

85 Ibid., Chapter II, Verse 21.

86 Ibid., Chapter X, Verse 45.

87 Ibid., Chapter II, Verse 25.

88 P.V. Kane, op.cit., Vol.II, Part 1, p.15.

89 P.V. Kane, op.cit., Vol.IV, p.378.
See also Narmadeshwar Prasad, op.cit., p.73.

90 Ibid.

91 Manu Smriti, Chapter VII, Verse 149.

92 Narmadeshwar Prasad, op.cit., p.87.

93 P.L. Narsu, The Essence of Buddhism (1948), p.99

94 P.V. Kane, op.cit., Vol.II, Part 1, pp.15-16.

95 Ibid.

96 E.M. Saran. Labour in Ancient India (1957), pp.27-28.
See also Narmadeshwar Prasad, op.cit., p.9.

1. He continues to rule them according to their own laws and assumes himself only the exercise of the political and civil government; or
2. gives them a new government; or
3. destroys and disperses their society; or
4. in fire, exterminates the people.⁹⁷

The Kushans were foreigners or Mlechas whose kingdom extended upto the Bay of Bengal. They accepted Buddhism. King Pushyamitra destroyed many Sanghashrams (Buddhist monasteries) and killed Bhikus (Buddhist priests) in 2. B.C. Mihirakula, a worshipper of Shiva, slaughtered countless Buddhists. Sashanka, king of Bengal, in the middle of 7 A.D. endeavoured many times to uproot the Bodhi tree (Buddhism). In Kashmir, Kshemagupta and Shri Harasha dealt ruthlessly with the Buddhists. At the instance of Kumaril Bhatt the Buddhists were driven out of Kerala. King Sudhanvan issued an injunction that from the bridge of Ram in Ceylon to the Himalayas, one who does not slay a Buddhist, both old and young, shall be slain.⁹⁸ Thus many Buddhist countries were destroyed because of their not believing in the Vedas and the Varna system. After their conquest they were made slaves and were not given the position of even Sudras but Chandalas - the untouchables. Therefore they were kept outside the Varna system whereas the Jains who not only accepted⁹⁹ the Varna system but also the superiority of Brahmins and Brahmins were made the priests of Jain temples.¹⁰⁰

- 97 Morris, Clarence, *The Great Legal Philosophers* (1959), p.167.
- 98 P.L. Narsu, *The Essence of Buddhism* (1948), p. 39.
- 99 B.R. Ambedkar, *op.cit.*, p.153.
- 100 Gopalchandra Sarkar Sastry, *The Hindu Law of Adoption*; quoted in P.T. Borale, *op.cit.*, p.57.

They had no alternative but to surrender to Brahminism. As a reward the Jains were not regarded as Mlechas or Panchamas. This was a theological distinction and not a racial one. The Aryans even surrendered Mlechas for food.¹⁰¹ The Brahmins were the enemies of Buddhism as they imposed untouchability on broken men when they refused to leave Buddhism.¹⁰² The defeated tribes became broken wanderers to settle themselves along with the settled tribes. They accepted to stay outside the village settlements.¹⁰³ Untouchability was born out of the struggle for supremacy between Buddhism and Brahminism which has contributed a great deal to the moulding of the history of India.¹⁰⁴ The Panchamas were defeated Buddhists who were made untouchables without any rights whatsoever, under the law of Brahmin countries.¹⁰⁵

Marriage and Caste Multiplication

Legally, the Sudra could marry only a Sudra woman, Vaishya could marry a Sudra and/or a Vaishya woman, Kshatriya could marry a Sudra, A Vaishya and a Kshatriya woman, while a Brahmin woman could be a wife of only a Brahmin.¹⁰⁶ Twice born marrying a casteless (Hinayati) woman would descend to the rank of Sudra.¹⁰⁷ A child born to a Brahmin man by a Sudra woman was deprived of Brahminhood.¹⁰⁸ Then both Anuloma (higher caste male and lower

101 S.A. Dange, India from Primitive Communism to Slavery (1949), p.174.

102 B.R. Ambedkar, op.cit., p.78

103 B.R. Ambedkar, op.cit., p.29

104 B.R. Ambedkar, op.cit., p.154

105 P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.64.

106 Manu Smriti, Chapter III, Verse 13.

107 Ibid., Chapter III, Verse 15.

108 Ibid., Chapter III, Verse 17.

caste female) and Pratiloma (lower caste male and higher caste female) marriages were prohibited. Dasi (slave) also included a Sudra woman kept as concubine.¹⁰⁹

Sudra did not have the right of property.¹¹⁰ The Dwijas took advantage of it and reduced the Sudra women's position to that of a Dasi or concubine. The powerful Sudra married a Brahmin woman. In order to prevent such marriages, Pratiloma marriage was prohibited and persons concerned were regarded as Chandalas.¹¹¹ Their status was degraded i.e. after the touch of a Chandala, one should plunge into water, after talk with a Chandala, one should converse with a Brahmin and after seeking a Chandala, one should look at either the sun or the moon or the stars for purification.

The offsprings of Anuloma marriage were given intermediate caste above the mother's caste and below the father's caste.¹¹² This law multiplied caste. Some examples can be cited as under:¹¹³

1.	Brahmin man	+	Vaishya woman	=	Ambastha
2.	Brahmin man	+	Sudra woman	=	Nishad
3.	Kshatriya man	+	Sudra woman	=	Ugra
4.	Kshatirya man	+	Brahmin woman	=	Suta
5.	Vaishya man	+	Kshatirya woman	=	Magadha
6.	Vaishya man	+	Brahmin woman	=	Vaideha
7.	Sudra man	+	Vaishya woman	=	Ayogara
8.	Sudra man	+	Kshatriya woman	=	Kshattar
9.	Sudra man	+	Brahmin woman	=	Chandala

109 D.F. Mulla, Principles of Hindu Law (twelfth edition; 1959), p.704.

110 Manu Smriti, Chapter X, Verse 25.

111 P.V. Kane, History of Dharmashastras, Vol.II, Part 1, p.171.

112 D.F. Mulla, op.cit., p.611.

113 Manu Smriti, Chapter X, Verses 8, 11, 12, 18 and 19.

10.	Brahmin man	+	Ugra woman	=	Awrita
11.	Brahmin man	+	Ambastha woman	=	Abhira
12.	Brahmin man	+	Ayogava	=	Shigvana
13.	Nishada man	+	Sudra woman	=	Pukkasa
14.	Sudra man	+	Nishada woman	=	Kukkutta
15.	Kshattar man	+	Ugra woman	=	Swapaka
16.	Vaidehaka man	+	Ambastha woman	=	Vena

Thus the entire social system was governed by the Brahminical law which was regressive in its character and was used as an instrument by socially privileged Dwijas who were also economically and politically powerful to keep the Sudras and the Avarnas in subjection and perpetual poverty. An arrangement was made so that the subjected class could never rise even in future by way of depriving them of any chance of economic power. This has continued today. As a result the Avarnas/Panchamas or scheduled castes are deprived of the economic power or property.

Chapter III

THE SCHEDULED CASTES

Who are the Scheduled Castes?

Those people belonging to the last Varna namely the Sudra and Avarnas include many caste groups which have suffered social and economic inequity since the ages. Particularly those people who were outside the Varna system were known as Avarnas or Panchmas or Antyajias. They were external in the sense that they were required to stay outside the village settlement. The concept of pollution was attached to them and they were treated as untouchable castes. These castes were systematically listed in the 1931 census of India. These untouchable castes in India were officially defined as depressed castes in 1932.¹ Gandhiji named them Harijans where 'Hari' means God, 'Jan' means people and thus "Harijan" means people of God. This word in Marathi, Gujarathi, Hindi and other languages means a child whose father's identity is unknown,² and hence a bastard progeny. Therefore the name Harijan was not only disliked but was also hated and opposed by the untouchables. Surprisingly enough, their reaction to the word scheduled caste or even to the word untouchable is not that sharp. As a result there was a wild cry, an agitation and a strong opposition to the bill using the word Harijan in the Bombay legislative assembly. It was duly replaced by the term scheduled castes³ in 1938 and it continues to be used as scheduled castes in government records and circulars even today.

1 Harold, R Isaacs, Indian Ex-Untouchables (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p.36.

2 Ibid., p.40

3 Ibid., p.41

The expression scheduled castes was first coined by the Simon Commission and embodied in the government of India act of 1935. While the castes were listed systematically in the 1931 census of India, the terms scheduled castes (SC) was applied to these castes for the first time in the government of India act of 1935. Until then they were known as untouchables, depressed classes or exterior castes. Then the government of India published a list of scheduled castes under the government of India (scheduled castes) order 1936.

With the coming into force of the constitution of India, the scheduled castes have assumed certain essential rights and benefits. Under article 341 (1) of the constitution of India, the President of India after consultation with the governor (act 341(1), may specify "the castes, races, tribes or parts of groups within castes or races, tribes which shall be deemed to be scheduled castes for the purposes of the constitution." However according to act 341(2), the parliament of India by law can include or exclude the above mentioned groups from the list of the scheduled castes. Such scheduled castes can be notified separately for each state. Accordingly the President has notified the scheduled castes in the orders called constitution (scheduled castes) order 1950, the constitution (scheduled castes) part-C status order 1951 and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes lists (modification) order 1956.

As has been pointed out earlier, the scheduled castes are backward socially and economically, Therefore the constitution gives special protection to them. Under article 46 of the constitution, it is the responsibility of the state 'to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in particular and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'.

The Brahmins created the Varna and caste system. Naturally it would have been a surprise if they had not ranked themselves topmost in the caste hierarchy. They prescribed ritual purity and status which were associated with the social, political, economic and judiciary powers which were in turn vested positively with the level of caste in caste hierarchy.⁴

In the process of the evolution of caste on the principles of graded Chaturvarna (four Varnas) and ceremonial purity, the vast body of people known as the Panchamas or exterior castes or Antyajas or Ati-Sudras fell outside the Pale of the Chaturvarna system and hence are known as Avarnas (not belonging to Varnas). It seems probable that inter-Varna struggles and other religious, historical developments were predominant in the evolution of the four Varnas and the fifth group of the Avarnas.⁵ Their problems arise from the peculiar juxtaposition of the caste-Hindu village and the scheduled castes' ghetto all over India, perpetuating untouchability. They were denied the rights enjoyed by the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and even Sudras such as rights of Upanayana (to wear the sacred thread), learning, bearing arms, trade and other "clean" occupations.

Discrimination Against the Scheduled Castes

With the deal of the fundamental religious and civic rights, the segregated Antyajas had no status as persons in the eyes of law as observed in the Hindu Shastras.⁶

4 Mayer, Adrian, "Land and Society in Malabar", Human Organization (Vol.2, No.1), pp. 54-55.

5 B.R. Ambedkar, who were the Sudras (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1946).

6 For details of discriminative laws see Chapter-II.

Moreover they were forced to live on the outskirts of the Savarna-village (belonging to Varnas)⁷ thus restricting their mobility. In effect, they were segregated and became the Antyajas and untouchables.

The instances given in the religious scriptures help to show the directions given to the Hindu society with respect to untouchability that exists to-day. The twice-born Hindus sought to make the Sudras and the Ati-Sudras their perpetual slaves. Slavery here does not mean a legalised form of subjection only. It could be a state of society in which some men are forced to accept from others the commandments which control their conduct. It has been proved through Manu's law that the Brahmin may confidently seize the goods of the Sudra, as the Sudra was denied any property.

The laws relating to the Sudras and the Ati-Sudras down the centuries were in favour of Dwijas who dominated ruthlessly the Ati-Sudras and the Sudras though the latter formed the bulk of the population. Lord Buddha was perhaps the first great teacher of mankind to raise a revolt against caste.

The untouchables (Panchamas or Avarnas) were out of the Varna system and had no share in the social, political and judiciary powers. On the contrary they were slaves and were offered as presents to friends or gifts to temples and were bought, sold and mortgaged in the same manner as the land on which they dwelt or as the cattle or other property of their owners.⁸ The master had the right even to kill a slave.⁹ Until recently they were

7 Manu Smriti, Chapter VIII, Verse 417.

8 This was in the case of Pulayas, the untouchable caste in Kerala. For details see Matter, Rev. Samuel, *The Land of Charity: A Descriptive Account of Travancore and Its People* (London: John Snow and Company, 1871), p.45.

9 Alexander, K.C., *A Study of the Changing Pattern of Behaviour of the Pulaya Untouchables of Kerala*, (Dissertation; Poona: Deccan College Research Institute, 1966), p. 66.

landless labourers and serfs.¹⁰ The British rule through the East India Company in 1792 banned the slave trade. The practice of selling the slaves for arrears of revenue was discontinued in 1819. In 1843 an act was passed by which the right of any person claiming a slave could not be investigated in public offices or courts. The penalties for slave dealings were inserted in the penal codes of 1862 but all caste distinctions, ceremonies and prohibitions were respected.¹¹ Despite these acts, caste tyranny and oppression remained vigorous.

During the modern times we find that the situation which existed since Manu not only continued but worsened in the Peshwa regime. The Mahars and Mangs, scheduled castes in Maharashtra, were not allowed within the gates of Poona city after 3 p.m. and before 9 a.m. because during these hours the body casts too long a shadow which, when it falls on a member of the higher castes, especially the Brahmin, defiles them.¹² During the Peshwa rule in Maharashtra the scheduled castes had to carry earthen pots tied to their necks for their spitting purpose so that they would not spit on the public roads. They were required to carry brooms behind them as trails to efface their so called polluted footprints.

The lower castes in hierarchy were required to keep a respectable physical distance from the higher castes. For example in Kerala Kammalas (artisan caste) had to

10 Miller, Erik, J., Village Structures in North Kerala, in M.N. Srinivas (editor), India's villages (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1960), p. 46.

11 For details see Iyer, L.A. Krishna, The Travancore and Castes, Vol.II (1939), p. 126. In 1812 slave trade was abolished in Travancore. In 1855 the government abolished slavery and declared the future children of government slaves free subjects (See also Matter, op. cit., p.44).

12 G.S. Ghurye, Caste and Race in India (fifth edition; Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1969) pp.10, 306 and 307)

keep a minimum distance of 24 feet from the castes above them,¹³ Izhavas and castes in that group (palet Jatis) had to keep a minimum distance of 36 feet. Pulayas and other scheduled castes had to keep a minimum distance of 64 feet.¹⁴ The touch of all castes below the Sudra caste group downwards caused pollution to the castes above them.¹⁵

Untouchability in India is intimately, organically associated with the institution of caste.¹⁶ Its rigid form is a logical outcome of a peculiar notion of pollution (miscalled ceremonial purity) sanctified by religion and codified by the Brahminical discriminative laws.

13 The untouchables were required to keep 64 feet distance from Brahmins and Nairs, 40 feet from Kannalans and 30 feet from Izhavas, the three castes in descending order in the caste hierarchy. These distances are derived from the table given in the Census of India, Cochin, Part I (1901), pp. 181-182.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 According to the Census of India, 1971, the strength of untouchables (scheduled castes) is 7,99,95,896. For details see: Census of India, 1971, Series-I India, Paper I of 1972, Final Population Tables. In Japan, there are about 3,00,000 "Untouchables" known as the Burakumin (including the Tokushu Burakumin, the Eta and the Yotsu). The Eta are believed to have migrated to Japan from the Phillipine Islands. They are still socially and economically discriminated against due to the prejudice of the majority community. Like the untouchables of India, the Burakumin of Japan have to live outside the Japanese villages and cities. Ceylon too appears to have untouchables in the Roade community, akin to the Mahar caste of Maharashtra. In India untouchability has religious sanction, elsewhere it is not necessarily so. For details see Hiroshi Wagtsune (Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii) "The Pariah Caste in Japan" in Anthony De Reuk and Julie Knight: "Caste and Race" Comparative Approaches (a Ciba Foundation Volume, London: J and A Churchill, 1966).
cf. G.S. Ghurye, op.cit.
cf. Maharashtra Dnyanakosh (Marathi), Vol.VII, p. 641.

This not only institutionalised the caste hierarchy and untouchability but gave it socio-religious-legal approval.

While talking with higher castes, the untouchables had to (a) keep a distance ranging from 30 to 64 feet according to the caste hierarchy of the person to whom he was talking,¹⁷ (b) bend his body, (c) cover his mouth by his hand, (d) address higher castes by "lord", "sir", "parents" etc., (e) address himself as slave, his children as calves, his house as hut, his paddy as chaff and his rice preparations as dirty gruel.¹⁸

Both men and women untouchables were prohibited from: (a) wearing clothes above the waist and below the knees, (b) wearing new clothes (Even when new clothes were bought they were to be made dirty by dipping them in mud or rubbing on the dark spots), (c) wearing gold and silver ornaments and (d) using shoes not withstanding the thorns and sharp stones of the jungle paths.¹⁹ Shanen caste women

17 Census of India, Cochin, Part I, (1901), pp.181-182. Pulaya, the untouchable caste in Kerala, addresses higher castes by appropriate honorific titles like "Tempuran" (lord) for Nambudris (Brahmin caste), "landlords" for Syrian Christians etc., "Panikka" (Sir) for Syrian Christians of low economic order, "Tandon" for headman appointed by the king to direct their marriage, funerals, feasts etc. For details see: Gndert, Rev. H.A. Malayalam and English Dictionary (Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1962).

Similar expressions are observed in Maharashtra. For example: "Rao Sahab" (Sir) for Brahmins, "Bali Raja" for Marathas. (King Bali is believed to have fought Brahmins and derolished Brahminic tyranny in ancient times and emancipated Sudra communities but not untouchables from the slavery of Brahmins. Hence the propriety of the title Bali for the Marathas.) See: Mahata Phule Sanagr Vanganaya (in Marathi language; Government of Maharashtra Publication, 1969), p.160.

18 In Kerala untouchables refer to themselves as "Adivan" (slave), their children as "Kidorgal" (calves), their houses as Madms (huts), their paddy as "Patir" (chaff), their rice preparation as "Kari-Padi" (Kari=dirty, Padi gruel, prepared for cattle).

19 Ibid.

who were much above the untouchable caste in caste hierarchy were not allowed to cover their bosom, the covering of which led to riots in South Travancore²⁰ in 1932. If this was the case with the Shanans what might have been the plight of the untouchables?

The untouchable was not allowed to enter the house of the higher ups. However he was allowed to work as a labourer during construction, repair or storing the grains etc. But later the house was purified by sprinkling cow urine or cow dung. If the scheduled castes touched the utensils and other things, then non-inflammable things were to be put on fire and then purified by sprinkling cow urine, while things like clothes were to be purified by only sprinkling cow urine. Water had to be purified by mixing cow dung²¹ if it was touched by a scheduled caste. Food was served to the scheduled caste only outside the house in leaves or broken vessels which were to be washed by him before and after use.²² A caste served only the

- 20 The Maharaja had no objection to Shanani women using coarse cloth but they were not to use it like the women of the high castes. For details see: O. Malley, L.S.S., Indian Caste Customs (Cambridge: 1932), pp. 148-54.
- 21 In 1936 the untouchables of Maharashtra under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar launched a satyagraha to take water from a public tank at Mahad (district Kolaba, Maharashtra). At this time members of the various castes beat the untouchables and threw mud in mud in their food. Afterwards the tank water was "purified" by mixing tons of cowdung at the hands of Brahmin along with the reciting of hymns from holy scriptures. For details, see Dhanajaya Keer, Life and Mission of Dr. Ambedkar (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966).
- 22 Even after (more than) 26 years of political independence in 1974 this practice was prevalent not only in the rural areas but also in the so called westernised cities like Ahmedabad where Mahatma Gandhi spent a good part of his life. For example in Ambavadi and Navarangapura, central localities of the Ahmedabad city, untouchables have to use broken cups kept outside for drinking tea for which they too pay same price as touchables.

castes above it and since the scheduled caste was the lowest caste they had to serve all castes and no caste served it.²³

The scheduled castes member was not allowed to walk on public roads or enter the temple. In the court of justice, he had to shout from the appointed distance and take his chance of being heard. This is because he was prohibited from entering the village or town and hence virtually prohibited from employment, business and contact with the people.

Forms of Untouchability

The government of Madras presidency was perhaps the first to put on record some of the manifest forms of untouchability in the proceedings of its Board of Revenue (No. 723 of the 5 November 1892). There were forms of oppression, hitherto only hinted at, which were listed for punishing disobedience of Pariahs against their masters:

1. Bring false cases in the village court or in the criminal courts.
2. Obtain, on application from government, waste lands lying all round the paracheri so as to impound the Pariah's cattle or obstruct the way to their temple.
3. Have mirasi names fraudulently entered in the government account against the paracheri.
4. Pull down the huts and destroy the growth in the backyards.
5. Deny occupancy right even under possession from times immemorial sub-tenancies.

23 Gough, Kathleen, "Criteria of Caste Ranking in South India," *Man in India* (Vol.39, No.2), p.121.

6. Forcibly cut the Pariahs' crops and on being resisted charge them with theft and rioting.
7. Under misrepresentation, get them to execute documents by which they are afterwards ruined.
8. Cut off the flow of water to their fields.
9. Without legal notice have the property of sub-tenants attached for the landlord's arrears of revenue.

In 1936 Dr. Ambedkar recorded that the Balais (scheduled castes) of central India were forced to observe certain rules regarding the apparel, certain duties that they were asked to do did not entitle the Balais any remuneration.²⁴ The injunctions on the Balais were as follows:

1. The Balais must not wear gold lace bordered pugress and dhoties with coloured or fancy borders.
2. The women must not use gold or silver ornaments or fancy gowns or jackets.
3. They must render services without demanding remuneration and must accept whatever a Hindu is pleased to give.
4. They must convey information of the death of any Hindu to relatives of the deceased, no matter how far they might be living.
5. They must play music before processions of all Hindu marriages on some occasions. On one occasion when the Balais refused to render the above mentioned services, the fanatic Hindus did

24 B.R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste with a reply to Mahatma Gandhi and castes in India: their mechanism, genesis and development* (Jullundur: Bheem-Patrika Publication, 1970), pp. 6-8.

not allow them to take even water from the village wells and forced them to abandon their houses where their ancestors lived for generations.

The Hindus of Kavita (Gujarat) ordered the untouchables not to send their children to the government school in the village, which required them to undergo terrible suffering.²⁵ In 1935 fetching water in metal pots by the scheduled castes women was taken as an affront to the dignity of the Hindus and hence the scheduled castes women²⁶ were often assaulted.

A scheduled caste member of Chakwara, after his return from pilgrimage, arranged a dinner to his fellow scheduled castes of the village as an act of religious obligation. He prepared sumptuous meals with some items in ghee. While the scheduled castes were engaged in partaking of the food, hundreds of Hindus armed with lathis, rushed to the scene, spoiled the food and belabored the scheduled castes who ran their lives. According to the Hindus, the scheduled castes host was impertinent enough to serve ghee and his scheduled castes guests were foolish enough to taste it.²⁷ The scheduled castes in a village in Rajasthan were harrassed and beaten, the crops were destroyed on their refusal to lift and flay the cattle carcasses.²⁸

The villagers in Saurashtra (in Gujarat) thought that the scheduled castes were the cause of a cattle disease in the village and went in a mob to assault them but latter were not present and hence the assault did not

25 Ibid., p.7.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., pp.7-8.

28 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1957-58 (seventh report), Part I, p.24.

materialise.²⁹

In September 1957 a series of riots and police firing took place in Ramanathpuram district of Tamilnadu, when 122 villages were affected and a number of houses of Pallans and Maravass (scheduled castes) were burnt by the caste Hindus.³⁰

In some places the scheduled castes are not allowed to use common paths, and village Benias do not supply their necessities.³¹ The scavenger was required to carry a broom in his hand or under his arm and was required to shout announcing his polluting presence.³²

The excessive untouchability in rural areas coincided with the lethargic attitude of the police in curbing this evil. The scheduled castes were not allowed to draw water from public wells constructed by State Water Board and they had no access to hotels and Dharmashalas.³³ The caste Hindus left 200 cattle to graze in the fields ready for harvest of the scheduled castes in a village in Hyderabad district of Andhra Pradesh.³⁴

29 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1957-58 (seventh report), Part I, p.23.

30 Ibid., p.25.

31 B.R. Ambedkar, States and Minorities (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1947), p.40.

32 G.S. Ghurye, Caste, Class and Occupation (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1961) p.11.

33 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1960-61, (tenth report) Part I, pp. 29-30.

34 Ibid., p.41.

Inspite of taking prior permission of the police patel and brothers of village Sarpanch for playing musical instrument at the wedding of a scheduled caste, as the Sarpanch was out of station, the Rajputs and Thakurs attacked the scheduled castes with lathis and dharias and a scheduled caste succumbed to the injuries in Sargasan village in Katol taluk of Mehasana district in Gujarat.³⁵

Though the Ganesha tank in Sikar district of Rajasthan was open for bath to the scheduled castes, yet over a thousand strong crowd gathered to prevent the scheduled castes from taking bath in the sacred tank.³⁶

Slavery and Untouchability

A person is an entity upon whom legal rights, powers and privileges are conferred, to whom liberties are given and duties are prescribed. Avarnas were not regarded as persons in the eyes of law. This practice continued till the rule of the British in India.

The Sudras were originally Kshatriyas. The Panchmas were also known as Hinas from the Buddhist countries which the Brahmins regarded as Mlechas or Hinas. Mlechas captured in war were made slaves.³⁷ Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras were regarded as Aryans. According to Kautilya the Aryans could in no case be allowed to remain slaves.³⁸ In case of a sale of a minor from the four Varnas, the person was fined 12 Pannas, in the case of Sudras it was twice, the thrice or even four times in the case of other Varnas. Even the witness was fined but it was not so in the case of Mlechas.

35 Ibid., pp.41-42

36 Ibid., pp.42

37 B.R. Ambedkar, Who Were the Sudras (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1946), pp.119-20.

38 J.S. Karandikar and B.R. Hivarangaonkar, Kautaleeya Arthashashtra, Part I, pp,20, 22, 52-53.

A young man, accompanied by several other labourers of whom one was a slave, crossed a lane where the young man's uncle was returning home after bathing. The uncle, on seeing the slave, shouted to make room for him. His request was not sufficiently, quickly complied with. So he struck out blindly and stabbed his own nephew, who died of the wounds inflicted.³⁹

Dr. Buchanan observes that the agrestic slaves were treated as too impure and were kept with labouring cattle in the pen limit at a distance from the house of their master.⁴⁰

A mere touch of a slave made it necessary for the Brahmin to purify himself by prayer, ablution and change of Brahminical thread. Likewise the Nayars were polluted and had to purify by 'Koolicha Obasvicha' (bathing and fasting). This evidence is sufficient to prove that slavery was imposed on the scheduled castes at least in South India.⁴¹ 'Pariahs' (scheduled castes) were regarded as agricultural slaves; according to Banaji the slaves, being impure, were regarded as untouchables. They were shunned and could not be approached and even could not be touched.⁴² The agrestic slaves were exclusively of the Hindus. They were slaves by birth whose fate doomed them to hereditary bondage.⁴³ They were regarded as impure and were compelled to live in huts away from other inhabitants. The rulers of Malabar insisted that a slave of a Pulayan, Walocrean or Brayan castes should remain at a

39 P.T. Borale, *op.cit.*, p.14.

40 *Ibid.*, p.14

41 *Ibid.*

42 D.R. Banaji, *Slavery in British India* (Bombay: Taraforwala and Sons, 1933), p.85.

43 *Ibid.*, pp.80-31.

distance of 72 paces from a Brahmin and Nayar and 40 paces from a Tean Babar.⁴⁴ In Calicut a Thiya caste belonging to the slave community was a servant of Sir James Home. He was ill and so his master sent him to his village in his palanquin, which was against the custom. As a result the already ill Thiya was severely beaten and the palanquin was badly damaged by the caste Hindus.⁴⁵ In Ram Kuar's case, C.J. Stuart defines a slave as "a creature without any rights or any status whatsoever, who is or may become the property of another as mere cattel". The owner had absolute power of disposal by way of sale, gift or otherwise and even of life or death over the slave, without being responsible to any legal authority.⁴⁶

The scheduled caste slaves like the Adi-Dravidas⁴⁷ in the south and Chamars in the north⁴⁸ were tied labourers. Several prohibitive laws governed them.⁴⁹ For example the scheduled castes' children were required to rear cattle of Mirasdars and had to work as slaves of the Mirasdars. At times the male slave would be paid 25 paise and the female one 12 paise daily for the work done from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. Whereas for similar work non-scheduled castes labourers were paid more than ten times these wages. They were prohibited from cultivating their lands and from irrigating them even if water was available. It was obligatory on their part to sell their lands to Mirasdars. They were compelled in Begar or Veth system

44 P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.13.

45 Ibid.

46 Ramkuaz, (1880) 2 All. 723,726, F.B; quoted in P.T. Borale, op.cit., p.14.

47 Mckim Marriott, Village India (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961), p.20.
See also J.H. Hutton, Caste in India (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.207, 221-22.

48 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the period of ending December 1951, pp.26 and 115.

49 J.H. Hutton, op.cit., p.206.

to render involuntary services without payment or for nominal payment; this was a common practice in several parts of India.⁵⁰ In a way the scheduled castes were a gold mine for the high caste Hindus as the Hindus forced the scheduled castes to work on a mere pittance and sometimes nothing at all.⁵¹ Due to lack of subsistence in spite of hard labour, castes like Madigas in Tamilnadu had to eat flesh of dead animals for survival.⁵² They were also forced to lift and flay the carcasses of dead cattle refusal for which in Rajasthan resulted (as we have noted) in harrasment of the unfortunate people and the destruction of their crops.⁵³

The Elayaperumal committee report of 1969 records the burning alive of a scheduled caste boy on 24 February 1962 in Kanchikacherla village in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh; the beheading of a scheduled caste of Sarasgaon, taluk Gandhinagar, Gujarat, for his insistence upon beating a drum on some festive occasion; the setting on fire of 25 houses of scheduled castes persons in Keelvenmani village in Tanjore district of Tamilnadu on 25 December 1968 and the parading of three scheduled castes women, after being stripping naked, through the Sirasgaon village in Aurangabad district in Maharashtra in the year 1966.

50 Durga Das Basu, Commentry on the Constitution of India (third edition, Vol.I; Calcutta: S.C. Sarkar, 1956), p.311.

51 B.R. Ambedkar, What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to Untouchables (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1945), p. 195

52 Report of the Criminal Tribe Act Enquiring Committee (1949-50), p.26.

53 Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1957-58 (seventh report), Part I, p.24.

The memorandum submitted to the United Nations by the scheduled castes persons assembled in the Adi-Andhra Conventicn at Hyderabad in December 1968 enlisted 21 atrocities perpetrated by caste Hindus on scheduled castes. One incident in the statement of Mr. Rajnarayan, member of parliament, should be recorded becuase of its unique, morbid character. On 29 July 1969 a police party led by in-charge of Bakewar police station (Uttar Pradesh) raided the house of Ramcharan, a poor scheduled caste man, took his wife and son to the house of the chairman of the town area of Lakhana, stripped them naked and the police forced mother to lie down on the floor and compelled the son to rape her.

Certain recent incidents are equally horrible. To cite but a few at random; The terrorising assaults on scheduled caste persons in Banda in January 1973; a repetition of the incident at Sirasgaon, Aurangabad district, at Brahmangan village in Parbhani district; the sacrifice of a Buddhist youth (ex-scheduled caste) to a local diety at Airangaon village in Nagpur district.

In general the atrocities on scheduled castes persons are as follow:

- 1 Locking up families in their homes and setting the houses on fire.
- 2 Burning alive these people individually or collectively.
- 3 Murdering on the ground of untouchability.
- 4 Sacrificing them in the name of Hindu deities.
- 5 Setting houses on fire.
- 6 Stripping women naked, beating them, violating their modesty, parading them naked in broad day light through the village and raping them.

- 7 Throwing excreta into their drinking water wells; polluting their wells by throwing into them filth, dead dogs, cats and bones of animals.
- 8 Belabouring and threatening them with death.
- 9 Destroying the standing crops in their fields.
- 10 Compelling them to perform duties laid down by the tradition which are against their interests.
- 11 Preventing them from exercising rights as a citizens and compelling them to refrain from exercising individual freedoms; denying them to access to eating houses, public drinking water wells; obstructing their marriage and other processions; denying them access to temples etc.

The various forms of untouchability in actual life conform to their prototypes enumerated in the code of Manu. Though the untouchability (offences) act 1955, de jure overrides the code of Manu, yet the Manu code is to this day the de facto law throughout the length and breadth of India.

Chapter IV

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Population

In India out of 43.9 crores population in 1961 SC were 6.4 crores forming 15 per cent of the total population. According to 1971 census of India out of total population of 54.8 crores, SC were 8.0 crores forming same 15 per cent of the total population. Among the regions in India, U P has the largest population of both SC and non-SC followed by West Bengal and Bihar.¹

The proportion of SC population to Hindu population is going down continuously at least for last seven decades. In 1901 untouchables totalled 5.32 crores and formed 27.4 per cent of Hindus, in 1951 they totalled 5.13 crores and forms 16.9 per cent of Hindu population in 1961 they totalled 6.45 crores and formed 14.69 per cent of total Hindu population. In 1971 they totalled 8 crores forming 17.6 per cent of Hindu population. This continuous decline in the proportion of SC is mainly due to their under reporting as mentioned in introductory chapter.

Population Density:

Densities per kilometer of both SC and non-SC are given in Tables 1 & 2 respectively, in order to eliminate the size effects of both population and geographical area of the state. Among the states in India densities per square kilometer of both SC and non-SC were the highest in Kerala followed by West Bengal and the lowest in Jammu and Kashmir both in 1961 and 1971 Census. Among the regions, excluding Delhi, and Chandigarh, density of SC was the

1. Statewise SC and non-SC population distribution with rural urban break down for 1961 and 1971 all given in Appendix 1 and 2.

highest in Pondicherry in 1961, and in West Bengal in 1971. The densities of SC and non-SC are highly correlated in 1961 and 1971. Densities of both SC and non-SC in rural and urban areas increased during 1961 and 1971, except decline of the density of SC in urban areas of Assam.

Regional Distribution of SC :

Table 3 shows that in 1961 and 1971 U P has the largest number of SC followed by West Bengal and Bihar. As a consequence their percentages are higher in these states in comparison with those of other states. Probably, in U P it is due to its largest geographical area. Their lower proportions in other states are either due to small conversion into other religions.

The lower proportions in Union Territories, J & K, and Assam are due mainly to their small geographical areas. While smaller proportions in Assam, Kerala, Maharashtra and Gujarat might be attributed to their conversions into other religions in the past.

Proportions of SC Population:

Table 4 shows that the SC in India formed 14.7 and 14.6 per cents to total populations in 1961 and 1971 respectively. Among the states, Tamilnadu, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, U P, Bengal and among the Union Territories, Delhi, H P, and Pondicherry have higher proportions of SC than all India averages both in 1961 and 1971.

SC form the largest 27.4 per cent in H P followed by 20.9 per cent in U P and 20.4 per cent in Punjab. In contrast, they form the lowest 5.6 per cent in Maharashtra followed by 6.2 per cent in Assam and 6.6 per cent in Gujarat in 1961. The higher proportions of SC in Sikh

religion besides Hindu religion. In Maharashtra and Gujarat their proportions are lower because census authority did report them as SC due to their conversion into Buddhism.

Generally, the proportions of SC are lower in South Indian States. This may also be attributed to their embracing Islam and Christianity in the past² for escaping from the cruel practice of untouchability.

Table 4 shows that the proportion of SC to total population are uniformly lower in urban areas than those in rural areas in all states and union territories. As a result the urbanisation of SC is lower than non-SC. Urbanisation is associated with development therefore lower urbanization of SC indicates their more backwardness.

Urbanisation :

Urbanisation of SC is uniformly lower than non-SC in all States except in Assam in 1961, and Orissa, Assam and Punjab in 1971. However, their urbanization is higher in Punjab (28.11%), in Gujarat (27.31%) and in Maharashtra (24.71%) in 1971, as compared to 11.6%, 24.4% and 21.8% respectively in 1961. It is worth pointing out that the urbanization of SC and non-SC in all regions have gone up in 1971 compared to that in 1961 but the increase in urbanization of SC is lower than that of non-SC in all regions.

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2. Dr J M Rickett's observations in his labourious study, Christian Movement in India, that four and half millions including nine lakh Telugu speaking of the depressed classes (Untouchables) in India became Christians, See Dr J M Rickett, Church Times London, October 16, 1936. Actual number of converted depressed classes is disputed. See M K Gandhi, Harijan, December 19, 1936. (Harold R Issec, Indian Ex-Untouchables. Bombay, (1965) p.77

Literacy:

, Literacy rates are very low for SC probably because they were prohibited from learning since aged. Even the castes in Sudra Varna³ which were above SC in Caste hierarchy were not allowed to take education. Therefore, the literacy rates of SC are not even half of non-SC. (Table 6)

The literacy rates of SC are uniformly lower than that of non-SC populations in all states and union territories except Dadra Nagar Haveli and Nagaland. This is a little improvement over some decades, position in early twentieth century. Another interesting finding is that the literacy rates are higher for SC in those states where the literacy rates for non-SC are higher.

↓ Educational Levels:

Table 7 and 8 reveal that the level of education of SC is generally limited around 1% in both rural and urban areas of all the states of India except around 2 per cent above matriculation education in Kerala, Maharashtra and Karnataka, that too in urban areas only. These states have relatively more facilities for education, as a spilt over effect SC also got education. In Kerala the educational facilities are so many as compared to many regions in India.

It is to be noted that the slightly higher proportions above matriculation SC in urban areas might be attributed to certain extent the migration of educated SC from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment. Moreover, they do not fit in the given socio-economic-political set up of rural areas.

3 a. Gantam Dharna Sutra, Chapter XX, verses 4-6

b. Vishnu Smriti, Chapter XVIII, verses 11-15

Table 7 and 8 show that the levels of literacy and education of the females is at the bottom-rock, while it is slightly higher in the case of males in both rural and urban areas of all the states and union territories of India.

Table 7 indicates that large number of educated persons above metric pursued non-technical university education, as a consequence, not even one in a thousand is qualified in technical field.⁴ Clearing poverty of SC, lack of encouraging atmosphere and ignorance in and around home prevents them from availing of the costly and long duration technical education. Large scale output of non-technical persons and lack of demand for their services worsened the condition of these educated people. Particularly SC neither wish to take up their hereditary menial professions nor can get good jobs.

In most of the states SC neither possess property, agricultural land nor trained in skilled professions, nor were allowed to do so by the social structure, and with the result they had to pursue menial jobs. For changing the lot of SC in the absence of other alternatives, education is the cheapest and less hazardous way.

SC were denied the right to education and property by Hindu religious precepts that forced them into the inescapable vicious circle of poverty, serfdom, if not slavery, and exploitation in every respect. Whosoever raised their voice against this system were put down ruthlessly by the society which was made to believe in the divinity of its system by the religious scriptures.⁵

4 Census of India 1961, Vol. 1 part V-A(i) Special Tables for Scheduled Castes, pp.326-363.

5 Manu Smriti, Chapter I, Verse 31.

Breakening or weakening or critising the system by physical or verbal action or communication by means such as drama or audio visual media is never tolerated even today by the caste Hindus. Those who ventured to question this inhuman custom were subjected to social boycott and village lookout.⁶ In Maharashtra, majority of SC who threw the yoke of socio-economic slavery were not only denied facilities of shopping, public amenities, but were denied jobs and were forced to see.⁷

Working force:

Table 9 shows that the proportions of workingforce in SC population are higher than those of non-SC population, in both rural and urban areas in India. This is probably because the Scheduled Castes have no alternative but to work for their living. But many of the non-Scheduled castes have property, agricultural lands.

Table 9 shows that the participation rates of the non-SC in working force are higher in rural areas of the states and union territories as compared to those of urban areas in the respective regions. Similar are the observations for SC in all regions except in Maharashtra, West Bengal and Manipur. Higher participation rates of SC in urban areas in Maharashtra and West Bengal are probably due to the location of large industrial cities like Bombay-Poona and Calcutta which attracted large number of SC from rural areas in search of employment. Large scale migration of SC rural to urban was mainly due to the abollition of Jajmani/Gavaki system and the system of attached agricultural labour to the farm and non-availability of alternative

6 T Scarlett Epstein, op.cit. p.38

7 Shankerro Kharat, Asprashanacha Mukti Sangrasa (in Marathi language) Lokhande Prakashan, Poona (1966)

employment in rural areas. Mostly SC were attached agricultural labour. After Independence and acceptance of universal adult franchise the problems of SC was voiced in one form or the other by the politicians, philosophers and administrators.

The participation rate in working force on non-SC is less than 50 per cent in all regions, except in A P, M P, H P, Dadra/Dagar Haveli, Nagaland, L M A Islands, WEFA and Sikkim. While the participation rates of the SC are higher than non-SC in all regions.

It is observed uniformly that the participation rates in working force of the non-SC and SC are less than 50 per cent in urban areas of all the regions of India, except in Manipur. However, in rural areas, non-SC participation rates are higher than 50 per cent in A P, M P, Rajasthan, H P, D N H, Nagaland, A N Islands, L M A Islands, WEFA and Sikkim. Similarly, they are so for SC of Andhra Pradesh, M P, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Rajasthan, H P, D Nagar Haveli, Pondicherry and Nagaland.

In general it appears that wherever the non-SC participation rates are higher there SC participation rates are also higher.

The participation rates of SC in both rural and urban areas of all regions are higher than those of non-SC except in J & K, Maharashtra, and Punjab. Probably this may be due to migration of SC working population from rural areas to urban areas by leaving behind old, disabled and children population in rural areas.

Higher participation rates particularly of SC might be due to their low paid employment in menial jobs where

no skill or minimum skill is required. The religious restrictions and social prohibitions imposed on SC lead to their economic exploitation and social oppression. Therefore, in order to maintain the family most of the family members irrespective of their ages have to work at minimum wages for survival. Moreover, they were deprived of learning and training and were prohibited since time immemorial from joining lucrative jobs.

Table. 1 : Population Density (Per.Sq.Km.) Statewise, 1961

Sl. No.	Region	Population			SC			Non-SC		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
	India	140	116	2074	20	18	180	119	97	1893
1	A.P.	132	111	1695	18	16	149	114	95	1546
2	Assam	98	91	3075	6	5	204	92	85	2370
3	Bihar	272	251	1938	38	36	173	233	215	1765
4	Gujarat	113	85	2833	7	6	217	105	79	2655
5	J & K	26	21	1964	2	2	69	24	20	1895
6	Kerala	440	385	2309	38	35	110	403	350	2199
7	M.P.	75	64	2511	10	9	247	65	55	2263
8	Tamilnadu	265	200	1742	47	42	179	215	159	1563
9	Maharashtra	130	96	1714	7	6	75	123	90	1639
10	Karnataka	125	98	1738	16	14	168	108	84	1570
11	Orissa	114	107	1092	18	17	124	96	90	968
12	Punjab	168	135	3697	34	30	434	134	105	3263
13	Rajasthan	60	51	605	10	9	76	50	42	520
14	U.P.	253	222	3870	53	50	436	200	173	3434
15	W. Bengal	399	307	5070	79	72	400	320	235	4671
16	Andaman & Nicobar Island	8	6	1833	--	--	--	8	6	1833
17	Delhi	1813	269	7314	235	61	844	1580	201	6471
18	H. Pradesh	49	47	1086	14	13	206	36	34	880
19	L M A	856	856	--	--	--	--	856	856	--
20	Manipur	35	32	3779	1	1	9	35	32	3770
21	Tripura	108	99	2514	11	11	165	97	89	2350
22	D N Haveli	118	118	--	2	2	--	116	116	--
23	Goa & D. D.	171	145	4915	--	--	--	171	145	4915
24	Pondicherry	796	636	3863	123	121	161	674	515	3702
25	Nagaland	23	21	748	--	--	4	23	21	745
26	Sikkim	23	21	669	--	--	--	23	21	669

Basis: Census of India 1961, series I - Part II-A(ii) Union Primary Census Abstracts

Table. 2 : Statewise Population Density (in Sq.Km.) 1971

Sl. No.	State	Total Population			SC			Non-SC		
		Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
	India	167	139	2502	24	22	219	143	117	2285
1	Andhra Pradesh	157	123	2359	21	19	192	136	109	2157
2	Assam	150	137	2907	9	8	188	141	129	2719
3	Bihar	324	295	2031	46	43	185	278	253	1846
4	Gujarat	136	100	1624	9	7	108	127	95	1516
5	Haryana	227	189	3924	43	39	457	184	150	3487
6	H. Pradesh	62	58	1554	14	13	228	48	45	1326
7	J & K	21	17	2182	2	2	80	19	15	2102
8	Kerala	549	477	2584	46	43	128	504	434	2456
9	Madhya Pradesh	94	79	2376	12	11	240	82	68	2137
10	Maharashtra	164	115	2554	10	8	121	154	107	2433
11	Manipur	48	42	3083	1	1	13	47	41	3070
12	Meghalaya	45	4	3853	--	--	58	449	4	3795
13	Karnataka	153	118	2272	20	17	206	113	101	2065
14	Nagaland	31	28	1230	--	--	--	31	28	1230
15	Orissa	141	130	1113	21	20	125	120	110	988
16	Punjab	269	208	4648	65	57	711	203	151	3937
17	Rajasthan	75	62	1193	12	10	154	63	52	1044
18	Tamilnadu	317	231	2115	56	49	215	261	182	1900
19	Tripura	149	134	3875	18	18	213	130	116	3632
20	Utta Pradesh	300	260	4355	63	59	493	237	202	3862
21	West Bengal	504	388	5624	100	94	371	404	294	5254
22	A & N Islands	14	11	3277	--	--	--	14	11	3277
23	Chandigarh	2257	431	4044	255	93	413	2002	330	3531
24	D H Haveli	151	151	--	3	3	--	148	148	--
25	Delhi	2738	403	8172	428	101	1189	2310	302	6983
26	Goa, D & D	225	172	1653	4	3	42	221	169	1611
27	L M A	994	994	--	--	--	--	994	994	--
28	Pondicherry	983	660	3425	152	136	264	831	523	3160

Basis: Census of India, 1971, Series 1, India, Part 11-A (ii) Union Primary Census Abstracts.

Table. 3 : Percentages of SC in each region to total
SC in India, 1961 & 1971

State	1961	1971
India	100.00	100.00
1 Andhra Pradesh	7.72	7.22
2 Assam	1.14	1.14
3 Bihar	10.10	9.94
4 Gujarat	2.12	2.28
5 Jammu and Kashmir	0.44	0.48
6 Kerala	2.23	2.22
7 Madhya Pradesh	6.60	6.82
8 Tamilnadu	9.42	9.14
9 Maharashtra	3.46	3.78
10 Karnataka	4.54	4.81
11 Orissa	4.29	0.41
12 Punjab	6.42	4.19
13 Rajasthan	5.25	5.09
14 Uttar Pradesh	23.91	23.19
15 West Bengal	10.70	11.02
16 Delhi	0.53	0.79
17 Himachal Pradesh	0.57	0.96
18 Manipur	0.02	0.02
19 Tripura	0.19	0.24
20 Dadra and Nagar Haveli	N	N
21 Goa, Diu and Daman	-	0.02
22 Pondicherry	0.09	0.09
23 Nagaland	N	N
24 Arunachal Pradesh	-	N
25 Chandigarh	-	0.04
26 Hariyana	-	2.37
27 Meghalaya	-	N

N = Negligible.

Basis : (1) Census of India 1961, Vol.1, Part V-4(i)
Special Tables for scheduled castes.
pp.XI-VII.

(2) Census of India 1971, Series I India Paper I
of 1972, Final population Table, pp.3, 4.

Table. 4 : Statewise Percentages of SC 1961 & 1971

States	1961 Scheduled Castes			1971		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
India	14.7	16.0	8.7	14.6	16.1	8.8
1 A.P.	13.8	14.9	8.8	13.3	14.5	8.1
2 Assam	6.2	6.1	6.5	6.5	6.1	6.5
3 Bihar	14.0	14.5	8.9	14.1	14.7	9.1
4 Gujarat	6.6	7.7	6.3	6.8	6.1	6.6
5 J & K	8.0	8.9	3.5	8.2	9.3	3.7
6 Kerala	8.5	9.1	4.8	8.3	8.9	4.9
7 M.P.	13.1	13.7	9.8	13.1	13.7	10.1
8 Tamilnadu	18.0	20.8	10.3	17.8	21.1	10.1
9 Maharashtra	5.6	6.1	4.35	6.6	6.6	4.7
10 Karnataka	13.2	14.2	9.7	13.1	14.4	9.1
11 Orissa	15.7	16.0	11.4	15.1	15.4	11.2
12 Punjab	20.4	22.6	11.7	24.7	27.6	15.3
13 Rajasthan	16.7	17.5	12.6	15.8	16.5	12.8
14 U.P.	20.9	22.3	11.3	21.0	22.6	11.3
15 W.Bengal	19.7	23.3	7.9	19.9	24.3	6.6
16 Delhi	12.9	23.2	11.5	15.6	25.1	14.5
17 Himachal P.	27.4	27.8	19.0	22.2	22.8	14.7
18 Manipur	1.7	1.9	0.2	1.5	1.7	0.4
19 Tripura	10.5	10.9	6.5	12.4	13.1	6.3
20 D N Haveli	1.7	1.7	--	1.8	1.8	--
21 Goa, D & D	--	--	--	1.9	1.7	2.5
22 Pondichery	15.4	19.0	4.2	15.5	21.1	7.7
23 N E F A	--	--	--	--	--	--
24 Nagaland	N	N	0.5	--	--	--
25 Arunachal Pradesh	--	--	--	0.1	0.1	--
26 Chandigarh	--	--	--	11.3	21.7	10.2
27 Haryana	--	--	--	18.9	20.5	11.1
28 Meghalaya	--	--	--	0.4	0.2	1.5

N = Negligible

Basis : 1) Census of India, 1961, Vol.I, India, Part V-A(i), Special Tables for Scheduled Castes, pp.XIVI XIVII.

2) Census of India, 1971, Series I, India, Paper 1 of 1972, Final Population Table, pp. 3-4.

Table. 5 : Urbanization of SC in 1961 and 1971

State	1961		1971	
	S C	Non-SC	S C	Non-SC
India	10.7		11.9	21.1
1 Andhra Pradesh	11.1	19.2	11.8	20.5
2 Assam	8.3	7.65	9.4	8.8
3 Bihar	5.4	8.9	6.5	10.6
4 Gujarat	24.4	25.9	27.2	28.1
5 Jammu & Kashmir	7.4	17.5	0.8	19.5
6 Kerala	8.5	15.7	9.7	18.8
7 Madhya Pradesh	10.7	14.8	12.55	16.8
8 Tamilnadu	15.3	29.2	17.3	33.0
9 Maharashtra	21.8	28.6	24.7	31.6
10 Karnataka	16.3	23.2	16.8	25.4
11 Orissa	4.6	6.6	15.1	8.8
12 Punjab	--	--	28.1	26.7
13 Rajasthan	12.3	17.1	14.2	18.3
14 Uttar Pradesh	6.9	14.4	7.6	15.7
15 West Bengal	9.8	28.1	8.2	28.9
16 Delhi	79.7	--	83.5	90.8
17 Himachal Pradesh	3.3	5.3	4.6	7.7
18 Manipur	1.2	8.8	3.5	13.3
19 Tripura	5.6	9.4	5.3	11.2
20 Pondichery	6.6	--	--	--
21 Nagaland	75.4	5.2	--	--
22 Arunachal Pradesh	--	--	1.2	3.7
23 Chandigarh	--	--	81.9	91.7
24 Haryana	--	--	10.4	19.3
25 Meghalaya	--	--	57.0	14.4

Non-SC = Total Population - SC Population.

Basis : i) Census of India, 1961, Vol.I, India 1961, Part II-A.

ii) Union Primary Census Abstracts, 1961.

iii) Census of India 1961, Vol.I, Part V-A(i) Special Tables for Scheduled Castes, pp.XL. VI-XLVII (iii) Census of India 1971, Series I India, Paper I of 1972, Final Population, 1972 pp.3-4.

Table. 6 : Literary rates among SC, 1961

States	Non- SC	Scheduled Castes		
		Total	Rural	Urban
India	26.4	10.3	8.9	21.3
1 Andhra Pradesh	23.2	8.5	6.8	21.7
2 Assam	27.5	24.4	23.5	34.2
3 Bihar	20.4	6.0	5.4	15.1
4 Gujarat	31.0	22.5	19.8	30.8
5 Jammu & Kashmir	11.5	4.7	4.2	10.8
6 Kerala	48.9	24.4	23.4	35.9
7 Madhya Pradesh	18.5	7.9	6.5	19.6
8 Tamilnadu	35.1	14.7	12.5	26.3
9 Maharashtra	30.5	15.8	12.5	28.8
10 Karnataka	27.9	9.1	6.6	21.4
11 Orissa	23.5	11.6	11.3	17.2
12 Punjab	28.0	9.6	8.9	15.4
13 Rajasthan	17.0	6.4	5.2	14.9
14 Uttar Pradesh	20.4	7.1	6.3	19.0
15 West Bengal	33.1	13.6	12.7	21.2
16 Delhi	57.4	20.9	14.5	22.5
17 Himachal Pradesh	20.4	8.5	7.8	27.9
18 Manipur	30.6	22.4	22.2	35.7
19 Tripura	21.4	13.4	12.8	23.7
20 D N Haveli	9.2	25.6	25.6	--
21 Pondichery	42.2	11.1	10.6	17.8
22 Nagaland	17.9	25.4	35.5	22.1

Basis : Census of India 1961, Vol.I, Part V-A(i),
Special Tables for Scheduled Castes,
pp. 326-392.

Table. 7: Statewise Percentages of SC by levels of education in Rural-India, 1961

State/Territory	Illiterate		Literate (with- out educational levels		Educational levels			
					Primary or Junior basis		Matriculation and above	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
India	84.9	97.5	11.3	2.0	3.5	0.5	0.3	N
1 Andhra Pradesh	88.9	97.5	7.8	12.7	3.0	0.7	0.2	N
2 Assam	69.1	84.7	23.5	11.9	6.9	3.3	0.0	N
3 Bihar	89.7	99.2	8.5	0.7	1.7	0.1	0.1	N
4 Gujarat	69.9	90.7	13.4	4.2	16.5	5.2	0.3	N
5 Jammu & Kashmir	92.8	99.1	5.8	0.7	1.2	0.1	0.2	N
6 Kerala	69.6	83.6	23.2	12.9	6.4	3.3	0.3	N
7 Madhya Pradesh	88.0	99.1	9.7	0.72	2.3	0.1	0.1	N
8 Tamilnadu	79.1	95.8	17.2	3.6	3.3	0.6	0.3	N
9 Maharashtra	79.4	96.5	13.0	2.7	7.3	0.8	0.2	N
10 Karnataka	88.6	90.3	10.1	1.5	1.1	0.1	0.2	N
11 Orissa	80.5	96.8	17.6	0.0	1.8	0.2	0.1	N
12 Punjab	84.9	98.2	8.2	1.3	6.1	0.5	0.3	N
13 Rajasthan	90.2	99.6	8.8	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.1	N
14 Uttar Pradesh	88.4	99.3	8.6	0.6	2.6	0.1	0.4	N
15 West Bengal	79.0	96.2	15.0	3.0	5.5	0.8	0.5	N
16 Delhi	75.0	97.6	17.2	2.0	6.6	0.3	1.2	0.1
17 Himachal Pradesh	85.3	98.5	9.6	1.2	3.8	0.3	0.2	N
18 Manipur	68.4	87.7	26.1	10.7	5.3	1.6	0.3	N
19 Tripura	78.7	96.3	15.3	22.8	5.6	0.9	0.3	N
20 D N Haveli	64.1	79.9	30.9	19.5	4.5	0.5	0.5	N
21 Pondicherry	82.75	96.1	13.3	3.0	3.7	0.3	0.2	N
22 Nagaland	65.4	60.0	26.9	40.0	3.8	-	3.8	N

N = Negligible

Note : Educational levels above matriculation, like urban areas, are not available for rural areas.

Basis : Census of India 1961, Vol.5, Part-V-A(i) Special Tables for Scheduled Castes, pp. 357-390

Table. 8 : Percentages of SC by Levels of Education in Urban-India, 1961

States	Illiterate		Literate without educational levels		Primary or Junior Basis		Metric or Higher Secondary		Technical and above metric	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
India	67.8	90.0	20.6	6.7	9.8	3.1	1.6	0.2	0.2	N
1 Andhra Pradesh	67.5	89.4	18.0	6.2	12.5	4.1	2.0	0.3	0.2	N
2 Assam	59.3	74.2	26.6	18.8	11.9	6.7	1.6	0.5	0.4	-
3 Bihar	75.0	95.9	18.6	3.3	5.0	0.7	1.3	0.1	0.1	N
4 Gujarat	55.1	84.8	16.0	5.6	27.3	9.5	1.4	0.1	0.2	-
5 Jammu & Kashmir	83.0	96.2	12.5	3.2	3.1	0.5	1.4	0.0	0.3	-
6 Kerala	55.7	72.5	30.5	19.1	11.3	7.4	2.0	0.9	0.4	N
7 Madhya Pradesh	67.3	94.7	26.3	4.6	5.6	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.1	-
8 Tamilnadu	61.7	85.0	23.6	8.6	12.9	5.0	1.7	0.3	0.1	N
9 Maharashtra	57.8	85.1	20.2	8.2	19.6	5.3	2.0	0.2	0.2	0.1
10 Karnataka	67.8	90.0	22.5	7.4	7.2	2.3	2.3	0.3	0.2	N
11 Orissa	74.1	92.1	22.0	7.1	3.2	0.7	0.5	0.0	N	N
12 Punjab	75.8	95.1	12.4	3.0	10.0	1.8	1.7	0.1	0.1	N
13 Rajasthan	74.8	96.4	22.2	3.3	2.2	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.1	N
14 Uttar Pradesh	71.5	92.3	19.7	5.8	6.6	1.5	1.9	0.3	0.3	0.1
15 West Bengal	71.7	87.2	19.5	9.4	7.4	3.3	1.0	0.2	0.3	N
16 Delhi	66.1	92.0	14.2	6.5	6.7	1.1	2.0	0.1	0.5	0.1
17 Himachal Pradesh	62.0	84.3	21.5	10.3	13.8	5.1	2.5	0.3	0.4	N
18 Manipur	43.5	98.2	41.6	0.8	5.9	-	6.9	1.1	0.1	-
19 Tripura	65.2	88.8	20.7	6.6	12.2	4.4	1.5	0.1	0.1	N
20 Pondichery	76.5	88.0	14.2	5.5	7.8	5.7	1.5	0.8	-	-
21 Nagaland	74.1	82.9	20.4	17.1	5.6	-	-	-	-	-

N = Negligible

Basis : Census of India 1961, Vol.I, Part V-4(i) special Tables for Scheduled Castes pp. 326-353.

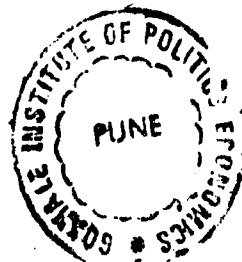
Table. 9 : Statewise Percentages of workers in India, 1961

State	Non Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Caste		
	T	R	U	T	R	U
India	42.3	44.5	33.0	47.1	48.1	38.1
1 A.P.	50.3	53.8	35.1	61.6	53.5	45.7
2 Assam	43.4	43.9	36.9	41.8	42.1	38.5
3 Bihar	40.2	40.9	32.5	49.0	49.5	40.0
4 Gujarat	41.0	44.9	29.5	42.5	45.6	33.1
5 J & K	42.9	45.7	30.1	41.1	41.8	32.2
6 Kerala	32.0	32.5	29.0	47.8	48.4	41.2
7 M.P.	51.7	54.7	34.2	55.3	58.0	41.7
8 Tamilnadu	43.9	48.1	33.6	53.3	55.4	41.7
9 Maharashtra	47.7	52.3	36.4	50.8	34.7	36.9
10 Karnataka	44.5	47.8	33.5	51.9	54.4	39.4
11 Orissa	45.1	43.6	35.7	46.5	46.6	44.2
12 Punjab	34.9	36.4	29.9	35.1	35.4	32.6
13 Rajasthan	47.1	50.8	29.4	49.6	51.6	35.6
14 U.P.	37.8	39.0	30.4	44.3	45.0	35.1
15 W. Bengal	32.9	32.3	34.5	34.1	53.8	36.6
16 Delhi	31.8	35.3	31.4	34.5	38.2	33.5
17 H. Pradesh	58.3	60.0	36.8	61.8	62.4	41.5
18 Manipur	45.8	46.3	40.7	49.8	49.7	55.0
19 Tripura	38.6	39.8	26.9	35.3	35.4	34.6
20 D N Haveli	50.2	60.2	---	51.7	51.7	---
21 Pondicherry	34.4	36.6	28.6	54.4	54.7	50.2
22 Nagaland	59.4	60.7	35.7	47.6	71.0	40.0
23 A N Islands	49.1	50.6	43.9	---	---	---
24 L A M	51.6	51.6	---	---	---	---
25 Goa, D & D	41.2	42.5	34.3	---	---	---
26 N E F A	96.3	96.3	---	---	---	---
27 Sikkim	64.1	65.2	39.8	---	---	---

T = Total

R = Rural

U = Urban



Chapter V

MANPOWER UTILIZATION

Introduction:

Existence of natural resources by itself does not help the region to develop, unless they are exploited for development. In turn it depends on the existence and utilization of skilled manpower. Therefore, quantity and quality of the available manpower and its effective utilization are more important for the socio-economic development. The extent of manpower utilization depends on the quality of manpower and its requirement in the given natural endowment and industrial complex. Industrial manpower complex can be represented by the industrial employment classified into broad ten categories as given below by the census of India 1961.

- I As Cultivators
- II As Agricultural labourers
- III In mining, quarrying, live stock keeping, Plantation, archyard, fishing, hunting etc.
- IV In household industries
- V In manufacturing industry
- VI In construction
- VII In trade and commerce
- VIII In transport, storage and communication
- IX In other services
- X Non workers

Industrial Classification of workers:

Table 1 shows that in most of the states and union territories of India, around one-fourth of the non-SC engaged as cultivators, except in Kerala and West Bengal. While, Table 2 shows that the proportion of SC cultivators to total SC are much less as compared to those of non-SC cultivators

to non-SC in corresponding states and Union Territories. This is precisely because SC do not own lands in many states like non-SC. This is further supported by the fact that the proportions of SC agricultural labourers and in mining, quarrying, livestock, plantation, hunting, fishing, etc., are more than those of non-SC in all states.

Similarly, SC proportions in construction activities is more than those of non-SC in many states, probably because SC join these activities where only manual labour is required. Further, it may be noted that SC proportions in other services to their populations in various states are more than those of non-SC except in A P, West Bengal, H P and Manipur.

It is observed that in rural areas of the states in India the proportions of non-SC as cultivators, in manufacturing and transportation which are also comparatively better paid and better respected jobs, are more than those of SC in corresponding areas. Opposite is the case with respect to the proportions in the low paid activities, such as agricultural labourers, in mining, quarrying, livestock keeping, hunting, fishing, plantations, orchard keeping, construction and in services (Tables 3 and 4.)

Similarly, Tables 5 and 6 show that in urban areas the proportions of non-SC to total non-SC in lucrative activities like manufacturing, construction, trade and commerce, transportation, storage and communication and cultivation are more than those of SC. Contrary is the case with respect to agricultural labourers, in mining, quarrying, livestock-keeping, fishing, hunting etc., are other services.

By and large both in rural and urban areas of most

of the regions in India SC are engaged mainly in low paid activities as compared to non-SC. SC who are enumerated by the census as workers in relatively high paid activities like manufacturing, trade and commerce, services, transport, storage and communication etc., might be working as scavengers, sweepers, attendants, etc. It is generally observed that the low paid positions even in highly paid activities are assigned to SC. Therefore, merely enumeration of SC in census in manufacturing industries by itself does not give insight into their actual level of living. In brief, the occupational positions of SC are much lower as compared to those of non-SC in both rural and urban areas of the regions in India.

Tables 7 and 8 show that a large number of SC and non-SC are in U P. Therefore, similar are the observations regarding their workers in industrial categories except larger proportions in mining, quarrying, livestock keeping, etc., manufacturing, trade and commerce in West Bengal.

The largest proportion of non-SC as cultivators in construction, transport, storage and communication are in Maharashtra; agricultural labourers and in household industry in A P; in mining, quarrying etc., in Bihar; in manufacturing, trade and commerce in U P.

More or less similar are the observations in case of industrial classifications in rural areas of the states in India. (Tables 9 and 10.) However, there are variations in the structure and composition of industrial classifications of SC and non-SC in urban areas as compared to those in rural areas (Tables 11 and 12.)

Regional Industrial Specialisation:

The distribution of manpower is influenced by industrial

activities and vice-versa. However, such distributional pattern does not reveal the relative weightage of an activity among the regions. It is also probable that in a region with large population might possess large number of workers in an industry than a region with less population. And yet specialization of later region in an industry cannot be ruled out. Therefore, here an attempt is made, with the help of the following methods, to identify the regionwise industrial concentration/specialization.

Method

- a_{ij} = Employment in i th industry of j th region;
 j_i = Total industrial employment in j th region;
 I_i = Total employment in i th industry in all regions;
 T = Total employment in all industries of all regions;
 S_{ij} = Specialization quotient for i th industry in j th region.

Where;

$$b_{ij} = \frac{a_{ij}}{j_i}$$

$$b_i = \frac{T_i}{T}$$

$$S_{ij} = \frac{b_{ij}}{b_i}$$

This method of computing region-wise industrial specialization does not give undue weightage to the size of manpower in an industry in a region concerned. As a consequence, even a smaller spatial unit might show specialization across industries and across regions.

If an activity is concentrated in a region then the S_{ij} will be more than one otherwise less than one. It is observed that S_{ij} values are not more than one in all activities in a particular region indicating that no par-

ticular region can specialise in all activities. Probably, because some activities are competitive within a region. For example, Table 7.13 shows that West Bengal has specialized in manufacturing, trade and commerce, transportation and in mining, quarrying, plantation, etc. Contrary are the observations in the case of activities like agriculture, household industries and construction.

Sij values for Assam, Bihar, J & K, U P, Tripura, Nagaland, NEFA and Sikkim are less than one in non-agricultural activities indicating their relatively less industrialization. While other regions in India have specialized at least in one non-agricultural activity. Even among the non-agricultural activities, lack of specialization in manufacturing and specialization in agricultural and tertiary activities as in M P, Punjab and Dadra Nagar Haveli are indicative of their better positions than those of above mentioned regions.

Regions like A P, Gujarat, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Orissa, Rajasthan, Bengal, Delhi, H P, Manipur, Pondicherry, L M A and Goa, Daman and Diu appear to be better off than the rest of the states on account of their specialization in some of the industrial and tertiary activities.

Industrial specialization does not spread to entire region many times confines to certain industrial pockets only as observed in Bombay-Poona belt in Maharashtra, Calcutta in West Bengal, Madras in Tamilnadu, etc., and their underdeveloped rural counter parts. Therefore, in tables 14 and 15 the specialization of activities in rural and urban areas are computed and presented separately.

According to Table 14 the rural Delhi shows the highest specialization of manufacturing activities in

rural India mainly because of the impact of urbanization of Delhi region. Next rural regions in descending order of the specialization in manufacturing activities are Pondicherry, Kerala, Goa, Diu, Daman, L M Islands, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu, while, in urban areas as shown in table 15 only Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal are specialized in manufacturing activities. The specialization in manufacturing activities in Maharashtra is only in urban areas as a consequence, rural areas are backward in contrast with urban areas within the state.

From Table ? it may be pointed out that the mining, quarrying, plantation etc., activities have the largest concentration in rural areas of Assam, followed by Dadra Nagar Haveli and Kerala. While Table 21 shows that in urban areas some activities form the largest concentration in Andaman Nicobar, followed by M P and Bihar. For details of specialization of activities across regions may be seen in tables 20 and 21.

Specialization of SC and non-SC:

In order to know the relative industrial specialization of SC within themselves and non-SC within themselves across industries and regions are computed and presented in Tables 16, 18, 20 for non-SC and Tables 17, 19 and 21 for SC.

In Delhi non-SC are specialized in manufacturing, trade and commerce, services and trade and commerce activities. Surprisingly, SC show higher concentration than non-SC in manufacturing, construction, trade and commerce in transport, storage and communication and in services (Tables 16 and 17).

Table 16 shows that the non-SC are concentrated as cultivators in half of the regions in India while SC are

concentrated as agricultural labourers in 10 regions. Moreover, except in five regions the concentration of non-SC cultivators is absent where non-SC agricultural labourers are concentrated. This is possibly in the regions where land is fairly distributed and holdings are small facilitating self cultivation rather than employing agricultural labourers, resulting in high concentration of cultivators and low concentration agricultural labourers. On the contrary, Table 12 shows that the concentration of SC cultivators is exclusive of SC agricultural labourers. This may be attributed to the fact that in the regions where SC own lands concentrated as cultivators and in the absence of it they are concentrated as agricultural labourers.

It is interesting to observe that the concentration of SC in mining, quarrying, livestock keeping, etc., are found in those regions where non-SC are also concentrated in those activities. This is because of the location of mines in the concerned regions.

Concentration in household and manufacturing industries are exclusive, in most of the regions except in Tamil Nadu and Kerala in case of non-SC and in Kerala, Maharashtra and Punjab in case of SC.

Specializations in construction, trade and commerce and transport activities are mutually associated due to their complementary nature.

Tables 16 and 17 show that in A P both SC and non-SC are concentrated as agricultural labourers, in mining, quarrying, construction, trade and commerce. Similarly, in Karnataka both SC and non-SC are concentrated as cultivators, in mining, quarrying etc., while in the same

state SC are concentrated in manufacturing and non-SC as agricultural labourers, in household industries and in other services.

Tables 18 and 20 show that the non-SC have specialized in agricultural activities in rural areas of many regions as compared to those of SC. In rural Karnataka, SC and non-SC have specialized as agricultural labourers, in mining, in fishing, plantation etc., while SC are concentrated in construction and non-SC as cultivators and in household industries.

Rural SC in Assam have mostly concentration in trade and commerce across regions and next to Delhi in construction. Similarly, rural non-SC are highly concentrated in construction activities in A N Islands followed by household activities in L M A Islands. Among the rural areas of the states, non-SC have the largest concentration in manufacturing industries in Kerala. While rural SC have the largest concentration in trade and commerce in Assam. Non-Agricultural activities like household and manufacturing industries, trade, commerce, transport, storage and communications and services are by and large urban based activities. It is interesting to observe from Tables 20 and 21 that the urban non-SC are concentrated in manufacturing industries in J & K, Maharashtra and in W Bengal and SC in Assam, Gujarat, M P, Maharashtra, U P, W Bengal, Delhi and Tripura.

Urban non-SC in Manipur have the highest concentration coefficient in household industry among urban SC and non-SC across regions. On the contrary the lowest concentration coefficient across industries and regions is observed for urban SC in Assam.

Higher Specialization:

Region with specialization co-efficient above in an industry are treated as highly specialized as given in Table 22. Both SC and non-SC in Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, U P, Nagaland and NEFA do not have higher specialization even in an industry.

Both SC and non-SC have many higher specialization co-efficients in urban areas than their counterpart rural areas revealing disparities of developments among rural and urban regions. Similarly, there are many specialization co-efficients on better paid industries for non-SC unlike SC indicating wide inequalities of opportunities to SC for development.

Table. 1 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of non-SC of India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I- IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	India	42.25	23.5	5.6	1.2	2.7	1.9	0.5	1.9	0.7	4.2	57.7
2	A.P.	50.31	21.9	11.5	1.6	1.4	5.2	0.6	2.5	0.7	4.9	49.7
3	Assam	43.4	23.2	1.6	4.4	2.3	0.8	0.3	1.5	0.6	3.6	56.6
4	Bihar	40.2	24.0	6.6	1.3	2.3	0.9	0.2	1.2	0.5	2.9	59.8
5	Gujarat	41.0	22.7	5.6	0.5	2.5	2.5	0.4	2.1	0.8	3.8	59.0
6	J & K	42.9	32.4	0.5	0.7	2.8	1.0	0.2	1.0	0.4	3.9	57.1
7	Kerala	32.0	7.4	4.3	2.6	2.9	3.2	0.4	2.1	0.9	8.1	68.0
8	M. Pradesh	51.7	33.6	7.1	1.5	2.2	1.0	0.5	1.4	0.5	3.2	48.3
9	Tamilnadu	43.9	19.9	5.4	1.2	4.0	2.8	0.7	2.6	0.8	6.4	36.1
10	Maharashtra	47.7	22.8	10.6	1.0	1.9	3.3	0.6	2.3	1.1	4.0	52.3
11	Mysore	44.5	24.8	6.3	1.3	3.0	1.8	0.7	1.8	0.5	4.1	55.5
12	Orissa	43.1	26.2	6.5	0.7	2.7	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.3	5.1	56.9
13	Punjab	34.9	22.4	0.9	0.2	2.0	1.8	0.7	2.3	0.7	3.8	65.1
14	Rajasthan	47.1	35.8	1.3	0.8	0.8	2.6	0.4	1.6	0.6	3.1	52.9
15	U. Pradesh	37.8	25.7	2.4	0.2	2.5	1.1	0.3	1.7	0.6	3.2	62.2
16	W. Bengal	32.9	12.5	4.0	1.5	1.4	4.2	0.7	2.8	1.3	4.7	67.1
17	Delhi	31.8	2.3	0.1	0.2	0.5	6.1	1.0	6.1	1.9	13.4	68.2
18	H. Pradesh	58.8	49.3	0.5	0.7	2.4	0.5	1.1	0.7	0.3	3.4	41.2
19	Manipur	45.8	29.9	0.3	0.1	10.1	0.1	0.3	1.5	0.4	3.0	54.2
20	D & N Haveli	60.2	44.7	8.5	3.5	1.0	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.2	30.8
21	Tripura	38.6	25.4	2.8	0.8	2.3	0.9	0.4	1.6	0.4	4.1	61.4
22	Pondichery	34.4	6.1	6.1	2.1	2.5	5.1	1.1	4.2	0.9	6.5	65.6
23	Nagaland	59.4	52.4	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	5.3	40.6
24	A N Island	49.1	10.2	0.5	11.5	7.3	1.9	8.6	1.7	0.6	6.8	50.9
25	L M A Islands	51.6	0.6	-	2.4	42.7	1.5	1.0	0.5	0.6	2.3	48.4
26	Goa, D & D	41.2	17.7	6.3	5.0	-	3.0	0.6	2.2	2.6	3.8	58.8
27	N E F A	7.8	-	-	0.1	0.1	-	0.5	0.1	0.3	6.6	3.7
28	Sikkim	64.1	57.3	1.4	0.1	0.2	-	1.1	1.0	0.1	2.9	35.9

Table. 2 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of SC in India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	India	47.1	17.8	16.2	1.3	3.1	1.3	0.5	0.5	0.4	5.8	52.9
2	Andhra Pradesh	61.6	14.2	35.3	1.6	4.0	0.8	0.5	0.6	0.5	4.0	38.4
3	Assam	41.8	24.9	1.8	4.4	2.9	1.4	0.4	2.1	0.8	3.2	58.2
4	Bihar	49.0	11.8	27.1	1.8	2.0	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.4	4.7	51.0
5	Gujarat	42.6	11.1	12.3	0.5	4.9	3.8	1.0	0.2	0.6	8.2	57.4
6	J & K	33.9	26.6	0.9	0.4	1.5	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	3.6	66.1
7	Kerala	47.8	1.9	21.7	5.7	3.1	2.8	0.3	0.3	0.4	11.6	52.2
8	M. P	55.3	27.5	15.3	1.3	5.2	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.4	4.5	43.7
9	Tamil Nadu	53.3	15.6	22.0	1.8	1.5	1.4	0.6	0.4	0.5	9.6	46.7
10	Maharashtra	50.9	9.4	24.5	1.3	6.0	2.4	0.7	0.6	0.9	5.0	49.2
11	Mysore	51.9	23.1	15.1	2.0	2.9	1.4	1.3	0.4	0.2	5.4	48.1
12	Orissa	46.5	17.1	11.9	1.2	4.9	0.3	0.1	0.7	0.2	10.0	53.5
13	Punjab	35.1	8.9	9.5	0.6	5.4	1.4	0.7	0.4	0.6	7.6	64.9
14	Rajasthan	49.6	31.1	5.3	0.9	4.7	0.9	1.0	0.5	0.5	4.8	50.4
15	U P	44.3	22.3	12.0	0.2	2.3	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.4	5.3	55.7
16	West Bengal	34.1	13.7	9.5	2.1	1.3	2.1	0.3	1.0	0.5	3.5	65.9
17	Delhi	34.5	0.3	1.3	1.1	1.5	8.2	3.2	1.6	1.5	15.8	65.5
18	H. Pradesh	61.8	50.4	1.8	0.6	5.6	0.6	0.8	0.1	0.1	1.6	38.2
19	Manipur	49.6	36.3	0.1	0.0	10.6	0.4	-	0.1	-	2.0	50.2
20	Tripura	35.3	17.8	3.8	3.1	1.4	1.3	0.3	1.7	0.6	5.3	64.7
21	D N Haveli	51.7	32.2	9.8	1.8	6.3	-	0.6	0.6	-	0.9	48.3
22	Pondicherry	54.4	5.5	34.6	2.0	0.6	2.9	0.2	0.5	0.7	7.6	45.6
23	Nagaland	47.6	-	-	-	-	13.5	-	9.5	9.5	15.1	52.4

Table. 3 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of Non-SC in rural India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	India	44.4	28.6	6.7	1.3	2.6	0.7	0.3	1.0	0.3	2.9	55.5
2	Andhra Pradesh	53.8	26.1	13.6	1.7	5.4	0.7	0.5	1.8	0.2	3.7	46.2
3	Assam	43.9	30.4	1.7	4.7	2.4	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.3	2.6	56.1
4	Bihar	40.9	26.0	7.2	1.3	2.3	0.5	0.2	0.9	0.3	2.2	59.1
5	Gujarat	44.9	29.7	7.4	0.6	2.7	0.6	0.3	1.1	0.3	2.2	55.1
6	J & K	45.6	38.4	0.5	0.8	2.8	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	2.1	54.4
7	Kerala	32.5	8.6	5.0	2.8	3.1	2.7	0.4	1.7	0.7	7.6	67.5
8	Madhya Pradesh	54.7	38.9	8.9	1.5	2.1	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.1	2.1	45.3
9	Tamil Nadu	48.1	27.2	7.2	1.2	3.0	1.2	0.5	1.4	0.2	5.4	51.9
10	Maharashtra	52.3	31.2	14.2	1.1	1.8	0.6	0.4	0.8	0.2	1.9	47.7
11	Karnataka	47.8	31.1	7.7	1.5	2.8	0.6	0.4	1.0	1.1	2.5	53.2
12	Orissa	43.6	27.9	7.0	0.6	2.6	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.1	4.3	56.4
13	Punjab	36.4	28.2	1.1	0.2	2.1	0.7	0.4	1.1	0.3	2.2	63.6
14	Rajasthan	50.8	42.3	1.5	0.9	2.7	0.2	0.2	0.9	0.2	1.8	49.2
15	U P	39.0	29.8	2.8	0.2	2.4	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.2	2.0	61.0
16	West Bengal	32.3	17.3	5.5	2.0	1.7	1.3	0.2	1.2	0.3	2.6	67.7
17	Delhi	35.3	21.5	0.9	0.6	1.1	2.6	0.7	1.1	0.8	5.9	64.7
18	H. Pradesh	60.0	51.9	0.5	0.7	2.5	0.3	1.0	0.5	0.2	2.5	40.0
19	Manipur	46.3	32.7	0.3	0.1	9.2	0.1	0.2	1.0	0.2	2.3	53.7
20	Tripura	39.8	27.8	3.0	0.9	2.4	0.7	0.2	1.2	0.2	3.3	60.1
21	D N Haveli	60.2	44.7	8.5	2.9	1.0	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.2	39.8
22	Pondicherry	36.6	8.1	8.4	2.4	2.2	5.2	1.1	3.6	0.7	5.0	63.4
23	Nagaland	60.7	55.1	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	4.5	39.3
24	A & N Island	50.6	12.9	0.7	12.5	9.2	1.0	8.1	1.2	0.3	4.8	49.4
25	L M A Islands	51.6	0.6	-	2.4	42.7	1.5	1.1	0.5	0.6	2.3	48.4
26	Gca, D & D	42.5	19.9	6.8	5.5	-	2.8	0.6	1.7	2.5	2.7	57.5
27	N E F A	67.8	0.1	-	0.1	0.1	-	0.5	0.1	0.3	6.6	32.2
28	Sikkim	65.2	59.7	1.4	0.1	0.2	0.0	1.0	0.7	0.1	2.0	34.8

Table. 4 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of SC in Rural India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	India	48.1	19.6	17.7	1.3	3.1	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	4.9	51.9
2	Andhra Pradesh	63.5	15.6	38.3	1.5	4.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	2.8	36.5
3	Assam	42.1	26.8	1.9	4.7	2.8	0.8	0.3	1.8	0.4	2.5	57.9
4	Bihar	49.5	12.3	28.3	1.7	2.0	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.2	4.1	50.5
5	Gujarat	45.6	14.4	16.0	0.5	6.0	1.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	6.4	54.4
6	J & K	41.8	34.2	1.2	0.5	1.9	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	3.4	58.2
7	Kerala	48.4	15.1	22.9	6.0	3.2	2.7	0.3	0.2	0.3	10.9	51.6
8	Madhya Pradesh	58.0	30.4	17.0	1.3	4.9	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	3.5	42.0
9	Tamil Nadu	55.4	17.9	24.5	1.4	1.5	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.1	8.6	44.6
10	Maharashtra	54.7	11.8	30.3	1.4	6.5	0.6	0.6	0.2	0.2	2.9	45.3
11	Karnataka	54.4	26.7	17.1	2.0	3.0	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.1	4.0	45.6
12	Orissa	46.6	17.8	12.4	1.2	4.9	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.1	9.4	53.4
13	Punjab	35.4	9.9	10.5	0.6	5.5	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.3	6.9	64.6
14	Rajasthan	51.6	34.9	5.9	0.9	4.6	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.2	3.8	48.4
15	U P	45.0	23.8	12.8	0.2	2.2	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	4.7	55.0
16	W Bengal	33.8	15.1	10.3	2.2	1.2	1.0	0.2	0.7	0.3	2.7	66.2
17	Delhi	38.2	1.2	5.7	2.8	2.0	13.4	1.6	0.5	0.5	10.4	61.8
18	Himachal P.	62.4	51.9	1.9	0.6	5.6	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.1	1.2	37.6
19	Manipur	49.7	36.8	00.1	-	10.6	0.2	-	0.2	-	1.7	50.3
20	Tripura	35.4	18.7	3.9	3.1	1.4	1.1	0.3	1.6	0.5	4.7	64.6
21	D N Haveli	51.7	32.2	9.8	1.8	6.3	-	0.6	-	-	0.9	48.3
22	Pondicherry	54.7	5.5	36.5	2.1	0.5	2.5	0.2	0.5	0.5	6.3	45.3
23	Nagaland	71.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.7	-	32.3	29.0

Table. 5 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of Urban India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	India	33.0	2.2	0.9	0.8	2.6	7.0	1.1	5.8	2.7	9.9	67.0
2	Andhra Pradesh	35.0	2.9	2.3	0.9	4.5	4.4	1.3	5.6	2.7	10.4	65.0
3	Bihar	32.5	2.9	0.9	2.0	2.5	5.9	1.0	4.8	2.8	9.6	67.5
4	Assam	36.9	1.0	0.1	0.5	1.9	5.9	0.7	7.7	0.9	15.1	63.1
5	Gujarat	29.7	2.5	0.6	0.4	1.9	7.9	0.7	5.1	2.1	8.3	70.3
6	Jammu & Kashmir	30.1	4.1	0.2	0.4	2.4	4.2	0.6	3.7	1.0	12.8	69.9
7	Kerala	29.0	1.4	0.8	1.6	1.8	5.3	0.5	4.1	2.3	10.9	71.0
8	Madhya Pradesh	34.2	3.0	0.7	1.7	3.1	6.1	1.8	5.6	2.6	9.5	65.0
9	Tamilnadu	33.6	2.2	1.0	1.1	4.6	6.6	1.1	5.7	2.2	9.0	66.43
10	Maharashtra	36.4	2.0	1.7	0.7	2.0	10.2	1.0	5.9	3.4	9.4	63.6
11	Mysore	33.5	4.2	1.7	0.7	2.6	5.9	1.7	4.8	1.6	9.1	66.5
12	Orissa	36.7	2.7	0.7	1.0	2.5	5.5	1.5	4.4	3.0	15.3	63.3
13	Punjab	29.9	2.3	0.2	0.3	1.5	5.7	1.53	6.4	2.5	9.5	70.1
14	Rajasthan	29.4	4.0	0.4	0.5	2.1	3.7	1.5	5.2	2.8	9.3	70.6
15	Uttar Pradesh	30.4	1.6	0.3	0.3	2.9	5.2	0.9	6.3	2.6	10.3	69.6
16	West Bengal	34.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.7	11.4	1.1	7.1	3.6	9.8	65.5
17	Delhi	31.4	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.4	6.5	1.1	6.7	2.1	14.2	63.6
18	Himachal Pradesh	36.8	3.4	0.1	0.4	1.9	3.8	2.0	4.5	1.5	19.4	63.2
19	Manipur	40.7	1.1	0.0	-	19.5	0.5	0.9	6.3	2.0	10.3	59.3
20	Tripura	26.9	2.0	0.6	0.3	1.1	2.6	1.5	5.5	1.8	11.5	73.1
21	D N Haveli											
22	Pondicherry	28.6	0.7	0.2	1.4	2.4	4.8	1.1	5.8	1.5	10.5	71.4
23	Nagaland	35.7	3.8	0.1	0.4	0.1	1.9	0.8	4.0	3.0	21.6	64.3
24	A & N Islands	43.9	0.4	-	8.6	0.6	5.2	10.0	3.6	1.8	13.7	56.1
25	M & A Islands											
26	Goa, D &D	34.3	6.4	3.6	2.1	-	3.8	1.0	4.8	3.1	9.6	63.7
27	N E F A											
28	Sikkim	39.8	2.6	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.3	3.7	6.8	1.5	23.3	60.2

Table. 6 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of SC in Urban India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	45.7	2.7	11.5	2.2	2.1	4.6	2.3	2.7	3.6	13.9	54.3
2	Assam	38.6	2.8	0.2	1.4	3.8	8.0	0.9	5.6	5.2	10.7	51.4
3	Bihar	40.0	1.7	4.9	4.2	2.6	5.0	1.0	1.7	3.1	15.8	60.0
4	Gujarat	33.1	0.6	0.9	0.4	1.6	12.3	1.5	0.6	1.7	13.5	66.92
5	Jammu & Kashmir	32.3	6.7	0.8	0.6	1.4	3.6	1.5	0.6	0.6	16.5	67.7
6	Kerala	41.2	0.6	9.6	2.7	2.1	4.5	0.5	0.8	1.2	19.2	58.83
7	Madhya Pradesh	41.7	3.1	1.5	1.6	7.6	7.2	3.4	1.9	2.7	12.7	58.3
8	Tamilnadu	41.7	3.3	7.9	4.0	1.2	4.9	1.2	1.6	2.4	15.3	58.3
9	Maharashtra	36.9	0.9	3.7	0.7	4.2	8.5	1.1	2.0	3.2	12.5	63.1
10	Karnataka	39.4	4.8	4.9	2.4	2.4	5.9	3.8	1.2	1.0	12.8	60.6
11	Orissa	44.2	2.9	2.0	2.1	4.1	3.1	0.9	3.4	2.8	22.9	55.3
12	Punjab	32.6	1.3	2.2	0.6	4.3	5.0	1.8	1.5	2.7	13.2	67.4
13	Rajasthan	35.6	4.0	0.7	0.9	5.3	4.5	4.0	1.8	2.7	11.7	64.4
14	Uttar Pradesh	35.1	1.5	1.0	0.3	3.7	7.3	1.8	2.6	2.8	14.0	64.9
15	West Bengal	36.6	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.4	12.4	1.1	4.1	3.1	11.0	63.4
16	Delhi	33.5	0.1	0.1	0.7	1.4	0.9	3.6	1.8	0.2	17.2	66.5
17	Hinachal Pradesh	41.5	8.0	0.7	1.1	6.4	6.2	4.1	0.5	0.7	14.0	56.5
18	Manipur	55.1	-	-	-	12.7	12.7	-	1.9	0.6	27.2	44.9
19	Tripura	34.6	2.9	1.1	2.0	1.4	4.5	0.7	4.0	2.5	15.4	65.4
20	D N Haveli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Pondicherry	50.3	5.0	7.2	1.2	1.7	5.0	0.6	0.4	4.2	25.1	49.8
22	Nagaland	40.0	-	-	-	-	17.9	-	-	12.6	9.5	60.0

Table. 7 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of non-SC India, 1961.

Sl No	State	Total Persons	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
				I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	India	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2	A.P	8.3	9.9	7.7	17.0	11.1	16.1	6.1	11.2	10.5	7.7	9.7	7.1
3	Assam	3.0	3.0	3.6	.8	11.1	2.6	1.3	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.5	2.9
4	Bihar	10.7	10.1	10.9	12.6	12.2	9.2	5.3	5.6	6.8	7.6	7.3	11.1
5	Gujarat	5.1	5.0	4.9	5.1	2.3	4.9	6.8	4.4	5.6	5.5	4.6	5.3
6	J & K	.09	.09	1.2	.1	.5	.9	0.5	.4	.4	.5	.8	.9
7	Kerala	4.1	3.1	1.3	3.2	9.3	4.4	6.8	3.8	4.5	5.4	7.9	4.9
8	M.P	7.5	9.2	10.7	10.3	10.0	6.2	4.1	8.2	5.3	5.2	5.7	6.3
9	Tamil Nadu	7.4	7.6	6.2	7.1	7.5	11.1	10.7	10.5	10.0	8.2	11.2	8.2
10	Maharashtra	10.0	11.2	9.7	18.8	8.7	6.9	17.5	12.7	11.5	15.7	9.5	9.0
11	Karnataka	5.5	5.7	5.8	6.1	6.2	6.2	5.3	8.6	5.2	3.6	5.3	5.3
12	Orissa	3.9	4.0	4.4	4.6	2.3	3.9	1.1	1.6	1.7	1.7	4.7	3.9
13	Punjab	4.3	3.6	4.1	.7	.9	3.2	4.2	6.3	5.0	4.4	3.9	4.9
14	Rajasthan	4.5	5.0	6.8	1.0	3.2	4.4	2.0	4.3	3.7	3.7	3.3	4.1
15	U.P	15.6	13.9	17.0	6.7	3.1	14.4	9.2	9.0	13.6	12.5	11.9	16.8
16	W Bengal	7.5	5.8	4.0	5.3	9.9	4.0	16.4	7.7	11.0	13.0	8.3	8.7
17	Delhi	.6	.5	.1	.0	.1	.1	2.0	1.4	1.9	1.6	2.0	.7
18	Himachal P.	.3	.4	.6	.0	.1	.2	.1	.6	.1	.1	.2	.2
19	Manipur	.2	.2	.3	.0	.0	.8	.0	.1	.2	.1	.1	.2
20	Tripura	.3	.2	.3	.1	.2	.2	.1	.2	.2	.1	.3	.3
21	D N Haveli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Pondicherry	.1	.1	-	.1	.1	.1	.2	.2	.2	.1	.1	.1
23	Nagaland	.1	-	.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1
24	A & N Island	-	-	-	-	.2	.1	-	.3	-	-	-	-
25	L M Islands	-	-	-	-	-	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Goa, D & D	.2	.2	.1	.2	.7	-	.3	.2	.2	.6	.1	.2
27	N E F A	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	.1	-	-	.1	-
28	Sikkim	-	.1	.1	-	-	-	-	.1	.1	-	-	-

Table. 9 : Statewise and Activitywise Percentages of non-SC in Rural India, 1961

Sl No	State	Total Persons	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non
				I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	workers X
1	India	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2	A.P	8.3	10.1	7.6	16.9	11.4	16.6	8.8	12.9	14.2	7.2	10.8	7.0
3	Assam	3.4	3.4	3.6	.8	12.6	3.0	2.5	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.1	3.4
4	Bihar	12.0	11.1	11.0	12.9	12.1	10.2	8.2	6.7	10.4	13.6	9.3	12.8
5	Gujarat	4.7	4.8	4.9	5.2	2.1	4.8	4.3	4.7	4.8	5.5	3.7	4.7
6	J & K	.9	.9	1.2	.1	.5	.9	.4	.5	.4	.4	.6	.8
7	Kerala	4.3	4.1	1.3	3.2	9.6	4.9	17.3	5.8	6.9	11.5	11.4	5.2
8	M.P	7.9	9.7	10.8	10.5	9.6	6.0	2.0	7.2	4.9	4.3	5.9	6.4
9	Tamilnadu	6.5	7.0	6.1	6.9	6.2	9.1	11.1	9.9	8.6	5.8	12.1	6.0
10	Maharashtra	8.8	10.3	9.6	18.5	8.0	5.9	8.0	12.6	6.7	8.3	5.7	7.6
11	Karnataka	5.2	5.6	5.6	5.9	6.2	5.5	4.6	7.4	4.8	2.8	4.6	4.9
12	Orissa	4.6	4.5	4.4	4.7	2.3	4.5	1.1	1.5	2.7	2.0	6.9	4.6
13	Punjab	4.2	3.4	4.1	.7	.8	3.2	4.4	5.9	4.4	4.5	3.4	4.8
14	Rajasthan	4.6	5.3	6.8	1.0	3.3	4.7	1.7	3.6	3.9	2.9	2.9	4.1
15	U.P	16.5	14.5	17.2	6.8	2.8	14.8	10.5	9.2	14.9	15.4	11.0	18.1
16	W Bengal	6.7	4.8	4.0	5.4	10.8	4.2	13.2	5.4	8.0	9.1	6.2	8.1
17	Delhi	.1	.1	.1	-	-	-	.3	.2	.1	.2	.2	.1
18	H.P	.3	.4	.6	-	.2	.3	.1	1.1	.1	.2	.3	.2
19	Manipur	.2	.2	.3	-	-	.8	-	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2
20	Tripura	.3	.3	.3	.1	.2	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3
21	D & N Haveli	-	-	-	-	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Pondicherry	.1	.1	-	.1	.1	.1	.6	.3	.3	.2	.1	.1
23	Nagaland	.1	.2	.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.2	.1
24	A & N Island	-	-	-	-	.2	.1	-	.4	-	-	-	-
25	L M AIslands	-	-	-	-	-	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Goa, D & D	.2	.2	.1	.2	.8	-	.7	.3	.3	1.6	.2	.2
27	N E F A	.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	.2	-	.1	.3	-
28	Sikkim	.1	.1	-	-	-	-	-	.2	-	-	-	-

Table. 13 : Statewise Industrial Specialization of (SC + Non-SC) India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.9	1.0	2.1	1.3	2.1	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.8
2	Assam	1.0	1.2	0.2	3.7	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.0
3	Bihar	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.2	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0
4	Gujarat	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.4	1.0	1.4	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0
5	J & K	1.0	1.4	0.1	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.0
6	Kerala	0.8	0.3	0.8	2.4	1.0	1.7	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.9	1.2
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.3	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8
8	Tamil Nadu	1.1	0.8	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.6	1.0
9	Maharashtra	1.1	1.0	1.6	1.9	0.8	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.6	0.9	0.9
10	Karnataka	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.7	0.9	0.6	1.0	1.0
11	Orissa	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.6	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	1.3	1.0
12	Punjab	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.3	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1
13	Rajasthan	1.1	1.5	0.3	0.7	1.1	0.5	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.1
15	West Bengal	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.4	0.5	2.1	0.9	1.4	1.6	1.0	1.2
16	Delhi	0.7	0.1	-	0.3	0.2	3.5	2.8	3.2	2.7	3.1	1.2
17	Himachal P.	1.4	2.2	0.1	0.5	1.2	0.3	2.1	0.3	0.3	0.7	0.7
18	Manipur	1.1	1.3	-	0.1	3.7	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.7	1.0
19	Tripura	0.9	1.1	0.4	0.9	0.8	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.9	1.1
20	D N Haveli	1.4	2.0	1.2	2.9	0.4	0.1	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.7
21	Pondicherry	0.9	0.3	1.5	1.7	0.7	2.6	2.1	2.1	1.3	1.5	1.1
22	Nagaland	1.4	2.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.2	0.7
23	A N Islands	1.1	0.4	0.1	9.6	2.7	1.0	18.2	1.0	0.9	1.5	0.9
24	L M A Islands	1.2	-	-	2.0	15.6	0.9	2.1	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.8
25	Coa, D & D	1.0	0.8	0.9	4.2	-	1.6	1.4	1.2	3.7	0.9	1.0
26	N E F A	0.2	-	-	0.1	0.1	-	1.1	0.1	1.4	1.5	0.1
27	Sikkim	1.5	2.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	-	2.3	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.6

Table. 14 : Statewise Industrial Specialization of (SC + Non-SC) in rural India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.3	1.1	2.0	1.3	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.7	0.9	1.0	0.8
2	Assam	1.0	1.1	0.2	3.2	0.9	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.0
3	Bihar	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.9	1.1	0.8	1.0
4	Gujarat	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.4	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.8	1.0
5	J & K	1.0	1.4	0.1	0.6	1.0	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.0
6	Kerala	0.7	0.3	0.8	2.5	1.1	4.0	1.3	1.7	2.6	2.5	1.2
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.2	1.4	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8
8	Tamil Nadu	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.4	1.2	0.8	1.9	0.9
9	Maharashtra	1.2	1.1	1.8	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.5	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.9
10	Mysore	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.0	0.9	1.6	0.9	0.5	0.9	0.9
11	Orissa	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.4	1.6	1.0
12	Punjab	0.8	0.9	0.4	0.2	1.0	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.2
13	Rajasthan	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.7	1.1	0.4	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.9
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.9	1.0	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.9
15	West Bengal	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.5	0.5	1.9	0.7	1.2	1.3	0.8	1.2
16	Delhi	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.9	0.5	7.5	5.1	1.0	2.9	2.2	1.2
17	Himachal P.	1.3	1.9	0.1	0.5	1.2	0.5	3.2	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7
18	Manipur	1.0	1.2	0.0	-	3.4	0.1	0.8	1.1	1.0	0.7	1.0
19	Tripura	0.9	1.0	0.4	0.9	0.8	1.1	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.1
20	D N Haveli	1.3	1.6	1.0	2.7	0.4	0.2	1.3	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.7
21	Pondicherry	0.9	0.3	1.6	1.8	0.7	6.9	3.2	3.2	2.6	1.6	1.1
22	Nagaland	1.3	2.0	0.1	0.1	-	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.4	0.7
23	A N Island	1.1	0.5	0.1	9.7	3.4	1.4	2.7	1.8	1.2	1.5	0.9
24	L M A Islands	1.1	-	-	1.9	15.5	2.3	3.2	0.5	2.5	0.7	0.9
25	Goa, D & D	0.9	0.7	0.8	4.4	-	4.2	1.9	1.8	9.8	0.9	1.0
26	N E F A	0.2	-	-	0.1	0.1	-	1.7	1.1	1.0	2.1	0.1
27	Sikkim	1.4	2.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	-	3.3	0.8	0.2	0.6	0.6

Table. 15 : Statewise Industrial specialization of (SC + Non-SC) in Urban India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial Classification of Workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.1	1.7	3.0	1.2	1.8	.8	1.0	.9	1.1	.9	.9
2	Assam	1.1	.5	.1	.6	.2	.7	.6	1.4	1.8	1.4	.9
3	Bihar	1.0	1.3	1.0	2.6	1.0	.8	.8	.8	1.1	1.0	1.0
4	Gujarat	.9	1.1	.5	.4	.7	1.2	.6	.9	.8	.8	1.0
5	J & K	.9	1.9	.2	.4	.9	.6	.6	.7	.6	1.3	1.0
6	Kerala	.9	.7	1.0	2.0	.7	.8	.4	.7	.8	1.1	1.1
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.0	1.4	.7	3.0	1.3	.9	1.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
8	Tamil Nadu	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.6	.9	.9	1.0	.8	.9	1.0
9	Maharashtra	1.1	.9	1.6	.9	.8	1.4	.8	1.0	1.3	.9	1.0
10	Karnataka	1.0	2.0	1.7	1.1	1.3	.8	1.6	.8	.6	.9	1.0
11	Orissa	1.1	1.3	.7	1.3	1.0	.7	1.2	.8	1.1	1.6	.9
12	Punjab	.9	1.0	.4	.4	.7	.8	1.3	1.1	.9	1.0	1.0
13	Rajasthan	.9	1.8	.3	.6	.9	.5	1.5	.9	1.0	.9	1.0
14	Uttar Pradesh	.9	.7	.3	.4	1.1	.8	.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
15	West Bengal	1.0	.1	.3	.4	.3	1.6	.9	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.0
16	Delhi	.9	.1	.0	.3	.2	.9	1.1	1.1	.7	1.4	1.0
17	Himachal P.	1.1	1.9	.2	.6	1.0	.6	1.9	.7	.5	1.8	.9
18	Manipur	1.2	.5	.0	.1	7.3	.1	.7	1.2	.7	1.0	.9
19	Tripura	.8	.9	.5	.5	.4	.4	1.2	1.0	.7	1.1	1.1
20.	D N Haveli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Pondicherry	.9	.4	.4	1.6	.9	.7	.9	1.0	.6	1.1	1.1
22	Nagaland	1.1	1.7	.1	.4	.1	.3	.6	.7	1.1	2.1	1.0
23	A N Island	1.3	.2	-	10.3	.2	.7	8.2	.7	.7	1.3	.8
24	L M A Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	Goa, D & D	1.0	2.9	3.1	2.5	-	.5	.8	.9	1.2	.9	1.0
26	N E F A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	Sikkim	1.2	1.2	.9	.3	.1	.0	3.0	1.2	.5	2.3	.9

Table. 16 : Statewise Industrial Specialization of non-SC in India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.2	0.9	2.0	1.3	0.5	2.7	1.4	1.3	0.9	1.2	0.9
2	Assam	1.0	1.2	0.3	3.8	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.0
3	Bihar	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0
4	Gujarat	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.4	0.9	1.3	0.8	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.0
5	J & K	1.0	1.4	0.1	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.0	1.0
6	Kerala	0.8	0.3	0.8	2.3	1.1	1.7	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.9	1.2
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.3	0.8	0.5	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8
8	Tamilnadu	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.1	1.5	1.0
9	Maharashtra	1.1	1.0	1.9	0.9	0.7	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.6	0.9	0.9
10	Karnataka	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.0	1.6	0.9	0.7	1.0	1.0
11	Orissa	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.6	1.0	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.2	1.0
12	Punjab	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.2	0.7	1.0	1.5	1.2	1.0	0.9	1.1
13	Rajasthan	1.1	1.5	0.2	0.7	0.3	1.4	1.0	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.9
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.9	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.8	1.1
15	West Bengal	0.8	0.5	0.7	1.3	0.5	2.2	1.0	1.5	1.7	1.1	1.2
16	Delhi	0.7	0.1	-	0.2	0.2	3.2	2.3	3.1	2.6	3.2	1.2
17	Himachal P.	1.4	2.1	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.7
18	Manipur	1.1	1.3	0.1	0.1	3.8	0.1	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.9
19	Tripura	0.9	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.5	1.0	1.0
20	D N Haveli	1.4	1.9	1.5	3.0	0.4	0.1	1.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.7
21	Pondicherry	0.8	0.3	1.1	1.8	0.8	2.7	2.5	2.1	1.2	1.5	1.1
22	Nagaland	1.4	2.2	0.1	0.1	-	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	1.3	0.7
23	A N Island	1.2	0.4	0.1	9.9	2.7	1.0	1.8	0.9	0.9	1.6	0.9
24	L M A Islands	1.2	-	-	2.1	16.0	0.8	2.1	0.2	0.8	0.5	0.8
25	Goa, D & D	1.0	0.7	1.1	4.3	-	1.6	1.4	1.1	3.5	0.9	1.0
26	N E F A	0.2	-	-	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.1	0.4	1.6	0.1
27	Sikkim	1.5	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	-	2.4	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.6

Table. 17 : Statewise Industrial specialization of SC in India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.3	1.0	2.2	1.2	1.3	0.6	1.0	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.7
2	Assam	0.9	1.4	0.1	3.5	0.9	1.1	0.7	4.1	1.2	0.5	1.1
3	Bihar	1.0	0.7	1.7	1.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.7	3.2	1.0
4	Gujarat	0.9	0.6	0.8	0.3	1.6	2.9	2.0	0.4	1.5	1.4	1.1
5	J & K	0.7	1.5	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.6	1.2
6	Kerala	1.0	0.1	1.5	4.3	1.0	2.2	0.6	0.5	0.9	2.0	1.0
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.2	1.6	0.9	1.0	1.7	0.7	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.8
8	Tamilnadu	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.3	0.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.0	1.6	0.9
9	Maharashtra	1.1	0.5	1.5	0.9	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.9	0.9	0.9
10	Karnataka	1.1	1.3	0.5	1.5	0.9	1.1	2.6	0.7	0.5	0.9	0.9
11	Orissa	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.9	1.6	0.2	0.2	1.4	0.5	1.7	1.0
12	Punjab	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.7	1.1	1.5	0.8	1.3	1.3	1.2
13	Rajasthan	1.0	1.7	0.3	0.7	1.5	0.7	2.0	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.9
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.9	1.2	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.0
15	West Bengal	0.7	0.8	0.6	1.6	0.4	1.7	0.5	2.0	1.2	0.6	1.2
16	Delhi	0.7	-	0.1	0.8	0.5	6.3	6.3	3.0	3.2	2.7	1.2
17	Himachal Pradesh	1.3	2.8	0.1	0.5	1.8	0.4	1.6	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.7
18	Manipur	1.1	2.0	-	-	3.4	0.2	-	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.9
19	Tripura	0.7	1.0	0.2	2.3	0.5	1.0	0.6	3.3	1.3	0.9	1.2
20	D & N Haveli	1.1	1.8	0.6	1.4	2.0	-	1.2	-	-	0.1	0.9
21	Pondicherry	1.2	0.3	2.1	1.5	0.2	2.2	0.4	1.0	1.7	1.3	0.9
22	Nagaland	1.0	-	-	-	-	10.5	-	15.3	21.1	2.6	1.0

Table. 18 : Statewise Industrial Specialization of Scheduled Castes in Rural India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.3	0.3	2.2	1.2	1.4	0.5	0.9	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.7
2	Assam	0.9	1.4	0.1	3.6	0.9	1.2	1.1	5.4	2.1	0.5	1.1
3	Bihar	1.0	0.6	1.6	1.3	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.8	1.0	0.8	1.0
4	Gujarat	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.4	1.9	1.6	2.7	0.4	1.4	1.3	1.0
5	J & K	0.9	1.7	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.2	1.1
6	Kerala	1.0	0.8	1.3	4.6	1.0	4.2	0.9	0.7	1.3	2.2	1.0
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.2	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.6	0.4	1.2	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.8
8	Tamil Nadu	1.1	0.9	1.4	1.1	0.5	1.3	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.8	9.0
9	Maharashtra	1.1	0.6	1.7	1.1	2.1	1.0	1.7	0.6	1.3	0.6	9.0
10	Karnataka	1.1	1.4	1.0	1.5	1.0	0.8	2.5	0.6	0.4	0.8	9.0
11	Orissa	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.6	0.2	0.2	1.2	0.5	1.0	1.0
12	Punjab	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.8	1.4	1.8	0.9	1.5	1.4	1.2
13	Rajasthan	1.1	1.8	0.3	0.7	1.5	0.7	1.8	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.9
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.2	1.2	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.1
15	West Bengal	0.7	0.8	0.6	1.7	0.4	1.6	0.5	2.1	1.4	0.5	1.3
16	Delhi	0.8	0.7	0.3	2.1	0.7	21.2	4.9	1.5	2.3	2.1	1.2
17	Himachal Pradesh	1.3	2.6	0.1	0.5	1.8	0.6	2.1	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.7
18	Manipur	1.0	1.9	0.0	-	3.4	0.5	-	0.7	0.2	0.3	1.0
19	Tripura	0.7	0.9	0.2	2.4	0.5	1.8	0.9	4.7	2.6	1.0	1.2
20	D N Haveli	1.1	1.6	0.6	1.4	2.0	-	1.8	-	-	0.2	0.9
21	Pondicherry	1.1	0.3	2.1	1.6	0.2	4.0	0.6	1.6	2.7	1.3	0.9
22	Nagaland	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.6	0.6

Table. 19 : Statewise Industrial specialization of Non-SC in Urban India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.1	1.3	2.5	1.1	1.7	0.7	1.2	1.0	1.9	1.0	1.0
2	Assam	1.1	0.5	0.1	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.6	1.3	1.8	1.5	0.9
3	Bihar	1.0	1.3	0.9	2.6	1.0	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0
4	Gujarat	0.9	1.1	0.7	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.8	1.0
5	J & K	0.9	1.9	0.2	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.3	1.0
6	Kerala	0.9	0.7	0.8	2.2	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.1	1.1
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.0	1.4	0.8	2.2	1.2	0.9	1.6	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.0
8	Tamilnadu	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.0
9	Maharashtra	1.1	0.9	1.9	0.9	0.8	1.4	0.9	1.0	1.3	0.9	0.9
10	Karnataka	1.0	1.9	1.8	1.0	1.4	0.8	1.5	0.8	0.6	0.9	1.0
11	Orissa	1.1	1.2	0.8	1.2	1.0	0.8	1.3	0.8	1.1	1.5	0.9
12	Punjab	0.9	1.0	0.2	0.4	6.0	0.8	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	1.0
13	Rajasthan	0.9	1.8	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.5	1.3	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.4	1.1	0.7	0.8	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0
15	West Bengal	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.6	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.0
16	Delhi	0.9	0.1	-	0.2	0.2	0.9	0.9	1.1	0.8	1.4	1.0
17	Himachal P.	1.1	1.5	0.1	0.5	0.7	0.5	1.7	0.8	0.5	2.0	0.9
18	Manipur	1.2	0.5	-	0.1	7.5	0.1	0.8	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.9
19	Tripura	0.8	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.3	0.9	0.7	1.1	1.1
20	D N Haveli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Pondicherry	0.9	0.3	0.3	1.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	0.6	1.1	1.1
22	Nagaland	1.1	1.7	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.7	0.7	1.1	2.2	1.0
23	A N Island	1.3	0.2	-	11.3	0.2	0.7	8.7	0.6	0.7	1.4	0.8
24	L M A Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	Goa, D & D	1.0	2.9	3.9	2.8	-	0.5	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.0	1.0
26	N E F A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
27	Sikkim	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.4	0.1	-	3.2	1.2	0.5	2.3	0.9

Table. 20 : Statewise Industrial Specialization of SC in Urban India, 1961

Sl. No.	State	Total workers (I-IX)	Industrial classification of workers									Non workers X
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	
1	Andhra Pradesh	1.2	1.2	3.1	1.3	0.7	0.7	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.0	0.9
2	Assam	1.0	1.3	-	0.9	1.2	1.2	0.5	2.6	2.0	0.8	1.0
3	Bihar	1.0	0.8	1.3	2.5	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.8	1.2	1.1	1.0
4	Gujarat	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.5	1.8	0.7	0.3	0.7	1.0	1.1
5	J & K	0.8	3.0	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.3	0.2	1.1	1.1
6	Kerala	1.1	0.3	2.6	1.6	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.4	0.5	1.4	0.9
7	Madhya Pradesh	1.1	1.4	0.4	0.9	2.5	1.0	1.7	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.9
8	Tamil Nadu	1.1	1.5	2.1	2.4	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.1	0.9
9	Maharashtra	1.1	0.4	1.0	0.4	1.5	1.2	0.6	0.9	1.2	0.9	1.0
10	Karnataka	1.0	2.2	1.3	1.4	0.8	0.8	1.9	0.6	0.4	0.9	1.0
11	Orissa	1.6	1.3	0.5	1.2	1.3	0.4	0.5	1.6	1.1	1.6	0.9
12	Punjab	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.3	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.1
13	Rajasthan	0.9	1.8	0.2	0.5	1.7	0.7	2.0	0.9	1.0	0.8	1.0
14	Uttar Pradesh	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.2	1.2	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0
15	West Bengal	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.8	0.5	1.3	0.5	1.9	1.2	0.8	1.0
16	Delhi	0.9	0.0	-	0.4	0.4	1.0	1.8	0.8	0.1	1.2	1.1
17	Himachal Pradesh	1.1	3.6	0.2	0.6	2.1	0.9	2.0	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.9
18	Madipur	1.4	-	-	-	4.1	1.8	-	0.9	0.2	2.0	0.7
19	Trisपुरa	0.9	1.3	0.3	1.2	0.5	0.6	0.3	1.9	0.9	1.1	1.1
20	E N Maveli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Pondicherry	1.3	2.3	1.9	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.2	1.6	1.3	0.8
22	Nagaland	1.0	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	4.8	7.0	1.0

Table. 21 : Regional Industrial Specialization, 1961

		Higher Industrial Specialization	
		SC	Non-SC
Andhra Pradesh	R	II	II
	U	II	
Assam	R	III, VII, VIII	III
	U	VII	
Gujarat	R	VI	
Kerala	R	III, V, IX	
	U	II	III, V, VIII, IX
Madhya Pradesh	U	IV	
Maharashtra	R	IV	
Karnataka	R	VI	
West Bengal	R	VII	V, VIII, IX
Tamilnadu	R	III, II	
Delhi	R	III, V, VI, VIII IX	
Himachal Pradesh	R	I, VI	VI
	U	IV	
Manipur	R	IV	IV
	U		IV
Tripura	R	II	IV
D N Haveli	R	III	III
Pondicherry	R	VIII	VI, VII, VIII
A N Island	R		IV, VI
L M A Islands	R		IV, V, VI, VIII
Goa, D & D	R		III, VI, VIII
	U		I, II, III
Sikkim	R		VI
	U		VI, IX

Basis: Tables 2.15, 2.16, 2.18 and 2.19

Chapter VI

PARTICIPATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN POLITICS

Introduction

Until early thirties, the scheduled castes had no say in the government. Only after the organised movement of the scheduled castes for sharing political power and social justice under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in early thirties, the British government gave some thought to the problems of scheduled castes. Dr. Ambedkar demanded separate electorate for scheduled castes in the local self-government. The offer of communal award and separate electorate for scheduled castes by the British government was opposed by the Congress and Gandhiji. The Congress and Gandhiji thought that scheduled castes would go out of their control if separate electorate was given to them. Therefore Gandhiji went on a fast unto death for withdrawal of the award. Accordingly the separate electorate was withdrawn. As a compensation for the loss to scheduled castes, due to the withdrawal of communal award, reservation of seats was made for the scheduled castes both in parliament and assemblies of the states. These seats were given to enable the scheduled castes to get elected and voice the problems of their community in the legislatures.

If the scheduled castes were left to themselves to contest the elections, it would have been very difficult for them to get elected. People other than the scheduled castes would have harassed the scheduled castes and forced them to withdraw from the elections. In spite of the reservation many scheduled castes are harassed by the non-scheduled castes to withdraw their candidatures.

After attaining independence India adopted the democratic form of government. The constitution of India vested sovereignty in the people of India. Hitherto the

common man was not important as far as the government policy matters were concerned. According to the constitution (at least on paper) discrimination on the grounds of caste, creed, religion, sect, race, sex or province is strictly prohibited and punishable under the new laws of the country. The constitution of India accepted the principle of universal adult franchise because of which the scheduled castes also got the right to vote. The constitution of India also made a provision for reservation for the scheduled castes both in parliament and in legislative assemblies of the states of India. The right to vote gave importance to the size of population, so the scheduled caste population also became important. One would be surprised to know that these people who were not treated as persons in the eyes of law in the past suddenly due to this right of voting acquired political importance. It was expected that the image of the scheduled castes people would improve and that they would acquire bargaining power so that they could elevate their socio-economic status in society.

Parliament

It may be observed from the table 6.1 that while the number of parliamentary seats increased from 418 in 1957 to 524 in 1971, the number of scheduled castes reserved seats in parliament increased from 76 in 1957 to 77 in 1967. The number of scheduled castes seats in parliament increased in Karnataka, Rajasthan and West Bengal while the number of scheduled castes seats remained constant in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. Nevertheless the number of their seats has gone down in Maharashtra, Orissa and the Punjab. Parliamentary seats increased by 106 but the seats reserved for the scheduled

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Untouchability is one of the unique features of the Indian society. Those castes within the orbit of the Hindu religion which were treated as untouchables were listed in a schedule in 1936 by the British government for the purpose of giving these castes some concessions because of their disadvantageous position in the social hierarchy. They came to be later known as scheduled castes and were called "Harijans" by Gandhiji. However untouchability and social, economic and other types of discriminations on this ground continued to be there.

Untouchability and discriminations following from it exist in one form or the other in both the rural and urban areas of all the states in India. It is evident that the discrimination and harassment of people belonging to the so called scheduled castes are more rampant in the rural areas than in the urban areas. This is a feature which can be observed every day although incidents concerning injustices done to people of the scheduled castes are not reported as much as they deserve to be.

The untouchable castes are not known by the same names in all the states of India. There are 1105 major untouchable castes in India¹ as given in table 1.1. One should remember that this list is not exhaustive as the major caste, in the list of scheduled castes, namely, Chamar itself had as many as 1155 Chamar castes and subcastes as

1. A list of the major scheduled castes in each state of India is given in the appendix.

castes increased only by one. The reserved seats for the scheduled castes in Maharashtra were reserved because the scheduled castes refused to be called untouchables and embraced Buddhism. It may be noted that by their accepting Buddhism their socio-economic condition did not improve much. On the contrary they were hit hard economically because the Hindus did not employ them on their farms. In many villages in Maharashtra the scheduled castes who embraced Buddhism were driven out of their villages. They argued that the government wanted to give them reservation only if they accepted slavery and untouchability.

More members of parliament from among the scheduled castes come from Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar and Tamilnadu as compared to the rest of the states in India. This is because the scheduled castes population in these states is comparatively more than in the rest of the states in India. This representation of scheduled castes members in the parliament is approximately in proportion to the proportion of scheduled castes population to the total population in the respective states. It may be observed from table 6.1 that during the 1957-1967 decade that the increase in the parliamentary seat of scheduled castes by one is much less than the expected proportionate increase.

State Legislative Assemblies

As per provisions in the constitution of India, the number of reserved seats for the scheduled castes in the state legislatures and parliament should be in proportion to the percentage of the scheduled castes population in the total population of the state/country. One would see from table 6.1 and 6.2 that the proportions of the reserved seats in the totals have been going down continuously since 1957. These reductions in the proportion

of reserved seats for scheduled castes in legislatures are due to:

- (a) reservation of some of the constituencies on account of underreporting of the number of the scheduled castes population,
- (b) removal of names of the scheduled castes from the list of scheduled castes, and
- (c) restricting their enumeration to certain notified areas even within a state.

Table 6.2 shows that among the state legislatures the Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana legislatures have a sizable number of scheduled castes members. On the other hand state legislatures of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Assam have very small number of scheduled castes members as out of 270 strength in Maharashtra legislature only 15 are reserved for the scheduled castes and out of 168 in the Gujarat legislature only 11 are reserved for scheduled castes.

It is not only the quality of the member of the legislature but also the strength of like minded members in the house that is important in passing the bill. The experience of the state legislatures and parliament in India shows that it is not even the like mindedness of the candidates but the wishes of their political parties that determine the fate of any bill. Since most of the candidates belong to non-scheduled castes, it is rather difficult to pass a bill in the interest of scheduled castes and impossible if it is contrary to the interests of the non-scheduled castes who are in majority. This is why in spite of the provision of giving representation to the scheduled castes to voice their grievances and redress them by peaceful means their problems have remained unsolved.

Table. 1

Composition of the Parliamentary Constituencies

State/Union Territories	1971		1957		1962			1957		
	Total	Total SC	Total SC	Percentage to total	Total SC	Total SC	Percentage to total	Total SC	Total SC	Percentage to total
1 Andhra Pradesh	41	41	6	14.63	43	6	13.95	37	6	16.22
2 Assam	14	14	1	7.14	12	1	8.33	11	1	9.09
3 Bihar	53	53	7	13.20	53	7	13.21	46	7	15.22
4 Gujarat	24	24	2	8.33	22	1	4.54	21	1	4.76
5 Haryana	9	9	2	22.22	--	--	--	--	--	--
6 Jammu & Kashmir	6	6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
7 Kerala	19	19	2	10.52	18	2	11.11	16	2	12.50
8 Madhya Pradesh	37	37	5	13.51	36	5	13.89	31	5	16.3
9 Tamilnadu	39	39	1	17.94	41	7	17.07	34	7	20.59
10 Maharashtra	45	45	3	6.67	44	6	13.64	38	6	15.79
11 Karnataka	27	27	4	14.81	26	3	11.54	23	3	13.04
12 Nagaland	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
13 Orissa	20	20	3	15.00	20	4	20.00	16	4	25.00
14 Punjab	13	13	3	23.08	22	5	22.73	17	5	29.41
15 Rajasthan	23	23	4	17.39	22	3	13.64	19	3	15.79
16 Uttar Pradesh	85	85	18	21.18	86	18	20.93	68	18	26.47
17 West Bengal	40	40	8	20.00	36	6	16.67	30	6	20.00

Table. 5.1 (Contd)

State/Union Territories	1971				1967				1962				1957			
	Total	Total	SC	Percentage to total	Total	Total	SC	Percentage to total	Total	Total	SC	Percentage to total	Total	Total	SC	Percentage to total
18 Delhi	7	7	1	14.28	5	1	20.00	4	1	25.00	4	1	25.00	4	1	25.00
19 Himachal Pradesh	4	6	1	16.67	4	1	25.00	3	1	33.33	3	1	33.33	3	1	33.33
20 Goa, Daman & Diu	2	2	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
21 Manipur	2	2	-	---	2	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
22 Pondicherry	1	2	-	---	2	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
23 Tripura	2	2	-	---	2	-	---	1	-	---	1	-	---	-	-	---
24 Islands	1	1	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
25 Chandigarh	1	1	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
26 Dadra & Nagarhaveli	1	1	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
27 M & A Islands	1	1	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
28 Meghalaya	2	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
29 Mizoram	1	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
30 Arunachal Pradesh	1	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
31 Anglo-Indians and nominees of the President	3	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
Total	524	520	77	14.89	494	76	15.38	418	76	19.18	418	76	19.18	418	76	19.18

- Basis : (1) 1971 figures from, India, A reference Annual, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1973 pp 38-39
- (2) Figures for 1967 are from, Report on the Fourth General Election in India 1967, Vol I (General), Election Commission of India, 1968
- (3) Figures for 1962 and 1957 are from, Report on the Third General Election in India, Vol.1, General Election Commission of India, 1966, p.13.

Table 2

Composition of Assembly Constituencies

State	1971			1967			1962			1957		
	Total	SC	Perce- tage of SC	Total	SC	Perce- tage of SC	Total	SC	Perce- tage of SC	Total	SC	Perce- tage of SC
1 A.P	287	40	16.2	285	40	14.0	308	43	14.3	301	43	14.3
2 Assam	114	8	7.0	126	8	6.3	105	5	4.4	108	5	4.6
3 Bihar	318	45	14.1	318	45	14.1	318	40	12.5	318	40	12.6
4 Gujarat	168	11	6.5	168	11	6.5	154	11	7.1	132	10	7.6
5 Haryana	81	15	18.5	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
6 J & K	75	6	8.0	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
7 M.P	296	29	13.2	296	39	13.2	268	43	14.3	288	43	14.9
8 Maharashtra	270	15	5.6	270	15	5.5	264	33	12.5	264	33	12.5
9 Kerala	-	-	-	133	11	8.3	126	11	8.7	126	11	8.7
10 Karnataka	216	29	13.4	216	29	13.4	208	28	13.5	208	28	13.5
11 Punjab	104	23	22.1	161	33	25.2	154	33	21.4	154	33	21.4
12 Rajasthan	184	31	16.8	184	31	16.8	176	28	-	176	28	19.9
13 W. Bengal	280	55	19.6	280	55	19.6	252	45	-	252	45	17.5
14 Himachal Pradesh	68	16	23.3	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
15 Manipur	60	1	1.7	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
16 Meghalaya	60	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
17 Tripura	60	-	1.0	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
18 Goa, Diu, Daman	30	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
19 Delhi	36	1	20.5	-	-	---	-	-	---	-	-	---
20 Tamilnadu	-	-	-	234	42	17.8	206	31	---	205	37	18.0
21 Orissa	-	-	-	140	22	15.7	140	25	---	140	25	17.5
22 U.P	-	-	-	425	89	20.9	430	89	---	430	89	20.7
Total	2727	347	12.7	3256	470	14.5	3121	471	---	3102	410	13.2

Source:- (1) 1971 figures from, Report on fifth General Election in India 1971-72. Narrative and Reflective Report, Election Commission of India, 1973, pp.128. 1967 figures from Report on Fourth General Election in India, 1967. Vol. I, Election Commission of India, 1958 p.5 (3) 1962 and 1957 figures from Report on Third General Election in India, 1952, Vol. I, p.14

However there has been some marginal work in passing some of the laws, which could not help transformation of the socio-economic status of the scheduled castes. The so called representatives of the scheduled castes are really the representatives of their respective political parties rather than the representatives of the scheduled castes. In reality they are puppets in the hands of their respective political party bosses.

Practically not a singly day has passed without atrocities being committed against the untouchables who are economically poor, socially depressed and politically unorganised. Though the constitution of India has guaranteed equality before law as safeguard against discrimination, the untouchables cannot have their grievances redressed because the offenders are also the employers and are thus economically powerful. Moreover management of law and order is in the hands of those people who belong to the (upper) castes that commit offences against the untouchables. The depressed position in which they find themselves does not permit them to seek justice which is costly and beyond their reach due to their poverty. Their grievances cannot be voiced by their representatives in parliament, state legislatures and in the district and taluk panchayats/parishads. This is because they are tools in the hands of majority which happens to be the caste Hindus. Reservation is in a way a right given to Hindus to nominate untouchables as a representatives of untouchables but in reality as a tool in the hands of Hindus for exploitation.¹

1. B.R. Ambedkar, Emancipation of the Untouchables (Bombay: Thacker and Company Limited, 1972.)

All political parties put up candidates for elections from within a majority caste or caste group. It is understandable in case of caste oriented political parties like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Jana Sangh and the Scheduled Castes Federation. It is surprising that even the Congress practises these election techniques on a large scale. In fact the Congress initiated this practice. This is because the elections are dominated by caste loyalties rather than principles. The role of election manifestos and ideologies of political parties are of minor significance in election. Therefore it has strengthened rather than weakened casteism and caste loyalties in the country.

As a result of such election practices right from the parliament and state legislatures to the district parishads, taluk panchayats and village panchayats, only the majority caste candidate gets elected irrespective of the candidate's political affiliation and principles. By and large the caste Hindus form the majority practically in all regions and among them the numerically dominant caste has the upper hand as is evident in most of the state legislatures and district and taluk panchayats.² For example Marathas in Maharashtra, Reddys and Kammas in Andhra Pradesh, Jats and Rajputs in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, Patels and Patidars in Gujarat, and Voikaligas Lingayats in Karnataka are numerically dominant castes. As a result they have thumping majority in legislatures, district and taluka panchayats/parishads and village panchayats in their respective regions. Obviously

2. Pratap Singh, Social Background of Haryana MLA : An Empirical Study, Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies (Vol.VIII, No.3; New Delhi: September 1974), p.416.

in parliament also a large number of the members belong to the numerically dominant caste of the state to which they belong.

By and large majority castes whose representatives form the majority in the legislatures commit atrocities against untouchables. Hence the problems of untouchables cannot be raised in the legislatures and laws are not made to remedy these ills. Moreover if by any chance some peripheral laws are made in favour of the untouchables, the executives and bureaucrats who are other than untouchables do not execute the laws properly. In such circumstances it is practically impossible for the untouchables to raise their voice against injustice inflicted on them.

The founding fathers of the constitution of India visualised this problem and made provision for the reservation for representatives of the untouchables in parliament and in the state assemblies. According to this provision in a reserve constituency only the untouchable or Harijan candidate can contest the election but all voters belonging to that constituency cast their votes. Whosoever gets majority of the votes is elected. In such an election system a Harijan candidate who is acceptable to the majority which happens to be of the caste Hindus will get elected. On the contrary even if all untouchables cast their votes to a candidate who is acceptable to them and who according to them might represent their hopes and aspirations in the legislature will be very badly defeated, if the caste Hindus feel otherwise. This will explain why Dr. Ambedkar, the champion of the cause of the untouchables, was defeated in post-independence elections in India. This is evident in almost all reserve constituencies of all states and regions. This is because the caste Hindus form the overwhelming majority of voters,

while the untouchable voters form less than one-fifth of the voters in various states and regions in India.

The political parties also approve the candidatures even in reserved seats of those who are acceptable to the caste Hindus rather than to the untouchables. This is precisely because they want their candidates to be elected by hook or crook. Members thus elected naturally cannot be other than the show pieces or rubber stamps in the hands of caste Hindu politicians. If the untouchable legislators or a minister tries to talk about the welfare of untouchables, he is sacked to please the caste Hindus as is evident in the removal of Mr. B. Basavalingappa from the Karnataka ministry, Mr. Tirpude from Maharashtra ministry, Mrs. Satyavani Muthu from the Tamilnadu ministry.

This is perhaps why Harijan members in the state legislatures and parliament are discovered opening their mouths only accidentally or once in a while. Even this limited speaking may have to be done according to the wishes and guidelines given by their party bosses who are none other than the caste Hindus. If the candidates elected in reserve seats fail to comply their obtaining tickets for the next election is ruled out and even if tickets are given under the pressure of the political party, their chances of getting elected are bleak. This is why the elected Harijan members are the representatives of the general constituency and not of the untouchables. This is why these meek Harijan MPs and MLAs cannot voice the problems of untouchables in the legislatures even if they feel like doing so. Ironically non-Harijan members are at times found raising the problems of untouchables in the parliament and state legislatures.

If the reservation to scheduled castes is not to be a

force and if we mean to honour the constitutional goal with regard to representation of untouchables in parliament and state assemblies, then there is a need for change in the present election system by the reserved constituency for the scheduled castes.

At present general seat members for the legislatures are elected jointly by all voters including untouchables and it should continue as usual but instead of allowing all members of the constituency to cast their votes for the reserve seat, the untouchables alone should cast their votes. As a consequence a candidate from among many who is acceptable to the untouchables and who according to them might represent their problems in the respective legislatures will be elected.

Such a candidate will be really representing the untouchables as he will be directly interested in the problems of untouchables besides the problems of general public. There should be a provision for recalling the candidate elected from the reserve constituency, if required by his untouchable voters, in order to prevent him either from crossing the floor or betraying his voters or not serving their cause. Such candidates might present the problems of untouchables better without any fear or favour of the majority castes.

In a multiparty system, untouchables might even act as a balancing force in power politics. For winning them over political parties will see that justice is done to them. This will wipe out most of the evils of caste system in general and untouchability in particular. This will go a long way in establishing equality and justice. In turn it will remove poverty and exploitation, as (some of) the poorest and the most exploited people are usually the

untouchables. This approach might be branded as separatist or against national integration. But it is not really so. It will end the slavery of the untouchables though effort may not be to the liking of the touchable majority.

If we do not alter the existing contradiction in the system, the mass of poor and frustrated untouchables might disrupt or confront the existing socio-economic order. The volcano of unrest at times erupts as observed in the case of Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra and Gujarat. The contradiction of political equality and equality before law and socio-economic inequalities and injustice in day to day life will force the hungry masses and oppressed untouchables to blow up the political superstructure so labourously built up so far. The untouchables know for certain that they have nothing to lose except perhaps their chains. When that day comes one knows not, but time may tell!

Chapter VII

ANTI-UNTOUCHABILITY MEASURES

Ancient Period

Lord Buddha was the first to attack Varnashrama Dharma, caste system and discrimination on its ground. He preached equality of all human beings irrespective of their status in Varna or caste hierarchy. He attacked the ritual purity which went a long way in annihilating the division of human beings into watertight compartments of castes. However the revival of the Vedic movement during and after the Gupta period in ancient India suppressed the movement led by Lord Buddha and further aggravated the caste multiplication in India.

Medieval Period

In the medieval period in India saints and their Bhakti-cult preached equality of human beings before God. They advocated that even the low caste person can attain the bliss of God and salvation through faith in God. Saints spread the knowledge to common masses by preaching in common, local languages rather than in Sanskrit. This was very important because, hitherto all religious precepts and knowledge was in Sanskrit which was not a common man's language. It was known to Brahmins and a few people belonging to the Dwijas, while a vast majority of the masses in general and Sudras and Ati-Sudras or Panchanamas in particular were prohibited from even learning Sanskrit and religious verses. However the saints did not preach strongly the necessity of social equality. They bothered only about the salvation after death and did not bother much about the sufferings in this life. As a result they laid emphasis on the equality of souls, salvation and heaven. Some casual references were made to the problem of human segregation and that too out of sympathy rather than to assert the birth right

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and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of state funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

Article 16 (2): No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the state.

Article 56: The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

The constitutional measures for providing protection to the weaker sections of the society and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in particular helped in the de jure abolition of discrimination and untouchability but it did not mention the de facto troubles because of the transfer of power from village to parliament, to the hands of majority caste Hindus, who had no interest in protecting the scheduled castes. It was precisely because any protection to the scheduled castes was against their interest of getting the free services of the meek untouchable serfs. The constitutional provisions remained as only decorative pieces rather than effective instruments of use. Therefore the parliament of India had to pass anti-untouchability (offences) act in 1955, after five years of experience of constitutional measures of eradication of discrimination against scheduled castes and oppression on grounds of untouchability.

Constitution of India

The constitution of the republic of India came into force from 26 January 1950. Consistent with its preamble, article 17 declares that "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law". Thus article 17 has, de jure, abolished untouchability and forbidden its practice in any form whatsoever.

Why could not Dr. Ambedkar, the principal architect of the constitution, who had always spearheaded the movement for the annihilation of caste, prevail upon the constituent assembly for the abolition of caste, the tree⁴ that bears the fruits of untouchability? It was perhaps because of the unpreparedness of the vast majority of its members. The failure to abolish caste constitutionally has resulted in untouchability being practised with renewed vigour even after independence.

The constitution of India made the following provisions against discrimination with the expectation of helping the underprivileged population, particularly the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes:

Article 15(1): The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

Article 15(2): No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or conditions with regard to: (a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or (b) the use of the wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads

The round table conference in 1932 accentuated the rift in between Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar. As a consequence the rift was reflected in a corresponding rift between the Indian National Congress and the Organisation of Scheduled Castes. Exposure of caste Hindus and Congress compelled right minded people to confess that untouchability was a blot on the Indian society. Gandhiji himself launched a propoganda drive against untouchability within the framework of broad caste system. Due to mass awakening people's representatives in legislatures initiated steps against untouchability.

The anti-untouchability movement led by Dr. Ambedkar made the British government feel the necessity of removing untouchability. After the second round table conference in 1932 one notices a radical break away from the thralldom of the ages, as a result of the efforts made by Dr. Ambedkar, Gandhiji and others for the eradication of untouchability. Consequently all states in India (except Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and Rajasthan) adopted legislations for enabling scheduled castes to exercise their rights to worship in temples and use public places and amenities. The Madras legislative council was the first to introduce a legislation for throwing open the Hindu temples to all Hindus by enacting the removal of civil disabilities act and the Malabar temple entry act in 1938.

The Bombay Harijan temple worship (removal of disabilities) act was passed in 1938 granting temple entry rights to the untouchables. Subsequent Bombay Harijan (removal of social disabilities) act of 1946 and the Bombay Harijan temple entry act of 1947 also gave them full rights in the matter. In spite of passing such acts the observance of untouchability did not become illegal.

Nevertheless in general people were influenced by the liberal western education which never advocated water-tight segments of the society like the caste system in India. The impact of western education on Indians put them in two minds, one believing in traditional casteism and untouchability and second believing in a liberal society. Slowly western educated caste Hindus because of their association with westerners and introduction to western education became less violent and rigid unlike their female folk and other caste Hindus. Such men projected themselves as liberal in the public but remained conservatives and caste minded in the private, in their family lives.

Social Reform Movement

It was Mahatma Phule, the first Indian social reformer from Maharashtra in 19 th century, who not only attacked the caste system and untouchability but led a movement in an organised way through his "Satya Sodhaka Samaj." Satya Sodhaka Samaj was actively engaged in anti-untouchability movement. This movement was the first of its kind to organise the masses and gain their confidence for abolishing caste system and untouchability. The movement was a considerable force in Maharashtra till the early part of the 20th century.

The British enacted some laws as a result of which the grip of caste system did not remain as strong as before. In the late thirties of this century the rise of Dr. Ambedkar and his collective struggle for the emancipation of untouchables created an atmosphere in favour of eradication of untouchability. For this the untouchables and their leaders did not mind paying a huge price as they realised that freedom cannot be achieved without sacrifice.

The British were interested in the maintenance of law and order for their own ends and not for the welfare of the Indian community and certainly not of the untouchables. In fact, after the "revolt" of 1857, the British government pledged not to interfere with the religious customs and traditions of India. Moreover interpretation and enforcement of the law showed respect to Hindu traditions and customs which were against the untouchables. For instance under section 61(m) of the district police act 1890, the court convicted Bhagi for her drawing water from a public cistern, knowing that the water could be drawn from it only by the high caste people without objection being raised by the Marathas or the Kunbis, even though it could not be said that the water was rendered physically less fit for the purpose for which it was ordinarily used. (Queen Express Vs Bhagi kom Nathiaba.)

An untouchable could be punished under section 295 of the Indian penal code for the offence of entering into a caste Hindu temple as observed in the cases of Bhagya Mahar in 1830. In 1924 Justice Predeaux held an untouchable guilty of a similar offence. In Atmaram Vs King Emperor the learned judge held: "When a custom that has held for many centuries ordains that an untouchable, whose very touch is, in the opinion of devout Hindus, a pollution, should not enter the enclosure surrounding the shrine of any Hindu God, and when an untouchable with the knowledge, deliberately enters a temple and defiles it, he has committed an offence within the purview of section 295 of Indian penal code."

The British rulers brought with them the western judiciary system which treated all persons as equal before the law. However they did not disturb the Indian social order because it would not have worked in their favour.

of the scheduled castes. They did not attack the practice of untouchability.

Modern Period

For the first time in India after the establishment of the British rule traffic in human beings was legally prohibited. The British brought with them the legal system which treated all persons as equal before law. However they too maintained the status quo in the social structure and relations did not make any direct attempt to abolish untouchability because they were interested in preserving and expanding the British rule in India and not in bringing about social changes. For achieving this end they did not touch the caste system and untouchability.

The British brought with them^W Western literature, science, commerce, philosophy and their ideology of constitutional law and jurisprudence which had a great impact on Indian social life. As a result the position of the untouchables improved gradually because they began to regain their status as persons in the eyes of law. The Indian penal code of 1860 and the code of criminal procedure of 1890 were generally made applicable to all persons, irrespective of their caste or creed or religion in British India.

According to section 10 of the Indian penal code, the word "man" denotes a male human being of any age and the word "woman" denotes a female human being of any age. For the purpose of applying the law equally to all persons without showing favour to a person on grounds of birth or otherwise, section 2 of the Indian penal code laid down that "Every person shall be liable to punishment under this code and not otherwise for every act or omission contrary to the provisions thereof which he shall be guilty of within India."

Chapter VIII

THE UNTOUCHABILITY (OFFENCES) ACT 1955

The untouchability (offences) act of 1955 was passed by the parliament of India¹ to spell out article 17 of the constitution of India so as to give content to the ideals of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity set forth in the preamble to the constitution.

Places of Public Worship

According to section 3 of the act to prevent any person on the ground of untouchability from entering any place of public worship open to other persons professing the same religion is an offence.

The act ensured every person belonging to a religion, a religious denomination or a section of a religious denomination entry into a place which was open to persons professing that religion, that religious denomination or that section or religious denomination and to prevent untouchability within the same religious denomination or within the same section of the religious denomination.

It was generally believed that a Hindu to whatever section or class he belonged had access to the Hindu temples of all denominations even though he might have a right of worship only in the temple which belonged to the particular faith he professed. The central act as it stands today does not allow this freedom of entry to Hindu temples to the untouchables. Legally they were entitled to enter only such temples as belonged to the class to which they belonged. On the contrary section 3

1. The untouchability (offences) act of 1955 was approved by the President of India on 8 May 1955.

of the act appears to legally perpetuate the prevailing segregation among the various religious denominations and their multiple sub-sections. As a result it perpetuates caste and casteism, while professing abolition of untouchability. In order that untouchability is abolished, caste has to be done away with.

Section 3 of the act was not sufficient. Accordingly the Bombay Hindu place of public worship (entry authorisation) act 1956 gave free right to worship at any Hindu place of worship to any Hindu, irrespective of sect, class or denomination.² Similar legislation was passed by the Uttar Pradesh government. This legislation of the ex-Bombay government is in conformity with article 25(2)(b) of the constitution, while the central act relates only to article 17 of the constitution.³

L. Elayaperumal committee⁴ pointed out following limitations in section 3 of the act: (a) It does not permit a scheduled castes person to enter a place which is open to any religion or any section of any religion to which he does not belong. (b) It preserves the distinction not only between such places that belong to different religions but even in places that belong to different denominations or sections within the religion. (c) It does not create any new rights in favour of the scheduled castes but puts them on par with the caste Hindus.

2. A Report on the Study of the Programme for the Removal of Untouchability (Government of Maharashtra, 1962).
3. P.T. Borale, Segregation and Desegregation in India (Bombay, Mankatalas, 1968), p.209.
4. Government of India (Chairman: L.Elayaperumal), Union Committee on Untouchability, Economic, Educational Development of Scheduled Castes and Connected Documents (1969), p.8.

Section 3 includes Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Lingayats, Adivasis, followers of the Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj and the Swami Narayan Sampradaya, among the Hindus. It would automatically follow that any scheduled caste would be entitled to enter any public place of worship of any of the above communities. But in reality it is not so. "The explanation appended to section 3 of the act has become redundant due to the same denominations or any section thereof."⁵

The public places of worship have also a very limited field and the legislation did not even give relief for public worship as decided in the state of Kerala Vs Venkateswara Prabhu case. To constitute an offence under section 3(b), the person prevented must either be professing the same religion as other persons to whom the place is open or in the case of denominational or sectional places of public worship, he must belong to that particular denomination or section. The court observed that the evidence that ever since the temple came into existence only Gouda Saraswath Brahmin community who wore the sacred thread have entered the "Nalamhan" made the court declare that no offence under section 3(b) is committed by preventing persons belonging to different communities or denominations from entering the "Nalamhan." Therefore the term "public" includes castes and communities of similar denomination.⁶

The legislators should have provided free access to scheduled castes persons to private or public places of worship open to the general public irrespective of the denomination or subdivision or religions such as Hindu,

5. Ibid.

6. P.T. Borale, op.cit., pp.228-29.

Jain, Veerashaiva, Christian, Muslim, Jews or Zoroastrian to whom the place of worship might belong.

The act deals with the social and economic disabilities of the scheduled castes on account of untouchability practised in the matter of access to shops, restaurants, wells, public conveyances, residential premises, use of jewellery and finery and social boycott (section 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10). But the act does not seem to cover adequately (the afore-listed) instances such as the burning alive of the Harijan boy on 24 February 1968 at Kachikacherla; the burning of houses of scheduled castes persons at Keelavenmani on 25 December 1968; the rape of a scheduled caste woman at Shirasgaon in 1966; the sacrifice of a Buddhist (ex-scheduled caste) person at Airangaon in 1972; and numerous other instances of the kind which take place in India at the rate of about 3,000 a year. Such cases do not fall within the purview of the act unless the difficult and elusive element of untouchability is proved.

Every offence stems from the inordinate lust for power that dominates the caste Hindu mind and vitiates the caste Hindu relations with the untouchables. The caste Hindu's mind is conditioned from early childhood by caste and the concept of untouchability. Therefore in every offence committed by a caste Hindu against a scheduled caste person the practice of untouchability should be presumed and should be left to the caste Hindu to prove the contrary.

Section 12 of the act states that the scheduled castes are backward socially and repressed economically for centuries and so it would be difficult for them to

vindicate their fundamental rights.⁷ The same principle may be extended to include the presumption under the existing section 12 for the purposes of section 4 to 8 and 10 of the act. The following sub-section might be included under section 12: The court shall presume the practice of untouchability committed against a scheduled caste person by a caste Hindu and the burden of proof to the contrary shall rest on the accused.

There are many cases of discrimination against scheduled castes even in the government offices because majority of the high officials and key position holders are those who have a grudge against the rise of scheduled castes from the dust. Caste ridden mind of the higher caste person takes it for granted that such a social transformation is against his vested interest and hence he tries to oppress the scheduled caste whenever and wherever possible. The helpless scheduled castes cannot fight such oppressions, all the more so because they can hardly be detected. Hence the following clauses may be added to the act:

1. The state shall not discriminate against any person on grounds of caste or untouchability.

Explanation:

- (a) Discrimination against scheduled castes shall be construed as discrimination on grounds of caste and untouchability,
 - (b) and shall be presumed to be on grounds of untouchability and the onus of proof to the contrary shall be on the accused.
2. The state shall take cognisance of discrimination on ground of untouchability practised by a teacher in

7. The Elayaperumal Committee's Report, op.cit., pp.2-10.

a school, by an employer in a commercial concern, by an officer in government office or government aided institution or statutory body etc.

3. The state shall set up a special tribunal to try such offences.

Compounding of Offences

According to section B of the act, (a) every offence under this act shall be cognisable and (b) every such offence may with the permission of the court be compounded. This provision is most detrimental to cause of abolition of untouchability.

Every offence that falls within the purview of the act is a cognisable offence as a police officer is authorised under section 4(f) read with schedule II of the code of criminal procedure to arrest the offender without warrant. This provision was considered necessary to bring the guilty to book and to exclude the aggrieved persons from the picture in the initial stages.⁸

It was argued in favour of compounding of offences that the aggrieved scheduled castes are a minority and have to live in the same village whereas the offenders are in a dominant position. If the offenders see reason and repent, it should be possible to give them a chance to mend their ways.

On the contrary those who opposed the legal provision of the compounding of offences said that it "frustrated the purpose of the act." Speaking on the bill in the Rajya Sabha on 16 September 1954, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar⁹ drew

8. Ibid., p.10.

9. Bhagwan Das (editor), Thus Spoke Ambedkar (Vol. II, Jullundur: Bheem Patrika Prakashan, 1969), p.110.

attention to the fact that the scheduled castes were not able to prosecute their persecutors for want of economic and financial means. Consequently they had to compromise with the Hindu offenders. The law remained a dead letter because those in whose favour it was enacted were unable to put it in action and offenders were able to silence the victim. The guilty parties by compounding the offence with payment of a small sum were able to get away and could continue harassing the untouchables and untouchability would never end.

If the law is not to be reduced to nullity, then any offence under this bill should be non-compoundable.¹⁰ Moreover the provision for compounding the offence has become a handy tool for the caste Hindu accused, to oppressurise the complainant and his witnesses in agreeing for a compromise by threats, promises or bribery.¹¹

Punishment

An offender may be imprisoned just for a day or fined just a rupee, though the act prescribes imprisonment of 6 months or a fine of Rs.500 or both. Technically to satisfy the provisions of the law the imprisonment could be for even less than a day and the fine could be even less than a rupee. So Dr. Ambedkar, the then law minister, pleaded for some minima fixed by law and said that the matter relating to the quantum of punishment should not be left entirely to the sweet will of the magistrate.

The Elayaperumal committee also recommended an amendment to section 3 to 7 of the act for providing minimum punishment of three months which may extend to six

10. Ibid.

11. The Elayaperumal Committee's Report, op.cit., p.11.

months along with a fine of not less than Rs.50, with a provision of extension up to Rs.200.

For a second offence under the act, the committee recommended the amendment of section 11, to provide for imprisonment extended up to one year and a fine of not less than Rs.200, with a provision of extension up to Rs.500.

For the third and subsequent offences, the committee recommended imprisonment for a term which shall not be less than one year and a fine of not less than Rs.500 but which may extend to Rs.1000.

Right from the code of Manu down to the untouchability (offences) act of 1955, so far as the theory of Hindu punishment is concerned, the advantage has always been in favour of the caste Hindus. To the extent the rights of the scheduled castes are allowed to be trampled upon, it brings the very constitution into disrepute.¹²

Shortcomings

Though article 17 of the constitution and the untouchability (offences) act 1955 are concerned with the eradication of untouchability, yet neither of them defines untouchability. The bill number 14 of 1954 which eventually became the untouchability (offences) act of 1955 explains that the untouchable means a member of a scheduled caste as defined in clause (24) of article 366 of the constitution and includes any other person who by custom or usage is regarded as an "untouchable" by any community or section thereof, excluding those who reside in the localities other than specified and converts into other religions

12. Thus Spoke Ambedkar, op.cit., p.72.

from Hindu religion.¹³

The act evaded defining untouchability by not restricting untouchability to Hindu religion alone but extending it to Christians in the south who are not allowed to enter churches and to certain Muslims who are treated in the same manner by the followers of Islam.

The absence of a definition of the term "untouchability" either in article 17 or in the untouchability (offences) act 1955 makes the constitutional guarantee for its abolition vague. Its necessity was brought home in the case of Devarajiah Vs Padmanna (1958). Shri N. Sreenivasan, the judge, observed¹⁴ that "there is no definition of the word 'untouchability' in the constitution also. The word occurs only in article 17 in inverted commas. This clearly indicates that the subject matter is not untouchability in its literal or grammatical sense but the practice as it developed historically in this country."

Though the phenomenon of untouchability surrounds us, yet it is difficult to define untouchability. It is that socio-religious condition based on the notion of "pollution, defilement and contamination" which results in giving an inferior social and religious position to the scheduled castes and precludes them from exercising their fundamental rights on account of untouchability.

13. Ratna G. Revankar, op.cit.

14. Explanation-I: A member of scheduled caste shall not cease to be such member if he resides in any locality specified in relation to him in any public notification issued or any law made by parliament under article 341 of the constitution.

Explanation-II: A member of a scheduled caste who has been converted from the Hindu religion to any other religion shall, notwithstanding such conversion, be deemed to be an untouchable for the purposes of this act.

In the Indian parliament in 1954 Dr. Ambedkar said:

- (i) There is a procedure in the criminal procedure code (sections 107, 108, 109 and 110) for taking security from persons who do not keep peace which ought to be invoked for the security of scheduled castes.
- (ii) The Indian police act should be incorporated in the untouchability (offences) act which enables the government to quarter additional police in a village to recover the cost from the villagers when some people in the village or the village as a whole disturbs the public peace.
- (iii) The act should be a central act and the constitution should make a provision of its administration by the central government¹⁵ and not by the state governments.

Social Boycott

The untouchability (offences) act provided a very weak defence to the scheduled castes against the most formidable weapon of social boycott in the hands of the caste Hindus. Section 7(i) of the act explains social boycott as a situation in which: (a) one who refuses to let such other person or refuses to permit such other person to use or occupy any house or land or refuses to deal with, for work for hire, or do business with such other person or render him or receive from him any customary service, or refuses to do any of the said things

15. Bhagwan Das (editor), op.cit, p.119.

on the terms on which such things would be commonly done in the ordinary course of business; or (b) abstains from such social, professional or business relations as he would ordinarily maintain with such other person.

Thus the boycott of one person by another person is covered by the untouchability (offences) act but not the boycott of a group of scheduled castes by a group of caste Hindus. The gravity of the social boycott of one group by another on grounds of untouchability is not realised by the act while recommending the rights of scheduled castes to public utilities. The fear of open violence and social boycott against them by orthodox castes are always possible because the scheduled castes are a minority and economically dependent on caste Hindus who happen to be a majority and economically strong. Later they can use the weapon of social boycott in a planned way against the first group even in small, ordinary matters such as purchase of land, use of good clothes or ornaments, or taking marriage procession with bridegroom on horse through the public streets by the scheduled castes.

Social boycott is not a thing of the past. Buddhists have been the victims of social boycott in Maharashtra at Bawada for setting up their own candidate for the Zilla Parishad elections against caste Hindus. The caste Hindus issued threats to the Buddhists to withdraw their candidate. But the Buddhists did not oblige. Hence the caste Hindus convened a meeting of the villagers excluding the Buddhists and they issued a mandate that no villager should employ any Buddhist or would pay a fine of Rs.500. The self-respecting Buddhists did not bow down to these threats. As a result more than three hundred men and women had to lose their bread and many were beaten and intimidated with dire consequences.¹⁶

16. Bhai Vidya in an Article: Treat Concern with Knife, in Untouchable India, (Vol.I, No.4).

Though social boycott is an unlawful means of compelling the scheduled castes not to exercise their rights, legally it is a conspiracy which is an offence according to the Indian penal code.¹⁷ Yet it is possible because of the small number and the economic dependence of the scheduled castes on caste Hindus. It needs to be dealt with firmly but if the law is to be implemented by the persons who do not have at heart the interest of the scheduled castes, of what avail is the law?

Discrimination

Untouchability is the logical culmination of the pernicious doctrine of discrimination. One cannot annihilate it without destroying discrimination rooted in the desire of Savarnas to dominate the scheduled castes by preventing them from exercising their rights for improving their lot by breaking their ancient shackles of slavery. Discrimination is another menace which must be guarded against, if the fundamental rights are to be real rights. A real right is available only if it is recognised and protected against the world over.

In the educational field the scheduled castes children are not allowed to sit along with other children, especially in the schools run in the Hindu temples. There are also cases of refusal of admission to the scheduled castes children even in a city like Bombay under one pretext or another. The scheduled castes are not employed in the weaving departments of the textile mills in Bombay. This is probably true in the textile mills in other cities such as Ahmedabad and Sholapur. In the administrative sphere it is common that scheduled castes

17. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, States and Minorities, (Bombay: Thackee and Company limited, 1947).

persons are transferred to distant places or non-scheduled castes are promoted by superseding the just claims of scheduled castes. These need to be dealt with strong hand and the law needs to be implemented in its real spirit but it does not happen because the key positions are manned predominantly by the Savarna Hindus who are not interested in the welfare of the scheduled castes.

Discrimination against citizens by government officers in public administration or by private employers in factories and commercial concerns on grounds of caste or creed or social status should be treated as an offence. The jurisdiction to try such cases should be vested in a tribunal. In all such cases observance of untouchability should be presumed and the onus of proof should be on the accused. At every level there should be panels of persons to review promotions and ensure the just claims of scheduled castes.

Most of the persons in India are communal minded, where unequal treatment from authority has been the inescapable fate of the untouchables of India.

Implementation of the Act

During 1955-1964, out of 4540 cases registered under the untouchability (offences) act of 1955, the police chalaned (chalan roughly means to book or chargesheet) 3936 cases covering 86 per cent of the total number of cases. The number of cases registered and chalaned is insignificant in comparison with the admittedly acute and wide prevalence of the practice of untouchability in the rural areas. There is also a progressive decline in the number of cases chalaned by the police from 599 in 1956 to 336 during 1964. But the diminishing number of cases is by no means an indication of a proportionate decline in the incidence of untouchability.

After 1956 there has been an overall decline in the number of cases and the number of cases chalaned. However this cannot be taken as an indication of an improvement in the social conditions in India or erosion of untouchability. As regards the number of cases chalaned, we find that only in 1955 all the 180 cases were chalaned. Subsequently the number of cases has gone up from 6.7 per cent in 1955 to 27.9 per cent in 1960 and the overall percentage of compounding of offences during the span of six years from 1955 to 1960 was 21.5 per cent.

TABLE 8.1 : NUMBER OF CASES REGISTERED AND YEARWISE POSITION OF DISPOSAL FROM 1955 to 1960

Year	No. of cases registered with the police Total	Position of the disposal of the cases at the end of each year					Percentage of compounding
		Chal- an- ed	Con- vic- ted	Acq- uit- ted	Comp- ound- ed	Pend- ing	
1955	180	180	80	12	12	76	6.7
1956	693	599	149	106	156	188	27.7
1957	492	415	87	35	85	205	20.5
1958	550	477	127	83	92	175	19.3
1959	481	401	105	70	82	144	20.4
1960	502	438	85	74	122	153	27.9
Total	2,898	2,510	637	380	549	944	21.5

Basis: Ratna G. Revankar, The Indian Constitution: A Case Study of Backward Classes, op.cit. p.120.

More twenty two years have elapsed since the enactment of the untouchability (offences) act 1955 and more than a quarter century has passed since the adoption of the consti-

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tution. Yet the grim spectre of untouchability continues to stalk the land which makes one believe that there must be something fundamentally wrong with the law and its implementation. Nevertheless in a sense the untouchability (offences) act has served to a certain extent in mitigating the evil of untouchability; it has also functioned as an instrument of consolidation for the scheduled castes.

There is the commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and the department of social welfare at the all India level. These administrative units are too general in nature and they do not specialise or deal exclusively with the problem of eradication of untouchability. At the taluk and village levels where untouchability is rampant there is no administrative machinery for this purpose. Under the zilla parishads at the taluk level, there is an extension officer for village panchayats who is assigned the welfare of the backward classes in so far as the schemes transferred to the zilla parishads are concerned. Social welfare is a subsidiary subject. The extension officer usually cannot devote as much attention as one may reasonably expect to the welfare of the backward classes because of the many other duties or jobs. At the village level there is absolutely no representative of government charged with the responsibility of safeguarding and promoting the interests of the backward classes. Democratic decentralisation of power for all practical purposes has meant the centralisation of power in the hands of the oppressors of the scheduled castes.

Realising the need for an efficient administrative machinery for the purpose, the Elayaperumal committee recommends:¹⁸ (a) An administrative wing under a "Haripal"

18. Elayaperumal Committee's Report, op.cit., pp.54-58.

and (b) A quasi-judicial wing under a "Hari-Adhikaran." The Hari-pal would be entrusted with: (1) propaganda for removal of untouchability; (2) giving such assistance and encouragement to members of the scheduled castes as is necessary in the matter of enforcing their rights; (3) investigation and collection of information regarding alleged social disabilities; and (4) prosecution of persons under the untouchability (offences) act and other laws.

The quasi-judicial wing under the "Hari-Adhikaran" would have the necessary judicial powers to record evidence, to issue interim injunctions-- prohibitory and mandatory injunctions; to grant damages etc. Such a judicial wing is needed if the act is to be enforced expeditiously. Table 8.1 shows that out of 2,510 cases chalaned during the year 1955-1960, as many as 944 cases accounting for 37.6 per cent were pending. In this manner justice delayed is justice denied.

Administrative Setup

Whenever a new law is enacted, a corresponding provision is made in the administrative setup of the police department. But in the interest of the 14 per cent of the population involved, nobody thought of making such provision when the untouchability (offences) act 1955 was brought into force. The special police force should have been manned and as far as possible commanded by able officers from among the scheduled castes themselves. If we consider how a caste Hindu police force works in dealing with complaints regarding untouchability, the need for a scheduled caste police force will become evident.

In order to focus the attention of the entire administrative machinery on the need to abolish untouchability, it should be made an article of faith for the administrative machinery. This should be especially insisted upon in the state services. There should be a rule that no officer would be promoted if he has practised untouchability in any form. The welfare of the scheduled castes is a special responsibility of the commissioner for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under article 338 of the constitution of India. Also as the untouchability (offences) act is a central act, it would be in the fitness of things that its implementation is taken up by the government of India rather than the state governments which are unable to enforce the provisions due to the local forces and interest groups.

~~SECRET~~
ROOTS OF EXPLOITATION IN INDIA

Introduction

The logic of exploitation in Marxian model is derived from the production relations in the functional domain of economic activity. The class approach lends itself to the problems of economic exploitation and social degradation generated by the production relations. But the social exploitation in the sphere of social relations as prevailing in the Indian society today has a dimension very different from the one in the sphere of the production relations. If we grant that the class approach is not directly relevant to the problems of social exploitation at this stage, it would seem worthwhile to substitute the caste approach for class approach to the social system of India today. In this the following problems assume relevance:

1. What is the principal source of exploitation generated from the social stratification of society as found in the caste system of India?
2. How does social exploitation breed economic, political and judicial exploitation?
3. In what respect is the exploitation generated from the social relations and the production relations different?
4. Is the dichotomy between caste approach and class approach to social transformation in the prevailing condition of Indian

Source of Social Relations

The distance in time obscures the rational basis of social relations. However the various bits of historical evidences available suggest that the social relations

from which the caste system draws its sustenance might have originated from the superstition of the divine right. The Varna system provides some basis for the emergence of the institution of castes built on the divine superstition. Accordingly those who emerged from the divine mouth of Brahma known as Brahmins (priests) were engaged in educational pursuits; those who emerged from the divine arms of Brahma known as Kshatriyas (warriors) took to arts of warfare and administration; those who emerged from the divine thighs of Brahma known as Vaishyas (traders) were assigned to carry on agriculture, trade and commerce; and finally those who emerged from the divine feet of Brahma known as Sudras (servants) were to serve the upper castes. The essential thing is that these four Varnas emerged as part and parcel of the divine system. The subjugation and absorption of aboriginals outside the Varna community known as Avarnas (Dasa, Dasyus, Mlechas etc.) might have improved the social lots of the Sudras as their burden could be shared by the Avarnas.

The laws and regulations governing the social relations of the castes in the Varna system as laid down in Manusmriti were detrimental to the social interests of the Sudras and the Avarnas. The social relations as distinguished from the production relations in the domain of economic activity are dependent on and governed by the divine superstition of rights. Herein lies the fundamental source of social exploitation and its inevitable consequences as both the exploiter and the exploited submitted to the divine superstition equally. The religious sanctity underlying the social relations renders them neutral to forces of change from without. The rights and privileges and duties derived from birth rather than worth as a unique feature of the system imparted a built in rigidity the social relations among the castes.

Besides the system divided itself into Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas as a class on the one side and Sudras and Avarnas as a class on the other. The former is a class which enjoyed rights and privileges far in excess of the duties, which we might well call the higher castes or the privileged class. In contrast the Sudras and Avarnas is a class which has been denied rights and privileges equal to duties, which we might well call the lower castes or the underprivileged class. This very division of the caste system into privileged and underprivileged derived from the social relations and built into the social system presupposes social exploitation of the underprivileged by the privileged.

Social Exploitation

The social exploitation manifests itself in a variety of ways in the Indian society even today. Examples abound in this respect. The social exploitation of the scheduled castes by the higher castes is revealed from the following reported incidents: Preventing the scheduled castes, such as Balmikis in Uttar Pradesh, Meharas in the Punjab, Chamars in Bihar, Bodas in Orissa, Madags in Andhra Pradesh, Mahars and Mangs in Maharashtra, Bankays in Gujarat and so on, from using public roads, drawing water from public wells, entering temples of worship, bathing in public baths; parading of their women naked in the streets, raping, arson, looting and burning of men, women and children indiscriminately on one pretext or the other or no pretext at all.

1. P.C. Gandhi, Caste Distinction, Times of India (Ahmedabad; 14 July 1973.)

In many villages of Uttar Pradesh, one section of the underprivileged or scheduled caste known as Balmikis are not allowed to draw water from the well maintained by higher castes. A collector of a district in Uttar Pradesh belonging to higher caste had forbidden a scheduled caste sweeper to enter the drawing and office room though he was allowed in the bathroom. In some villages in Alighrah district of Uttar Pradesh the scheduled castes people were forced to trek four kilometers to have a shave as the village barber was not allowed to serve them by the orders of the higher castes. In the villages of Moradabad district, marriage parties of scheduled castes are not permitted to pass through the streets inhabited by higher castes. In many villages in Uttar Pradesh the higher castes people force the scheduled castes to surrender their ration cards and use them for their own benefit. In the schools of Uttar Pradesh, Mysore (Karnataka) and Gujarat children belonging to scheduled castes are made to sit separately and even drink water from separate pitchers.

In Yerengaon village in Nagpur district of Maharashtra a scheduled caste youth was offered as a sacrifice to propitiate the Gods.² A scheduled caste youth of 24 was tied to a tree and beaten to death in Peravalipalan village in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh as he was suspected to have stolen a Mangalsutra from a high caste family.³

A scheduled caste boy in Kanchikacherla village in Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh was burnt alive by

2. Shreed Mahatekar, Dainik Sandhya (Poona: 14 December 1971.)

3. Statesman (Calcutta: 5 August 1974.)

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higher castes on grounds of suspicion. The very conservative statistics of the ministry of home affairs show that as many as 1112 scheduled castes people were murdered by higher castes people during 1967-69 alone.⁴ In Kolegaon village in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra the scheduled caste people were not allowed to drink water from the well used by the higher caste and as a result were forced to drink from the well with polluted water resulting in deaths. In Chakesar village in Janunpur district scheduled caste people were prohibited from using roads by higher castes. The scheduled castes people who attempted to use the roads were severely beaten along with their women and children.⁵ In the M.G. Polytechnic near Agra in Uttar Pradesh scheduled castes students were forced by higher caste students to leave the institution. Those who remained in spite of the harassment were severely beaten resulting in loss of life. In the same place scheduled castes students were forced to polish the shoes of higher castes. On the annual day when a scheduled caste student helped himself from a plate of refreshments laid on a table, he was severely beaten up by higher castes students.⁶

In some parts of central India the scheduled castes are not allowed to use roads, public bath, public wells, public schools etc. by the higher castes. The scheduled castes women are not allowed to wear gold and silver ornaments and fancy clothes. Moreover they are ordered to carry messages of birth and deaths of the higher castes in far away places as and when required. In addition they are required to play music in marriages of higher castes.

4. Times of India (Ahmedabad: 24 July 1973).

5. Times of India (Bombay: 24 August 1973.)

6. Times of India (Bombay: 22 July 1973.)

They are not allowed to demand remuneration for rendering these services but to accept whatever is offered.⁷

In Sargasan village in Mehasana district of Gujarat scheduled castes were beaten up by higher castes for using musical instruments in a marriage ceremony.⁸

The scheduled castes women, in village Shirasgaon in Aurangabad district in 1965 and in village Brahringaon in Parbhani district in 1972 (in Maharashtra state), were paraded naked by high castes led by the village headman. In Gahalan village of Monghyr district in Bihar state, armed police raided scheduled castes localities at midnight and brutally assaulted men, women and children. Women (aged 16 to 40) were raped by policemen and even a lady in postnatal care for 20 days was not spared. The enquiry commission observed that the deputy superintendent of police, the medical officer and the Bihar government were suppressing the facts.⁹ It is evident that not only the higher castes people but even the administrators of law and judiciary and government either create or take sides in the atrocities perpetrated on the scheduled castes. It is precisely because they too belong to the higher castes.

Economic Exploitation

Even within an economic class, say, labour, the exploitation of the scheduled castes will differ radically from that of the higher castes. If this were not the case, how can one explain the built in antagonism between castes within the labour class? The differential economic

7. P.T. Borale, Segregation and Desegregation (Bombay: Manaktalas; 1968), pp.2-3.

8. Ibid., p.4.

9. Dainik Lok Vijaya (Aurangabad: 11 September 1973.)

exploitation faced by the scheduled castes and the higher castes in the same economic class can be illustrated by the following examples.

In Kilvenmani village in Tanjore district of Tamilnadu, 42 scheduled castes people were burnt alive for demanding wages on par with their higher castes counterparts.¹⁰ Not only the universal principle of equity, of paying equal wage for equal work, was denied. The scheduled castes also lost their lives for demanding a fair deal.

A similar demand for fair deal from the scheduled castes in Ramannapalli in Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh resulted in physical assault and burning down of their huts.¹¹ The scheduled castes people of Sarma village in Porbandar district of Gujarat state were allotted government waste land for cultivation. The higher castes people got annoyed with this and assaulted the scheduled castes people and razed their huts to the ground and forced them to flee for safety to Porbandar.¹² Examples amply show that even within the same economic class, the social and economic exploitation faced by the scheduled castes are far greater than those faced by their higher castes colleagues. Moreover socially exploited scheduled castes seem to be more vulnerable to economic exploitation.

Political Exploitation

Social exploitation breeds not only economic exploitation but also political exploitation. The nature and extent of the exploitation of the scheduled castes are reported periodically by the chief election commissioner. Preventing the scheduled castes voters from going to the

10. Times of India (Ahmedabad: 15 July 1973.)

11. Statesman (Calcutta: 5 August 1974.)

12. Indian Express (Bangalore: 29 June 1974.)

polling booths, threats of physical assault, social and economic sanctions against filing a nomination to contest elections particularly at the state and local government levels, intimidation for not voting in elections or voting for rival candidates and so on are the typical forms of political exploitation. Since scheduled castes votes are too scattered to influence the outcome of an election decisively in any area or constituency, all political parties find it worth their while to concentrate on the votes as well as the goodwill of the higher caste voters. Here again it is clear that the nature and extent of political exploitation to which the scheduled castes are subjected is unparalleled when compared to that of their higher caste colleagues in the same economic class.

Social exploitation breeds economic exploitation and they together tend to generate political exploitation. The scheduled castes were prevented from going to polling booths to cast their votes in Saharanpur, Meerut and Aligarh districts in Uttar Pradesh. Those who went to the polling booth against the wishes of the higher castes were subjected to legal, economic and social sanctions besides third degree methods by the higher castes.¹³ In Kasurdi village in D und taluk of Maharashtra scheduled castes were subjected to threats of physical assault for filing a nomination for contesting panchayat election by a scheduled caste lady and as a result the scheduled castes people were forced to run away from the village.¹⁴

In Bombay city people belonging to the same economic class fought against each another due to political reasons. The workers belonging to scheduled castes were ruthlessly

13. Times of India (Ahmedabad: 14 July 1973.)

14. Maratha (Bombay: 12 June 1974.)

beaten up by their higher castes counterparts for boycotting elections in 1974. As we have noted, the successive reports of the chief election commissioner have indicated the nature and extent of such social intimidation to which lower castes voters are subjected.

Judicial Bottlenecks

The vicious circle of social, economic and political exploitation of the scheduled castes by the higher castes is strengthened by legal loopholes and judicial bottlenecks in India. The criminals responsible for arson, loot, rape, killing of innocent men, women and children, humiliating women and so on have all gone unpunished as the culprits have been acquitted by the judiciary. An obvious reason for this bottleneck and loophole in law is prejudice which is more widespread and deep-seated than most people would like to admit. It is by no means confined to the illiterate villagers or lower echelons of the administration. As a matter of fact it pervades the entire society. Instead of enlightenment travelling downwards from the top, prejudice seems to be seeping menacingly upwards from below. It may be blatant or insidious; it may operate sub-consciously or consciously, but it is there. However the prejudice, and deep-seated widespread, is one thing and social ostracism and persecution is another. The first need not and should not lead to the second but unfortunately it does.

If this prejudice were not the reason, how does one explain the curious judgement of the judiciary that the gentlemen farmers, even when aroused to irrational anger, are by definition incapable of slaughtering scheduled castes. It appears to be lost sight of that the gentlemen farmers would rather hire assassins from among the same poor economic class to do the job for them. Such an

attitude has far more harmful effect on the thinking and behaviour of the higher castes who may think that there is nothing wrong in taking recourse to violence which leads to frequent slaughter of the scheduled castes on the flimsiest grounds or sometimes no grounds at all.

Production Relations Vs Social Relations

The production relations which are the source of economic exploitation result in social degradation and political privations of the workers as a class under non-socialist systems. The absence of labour unions under such conditions tends to aggravate economic exploitation, social degradation and political privations. On the contrary the presence of labour unions tend to alleviate the magnitude of economic exploitation and its consequence. But the total elimination of exploitation under such conditions cannot be achieved in the absence of total socialisation of the means of production and liquidation of the exploiters as a class. It is from this standpoint that the class antagonism as the vehicle of transforming a non-socialist society into a socialist one through revolution needs to be appreciated.

But the social relations derived from the divine superstition to which the exploiters and the exploited meekly submit cannot be altered by the class approach. For the social relations based as they are on the divine superstition are independent of the production relations of the same society. Since social exploitation breeds economic and political exploitation, the causal chain is also dimensionally different in this case. Moreover in the same economic class say, labour, there is caste antagonism between the higher and the scheduled castes. This is inadmissible and alien to the class analysis and

therefore should be regarded as a special feature of the Indian society. To miss this essential distinction between class approach and caste approach to the analysis of social transformation in the Indian context is to close our eyes to the social realities.

Is the Dichotomy Real?

This distinction between class approach and caste approach to social transformation may look conflicting on the surface. A closer examination of the caste approach as the first step will show that both caste and class approaches are two successive stages of social transformation in the Indian context. This is why a society like ours, chained in the divine-supersitition which is the foundation of social relations, cannot be prepared for social transformation without bursting the divine chain of supersitition as the first and indispensable step. This will pave the way not only for the elimination of social exploitation but also for organising the masses for the second stage on materialistic lines of class approach towards the ultimate goal of social transformation. Therefore the caste approach becomes the prime mover of social change and will give way to the class approach once the runway for the class approach is built. A classless society cannot be easily achieved in the foreseeable future without passing through the first stage of a casteless society.

Although caste system as a social reality continues to guide the choice of candidates for contesting elections on the political plane, there seems to be some built in reluctance to accept the caste approach to social transformation at the formal level. This is not surprising since the high castes voters influence the outcome of the elections decisively and therefore all political parties,

rightist and leftist, have been forced by necessity rather than design to depend on the goodwill of the higher castes majority. Naturally the political odds are heavily weighed against the interests of the scheduled castes. For this reason even the leftist parties find it difficult to go along caste lines to social transformation. There is no denying the fact that the choice between class approach and caste approach will necessarily entail the political choice between short-run gains and long-run gains. Since life is too short and human motivations are what they are, it is doubtful whether even men at the helm of leftist political parties will sacrifice short-run gains for long-run gains. So long as this sacrifice of the present for the future is not readily forthcoming, neither we nor our great-grand children will see castelessness or classlessness in our society.

Chapter - X

SUMMING UP AND CONCLUSIONS

Genesis of Caste System

The ancient Indian society was originally divided into three Varnas viz., the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The struggle for supremacy between the Brahmins and Kshatriyas gave rise to the Sudra as a Varna. The Sudras were rebellions, Kshatriyas who were defeated by the Brahmins and were given an inferior socio-economic and religious status. Discriminative laws were detrimental to the interest of the Sudras and were made to prevent Sudras from revolting against the system. This classification of the society into four Varnas was later on treated as divine and was glorified by the priestly class.

The Varna system and the supremacy of the Vedas were challenged by lord Buddha and Vardhaman Mahaveer. However, Vardhaman Mahaveer accepted the supremacy of Brahmins and his disciples also appointed Brahmins as their priests while Buddhists did not do so. As a result they were involved in clashes with the Brahmin Varna.

The struggle for supremacy of Buddhists was curbed by Brahmins with the help of Kshatriyas wherever it was possible. Those who surrendered were allowed to stay outside the settlements and were given a status lower than even the Sudras. Similarly non-Aryan tribes or foreigners (mlechas) and other tribes which were hostile to Aryans and the Vedic system were defeated and were not included in the four Varnas but they were but outside the Varna system and were referred to as Avarnas or Panchamas. In addition to these people from among the four Varnas of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra who had matrimonial relations outside their specific Varna degenerated and most of them were thrown outside the Varna system. Eventually they were also made the fifth Varna. The Panchamas or Avarnas were treated very badly and were forced to remain as untouchables and slaves. This process of segregation continued and aggravated in course of time. They were treated as unapproachable untouchables and unseeables.

Discriminative +Laws

Laws were made in such a way that the privileges were more for the higher Varna and less for the lower Varna, while liabilities were more for lower Varna and less for higher Varna, that is, Brahmins had the maximum privileges and minimum liabilities and Sudras and the minimum privileges and maximum liabilities. In fact the Sudras had only liabilities and no privileges as they had been assigned duties of serving the upper three Varnas without grudge and without rewards.

A Sudra was not permitted to have any property and

if at all he possessed it, his master or the Brahmin was free to seize it without any difficulty. The very sight of a possession of wealth by a Sudra would injure the Brahmin. As a result the Sudras were put in a condition of perpetual poverty and subjugation. They were not given the right of learning and their attempts to learn or hear religious scriptures were punished by pouring hot melted lead in their ears and cutting off their tongues. For all practical purposes the Sudras were treated as slaves and were segregated from the society.

In order that the social frame may be kept intact and free from challenges from within various prohibitive laws and punishments were prescribed. All Varnas were not treated equal before the law. For similar offences discriminative punishments were prescribed. For example if the Sudras used strong words to a Brahmin, Kshatriya or a Vaishya, he was given corporal punishment. On the contrary, even if a Sudra was killed by the upper Varna, the offender was fined 10 cows which were given to the Brahmin. Such was the fantastic judicial system of those days. This is why the Varna system not only could remain intact for centuries but went on adding hundreds of castes and subcastes to Indian society.

The castes multiplied fast because of the marriages system which prevented marital relationships across the Varnas. Marriages outside the Varna gave rise to new castes in addition to four Varnas. Therefore they were known as Avarnas or Panchamas or Antyajas.

Scheduled Castes and Their Status

The concept of pollution was also prevalent during ancient times. Those castes from among Avarnas due to

whose touch ritual purity was believed to disappear, were treated as untouchables. Their position was the worst. It appears that in course of time the burden of Sudras might have been shifted to those Avarnas. The British in India named these castes as depressed castes and enumerated them systematically in the census of India 1931. They were listed in a schedule in 1935 and termed as scheduled castes by the government of India order of 1936. Scheduled castes were socially oppressed and economically exploited. The then British government did something to improve the conditions of the scheduled castes.

In 1947 India got independence and the size of population acquired importance due to the acceptance of popular democracy and adult franchise. The right to vote was given even to the scheduled castes and some protection was given to them in the constitution of India. The framers of the constitution of India thought it necessary to give some constitutional safeguard to the scheduled castes as they are socially oppressed, economically exploited and culturally backward. In spite of the provisions in the constitution of India, scheduled castes continued to be oppressed and exploited. Even after independence, untouchability is observed in various forms in various states throughout India. For example they are legally allowed to enter the public places, places of worship, the hotels, to draw water from public wells etc. but in practice they are neither in a position to avail themselves the benefits of the constitutional provisions nor are they allowed to do so. They still continue to stay outside the main village settlement. They are discriminated even in public places and offices.

The Antyajas or untouchables were deprived of the

religious rights. They were segregated and made to reside outside the village. They had no status of a person before law and therefore no civic or political rights were given to them. This system blocked their vertical social and cultural mobilities. The lowest castes were treated as slaves and they could be purchased and sold like cattles or land on which they dwelt upon. The British government banned it in 1792. Further in 1843 an act was passed by which the right of claiming a slave could not be investigated by the public offices. But the codes of 1862 respected the caste distinctions, ceremonies and prohibitions.

The scheduled castes had to keep a physical distance from the higher castes while talking. They were required to use honorific words such as lord, parents, sir, etc. for the higher castes, and degrading words while referring to themselves. Even their names used to be indications of filth, dirt, inauspicious, dishonour etc. Their use of clothes or fancy clothes, shoes, ornaments, good food, ghee, sweets, etc. or better living was treated as an insult of higher castes. Hence they were prohibited from using them and in case of use were punished with an iron hand.

The touch of scheduled castes of animate or inanimate things was treated as pollution. Therefore they were forbidden from using public roads, choultry, water etc. as also engaging themselves in economic activities such as, business, work in the house, in well or carrying food stuff, water etc. as these things would pollute.

Bringing false cases against the Avarnas in village panchayats, courts, grazing their agricultural fields, destroying their huts was a regular phenomenon. This

compelled them to render services without remuneration, convey intimation of death of any higher caste person to his relations, play musical instruments at the time of marriages of higher castes and carry the carriages of animals. In brief their position was like that of a deaf and dumb slave.

If scheduled caste persons insisted upon doing something against this brutal practice, they were punished without any sanction of law by way of beating, harassing, killing, setting their huts on fire, burning alive, stripping women naked and parading them in the village roads, raping or killing, sacrificing scheduled castes before Hindu gods etc. Such things are not stories of the remote past but even after 30 years of independence they are taking place in India. Some times filth, dead dogs, cats etc. are thrown to wells of scheduled castes. Their lives are made miserable by boycotting them and also by destroying their crops. Their lives are made miserable as they are compelled to perform duties against their interests. They are prevented from performing civic duties, such are the many other atrocities that are committed against the scheduled castes.

According to the 1971 census of India, out of 548 millions population, 80 millions forming 15 per cent of the total population are scheduled castes. A large number of scheduled caste population is found in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Bihar. Their proportions are also high in these states. The proportion of scheduled caste population to total Hindu population of 27.4 per cent in 1901 came down to 16.9 per cent in 1951 and 14.7 per cent in 1961. Thus the proportion of scheduled caste population is constantly going down since the last six decades.

The density of scheduled caste population is the highest in Kerala followed by West Bengal.

Scheduled Caste Population

According to the census of India (1971), the scheduled caste population is 8.0 crores. Scheduled caste population is much underenumerated in the census of India reports as all scheduled castes are not enumerated as scheduled castes in all the states of India as even within a state they are not enumerated as scheduled castes in all districts. Specific castes in specific regions of specific states are enumerated as scheduled castes. Some castes are eliminated from the scheduled castes list. Beside this many scheduled caste people do not enumerate themselves as scheduled castes due to the attachment of the stigma of untouchability to these castes. Sometimes they report that they belong to other castes. Thus there is gross underenumeration of scheduled caste population. Probably because of these reasons the proportion of scheduled caste population to Hindu population has gone down from 27.4 per cent in 1901 to 14.69 per cent in 1961.

According to the census of India (1971), out of 54.8 crores population, as large as 8 crores forming 15 per cent of the total population are scheduled castes. Among the states in India, Uttar Pradesh had the largest scheduled caste population followed by West Bengal and Bihar. Their proportions to general population are above all India average of 14.7, in Tamilnadu, Orissa, the Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and among union territories, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Pondicherry and Haryana. Scheduled castes form the largest proportion of 28 per cent in Himachal Pradesh followed by 21 per cent of Uttar Pradesh

and 20 per cent in the Punjab. On the other hand they form the lowest 6 per cent in Maharashtra followed by 6 per cent in Assam and 7 per cent in Gujarat according to the census of India (1961). Generally speaking their proportions are lower in southern states excepting in Tamilnadu. This may also be attributed to their conversion into other religions in the past. But the density of the scheduled caste population is the highest in Kerala followed by West Bengal.

In general it is observed that the proportion of scheduled castes are lower in urban areas as compared to those in rural areas of all the states and union territories of India. This also reflects their lower urbanisation as compared to the rest of the population. However their urbanisation is on the higher side in the Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra. It seems that they have also kept pace with the urbanisation of the general population during the last decade (1961-1971).

Levels of Education

Literacy rates among scheduled castes are obviously lower as compared to those of non-scheduled castes in the various regions of India. This was mainly because they were prohibited from learning since ages. However during recent times and particularly after independence their literacy rates are improving. These educational levels are around one per cent both in rural and urban areas of all states of India excepting around 2 per cent in Kerala. Those who pursued education above matriculation have gone for non-technical education. This was due to their weak socio-economic background.

Literary rates of females belonging to scheduled

castes are very low and their educational level is at the rock bottom level. The rate of increase in the level of education is very slow in the case of scheduled caste females. This is because scheduled caste population is socially backward and oppressed; within them the position of female is the worst.

Educational levels of scheduled castes are higher in urban areas as compared to those of rural areas because of the less rigid socio-economic setup in urban areas as against those in rural areas. Moreover educated scheduled caste people from rural areas find it difficult to get absorbed in rural areas due to lack of adequate occupational opportunities. Therefore they migrate to urban areas in search of livelihood and thus add to the rates of levels of education in urban areas.

Working Force

Participation rates of scheduled castes in working force are higher than those of non-scheduled castes both in rural and urban areas of various states in India as they do not possess any other source of living than selling of their labour. These participation rates in working force are higher in rural areas than those of urban areas except in Maharashtra, West Bengal and Manipur. Higher percentage of working force of scheduled castes in urban areas of Maharashtra and West Bengal are due to the migration of scheduled caste from rural areas to urban areas. Moreover big metropolitan cities like Bombay and Calcutta are located in these states which attract and absorb rural scheduled caste labour force in unskilled professions. The proportion of scheduled caste cultivators is less than the proportion of non-scheduled caste cultivators while the situation with agricultural labourers

is the opposite. This is because the scheduled castes in many states do not possess agricultural lands. Similarly the proportion of scheduled castes in activities like construction, mining, quarrying, forestry, hunting, plantation etc. are much more than those of non-scheduled castes. On the other hand, the proportions of non-scheduled castes in more remunerative activities like, manufacturing, transportation, storage and communication, trade, commerce and cultivation, Even if scheduled castes are employed in manufacturing, commerce and trade, transport and communication activities, they are given menial jobs such as scavengers, messengers, coolies etc. which are low paid jobs even in highly remunerative activities. Therefore merely enumerating the employment of scheduled castes in these industries itself does not give any idea about their economic status. An occupational classification of scheduled castes would be necessary to know the changes in their occupational pattern. Hence the occupational classification of scheduled castes should be given as is done in case of general population.

Industrial Concentration of Scheduled Castes

With the given employment statistics regarding the general population and the scheduled caste population, an attempt has been made to find out specialisation of scheduled castes among themselves and also of workers belonging to non-scheduled castes among themselves in various industries. The non-scheduled caste population is concentrated as cultivators in half of the states in India, while the scheduled castes are concentrated as agricultural labourers in 10 states. This amply gives an idea of the economic dependence of scheduled castes particularly in rural areas on the non-scheduled castes,

as an average agricultural labourer gets only three to four months employment in a year on a daily wage basis. Besides this few days employment, wages paid to them are at the mercy of the landlords. Moreover in course of time, farm families themselves are growing and dividing; and subsequently their lands are also being divided. Increase in the population of the farm family does not need more hired agricultural labourers. This further aggravates the unemployment problem of scheduled caste agricultural labourers.

Concentration of working force in an activity of a region is a function of the concentration of economic activity in that particular region. But the concentration of scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes in various industries differs. For example concentration of scheduled caste in mining, quarrying, live stock keeping etc. is found in those states and union territories where non-scheduled castes are also concentrated. The concentration of both scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes, in manufacturing and household industries are mutually exclusive, that is, wherever manufacturing activity is concentrated, household industrial activity is not concentrated and vice versa. But the specialisation of both scheduled caste and non-scheduled caste workers in construction, trade, commerce and transport and communication activities are mutually associated.

The scheduled castes of Assam are concentrated in trading and commercial activities. Scheduled castes in urban areas are concentrated in manufacturing industries of Assam, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Delhi and Tripura. They have higher specialisation coefficients in the various industries of

urban areas as compared to those of rural areas in the corresponding regions. They do not have higher specialisation even in a single industry in rural or urban areas of Bihar, Tamilnadu, Orissa, the Panjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Nagaland and NEFA.

Participation in Politics

Until recently the scheduled castes had no political powers. Only after the adoption of the constitution of India, scheduled castes were treated on par with non-scheduled castes in the eyes of the law. The founding fathers of the constitution of India accepted the principle of adult franchise. As a consequence the scheduled castes also got the right of voting which elevated their status as far as their political life is concerned.

The scheduled castes were also granted reserved seats in legislatures in proportion to their population. For the first time in India a unique opportunity was made available to scheduled castes by the framers of the constitution for enabling them to have an upward socio-political mobility. According to this provision in the constitution of India, 77 scheduled caste members were elected to parliament of India. This number of scheduled caste members in a parliament of 524 members is a sizable. The total parliamentary seats increased to 100 during the last two decades but the reserved seats for the scheduled castes increased by one only. In some states like Maharashtra, Karnataka, the Punjab etc. the reserved seats for scheduled castes were dereserved.

It was expected that the scheduled caste candidates in state legislatures or in parliament would voice the problems of the scheduled castes in the respective houses

and get them solved. But the experience of 27 years of parliamentary democracy is not encouraging. This is because a scheduled caste candidate is nominated on the reserved seat by the political parties, only when he is acceptable to the non-scheduled castes voters and he is not the choice of the scheduled caste voters. It is natural that when the non-scheduled caste voters constitute 86 per cent against the 14 per cent of scheduled castes in the total electorate. Even if the scheduled caste voters refrain themselves from casting their votes, yet the candidate can get elected when non-scheduled caste voters favour him. Therefore for getting elected the reserved candidate has to be submissive to non-scheduled caste voters more than to the non-scheduled caste members in the legislatures. This explains why a scheduled caste member in the legislature or parliament is found opening his mouth on rare occasions on the problems of scheduled castes. This situation leads to the need of electing scheduled caste members on reserved seats who will speak for them for their uplift from their present socio-economic and depressed conditions. Therefore a provision should be made so as to enable the scheduled caste voters to send their real representatives by allowing only scheduled caste members to cast their votes for the reserved seats and non-scheduled caste members. Thus elected scheduled caste candidates on reserved seats will be more responsible to the scheduled castes and at the same time they will be free from fears and pressures of their political bosses and non-scheduled caste voters while expressing their concern about the problems of scheduled castes.

The Indian parliament passed an anti-untouchability (offences) act 1955, but left the implementation of it

to the state governments which are not free from the pressures of the majority community committing atrocities against scheduled castes. With the passing of such an act, a provision for an administrative set up was not made. As a result the execution of this the act was left at the mercy of the same executive machinery which is dominated by non-scheduled castes who really do not take task to their hearts. The execution of this act should have been given to the able officers from among scheduled castes only who know where the shoe pinches. The provision of impounding of offence defeated the very purpose of the act as the scheduled castes are economically poor and socially oppressed and hence cannot avail of the benefit of this act due to their economic dependence on non-scheduled castes. The punishment prescribed is not rigorous and judges gave nominal and minimum punishments without violating the provisions in the act.

The social, economic and cultural disabilities of scheduled castes, their social oppression and economic exploitation are mainly due to their status in the caste hierarchy. Therefore the roots of caste system itself needs destruction rather than perpetuating it in the present form.

In the context of the previous 9 chapters we have sought to sketch profiles of the scheduled castes in India. We have seen how the scheduled castes arose centuries ago and how they developed into the various subcastes and groups in the context of the wider fold of Hinduism. We have also seen the population distribution of the various scheduled castes groups in the various parts of the country. As regards the manpower utilisation we have seen that the scheduled castes people are distributed in the various sectors and levels of India's economic and industrial life. They are there in agriculture, petty trades, industries and other lines. But we must hasten to add that they are there in these areas not so much as owners or operators or proprietors but as workers or labourers who go there to sell their labour. Their participation rate in these various areas is very high. But their participation rate as owners or entrepreneurs is pretty low. In the 6th chapter we have seen the pattern of participation in politics of the various types of the scheduled castes at the level of the parliament and the various state assemblies and other bodies such as those of Panchayat Raj and local bodies. In chapter 7 we have seen the nature of the anti-untouchability measures and in chapter 8 we have set forth the particular nature of the particular measure, 1955 untouchability offences act. In the 9th chapter we have seen briefly how Marxist or the communist viewpoint is less helpful on the problem of castes in India.

Now we have discussed the various classes and categories of castes and subcastes as we have listed them out in detail in the rather long appendix. We find that the scheduled castes are not only numerous, they are also fairly widely distributed throughout the

country. One immediate conclusion that occurs to one's mind is that such a large population as this has been kept in disadvantageous or semi-slavish position for centuries. The first impact of such a step is that a country like India happens to keep a very considerable section of its population in weak and backward state. Those who believe and advocate building the political, economic and other types of strength and power of India cannot afford to ignore the weaknesses and backwardness which have been imposed on the scheduled castes people in India. So elementary commonsense would suggest that these people should be brought up on par with rest of the population, particularly the so called caste Hindus, for, as we have seen, while the non-Hindu religions or communities are also affected by traces of casteist thinking and maintenance of distances between some persons and the others on the basis of purity and pollution, it is Hindu community and the Hindu fold which is central in the evolution and practice of caste philosophy and organisation. Therefore when we are seeking parity or social equality of the scheduled castes, the parity or equality has to be thought in terms of the caste Hindus who looked down upon others as belonging to low or impure or polluted categories. Indeed some leaders of the Hindus, particularly the leaders of Hindu Mahasabha and other parties, have advocated the upgradation of the scheduled castes people and their elevation in line with the caste Hindus from a purely community point of view. That is to say, they have advocated that these down-trodden sections of the Hindu population should be brought up on par with the rest of the Hindus so that the Hindu society as a whole becomes more numerous, better organised and stronger than before. Further, they advocate, if the down-trodden sections of the Hindu society are suitable absorbed or integrated with

the caste Hindus, their possible loss to the Hindu society by their conversion to other religions such as Christianity or Islam can be avoided. To some extent, we may admit, this thinking and line of argument have produced salutary effect on some sections of the Hindus. But the positive effect produced by such line of thinking has not influenced the minds of any substantial number of Hindus who still remain more or less attached to the caste philosophy and practice. In the various chapters so far we have discussed the ways and means of improving the lot, the profiles, of the scheduled castes people. Some of the measures that can be put forward in this regard can be stated as follows:

1. The first step or measure that can be thought of in this regard is to carry on an information and propaganda campaign in order to eliminate casteist line of thinking. The information and propaganda campaign has to be carried on both by official and non-official leaders. The central government and state governments have to do this and the people of the scheduled castes as well as non-scheduled castes also have to do this. It is true that at present officially and to some extent unofficially thinking is in favour of the removal of the differences between the high and low castes. But in actual practice the official positions break down. The pronouncements and declarations made officially to some ring false when we come to the actual task of removal of the caste differences or biases. It is here that much of the actual constructive work, has to be carried on by the scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes in India.

2. The second step or measure that can be thought of relates to the improving of the socio-economic and political lot of the scheduled castes people. This is

being done officially both by the centre and the state governments by way of extending a number of facilities for the education and employment to the various sections of the scheduled castes. For over the last 25 years these facilities have been in existence and are supposed to continue up to 1980. However in view of the enormous problems faced by the scheduled castes these facilities prove limited inadequate. So more and more facilities, opportunities intelligent and real help, should be given to members of the scheduled castes. At present we have the minimum reservation of jobs for the scheduled castes in the government services, in the public sector industries and concerns. Some private institutions and agencies are also being persuaded to employ some scheduled castes members but in a country of exploding population the scheduled castes population also has been increasing correspondingly if not proportionately and this increasing population has also to be provided employment and jobs. This is not easy to plan and achieve but this has to be striven for. We have seen in the chapter on population distribution how the caste Hindus have generally been in commanding positions on account of the fact that they own the means of production like land, industries, agencies, factories and concerns etc. The scheduled castes people go there only to sell their labour. In several states of India a considerable section of landless labourers comes from the ranks of the scheduled castes. This propertyless status of the scheduled castes has to be remedied. The scheduled castes people, like the other people, should have and should be given various means of production or property such as land, house, business. They should be enabled to acquire and use these for improving their own lot and then by contribute to the building and strengthening of the wider Indian society.

3. The next step or measure that can be thought of is that the various scheduled castes people should be given confidence and right attitude towards the immediate Hindu society and the wider Indian society. The caste Hindus on the other hand should give up the business of threatening the scheduled castes like second class citizens or slaves or serfs of various kinds. There should be no question of molesting or harassing or killing or burning the members of the scheduled castes, whatever the provocation. In this matter both the scheduled castes as well as caste Hindus should take the responsibility of restraining themselves and treating the scheduled castes like brothers. The caste Hindus must be told that harassing and illtreating the scheduled castes is ultimately suicidal from the viewpoint of the Hindu society and the wider Indian society. As has been pointed out in the chapters 7 and 8, the caste Hindus who occupy the various positions in the ministries, in the administrative departments, in the police department and judiciary should take this seriously and should see that the scheduled castes people are not harassed or ill-treated. At present it is not being done (sufficiently) and in this matter, as elsewhere, there is no substitute for action.

4. A next, corresponding, step or measure that can be advocated is that the scheduled castes people should organise themselves better. They should compose their own differences and squabbles which have often weakened their ranks and organise themselves as political parties as well as various pressure groups. In all these matters they should use wherever possible the goodwill, support and assistance of members, the non-Hindu members as well as the government agencies and departments. They should

formulate their own lines of thinking and plans of action. The Dalit Panthers who are operating in the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat no doubt indicate a remedial response to the scheduled castes situation but such a response is not a planned one and it can attract the erratic reactions from the caste Hindus and the others. as evident in the prolonged clashes in Varali, Bhoiwada, Kaliwada, Naigaon and many areas of Bombay city. Most of the police men and government officials belonged to caste Hindus and non-Scheduled castes, consequently scheduled caste members did not get adequate protection in 1974-75. Therefore, the emphasis should be on organising the various sections of the scheduled castes and representing their interests and problems in the various legislatures and the various other forums. However, it should be remembered that liberty can not be acquired by begging if required it might to be gained even by resorting to terrorism, but this may be used as a casual means and not regular phenomenon. The scheduled castes members thus organised should fight for their own legitimate share of national income and national wealth. This means that they have every right morally and politically to demand their own share in land, business, industries, commerce and other spheres as citizens of this country. It is not a question of narrow legality as to who owns a particular house, a particular factory or land. It is a question of whether the non-scheduled castes should own most of the wealth and the scheduled castes should go mostly without it. If the situation has been that the scheduled castes have mostly been going without this wealth, then there is for them every moral and political reason to claim such share of wealth and the legal framework can be evolved to take care of the steps and details required. We have already

pointed out that we cannot afford to keep such considerable number of people in subjection when we want to make India strong, prosperous and powerful. If India has to be made this India's wealth cannot be kept confined only to the non scheduled caste and the scheduled castes cannot be allowed to be thrown wayside, so to say.

5. Another related step or measure is that there is a need for members of the scheduled castes to be strict and dutiful with regard to their own members or representatives. It has been pointed out in chapters 6, that the scheduled castes leaders have also become like other leaders of caste Hindus in the sense that they believe in the necessity of cultivating the goodwill and support of the caste Hindus and feel that they can afford to ignore the interests and problems of the scheduled castes. This must be changed. The scheduled castes people should be so organised that they are able to recall their badly behaved or unwanted leaders or make them ineffective in operation. They should be able to elect their true representatives and efficient leaders to fight for their interests and problems. They should go a step ahead and impress upon the minds of the caste Hindu leaders and non-Hindu leaders the need and urgency of fighting for the interests and problems of the scheduled castes people. For this purpose scheduled caste people should identify their friends and foes, whenever required they should compromise with like minded people and political forces outside of their own. Practically, for them a very large army of opposition exists in every walk of life. Scheduled castes who are basically handicap can not face this. Therefore, they should, whether they like or not, co-operate with progressive forces for their ultimate goal of liberation from social economic and political bandages. Strategy

would be attack only weak enemies first and then proceed further, our ambitions, attack on strong will invite peril for themselves.

6. A step or measure which can improve the lot of the scheduled castes in a basic sense relates to the improvement of the quality and efficiency, in the various walks of life, of the scheduled castes people. In the socio-economic and political development of India we have seen as, different from the Muslims, how the Hindus, have been in the forefront and how among the Hindus the Brahmins have led the way. Closely upon the heels of the Brahmins have come the next classes of the Hindu hierarchy, those who can be described as belonging to Kshatriya and Vaishya castes in various parts of India. The revolution has to be further extended to cover the scheduled castes. In this matter the scheduled castes have to remember that the various skills, the various qualities or performances or achievements can come about only through imagination and exercise of the faculties and gifts. There is no substitute for hard work. In a sense the caste Hindus can afford to be idle or wasteful or inefficient, but not the scheduled castes as they occupy the lowly position and they have to get up and catch up with the rest of the society. Therefore, they need to be strongly motivated and imaginative, hard working and quality and efficiency minded. There is sometimes a criticism offered from the ranks of the caste Hindus that the government is giving facilities to the scheduled castes members but the quality of performance or work done by the scheduled castes members at times is not satisfactory. This need not be the case the scheduled castes people, like any other people, should show that they also can attain certain standards, skills, performance and achievements on the strength of their

intelligence, talents, skills and determination. This will get them more confidence and support of the Hindus and the non-Hindus besides generating strength and confidence in themselves.

7. We have pointed in chapter 9 that economic means and economic strength from the Marxist standpoint are necessary for the scheduled castes, but more necessary is the overall confidence, attitude and preparedness on the part of the scheduled castes progressively to work out their own salvation on the basis of the various resources and facilities available to them. It is true, as we have emphasised in chapter 9, that the casteist practices must be fought as they come in the way of economic development of the country in general and of the scheduled castes in particular. Therefore both as regards the breakdown of the casteist barriers and class barriers, the scheduled castes people have to organise themselves better and better and fight for their interests and demands on the basis of more and more resources which may be available to them or which they can fight for in course of their struggle for equality and strength with the rest of the Hindus and non-Hindus in the country. It should be remembered that nobody else than scheduled castes themselves emancipate items from the century old bondages. Others might come for their rescue only to gain out of it as was witnessed by the fog end of history of Congress rule in India, there is no doubt they many social and political groups have used scheduled caste people only for their selfish ends rather than for the benefit of the scheduled castes. In order to stop further exploratation of the scheduled castes they should educate, agitate and organise.

8. It may be pointed out here that the scheduled

castes could get converted to other religions as a step or measure of improving their lot. Indeed Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, after toying with the idea of conversion to the various religions like Christianity, Islam and Sikhism finally embraced Buddhism at Nagpur. In continuation with this or on the analogy of it some leaders of the scheduled castes may advocate the adoption of a similar step of conversion as a measure of reform and improvement. But this is not really end in itself. Conversion to other religions from the present state of Hinduism may not necessarily help in transformation of the scheduled castes people as the backwardness is socio-economic and political in character. Nevertheless the scheduled castes people feel that their chances are better under the umbrellas of Christianity or Islam. However some people argue that just as these are poor people, the scheduled castes, among the Hindus, there are poor people among the followers of Christianity and Islam also. Therefore, conversion of the scheduled castes people, the poor people from the fold of Hinduism, will go and add themselves bodily, so to say, to the ranks of the poor people of the other religions. Moreover converted scheduled castes have to put up with the hardship of not getting any assistance or reservations which had been open to the scheduled castes belonging to the Hindu fold. But this is not true, as we can see despite of purposely created hardles by the government and people, the example of scheduled castes who embraced Buddhism, showed a very rapid growth and development after their conversion as compared to their many decades efforts in the part. Those castes from among scheduled castes who embraced Buddhism have shown remarkable increase in literacy, educational levels of all the things then moral is much elevated when compared to their scheduled caste counter parts. Buddhist's inspite of their minority are militant

and well organised and politicised. While others who often opposed them to please majority of caste Hindus remained backward and exploited. It is surprising to note that in spite of this, only Buddhists often come to their rescue rather than the caste Hindus who generally commit atrocities against scheduled castes. Whether the scheduled caste people, the poor and weak people continue to incur the hostility or enmity of the major community of the Hindus after conversion or remain in Hindu fold and carry various kinds of disabilities and disadvantages in the four-fold of classification of the Hindu society and as a consequence remain the worst sufferers, or remain in Hindu fold, the majority community of this country and strive better for their own improvement in given constraints or to bid by Hindu fold to destroy the oppressive socio-economic structure. However, it should not be forgotten that the Hindu community with all its limitations, evils and banalities, has survived. If the scheduled castes, make up their mind to destroy it either by attacking it by remaining in Hindu fold, the chances of success are not very bright on the contrary it would antagonise the majority of Hindu community. So a better strategy for the scheduled castes would be to leave the Hindu fold unless the scheduled castes themselves resist the oppression no one can free them from oppression, and this is not feasible by remaining within the Hindu fold. / We should note that the members of the scheduled castes, fortunately for all practical purpose, are like Hindu community and are not like the Negroes in America who, no matter what change or progress they register, will always be spotted as Negroes because of their racial and ethnic distinction, their "Negroness," in the society of the whites, so that unless one wears a card around one's neck announcing his caste community or subcaste or the

scheduled castes, it is not possible for any one to identify or pinpoint the caste or subcaste of the scheduled castes people. Therefore practical wisdom would see to dictate that the scheduled castes people should take advantage of these natural factors which are in their favour and work for their salvation by taking up better professions and even by leaving their so called native places. For all practical purposes the Scheduled castes people do not have any native land and what ever native lands they believe to have are only illusious, as infact they are the bodages and chains around them. Wherever they go they have no property and controll over resources hence, they should be educated and enduced to migrate to possibly to urban areas. No matters others might brand it as a nuences in urban areas, as it will only add to the slums. Despite of draw backs of slum life, migration to urban areas is better than the drain of slavery in the rural areas.

9. Here we should point out another step or measure which follows from the above analysis. We have pointed out earlier that in several states in the country there is a tendency on the part of the scheduled castes to migrate to the metropolitan or urban centres like Madras, Bangalore, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur, Hyderabad, Bombay, Poona, etc. in search of employment and other opportunities. It is also noticed that in the urban centres the chances of being segregated and illtreated as scheduled castes are less than in the countryside where the people have face to face contacts and the castes Hindus and where, result, the scheduled castes may always be destined to suffer disabilities and disadvantages. In the urban centres, in the cities and even in towns, it is not easy, on account of the racial, ethnic and several other factors, to pinpoint and segregate the scheduled castes

as scheduled castes and treat them disfavouably. So the scheduled castes people should take advantage of this factor and should be encouraged to seek their fortunes in the cities and towns rather than in their rural contexts where they may be pinpointed and troubled. It is not argued here that cities or towns are free from sufferings or troubles to the scheduled castes. What is argued here is that cities and towns are safer or less hostile places to the scheduled castes than the villages where they suffer hardships at the hands of the caste Hindus. Of course for the planners and administrators of the cities and towns, this may pose additional burdens or problems. But then if the scheduled caste people can be provided with a better defence, better protection and better opportunities (if we can call them opportunities), then the additional burdens will constitute only a small cost as against the returns. Therefore, the migration of the scheduled castes to the urban centres is a natural one and should rather encourage it.

These are some of the conclusions and observations as to the ways and means of improving the lot, the profiles, of the scheduled castes people in the country. It has not been possible and it is not the intention here to spell out these conclusions or observations and the related reflections or generalisations. The other researchers could take up some of these or related issues for further, specialised, analyses and studies.

APPENDIX 3

Scheduled Castes and their area of Enumeration

Andhra Pradesh

1. Adi Andhra; 2. Adi Dravida: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal. Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
3. Anamuk; 4. Aray (Mala): In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
5. Arundhatiya: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
6. Arwa Mala: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
7. Bariki; 8. Bavuri: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
9. Beda (Budga) Jangam; 10. Bindla; 11. Byagara: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
12. Chachati: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
13. Chalavadi; 14. Chamar, Mochi or Muchi: Throughout the State.
15. Chambhar: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
16. Chandala: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
17. Dakkal (Dokkalwar): In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
18. Dandasi: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
19. Dhor: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar,

- Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
20. Dom, Dombara, Paidi or Pano: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
 21. Ellamalwar (Yellammalawandlu): In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
 22. Ghasi, Haddi or Relli Chachandi; 23. Godagalli; 24. Godari; 25. Gosangi: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
 26. Holey; 27. Holey Dasari: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
 28. Jaggali; 29. Jambuvulu: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
 30. Kolupulvandlu: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
 31. Madasi Kuruva or Madari Kuruva: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
 32. Madiga: Throughout the State.
 33. Madiga Dasu and Mashteen: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
 34. Mahar: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
 35. Mala: Throughout the State.
 36. Mala Dasari: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
 37. Mala Dasu: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
 38. Mala Hannai; 39. Malajangam; 40. Mala Masti; 41. Mala Sale (Netkani); 42. Mala Sanyasi: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
 43. Mang; 44. Mang Garodi; 45. Manne; 46. Mashti: In the

districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.

47. Matangi: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
48. Mehtar; 49. Mitha Ayyalvar: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
50. Mundala: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
51. Paky or Moti; 52. Pambada or Pambanda; 53. Pamidi; 54. Panchama or Pariah; 55. Relli: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
56. Samagara: In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
57. Samban; 58. Sapru: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.
59. Sindhollu (Chindoilu): In the districts of Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda.
60. Thoti: Throughout the State except Hyderabad, Mahbubnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Karimnagar, Warangal, Khammam and Nalgonda districts.

Assam

1. Bansphor; 2. Bhuinmali or Mali; 3. Brittil-Banir or Bania; 4. Dhupi or Dhobi; 5. Dugla or Dholi; 6. Hira; 7. Jalkeot: Throughout the State.
8. Jhalo, Malo or Jhalo-Malo; 9. Kailbartta or Jaliya; 10. Lalbegi; 11. Mahara; 12. Mehtar or Bhangi; 13. Muchi or Rishi; 14. Namasudra; 15. Patni; 16. Sutradhar: Throughout the State.

Bihar

1. Bantar; 2. Bauri; 3. Bhogta: Throughout the State.
4. Bhuiya: In Patna, Shahabad, Gaya and Palamau districts.
5. Bhunij: In Patna and Tirhut divisions, and the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Palamau and Purnea.

6. Chamar or Mochi; 7. Chaupal; 8. Dabgar; 9. Dhobi;
10. Dom or Dhangad: Throughout the State.
11. Dusadh, including Dhari or Dharhi; 12. Ghasi;
13. Halalkhor; 14. Hari, Mehtar or Bhangi; 15. Kanjar;
16. Kurariar; 17. Lalbegi; 18. Musahar; 19. Nat;
20. Pan or Sawasi; 21. Pasi; 22. Rajwar; 23. Turi:
Throughout the State.

Gujarat

1. Ager; 2. Bakad or Bant: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
3. Bawa (Dedh) or Dedh-Sadhu: In the Rajkot Division.
4. Bhambi, Bhambhi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamar, Chambhar, Changar, Haralayya, Harali, Khalpa, Machigar, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Telegu, Mochi, Kamati Mochi, Ranigar, Rohidas, Rohit or Sangar: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
5. Bhangi: In the district of Kutch.
6. Bhangi or Rukhi: In the Rajkot Division.
7. Bhangi, Mehtar, Olgana, Rukhi, Malkhana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Korar or Zadmalli; 8. Chalvadi or Channayya: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
9. Chamadia: In the Rajkot Division.
10. Chamar: In the district of Kutch.
11. Chamar, Nalia or Rohit: In the Rajkot Division.
12. Chenna Dasar or Holaya Dasar: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
13. Dangashia: In the Rajkot Division.
14. Dhor, Kakkayya or Kankayya: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
15. Garmatang: In the Rajkot Division.
16. Garoda: In the Rajkot Division and in the district of Kutch.
17. Garoda or Garo: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
18. Hadi: In the Rajkot Division.
19. Halleer; 20. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar or Halasvar;
21. Holar or Valhar; 22. Holaya or Holer: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.

23. Lingader; 24. Mahar, Taral or Dhegu Megu: 25. Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Vankar or Maru Vankar; 26. Mang, Matang or Minimadig; 27. Mang-Garudi; 28. Meghval or Menghvar: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
29. Meghwal: In the Rajkot Division and in the district of Kutch.
30. Mochi: In the district of Dangs and Umbergaon taluka of Surat district.
31. Mukri; 32. Nadia or Hadi; 33. Pasi: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
34. Senva; 35. Shemalia: In the Rajkot Division.
36. Shenva, Chenva, Sedma or Rawat: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
37. Thori: In the Rajkot Division.
38. Tirgar or Tirbanda: Throughout the State except the Rajkot Division and the district of Kutch.
39. Turi: Throughout the State.
40. Turi-Barot: In the district of Kutch.
41. Turi-Barot or Dedh-Barot; 42. Vankar, Dhedh or Antyaj: In the Rajkot Division.

Jammu and Kashmir

1. Barwala; 2. Basith; 3. Batwal; 4. Chamar or Ramdasin; 5. Chura; 6. Dhyar; 7. Doom or Mahasha; 8. Gardi; 9. Jolaha; 10. Megh or Kabirpanthi; 11. Ratal; 12. Saryara; 13. Watal: Throughout the State.

Kerala

1. Adi Andhra; 2. Adi Dravida; 3. Adi Karnataka: In Malabar district.
4. Ajila; 5. Arumthathiyar: In Malabar district.
6. Ayyanavar: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
7. Baira; 8. Bakuda; 9. Bandi: In Malabar district.
10. Bathada: In Kasaragod taluk of Malabar district.
11. Bellara: In Malabar district.
12. Bharatar; 13. Boyan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
14. Chakkiliyan: Throughout the State.
15. Chamar or Muchi; 16. Chandala; 17. Cheruman: In Malabar district.

18. Domban: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
19. Gavara: In Malabar district (excluding Kasaragod taluk).
20. Godagali; 21. Godda; 22. Gosangi: In Malabar district.
23. Hasla: In Kasaragod taluk of Malabar district.
24. Holeyay; 25. Kadaiyan: In Malabar district.
26. Kakkalan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
27. Kalladi: In Malabar district.
28. Kanakkan or Padanna: Throughout the State except Kasaragod taluk of Malabar district.
29. Karimpalan: In Malabar district.
30. Kavara: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
31. Koosa: In Malabar district.
32. Kootan (Koodan): Throughout the State except Malabar district.
33. Kudumban: In Malabar district.
34. Kuravan, Sidhanar: Throughout the State.
35. Maila: In Malabar district.
36. Malayan: In Malabar district (excluding Kasaragod taluk).
37. Mannan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
38. Mavilan; 39. Moger; 40. Mundala; 41. Nalakeyava: In Malabar district.
42. Nalkadaya: In Kasaragod taluk of Malabar district.
43. Nayadi: Throughout the State.
44. Padannan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
45. Pallan: Throughout the State.
46. Palluvan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
47. Pambada: In Malabar district.
48. Panan: Throughout the State except Kasaragod taluk of Malabar district.
49. Panchama: In Malabar district.
50. Paraiyan, Parayan (Sambavar): Throughout the State.
51. Paravan: Throughout the State except Malabar district (excluding Kasaragod taluk).
52. Patniyan; 53. Perumannan; 54. Pulavan or Cheramar: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
55. Palaya Vettuvan: In Malabar district (excluding Kasaragod taluk).

56. Puthiral Vannan; 57. Raneyar; 58. Samagara; 59. Samban; 60. Semman: In Malabar district.
61. Thandan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
62. Thoti: In Malabar district.
63. Ulladan; 64. Uraly; 65. Vallon: Throughout the State except Malabar district.
66. Valluvan: Throughout the State.
67. Vannan; 68. Velan; 69. Vetan; 70. Vettuvan: Throughout the State except Malabar district.

Madhya Pradesh

1. Audhelia: In Bilaspur district.
2. Bagri or Bagdi: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
3. Bahna or Bahana: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
4. Balahi: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
5. Balahi or Balai: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
6. Balai; 7. Banchada: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidishna (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
8. Bansphor or Basor: In the districts of Raisen and Schore.
9. Barahar or Basod; 10. Bargunda: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
11. Basar: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
12. Basor or Bansphor: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
13. Basor, Burud, Bansor or Bansodi: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Rajpur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.

14. Bedia: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Raisen and Sehore.
15. Beldar: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
16. Beldar or Sunkar: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
17. Bhangi or Mehtar; 18. Bhanumati: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
19. Chadar: In Sagar and Damoh districts.
20. Chamar, Jatav or Mochi: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
21. Chamar, Bairwa, Bhambi Jatav, Mochi or Regar: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
22. Chamar, Ahirwar, Chamar Mangan, Mochi or Raidas: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
23. Chamar, Chamari, Mochi, Nona, Rohidas, Ramnami, Satnami, Surjyabanshi or Surjyaramnami: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
24. Chidar: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
25. Chitar: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
26. Dahait, Dahayat or Dahat: In Damoh district.
27. Dewar: In the districts of Bilaspur, Durg, Raipur, Bastar, Surguja, and Raigarh.
28. Dhanuk: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Raisen, Sehore and Sagar.
29. Dharkar, Balmik or Lalbegi: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shehdol.
30. Dhed: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)

31. Dhor: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
32. Dhobi: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
33. Dohor: In Balaghat district.
34. Dom: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
35. Dom or Dumar: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
36. Domar or Doris: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
37. Dome: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
38. Ganda or Gandhi: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
39. Ghasi or Ghasia: In the districts of Balaghat, Bilaspur, Durg, Raipur, Surguja, Bastar and Raigarh.
40. Ghasia: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
41. Holiya: In the Balaghat district.
42. Kanjar: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Raisen and Sehore.
43. Katia or Patharia: In Balaghat, Betul, Bilaspur, Durg, Nimar, Rajpur, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh districts; in Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils of Hoshangabad district; in Chhindwara district and in Sagar district.
44. Khangar, Kanera or Mirdha: In Sagar and Damoh districts, and in Hoshangabad and Seoni-Malwa tahsils of Hoshangabad district.
45. Khatik: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Raisen and Sehore.
46. Khatik, Chikwa or Chikvi: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.

47. Koli or Kori: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
48. Koli or Katia: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
49. Kori: In Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh districts; and in Hoshangabad district except Harde and Sohagpur tahsils thereof.
50. Kotwal: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
51. Kuchbandhia: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
52. Kumhar: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
53. Madgi: In Balaghat district.
54. Mahar: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
55. Mahar or Mehra: In Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Narsimhapur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh district except Harde and Sohagpur tahsils thereof.
56. Mang: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
57. Mang or Mang Garodi: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
58. Mang, Dankhni-Mang, Mang Mahashi, Mang-Garudi, Madari, Garudi or Radhe-Mang: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
59. Meghwal: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandasaur, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
60. Mehar: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
61. Mehtar or Bhangi: In the districts of Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja, Raigarh, Raisen and Sehore.

62. Mehtar, Bhangi or Dhanuk; 63. Moghia; 64. Muskhan: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
65. Nat, Kalbelia or Sapera; 66. Pardhi: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Raigarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandsoar, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)
67. Pasi: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandsoar, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi, Shahdol, Raisen and Sehore.
68. Rujjhar: In Sohagpur tahsil of Hoshangabad district.
69. Sansi: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandsoar, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua, Nimar (M.B.) Chhindwara, Seoni, Betul, Jabalpur, Sagar, Damoh, Mandla, Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur, Nimar, Balaghat, Raipur, Bilaspur, Durg, Bastar, Surguja and Raigarh.
70. Sansia: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
71. Sansia or Bedia: In the districts of Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa, Sidhi and Shahdol.
72. Silawat: In the districts of Raisen and Sehore.
73. Somral: In the districts of Bhind, Gird, Morena, Shivpuri, Guna, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Ujjain, Ratlam, Mandsoar, Vidisha (Bhilsa), Indore, Dewas, Dhar, Jhabua and Nimar (M.B.)

Madras

1. Adi Andhra; 2. Adi Dravida; 3. Adi Karnataka; 4. Ajila; 5. Arunthathiyar: Throughout the State except Kanya Kumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
6. Ayyanavar: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
7. Baira; 8. Bakuda; 9. Bandi; 10. Bellara: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
11. Bharatar: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
12. Chakkiliyan: Throughout the State.
13. Chalavadi; 14. Chamar or Muchi; 15. Chandala; 16. Cheruman; 17. Devendrakulathan; 18. Eom, Dombara, Paidi or Pano: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari

- district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
19. Domban: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 20. Godagali; 21. Godda; 22. Gosangi; 23. Holeyay; 24. Jaggali; 25. Jambuvulu; 26. Kadalyan: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 27. Kakkalan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 28. Kalladi: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 29. Kanakken or Padanna: In the Nilgiri district.
 30. Karimpalan: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 31. Kavara: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 32. Koliyan: In Tanjore district.
 33. Koosa: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 34. Kootan (Koodan): In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 35. Kudumban: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 36. Kuravan, Sidhanar: Throughout the State.
 37. Madari; 38. Madiga; 39. Maila; 40. Mala: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 41. Mannan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 42. Navilan; 43. Moger; 44. Mundala; 45. Nalakeyava: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 46. Noyadi: Throughout the State.
 47. Padannan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 48. Pagadai: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 49. Pallan: Throughout the State.
 50. Palluvan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
 51. Pambada: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.

52. Panan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
53. Panchama: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
54. Pannadi: In Coimbatore and Salem districts.
55. Panniandi: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
56. Paraiyan, Parayan (Sambavar): Throughout the State.
57. Paravan; 58. Pathiyan; 59. Perumannan; 60. Pulayan or Cheramar: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
61. Puthirai Vannan; 62. Raneyar; 63. Samagara; 64. Samban; 65. Sapari; 66. Semman: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
67. Thandan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
68. Thoti; 69. Tiruvalluvar: Throughout the State except Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
70. Ulladan; 71. Uraly; 72. Vallon: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
73. Valluvan: Throughout the State.
74. Vannan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
75. Vathiriyan: In Coimbatore and Salem districts.
76. Velan; 77. Vetan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.
78. Vettiyan: In Tanjore district.
79. Vettuvan: In Kanyakumari district and Shencottah taluk of Tirunelveli district.

Maharashtra

1. Ager: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajpura.
2. Anamuk; 3. Aray (Mala); 3. Arwa Mala: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajpura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
5. Bahna or Bahana: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.

6. Baked or Bant: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
7. Balahi or Balai; 8. Basor, Burud, Bunsor or Bansodi: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, and Chanda.
9. Beda (Budga) Jangan: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
10. Bedar: In the districts of Akola, Amravati and Buldhana.
11. Bhambi, Bhambi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamar, Chambhar, Changar, Haralayya, Harali, Khalpa, Machigar, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Mochi, Telugu Mochi, Kamati Mochi, Ranigar, Rohidas, Rohit or Sangar; 12. Bhangi, Mehtar, Olga, Rukhi, Malkana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Korar or Zadmalli: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
13. Bindla; 14. Byagara: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
15. Chadar: In the district of Bhandara.
16. Chalvadi: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
17. Chalvadi or Channayya: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
18. Chamar, Chamari, Mochi, Nona, Rohidas Ramnami, Satnami, Suryabanshi or Surjyaramnami: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, and Chanda.
19. Chambhar: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir, and Osmanabad.
20. Chenna Dasar or Holaya Dasar: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
21. Dakhal (Dokkalwar); 22. Dhor: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
23. Dhor, Kakayya or Kenkayya: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
24. Donor; 25. Don or Dumar: In the districts of Buldhana,

- Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
26. Ellamalwar (Yellammalawandlu): In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
 27. Ganda or Gandi: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
 28. Garoda or Garo: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
 29. Ghasi or Ghasia: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
 30. Halleer; 31. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar or Halasvar; 32. Holar or Valhar; 33. Holaya or Holer: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
 34. Holeya; 35. Holeya Dasari: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
 36. Holiya: In the district of Bhandara.
 37. Kaikadi; 38. Katia or Patharia: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
 39. Khangar, Kanera or Mirdha: In the districts of Bhandar and Buldhana.
 40. Khatik, Chikwar or Chikvi: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
 41. Kolupulvandlu: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
 42. Kori: In the districts of Amravati, Bhandara and Buldhana.
 43. Lingader: Throughout the State except the district of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
 44. Madgi: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
 45. Madiga; 46. Mahar: In the district of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
 47. Mahar or Mehra: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
 48. Mahar, Taral or Dhegu Megu; 49. Mahyavanshi, Dhed,

Vankar or Maru Vankar: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.

50. Mala; 51. Mala Dasari; 52. Mala Hannai; 53. Malajangam; 54. Mala Masti; 55. Mala Sale (Netkani); 56. Mala Sanyasi; 57. Mang: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
58. Mang, Matang, or Minimadig: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
59. Mang, Dankhni-Mang, Mang Mahashi, Mang-Gerudi, Madari, Garudi or Radhe Mang: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
60. Mang Garodi: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
61. Mang-Garudi: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
62. Manne; 63. Mashti: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
64. MeGhval or Menghvar: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
65. Mehtar: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
66. Mehtar or Bhangi: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
67. Nitha Ayyalvar; 68. Mochi: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
69. Mukri; 70. Nadia or Hadi; 71. Pasi: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.
72. Samagara: In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
73. Sansi: In the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda.
74. Shenva, Chenva, Sedma or Ravat: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad,

Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.

75. Sindhollu (Chindollu): In the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Rajura, Bhir and Osmanabad.
76. Tirgar or Tirbanada; 77. Turi: Throughout the State except the districts of Buldhana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded, Bhir, Osmanabad and Rajura.

Karnataka

1. Adi Andhra: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts.
2. Adi Dravida: Throughout the State except Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts.
3. Adi Karnataka: Throughout the State except Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts.
4. Adiya: In Coorg district.
5. Ager: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
6. Ajila: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
7. Anamuk; 8. Arya (Mala): In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
9. Arunthathiyar: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
10. Arwa Mala: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
11. Baira: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
12. Bakad or Bant: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
13. Bakuda: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
14. Balagai: In Coorg district.
15. Bandi: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
16. Banjara or Lambani: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
17. Bathada: In South Kanara district.

18. Beda (Budga) Jangam: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
19. Bellara: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
20. Bhambi, Bhambhi, Asadaru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamar, Chambhar, Changar, Haralayya, Harali, Khalpa, Mochigar, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Mochi, Telegu, Mochi, Kamati Mochi Ranigar, Rohidas, Rohit or Sangar; 21. Bhongli, Mehtar, Clgana, Rukhi, Malkhana, Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Baliki, Korar or Zadmalli: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
22. Bhovi: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
23. Bindla; 24. Byagara: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
25. Chakkiliyan; 26. Chalavadi: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
27. Chalvadi: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
28. Chalvadi or Channayya: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
29. Chamar or Muchi: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
30. Chambhar: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
31. Chandala: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
32. Chenna Dasar or Holaya Dasar: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
33. Cheruman: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
34. Dakkal (Dokkalwar): In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
35. Dakkaliga: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
36. Devendrakulathan: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
37. Dhor: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
38. Dhor, Kakkayya or Kankayya: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.

39. Dom, Dombara, Paidi or Pano: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
40. Ellamalwar (Yellammalawandlu): In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
41. Ganti Chores: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
42. Garoda or Garo: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
43. Godagali; 44. Godda; 45. Gosangi: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
46. Halleer; 47. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar or Halasvar: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
48. Handi Jogis: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
49. Hasla: In South Kanara district.
50. Holar or Valhar; 51. Holaya or Holer: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
52. Holeya: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur, in South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district and in Coorg district.
53. Holeya Dasari: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
54. Jaggali; 55. Jambuvulu; 56. Kadaiyan; 57. Kalladi; 58. Karimpalan: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
59. Kepmaris: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur, and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
60. Kolupulvandlu: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
61. Koosa: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
62. Koracha; 63. Korama: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
64. Kotegar or Metri: In Kanara district.
65. Kudumban; 66. Kuravan: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.

67. Lingader: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
68. Machala: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
69. Madari: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
70. Madiga: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur, in South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district and in Coorg district.
71. Mahar: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
72. Mahar, Faral or Dhegu Megu: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
73. Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Vankar or Maru Vankar: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
74. Maila: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
75. Mala: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur and in South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
76. Mala Dasari; 77. Mala Hannai; 78. Mala Jangam; 79. Mala Masti; 80. Mala Sale (Netkani); 81. Mala Sanyasi; 82. Mang: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
83. Mang, Matang or Minimadig: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
84. Mang Garodi: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
85. Mang Garudi: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
86. Manne; 87. Mashti: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
88. Navilan: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
89. Meghval or Menghvar: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
90. Mehtar; 91. Mitha Ayyalvar: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
92. Mochi: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
93. Moger: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.

94. Muchi: In Coorg district.
95. Mundela: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district and in Coorg district.
96. Mukri; 97. Nadia or Hadi: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
98. Nalakeyava: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
99. Walkadaya: In South Kanara district.
100. Nayadi; 101. Pagadai: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
102. Pale: In Coorg district.
103. Pallan; 104. Pambada: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
105. Panchama: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district and in Coorg district.
106. Pannadi: In Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
107. Panniandi; 108. Paraiyan: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
109. Paravan: In South Kanara district.
110. Paraya: In Coorg district.
111. Pasi: In the district of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
112. Puthirai Vannan; 113. Raneyar: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
114. Samagara: In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar, Raichur South Kanara and in Kollegal taluk of Mysore district and Coorg district.
115. Samban; 116. Separi; 117. Semman: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
118. Shenva, Chenva, Sedma or Ravat: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
119. Sillekyathas: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Dharwar, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Bijapur, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
120. Sindhollu (Chindollu): In the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
121. Sudugadu Siddha: Throughout the State except Coorg, Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Kanara, South Kanara, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar districts and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
122. Thoti: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.

123. Tirgar or Tirbanda: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
124. Tiruvalluvar: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
125. Turi: In the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Kanara.
126. Valluvan: In South Kanara district and Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.
127. Vathiriyar: In Kollegal taluk of Mysore district.

Orissa

1. Adi Andhra; 2 Amant or Amat; 3 Audhelia; 4 Badaik; 5 Bagheti or Baghuti; 6 Bajikar; 7 Bari; 8 Bariki; 9 Basor or Burud; 10; Bauri; 11 Bauti; 12 Bavuri; 13 Bedia or Bejia; 14 Beldar; 15 Bhata; 16 Bhoi; 17 Chachati; 18 Chakali; 19 Chamar, Mochi, Muchi or Satnami; 20 Chandala; 21 Chandhai Maru; 22 Cherua or Chhelia; 23 Dandasi; 24 Dewar; 25 Dhanwar; 26 Dhoba or Dhobi; 27 Dom, Dobo or Duria Dom; 28 Dosadha; 29 Ganda; 30 Ghantarghada or Ghantra; 31 Ghasi or Ghasia; 32 Ghogia; 33 Ghusuria; 34 Godagali; 35 Godari; 36 Godra; 37 Gokha; 38 Gorait or Korai; 39 Haddi, Hadi or Hari; 40 Irika; 41 Jaggali; 42 Kandra or Kandara; 43 Karua; 44 Katia; 45 Kela; 46 Khadala; 47 Kodalo or Khodalo; 48 Kori: Throughout the State
49. Kuli: In Sambalpur district
50. Kummari; 51 Kurunga; 52 Laban; 53 Laheri; 54 Madari; 55 Madiga; 56 Mahurai; 57 Mala, Jhala, Malo or Zala; 58 Mang; 59 Mangan; 60 Mehra or Mahar; 61 Mehtra or Bhangi; 62 Mewar; 63 Mundapotta; 64 Musahar; 65 Nagarchi; 66 Namasudra; 67 Paidi; 68 Painda; 69 Pamidi; 70 Pan or Pano; 71 Panchama; 72 Panika; 73 Panka; 74 Pantanti; 75 Pap; 76 Pasi; 77 Patial, Patikar, Patratanti or patua; 78 Rajna; 79 Relli; 80 Sabakhia; 81 Samasi; 82 Sanei; 83 Sapati; 84 Sauntia (Santia); 85 Sidhria; 86 Sinduria; 87 Siyal; 88 Tamadia; 89 Tamudia; 90 Tanla; 91 Tiar or Tior; 92 Turi; 93 Ujia; 94 Valamiki or Valmiki; Throughout the State.

Punjab

1. Ad Dharmi; 2 Balmiki, Chura or Bhangi; 3 Bengali; 4 Barar, Burar or Berar; 5 Batwal; 6 Bauria or Bawaria; 7 Bazigar; 8 Bhanjra; 9 Chamar, Jatia Chamar, Rehgar, Raigar, Ramdasi or Ravidasi; 10 Chanal; 11 Dagi; Throughout the State.
12. Darain: Throughout the State except the districts of Patiala, Bhatinda, Mahendragarh, Kapurthala and Sangrur.

13. Deha, Dhaya or Dhea: In the districts of Patiala, Bhatinda, Mahendragarh, Kapurthala and Sangrur.
14. Dhanak: Throughout the State.
15. Dhogri, Dhangri or Siggri: Throughout the State except the districts of Patiala, Bhatinda, Mahendragarh, Kapurthala and Sangrur.
16. Dumna, Mahasha or Doom; 17 Gagra; 18 Gandhila or Gandil Gondola; 19 Kabirpanthi or Julaha; 20 Khatik; 21 Kori or Koli; 22 Marija or Marecha; 23 Mazhabi; 24 Megh; 25 Nat; 26 Od; 27 Pasi; 28 Perna; 29 Pherera; 30 Sannai; 31 Sanhal; 32 Sansi Bhedkut or Manesh: Throughout the State.
33. Sansoi: Throughout the State except the districts of Patiala, Bhatinda, Mahendragarh, Kapurthala and Sangrur.
34. Sapela; 35 Sarera; 36 Sikligar; 37 Sirkiband; Throughout the State.

Rajasthan

1. Adi Dharmi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
2. Ager: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
3. Aheri: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
4. Badi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
5. Bagri: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
6. Bagri and Bagdi: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
7. Baiwa or Berwa: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
8. Bajgar: as above.
9. Bakad or Bant: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
10. Balai: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
11. Bambhi: In Ajmer district.
12. Banchanda: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
13. Bansphod : In Ajmer district.
14. Bansphor: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.

15. Baori: In Ajmer district.
16. Barahar or Basod: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
17. Bargi: In Ajmer district.
18. Bargi, Vargi or Birgi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
19. Bargunda: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
20. Bawaria: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
21. Bazigar: In Ajmer district.
22. Bedia: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
23. Bedia or Beria: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
24. Bhambi, Bhambhi Asaduru, Asodi, Chamadia, Chamgar, Haralayya, Harali, Khalpa, Machigar, Mochigar, Madar, Madig, Telegu Mochi, Kamati Mochi, Tanigar, Rohidas, Rohit or Sangar: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
25. Bhand: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
26. Bhangi: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
27. Bhangi or Mehtar: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
28. Bhangi, Mehtar, Olgana, Rukhi, Malkana, Halakhor, Lalbegi, Balmiki, Korar or Zadmali: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
29. Bhanumati: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
30. Bidakia: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
31. Bola: Throughout the State except Ajmer district Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
32. Cholvadi or Channayya: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
33. Chamar, Jatava, Jatia Mochi or Regar: In Ajmer district.
34. Chamar, Bairwa, Bhambi, Jatav, Mochi or Regar: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
35. Chamar, Bhambi, Jatav, Jatia, Mochi Raidass Raigar or Ramdasia: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
36. Chandali: as above.

37. Chenna Dasar or Holaya Dasar: In Abu Road taluka or Sirohi district.
38. Chidar: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
39. Chura: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
40. Dabgar: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
41. Dhanak: In Ajmer district.
42. Dhankia: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
43. Dhanuk: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
44. Dhed: In Ajmer district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
45. Dheda: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
46. Dhobi; 47. Dholi: In Ajmer district.
48. Dhor, Kakkayya, Kankayya: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
49. Dom: In Ajmer district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar districts.
50. Dome: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
51. Gancha: In Ajmer district.
52. Gandia: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road, taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
53. Garanacha Mehtar or Gancha; 54. Garo, Garura, or Garda: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
55. Garoda: In Ajmer district.
56. Garoda or Garo: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
57. Gavaria; 58. Godhi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
59. Halleer; 60. Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar or Halasvar: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.

61. Holar or Valhar; 62 Holaya or Holer: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
63. Jingar: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
64. Kabirpanthi: In Ajmer district.
65. Kalbelia: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
66. Kamad or Kamadia: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
67. Kanjar: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
68. Kapadia Sansi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
69. Khangar: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
70. Khatik: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
71. Koli: In Ajmer district.
72. Koli or Kori: Throughout the State except Ajmer district and Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
73. Kooch Band: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
74. Koria: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
75. Kotwal: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
76. Kuchband: In Ajmer district.
77. Kunjar: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
78. Lingader: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
79. Madari or Bazigar: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
80. Mahar: In Ajmer district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
81. Mahar, Taral or Dhegu Megu; 82 Mahyavanshi, Dhed, Vankar or Maru Vankar: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.

83. Mahjabi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
84. Mang or Mang Garodi: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
85. Mang, Matang or Minimadig; 86 Mang-Garudi: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
87. Megh or Meghwal: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
88. Meghval or Menghvar: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
89. Meghwal: In Ajmer district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
90. Mehar; 91 Mehtar: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
92. Mukri; 93 Nadia or Hadi: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
94. Nat: In Ajmer district.
95. Nat, Kalbelia or Sopera: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
96. Nut: Throughout the State except Ajmer district Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
97. Pardhi: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
98. Pasi: Throughout the State.
99. Rawal: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
100. Salvi: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road, Taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
101. Sansi: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
102. Santia: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
103. Sarbhangi; 104 Saragar: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
105. Satia: In Ajmer district.
106. Shenva, Chenva, Sedma or Ravat: In Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.

107. Singiwala: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
108. Thori: In Ajmer district.
109. Thori or Nayak: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
110. Tingar: Throughout the State except Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
111. Tingar or Tirbanda; 112 Turi: Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district.
113. Valmiki: Throughout the State except Ajmer district, Abu Road taluka of Sirohi district and Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.
114. Zamral: In Sunel Tappa of Jhalawar district.

Uttar Pradesh

1. Agriya; 2 Badhik; 3 Badi; 4 Baheluya; 5 Baiga; 6 Baiswar; 7 Bajaniya; 8 Bajgi; 9 Balahar; 10 Balai; 11 Balmiki; 12 Bangali; 13 Banmanus; 14 Bansphor; 15 Barwar; 16 Basor; 17 Bawariya; 18 Beldar; 19 Beriya; 20 Bhantu; 21 Bhuiya; 22 Bhuyiar; 23 Boria; 24 Chamar, Dhusia Jhusia or Jatava; 25 Chero; 26 Dabgar; 27 Dhangar; 28 Dhanuk; 29 Dharkar; 30 Dhobi; 31 Dom; 32 Domar; 33 Dusadh; 34 Gharami; 35 Ghasiya: Throughout the State.
36. Gond: In Bundelkhand Division and the portion of Mirzapur district South of Kaimur Range.
37. Gual; 38 Habura; 39 Hari; 40 Hela; 41 Kalabaz; 42 Kanjar; 43 Kapariya; 44 Karwal; 45 Khairaha; 46 Kharwar excluding Benbansi; 47 Khatik; 48 Khorot; 49 Kol: . Throughout the State
50. Kori: Throughout the State excluding Agra, meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions.
51. Korwa; 52 Lalbegi; 53 Majhwar; 54 Mazhabi; 55 Musahar; 56 Nat; 57 Pankha; 58 Parahiya; 59 Pasi or Tarmali; 60 Patari; 61 Rawat; 62 Saharya; 63 Sanaurhiya; 64 Sansiya; 65 Shilpkar; 66 Turaiha: Throughout the State.

West Bengal

1. Bagdi or Duley; 2 Bahelia; 3 Baiti: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
4. Bantar: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
5. Bauri: Throughout the State.
6. Bediya; 7 Beldar: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
8. Bhogta: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
9. Bhuimali; 10 Bhuiya: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
11. Bhumij: In the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
12. Bind: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
13. Chamar, Charmakar, Mochi, Muchi, Rabidas, Ruidas or Rishi: Throughout the State.
14. Chaupal; 15 Dabgar: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
16. Damai (Nepali): Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
17. Dhoba or Dhobi: Throughout the State.
18. Doai: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
19. Dom or Dhangad; 20 Dosadh or Dusadh including Dhari or Dharhi; 21 Ghasi: Throughout the State.
22. Gonrhi: Throughout the state except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
23. Halalkhor: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
24. Hari: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.

25. Hari, Mehtar or Bhangi: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
26. Jalia Kaibartta; 27 Jhalo Malo or Malo; 28 Kadar; 29 Kami (Nepali); 30 Kandra; Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from Purnea district of Bihar.
31. Kanjar: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
32. Kaora: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
33. Karenga or Koranga; 34 Kaur; 35 Keot or Keyot; 36 Khaira; 37 Khatik; 38 Koch; 39 Konai; 40 Konwar; 41 Kotal; Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
42. Kurariar: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
43. Lalbegi: Throughout the State.
44. Lohar; 45 Mahar; 46 Mal; 47 Mallah; 48 Mehtar: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
49. Musahar: Throughout the State.
50. Namasudra: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
51. Nat: In the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
52. Nuniya; 53 Paliya: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from Purnea district of Bihar.
54. Pan or Sawasi: Throughout the State.
55. Pasi: Throughout the State.
56. Patni; 57 Pod or Poundra; 58 Rajbanshi: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
59. Rajwar: Throughout the State.
60. Sarki (Nepali); 61 Sunri excluding Saha: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.

62. Tiyar: Throughout the State except in the Purulia district and the territories transferred from the Purnea district of Bihar.
63. Turi: Throughout the State.

Delhi

1. Adi-Dharmi; 2 Agria; 3 Aberia; 4 Balai; 5 Banjara; 6 Bawaria; 7 Bazigar; 8 Bhangi; 9 Bhil; 10 Chamar, Chanwar Chamar, Jatya or Jatav Chamar, Mochi, Ramdasi, Ravidasi, Raidasi, Rehgarrh or Raigar; 11 Chohra (Sweeper); 12 Chuhra (Balmiki); 13 Dhanak or Bhanuk; 14 Dhobi; 15 Dom; 16 Gharrami; 17 Julaha (Weaver); 18 Kabirpathi; 19 Kachhandha; 20 Kanjar or Giarah; 21 Khatik; 22 Koli; 23 Lalbegi; 24 Madari; 25 Mallah; 26 Mazhabi; 27 Meghwal; 28 Naribut; 29 Nat (Rana); 30 Pasi; 31 Perna; 32 Sansi or Bhedkut; 33 Sapera; 34 Sikligar; 35 Singiwals or Kalbelia; 36 Sirkiband: Throughout the Union Territory.

Himachal Pradesh

1. Ad-Dharmi; 2 Badhi or Nagalu; 3 Balmiki Chura or Bhangi; 4 Bandhela; 5 Bangali; 6 Banjara; 7 Bansi; 8 Barad; 9 Barar; 10 Batwal; 11 Bawaria; 12 Bazigar; 13 Bhanjra 14 Chamar, Mochi, Ramdasi, Ravidasi or Ramdasia; 15 Chanal; 16 Chhimbe (Dhobi); 17 Chuhre; 18 Dagi; 19 Daole; 20 Darai or Daryal; 21 Daule; 22 Dhake or Toori; 23 Dhaogri or Dhuai; 24 Doom or Doomna; 25 Dumne (Bhanjre); 26 Hali; 27 Hesi; 28 Jogi; 29 Julaha; 30 Kabirpanthi, Julaha or Keer; 31 Kamoh or Dagoli; 32 Karoack; 33 Khatik; 34 Koli; 35 Lohar; 36 Mazhabi; 37 Megh; 38 Nat; 39 Od; 40 Pasi; 41 Phrera; 42 Rehar; 43 Rehara; 44 Sanai; 45 Sapela; 46 Sarde, Sarare or Siryare; 47 Sarehde; 48 Sikligar; 49 Sipi; 50 Sirkiband; 51 Teli; 52 Thathiar or Thathera; Throughout the Union Territory.

Manipur

1. Bhupir or Dhobi; 2 Lois; 3 Muchi or Ravidas; 4 Namasudra; 5 Patni; 6 Sutradhar; 7 Yaithibi: Throughout the Union Territory.

Tripura

1. Bagdi; 2 Baiti; 3 Bhuimali; 4 Bhunar; 5 Chamar or Muchi; 6 Dandasi; 7 Dhenuar; 8 Dhoba; 9 Duai; 10 Dum; 11 Ghasi; 12 Gorang; 13 Gour; 14 Gunar; 15 Gur; 16 Jalia Kaibarta; 17 Kahar; 18 Kalindi; 19 Kan; 20 Kanda; 21 Kanugh; 22 Keot; 23 Khadit; 24 Kharia; 25 Khemcha; 26 Koch; Throughout the Union Territory.

27. Koir; 28 Kol; 29 Kora; 30 Kotal; 31 Mahisyadas;
32 Mali; 33 Mehtor; 34 Musahar; 35 Namsudra; 36 Patni;
37 Sabar: Throughout the Union Territory.

Dadra & Nagar Haveli

1. Bhangi; 2 Chamar; 3 Mahar; 4 Mahyavanshi, Dhed;
Throughout the Union Territory.

Nagaland

1. Bansphor; 2 Bhuinmali or Mali; 3 Brittial-Bania or
Bania; 4 Dhupi or Dhobi; 6 Hira; 7 Jalkeot; 5 Dugla or
Dholi; 8 Jhalo, Malo or Jhalo-Malo; 9 Kaibartta or
Jaliya; 10 Lalbegi; 11 Mohara; 12 Mehtar or Bhangi;
13 Muchi or Rishi; 14 Namasudra; 15 Patni; 16 Sutradhar;
Throughout the State.

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