

remaining 35 per cent was to be filled up on the basis of merit.

The order of 22nd July, 1959 had further subdivided the listed backward classes into several categories and fixed different percentages for the reservation of seats. The net effect was that the persons belonging to each sub-group could only compete for the seats reserved for them and were not eligible for the remaining seats reserved for the backward classes. In other words they were debarred from competing for the remaining seats in open competition amongst the members of the backward classes listed in the orders.

The Mysore High Court (now Karnataka High Court) through Justice S. R. Das Gupta held that socially and educationally backward classes of citizens could be determined on the basis of castes. Other criteria such as geographical or occupational, be employed to determine the socially and educationally backward classes.

The Court also held that it was to the extent as provided in Article 15(4) that the fundamental rights conferred upon the citizens of the state by Article 15(1) and Article 29(2) could be abridged. If the reservation in question could not be justified by the provisions of Article 15(4), then the same had to be struck down as violative of the fundamental rights of the citizens. The court cited with approval the decisions of the Andhra Pradesh High Court in *Raghuramulu v. State of A.P.*⁶¹ and *Sudarsan v. State of A.P.*⁶²

The Court disapproved of the principles applied by the government in classifying the socially and educationally backward classes in the instant case. In fact the 1941 census report was relied upon to determine backward classes in 1959. This was not justifiable in the view of the court, taking into account the considerable changes that had taken place since 1941. On the classification of educational backwardness, the English Literacy test adopted by the State for the area covered by the old Mysore State was not approved by the court as an intelligible test for the whole of the New Mysore State. Further, no indication was given by the state on which the social backwardness of the communities had been determined. The classes grouped under the Orders must be both socially and educationally backward. Further, the decision of the listed backward classes into various sub-groups on the basis of the population of the community and the specification of the percentage of reservation of seats in respect of each group was held to be unconstitutional because the persons of each sub-group could only compete for the seats reserved for that group and were not eligible for the remaining seats reserved for the backward class. Hence the notification, instead of benefiting the backward classes abridged their fundamental rights and could not be sustained under Article 15(4).

In *S. A. Partha v. State of Mysore*,⁶³ (a pre-Balaji decision) an order of the Mysore Government making

⁶¹. *Supra* note 3.

⁶². *Supra* note 4.

⁶³. A.I.R. 1961 Mys. 220.

reservations for admission to technical and professional institutions based on the interim report of Dr. Nagen Gowda Committee to determine criteria for identifying the socially and educationally backward classes in the state was challenged. The government had fixed 22 per cent reservation for backward classes, 15 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 3 per cent for Scheduled Tribes. The remaining 60 per cent were to be selected on the basis of open competition on merit alone. If any seats reserved for candidates belonging to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes remained unfilled the same was to be filled by candidates of other backward classes.

As regards the legality of transferring unfilled seats out of the reservation made for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to benefit other backward classes, the court said that it had to be examined in the light of the fundamental rights in Articles 15(1) and 29(2) of the Constitution.

The Court held that when a reservation of a certain percentage of seats is made in favour of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes or other backward classes, they could not on the basis of their backwardness ask for more seats than are included in the reserved percentage. Compartmentalisation was open to objection from the point of view of the fundamental rights of both categories of citizens, namely the backward and the advanced classes. To prevent a member of the category entitled to reservation from competing in the general category would violate his fundamental right. To permit him to compete separately both in the reserved category as well as in the general category would result in the violation of the fundamental right of a member of the general category beyond the limits constitutionally permissible for the protection of the reserved category. Hence, for a reservation of a certain number of percentage of seats to be constitutionally correct or appropriate, it should not be in the nature of compartmentalisation but in the nature of a *guaranteed minimum* in the course of a general competition among all categories of citizens.

Regarding the transfer of unfilled seats of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to other backward classes, the court said that those three groups were three different categories whose classification was based on different indicia and the classification of other backward classes might vary from time to time and with reference to the nature of their backwardness. Consequently, it was held that the allotment of seats under the provisions of the impugned orders in favour of other backward classes in excess of the 22 per cent reserved for them in a manner otherwise than by open competition is an unreasonable restraint on the fundamental right of other citizens and, therefore, opposed to the Constitution.

Conclusion

Points arising out of the Analysis of Judicial Decisions

1. The juxtaposition of socially and educationally backward classes with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Article 15(4) and the provision

in Article 338(3) that the references to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were to be construed as including such backward classes as the President may by order specify on receipt of the report of the Commission appointed under Article 340(1) shows that in the matter of their backwardness they are comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

2. The concept of backward classes is not relative in the sense that any class which is backward in relation to the most advanced class in the community must be included in it. Hence the division of backward classes into backward and more backward is unconstitutional.

3. The backwardness must be both social and educational and not either social or educational.

4. Article 15(4) refers to backward classes and not backward castes. The test of caste would break down in respect of communities which have no caste. In the prevalent Indian society caste, of course, is a relevant factor in determining social backwardness but it is not the sole or dominant test. In the light of the latest decision of the Supreme Court (*State of U.P. v. Pradip Tandon*) caste is not a synonym for class. This case reiterated the *Balaji* approach. The socially and educationally backward classes of citizens are groups other than groups based on caste. Classes of citizens mean a homogenous group of people with some common traits and who are identifiable by some common attributes. The homogeneity of the class of citizens is social and educational backwardness.

A classification based only on caste without regard to other relevant factors is not permissible under Article 15(4). However, if a caste was wholly socially and educationally backward its inclusion in the backward classes by their caste name is not violative of Article 15(4) (See *Rajendran and Balaram* cases). The State should have sufficient data to show this fact. In fact the onus is on the state to prove that the criteria it has adopted in classifying backward classes are constitutionally permissible.

5. Social backwardness is in the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a very large extent. Social backwardness which is the offshoot of poverty will be aggravated by caste considerations of the poor people, this only shows the relevance of both castes and poverty in determining the backwardness.

6. The occupations followed by certain classes of people which are looked down upon as inferior or

unclean and place of habitation may contribute to social backwardness.

7. In order that reservations would benefit the really needy ones in the socially and educationally backward classes of people, the fixing of income limit for family (meaning natural family) is valid. The means-cum-caste/community test is valid.

8. Rural population as a whole cannot form socially and educationally backward class. However, population in hilly backward areas form such a class.

9. Reliance on outdated socio-economic data by the State for classification of socially and educationally backward classes has not been upheld by the courts.

10. The proportion of population of backward classes to the total population of the state for purpose of reservation for admission to professional institutions has been held valid.

11. The inclusion of a class in the list of backward classes should not be perpetual; otherwise the whole purpose of reservation would be defeated. Hence the list should be under constant periodical review by the State.

12. The quantum of reservation to be made is primarily a matter for the State to decide. However, it should not be excessive. *Balaji* had struck down 68% reservation as inconsistent with the concept of special provision in 15(4) in *Balaji* it was said that "in a broad way a special provision, should be less than 50 per cent, how much less than 50 per cent, would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case".

13. Educational backwardness determined on the basis of the state average of the last two or three High School classes per 1,000 people of the community has been held to be valid. However, the class to be educationally backward must be well or substantially below the state average. For instance, below 50 per cent of state average would be obviously backward.

14. Reservation for backward areas can be validly made. Besides the cases discussed above reference may also be made to the *Janki Prasad* case discussed under Article 16(4). Consequently the Punjab High Court decision in *Gurinder Pal Singh* case (A.I.R. 1974 Punj. 125) is no longer good law.

VOLUME IV

VOLLEBE IV

**REACTIONS TO THE RESERVATIONS
FOR
OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES**

A Comparative Study of Four States

**A Report Submitted to the Backward Classes Commission,
Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India**

R. K. Hebsur

**TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
BOMBAY — 400088**

May, 1980

TECHNIQUES TO THE RESISTANCE

FOR

OTHER RESEARCH CLASSES

A COURSE IN THE ARTS

A course in the arts is a course in the study of the human mind and its activities. It is a course in the study of the human mind and its activities. It is a course in the study of the human mind and its activities.

A. A. A. A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

1950

PREFACE

This report on the reactions to the reservation schemes for the other backward classes has been prepared at the invitation from the Backward Classes Commission, Government of India. It seeks to explain why the introduction of such reservation in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka was accepted by the adversely affected population without violent protest, and why similar measures in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, provoked a violent backlash. In an investigation of this type, the search for the causal factors can not be definitive. One has to perforce rely on circumstantial evidence, and derive broad conclusions.

The Tata Institute of Social Sciences feels honoured that it has been entrusted with this difficult assignment. I am grateful to Prof. M. S. Gore, our Director, for entrusting this work to me, and encouraging me in this endeavour. I am immensely grateful to Shri B. P. Mandal, Chairman, BCC, Shri Gill, Secretary, Shri Ghosh, Director and Shri Parthasarathy, Joint Director for their encouragement. They have been very patient with the delay in submitting this report.

The Governments of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh deserve my thanks for providing

me the various documents and reports. In the course of my data collection, I met many scholars, civil servants, politicians, ministers, journalists and other knowledgeable persons. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to them for sparing their valuable time.

I thank Shri Siddharamappa, Miss Lobe and Shri P. P. Patkar of the Institute for assisting me. I also thank Shri Mohandas and Shri Jayakumar for undertaking the typing work.

The responsibility for the conclusions reached is entirely my own.

Sd/-

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29th May, 1980
Bombay

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CHAPTER—I

INTRODUCTION : THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

It was stated in the Preface that the main objective of this report is to explain why the Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Government Orders of 1977 and 1978 providing for job reservations to the Other Backward Classes provoked a violent and virulent protest and backlash, and why the similar measures in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka were generally accepted by the forward castes. More specifically, we are examining why the forward castes in Bihar and U.P. had not only the willingness and anger to strike back, but also the capability to do so, and why their counterparts in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, did not have the willingness to resort to violent protest, and even if they had, lacked the capability for violent protest. This pattern of caste conflict is only a part of the general canvas of the caste conflicts which are being increasingly waged in the country. Conflicts among the various castes and caste groups on the single issue of reservation of seats and jobs are only a particular kind of manifestation of the general struggle and competition for ascendancy in the socio-political and economic realms. These struggles and competitions are the pervasive features of the Indian politics, although there exist considerable regional variations. In some states like Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh they are at a low key and in some other states like Bihar, Karnataka, U.P., they are intense. In some states as in Maharashtra, the struggles may not be centering around the issue of job and seats reservations, but manifest themselves in the form of resentment and atrocities. The struggles may be confined to the control of political party or they may extend to other areas as well. Again they may be violent or non-violent. But, like the atrocities on the Harijans, caste struggles, attended by violence, for and against the inclusion of the castes in the Other Backward Classes categories under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the constitution, will have to be considered as the more acute forms of such conflicts.

The traditional hierarchization of the Hindu Society along the caste lines more or less corresponded with the political and economic ones. Those groups, which had a higher ascriptive social or ritual status, were also generally high in terms of political power and economic strength, which meant mainly land in the pre-British India. This kind of a social organisation has been described by Dahl (1961) as one of cumulative inequalities. It was also an inherently stable order, since the various kinds of advantages and deprivations coincided with one another. In terms of the concept coined by Galtmug (1972), we can say that the social ordering in the pre-British India did not have rank disequilibrium. That is, there was no caste, generally speaking, which was very high on social power, but very low on economic power, or very high on economic power, but low on the ritual

status. This is not to deny that this inherently stable order was highly inegalitarian and morally reprehensible. Also, this hierarchization was not totally rigid and inflexible as it is often made out to be. As Kothari (1970) has argued, even in the pre-British India the lower and tribal sections could make an entry into the middle order caste groups. The military prowess on the part of some of the castes enabled them to wrest a higher caste status. In many parts of India the Bhakti movement sapped the position of the Brahmins and other upper castes. But such instances of secularization were few and far between and never overturned the hierarchization of the Hindu society.

With the advent of the British rule the seeds of enormous changes were sown and this had many far reaching consequences. The impact of the British rule, consolidation of the political regime, introduction of the Western oriented educational system, opening up of many avenues of occupation and profession has been competently analyzed by many scholars like Kothari (1970), Srinivas (1966), Beteille (1965), Singh (1973), the Rudolphs (1967), Rao (1979), etc. The British rule produced many structural disturbances in the Hindu caste structure, and these were contradictory in nature and impact. *In the first place*, the British rule accentuated the disparities in the distribution of economic and political power, particularly in regard to the upper and intermediate castes. The Brahmins in most parts of the country, being the *literati* caste, responded promptly to the western liberal education and entered in big numbers into the government service and the professions. By the turn of the century, they also came to dominate the national movement. In those provinces of India, where for historical reasons, the Brahmins did not possess in abundance the advantage of being the sole *literati* caste, the other castes like the Kayasthas took to the western education and modernization. The preponderance of the Brahmins of the Madras Presidency and the Princely Mysore State among the literates, and particularly the English knowing population, has been well established by Irschick (1969) and Manor (1977). The Brahmins in these and other areas had another advantage. As Irschick argues, the Brahmins in Madras had sizeable landholdings, although they did not constitute the dominant element of the landed gentry. The Brahmins particularly in South India were successful in converting their landed resources into more paying resources of the government service and professions. Their links with the land became increasingly tenuous, as they became absentee landlords or sold off their lands to educate their children. They became increasingly urban oriented.

Thus, the British rule and the modernization it entailed aggravated the status differences between the

various castes, particularly, the Brahmins, Kayasthas on the one hand, and the landed gentry castes on the other. Secondly, the British rule, the egalitarian system of justice and the liberal education injected into the system, new ideas of equality, equality of opportunity, etc. In the beginning, the ideas of equality of opportunity, or meritocratic principles of justice came in handy for the *literati* castes, who almost monopolized the government jobs and professional opportunities in the name of full and free competition. They knew that they had left the landed gentry castes like the Vellatas, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Rajputs and Bhumihars lagging far behind. But, the meritocratic principle of justice was soon challenged as the equal treatment of the unequals. The distributive aspects of justice started appealing to the non-*literati* caste leaders. Again, the parity-pollution concepts and social disabilities suffered in varying degrees by different castes came under severe criticism. Thus, the Western ideals of social equality, equality of opportunity and treatment and distributive justice in terms of not merely economic but other social values provided a powerful impetus to many caste groups to get organized and demand a fairer dispensation. These values were totally inconsistent with the hierarchically organized Hindu system, in which the distances between certain upper castes were widening, rather than narrowing. This explosive mixture of contrary impacts produced different results. It gave rise to genteel social reform movements aimed at eliminating caste disabilities, education of women, abolition of *sati*, upliftment of the scheduled castes etc. These were generally led by the enlightened members of the forward castes themselves, at least in the beginning. In due course of time, more militant, aggressive reform movements appeared, seeking to reject the Brahminical culture and dominance, as in the case of the Non-Brahmin movement of Jyotibha Phule of Maharashtra and, more recently, the Self-respect movement of E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker in Madras. The Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogan movement of the Izhavas in Kerala was less militant, and more inward looking (Rao, 1979). But, the urge for equality found a most powerful expression in what Srinivas has called Sanskritization, which reached its peak in the first two decades of this century. Sanskritization indicates the phenomenon of backward castes imitating the mores, customs and rituals of the forward castes and laying claim to a forward caste status. When this process was at its height, the census commissions of the British Indian provinces were bedevilled by the plethora of claims to higher caste status.

Thirdly, the British rule saw the establishment of countrywide communication networks, like post and telegraphs, railways, and mass circulation of newspapers. These facilities penetrated the isolated caste structures and enabled caste or similar caste groups to come together and form caste associations. This to a great extent erased or diluted the sub-caste distinctions and the castes assumed a new role, unenviaged by the Hindu ethic. Sanskritization, militant reform or rejection movements were facilitated by the modern communications.

Thus, the various impacts of the British rule on the Hindu caste system, *viz.*, near monopolization of jobs,

education and professions by the *literati* castes, the Western concepts of equality and justice undermining the Hindu hierarchical dispensation, the phenomenon of Sanskritization, genteel reform movements from above and militant reform movements from below, emergence of the caste associations with a new role set the stage for the caste conflicts in modern India, two more ingredients which were very weak in the British period, *viz.*, politicization of the masses and universal adult franchise, became powerful moving forces after the Independence.

As Rao (1979) has shown in his comparative analysis of the Yadav movement (which was stronger in North India than in the South) and the Izhava movement of Kerala, the backward classes movements have varied in their support basis, extent of relative deprivation, goals they were seeking, and the means they adopted. These variations were strongly determined by the different types of cleavages produced by the inherited social structure and the impact of the British rule. He has identified four types of such movements. In Madras, Karnataka and Maharashtra, the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin cleavage appeared and the movements had the aim of reducing the dominance of the Brahmins in politics and professions. The second pattern is noticed in the north, where the cleavage emerged between the generally forward and twice-born castes of Brahmins, Bhumihars, Kayasthas, Rajputs, on the one hand, and the intermediate castes of Ahirs, Kurmis, etc. on the other. The third pattern indicated by Rao is that of a conflict between the depressed castes and the forward castes. The Izhava movement in Kerala and the energetic movement of the Nadars in Madras, the movements led by Dr. Ambedkar and the more recent movement of the Dalits in Maharashtra are the examples. The tribal movements constitute the fourth type. This otherwise powerful conceptualization on the part of the Rao does not recognize the full role of politics as a mechanism for the upliftment of the backward castes, the variation through time in the complexion of the movements, particularly in regard to the opposition reference groups, and the internal tensions within each camp. As we shall see later, the self-respect movement started by E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker in 1925 infused fresh ideology into the moribund justice movement. By the 1970's, the non-Brahmin coalition disintegrated in Karnataka and a second phase movement of the smaller backward castes against the landed gentry castes of the Lingayats and Vokkaligas emerged. The Bihar politics till recently was characterized by the Bhumihars and Rajputs conflicts, and the backward castes have not made a successful entry into politics there.

It has been argued that only after the independence and introduction of the universal adult franchise, the Indian society and polity, which has grown independently of each other, were introduced to each other. But this phenomenon of the Hindu social structure and the new political regime interacting with each other did not suddenly begin only after the independence. Only that the ingredients of politics, franchise and mass participation, which were present even before the independence, assumed tremendous proportions

After the independence--at least in some parts of India like Madras, the Princely Mysore State, Bombay, Sanskritization lost its charm and utility to many backward castes. After all, the process had offered only symbolic reward and satisfaction to the Members of these caste groups. It did almost nothing to reduce the relative deprivation in terms of jobs, professional and educational opportunities. The higher caste status, grudgingly given by the British census commissioners, or pompously adopted by the castes themselves, did not enable the backward castes to make a dent into the upper caste hegemony in government jobs, education, professions and the nationalist movement. The backward castes too had to try to convert the existing resources into job opportunities, or generate new resources toward this end. The genteel reform movements from the top had done little to fulfil their expectations. Hence, many backward castes, within the limits of available mass mobilization, franchise restrictions and access to governmental decision making centres, tried to demand a share in the case of job opportunities and educational facilities. In this endeavour, the newly formed caste associations or their confederations played an important role. This process began much before the Independence, at least in some parts of India.

The most striking success was achieved in this field by the Justice Party of the Madras presidency. The party, formed in 1916, was mainly led by the Vellalas of the Tamil areas, Kammas, i.e., Maidus, Reddis, Velamas of the Telugu areas and the Nairs of the Malayalam speaking Malabar district. All these are only just one rung below the Brahmins and controlled the landed resources. (The Tamil Christians too played a role, which was only marginal). Similarly, the Praja Mitra Mandali led by the non-Brahmin elite castes of Vokkaligas and Lingayats in the Princely Mysore State wrested job and educational reservations after 1921. In Bombay too certain reservations came to be provided by the government for the intermediate castes like the Marathas. All these successes were due not only to responsive British Governments (or the Prince of Mysore), but also to the new organizational and mobilizational capabilities developed by these castes.

But, with the rising crescendo of the nationalist movement and its mass base, these caste groups realized that they would be isolated if they stood aloof. In the twenties and thirties of this century, these intermediate caste groups joined the national movement and the Congress Party. In fact the Congress Party's rural thrust acquired a new momentum by development. As Roy (n.d.) has argued, when the avenues and opportunities of upward mobility were limited, politics promised the necessary ladder. "In other words, the political system has to discharge not only the strictly political functions but also the social functions. Political system thus becomes in effect an extension of the social system where battle for upward mobility is carried" (*Ibid*; p. 63).

The entry of the intermediate and backward caste groups into politics and the struggle to dominate the

Congress party, or at least to claim a proper share in the structure of the party and government were further accelerated by the advent of independence and the establishment of the universal adult franchise. Once again in Dahlian terms, the structure of inequalities started becoming dispersed, but only to some extent. Those caste groups which were low in terms of the ritual and social status, and advancement in jobs and professions, at least started acquiring political clout and leverage. They sought to transform the latter into the former. This in essence, is the structure of caste conflict. According to the concepts of Galtung described above, the situation became inherently unstable due to increasing rank disequilibrium. The conflicts started centering around the distribution of political spoils and patronage and the implementation of Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution, providing for protective discrimination in favour of the socially and educationally backward classes and Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

The roots of Constitutional provisions regarding protective discrimination in favour of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes go back to the decades of the freedom struggle. In fact, the freedom movement itself was strengthened by the commitment on the part of the national elites to the welfare of these Castes and Tribes. Enabled by Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution, the Union and the States have reserved government jobs, and seats in educational institutions in favour of these groups, generally in proportion of their population. The national consensus in this regard among the contemporary elites and political parties is so strong that they vie with one another, at least ostensibly, in support of these measures. At the grass roots level, many sections do resent these provisions. This resentment takes many forms. The reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes were provided, not because the Castes and Tribes were powerful and assertive, and possessed bargaining power, but because of the national consensus, which was hammered out by Gandhiji and Dr. Ambedkar.

But, the Constitution provides for protective discrimination for the "Socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". The phrase 'Socially and educationally backward classes' has provoked intense political controversies and conflicts, and an enormous amount of constitutional litigation. What the framers of the Constitution meant by this phrase is abundantly clear. The Indian society contains many sections whose economic position and social status are almost similar to those of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, although they may not strictly be stigmatized by untouchability. Hence, these sections have been called 'other' backward classes. These are also in need of the same kind of protection that is given to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In spite of the many judicial pronouncements on the meaning of the phrase, 'socially and educationally backward classes', the states in India have not adopted any common criterion of this backwardness. The criteria have changed from time to time even within a State. The competition among the various middle order castes for being included in the backward classes lists

constitutes an important part of the totality of the political struggles and conflicts that are being waged in the country today.

When we look at the four States under study, viz., Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, we find striking variations in the reservations for the OBC's and inclusion of different castes in the OBC list. As we will see later, even the Tamil Nadu list has undergone many changes, but has not provoked any protest or overt resentment on the part of those classified as forward, which include not only the Brahmins, but other intermediate castes. The only trouble arose when in July 1979, the M. G. Ramachandran government superimposed an income criterion of Rs. 9,000 on the OBC list. This led to a vigorous protest, led mainly by the DMK. Finally, the order has been rescinded. In Karnataka, the reservation G.O.'s, have been embroiled in tortuous litigation and protest. As long as the Lingayats had been classified as backward, there was not much public agitation. But, their exclusion first in the Havanur Commission Report (1975) and then in the G.O.'s based on the Report have provoked the ire of the community. But this ire has not manifested in any violent agitation. The willingness to strike back is there, but not the capability. In U.P., and Bihar the reservation G.O.'s were first issued in August 1977 and November 1978, by the Yadav and Thakur governments, respectively. What these two governments did was to follow not Mysore (Karnataka) model of 1956 and 60, which classified almost all the castes except a few as backward, but the Debraj Urs model of 1977, in which substantial and dominant castes were left out of the classification. In the same theoretical concepts, the Thakur and Yadav governments sought to establish smaller, coalitions of caste groups to enlarge the gains. This provoked an avalanche of protest and agitation on the part of the adversely affected caste groups of Brahmins, Rajputs, Bhumihars and Kavasthas. Processions, bundhs, agitations, boycott of classes, attacks on public property became the order of the day (It must be recorded, however, that the forward caste agitators did not dare attack the intermediate caste members personally). There were counter demonstrations also, organised by the youths of Ahir, Kurmi and Koeri castes.

To seek to explain this phenomenon of backlash in U.P. and Bihar, its absence in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka the following hypotheses have been formulated. An attempt has been made to test them with the help of qualitative and impressionistic data gathered from documents, published books and articles, interviews with ministers, legislators, and other politicians, academicians, journalists, civil servants, and other knowledgeable persons in these states. Each hypothesis has not been verified separately to avoid repetition.

Hypothesis—1

If the communal reservation scheme has had a long history, retaliation by the forward castes is likely to be absent.

The historical timing of the introduction of the scheme has a tremendous bearing on the reaction of the groups adversely affected by such schemes. If the reservation schemes come to existence at a time when the levels of political organisation and mobilization of the groups are low, they are likely to be accepted as a kind of *fait accompli*. The groups kept out of the reservation schemes are likely to learn to live with the disadvantage and try to overcome them in various ways. But if the reservation schemes are introduced at a time when the levels of political mobilization and organization are very high, then such groups are likely to resort to resistance.

Hypothesis—2

If the forward castes are divided against themselves, the chances of retaliation are less.

Obviously, cohesion or unity on the part of the forward castes, which are kept out by the reservation schemes, increases their capacity for retaliation. If such forward castes themselves are divided politically or by the reservation scheme itself, their capacity to mount resistance and retaliation will be less. If a reservation scheme divides the forward castes along the subcaste lines and includes some within the purview of reservation and excludes the others, the unity of such castes is tremendously affected. In other words, the fact whether the whole clusters of castes have been taken into account for forward/backward classification or their subcastes have been taken into account for forward/backward classification is a crucial one.

Hypothesis—3

If the backward and scheduled castes are not getting on well together, the retaliation on the part of forward castes is likely to be high.

It has been discussed above how the various kinds of cleavages have affected the emergence and the nature of the backward class movements in different parts of the country. If the intermediate castes can make a common cause with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and forge a common and united political phalanx, then the backward class movement is likely to be very strong. If for some reasons, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other minor artisan castes like the potters, the weavers, the carpenters, etc. feel threatened by the intermediate castes also having a stake in the land like the upper-castes, the backward class movement will be considerably weakened. There are many states in India where the weaker landless minority artisan castes and the Scheduled Castes look to the upper castes and not to the intermediate castes for their protection. Also, if the artisan castes and the Scheduled castes feel that the operation of the democratic processes in the last 30 years had benefited the intermediate castes, they are likely to be less enthusiastic in joining hands with the intermediate castes in the backward class movement and agitation for supporting the reservation schemes.

Hypothesis—4

If the backward classes are also politicized and organized, the retaliation on the part of the forward castes is less likely.

Either of the two following conditions is necessary for the viability and success of a reservation scheme. In the first place the Government has to fully back it and stand by the commitments. This happened, for example, in the case of the Madras Presidency and the Princely Mysore State. The British Governors, executive councillors and ICS Officers of the Madras Presidency were fully persuaded that the Brahmin domination in the services and the professions must be reduced. They were sympathetic to the cause of the Justice party from the beginning. Similarly, the then Maharaja of Mysore was also inclined in favour of giving the non-Brahmins a fairer deal. In the absence of such support from the top, a second condition has to be fulfilled. If the backward classes have fully penetrated into the dominant party and the various corridors of power and have been politicized and organized, they are in a position, or they have the potential to mount a counter retaliation in case the disaffected forward castes agitate against a reservation scheme.

Hypothesis—5

If the upper castes are suddenly faced with the prospect of losing their political and economic position, *i.e.* if a reservation scheme is likely to bring about a sudden rank disequilibrium, then the chances of retaliation on the part of such castes are very high.

In the United States much of the white backlash against the protective discrimination and other facilities given to the blacks has been spearheaded by those poor whites who were faced the threat of a sudden loss of status and prestige. Similarly in India, if the upper castes face a similar sudden threat to their position, they will be tempted to amount resistance and retaliation. If for some reasons the upper castes continue to maintain their mobility and status in some other ways and avenues, they are likely to feel less threatened by the reservation schemes favouring the intermediate and the backward classes. It is quite possible that in a couple of states under study the upper castes felt that the intermediate castes which have been included in the backward classes list are getting prosperous economically and also will have the added advantage of job and professional opportunities. In such a situation of rank disequilibrium, they are likely to retaliate against the reservation schemes.

Hypothesis—6

If the forward subcastes persons can pass off as backward castes persons, the likelihood of retaliation is less.

On the face of it, this hypothesis may sound implausible. No matter what a person does, he can

not shake off his caste label. But, if an OBC classification takes into account the subcastes of the various major caste categories and classifies some as forward and some others as backward, it will be relatively easier for a person belonging to a forward subcaste to pass off as one belonging to a backward subcaste. While in the rural areas the village officers or the tahsildars may identify a person's subcaste accurately and place him as either forward or backward, in the urban areas it become very difficult for the government officers to disprove that a person does not belong to one subcaste and prove that he actually belongs to another subcaste. Particularly in the South Indian States of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka it is said that many applicants for jobs can manage to obtain any kind of certificate.

Hypothesis—7

If the State as a whole has experienced a kind of revivalism, or is mobilized against outside symbols, the backward class movement against the forward castes is likely to be less powerful.

As discussed in the theoretical sections of this Chapter, an appropriate cleavage between the upper castes and lower castes is a necessary precondition for the mobilization of the lower castes into a backward class movement. It is quite possible that historically speaking such cleavages may appear first. But they are likely to be blurred if a sub-nationalist revivalistic movement develops in that area. These cleavages between the upper castes and lower castes need not be very durable ones. As some non-Brahmin castes get the advantage of reservation and political power they may improve their social and economic position considerably. We then should expect a new cleavage to appear, *i.e.* between those who have not gained from the reservation and those who have gained. But this cleavage may be prevented from surfacing if any kind of a sub-nationalist or revivalistic movement distracts the energies, attention and the sense of relative deprivation of the really disadvantaged lower castes.

Hypothesis—8

The capacity on the part of the backward castes to retaliate is a function of (a) their numbers; (b) political consciousness; (c) dominance, and (d) perceived lack of alternative opportunities.

It stands to reason that if the castes which have been classified as forward have considerable numerical support and are possessing a high degree of political consciousness, then their capacity to retaliate is likely to be high. Similarly, if they are dominant economically and politically and are in control of the various positions of power, patronage and economic surplus, they are in a better position to resist the introduction of reservation schemes. Again, if the members of these castes feel that they have no other alternative employment and occupational opportunities than the government jobs, they are likely to feel driven to the wall and will engage themselves in resistance. But, if they perceive that they can go out of the state or pursue other job opportunities, their frustration will less and they are less likely to mount retaliation.

Hypothesis—9

If the non-government tertiary sector is expanding, the retaliation on the part of the forward castes is less likely.

This hypothesis is organically related to the preceding one. If in a State the non-governmental sector

is expanding, the members of those castes classified as forward may turn to such sectors. If the economy of the state is growing slowly and if the government is the only or the predominant employer of the young graduates, then the members of the castes classified as forward will feel deeply threatened and will be disposed to retaliate.

CHAPTER II

TAMIL NADU : FROM THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT TO TAMIL REVIVALISM

The runaway lead taken by both the Tamil and Telugu Brahmins in the field of education in the erstwhile Madras Presidency has been well documented (Inchick, 1969; Arnold, 1977). By the turn of the century the male literacy rate among the Tamil Brahmins was 73.6 per cent as against a similar rate among the Vellalas of 6.9 per cent. Whereas the male literacy in English was 17.9 per cent among the Tamil Brahmins, it was only 0.19 per cent among the Vellalas. The Brahmins had established a near monopoly of the government services and the professions. As far back as 1851, the Madras Revenue Board had instructed the District Collectors to restrict the number of the Brahmin entrants into the services. In spite of this, the Brahmin domination of the government services and the professions went on unabated. The caste's domination in the Provincial Congress Committee had been well established. Altered by the Advent of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and dyarchy, the non-Brahmin elite castes took the lead in establishing first the South Indian Liberal Federation, and secondly, the Justice Party in 1916. After coming to power in 1920, the party extended in 1921 the scope of the 1881 order, by requiring all the heads of the departments to distribute appointments of all the grades among the various communities. But for the first time in the history of the communal G.O., in Madras, a clear cut reservation procedure was laid down by the order of 1927. The following compartmental reservation of posts was provided :

1. Non-Brahmin Hindus 5 of 12 posts i.e.,	42%
2. Brahmins 2 of 12 posts i.e.,	17%
3. Muslims 2 of 12 posts i.e.,	17%
4. Anglo-Indians 2 of 12 posts i.e.,	17%
5. Depressed classes 1 of 12 posts i.e.,	8%
	100%
	(rounded)

This scheme of reservation was in operation till 1947. The adversely affected caste of Brahmins was too weak numerically to resist this scheme. Many of the Brahmin leaders had also acknowledged that they indeed had obtained a lion's share of the jobs and educational facilities. As the youth of the Brahmins community felt the squeeze of the operation of the 1927 order, they started migrating to the other metropolitan cities of India, particularly Bombay, which was continued even till today. As can be seen from the G.O. the Scheduled castes were earmarked only 8 per cent of the jobs, far less than warranted by their share in

the population. In view of the strength of the non-Brahmin agitation, and of the need to broaden the base of the Congress party in the thirties by inducting more and more non-Brahmin elites into the party, the first Congress ministry in the province headed by Rajaji did not even touch the G.O.

In the Tamil areas of Madras, the 1927 G.O., represented a victory for the Vellala Castes, particularly the Modaliars. In these areas, they had provided the leadership of the Justice Party, although there were leaders from other Non-Brahmin castes as well. The Justice Party leaders were drawn from the landed classes and were not much keen on broadening their base by including the landless castes within their ranks. In fact, they began to show a marked disinclination for social reforms and amelioration of the conditions of other weaker and backward castes. A slow erosion of the ranks of the party and defections to the Congress had already begun in the twenties, and the non-Brahmin strategy was to infiltrate into the Congress and capture the organization from within. By the thirties the Justice Party had served its historic purpose of reducing to a great extent the sense of deprivation on the part of the *zamindar* interests, particularly in the fields of government jobs and education. As the Brahmin youths moved out, the upper caste youths started replacing them. The reservation scheme had come to stay in the political consciousness of the Tamils and became an accomplished fact. Hence, the party also started losing its base and élan. It was too much tainted with the association with the British rulers to survive the rising tide of nationalism.

E. V. Ramasami Naicker, a Balija Naidu, had begun his political career with the Congress. Angered by the domination of the Brahmins in the party, and also annoyed with Gandhiji's espousal of a purified *Varna* ideology, he revolted from the party. He left the party around 1925, to start the Self-respect movement. The movement aimed at nothing short of a rejection of the Brahminical religion and culture, which Naicker thought was the prime instrument of enslaving the Tamilians. By 1939 Naicker was demanding a separate Dravidistan (Nardgrave, 1965). As Irschick has pointed out. "The Self-Respect movement concentrated almost entirely on the Tamil Districts, primarily on groups of low in the caste hierarchy, including the untouchables, for whom the social reform platform would have the most appeal" (1969; p. 334). But for the Self-respect movement, the elite non-Brahmins of Madras would in course of time, have been as isolated from the lower caste groups, as the

Lingayate and Vokkaliga leaders in Karnataka came to the end of the sixties. In 1944 the Justice party was reconstituted as the Dravida Kazhagam, which was imbued with not only an anti-Brahmin, anti-North, anti-Hindi ideology, but also with separatist subnationalism.

Naicker ran the DK pretty autocratically, which was not liked by the younger elements of the party, led by C. N. Annadurai. When Naicker married in 1949 a girl much younger to him, Annadurai and his friends walked out to form the Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam, which, while subscribing to the DK ideology, developed parliamentary ambitions.

The Communal G.O., of 1927 prevailed till 1947, when it was revised as follows:—

Non-Brahmin Hindus 6 jobs out of 14, i.e.	43%
Backward Hindus 2 jobs out of 14, i.e.	14%
Brahmins 2 jobs out of 14, i.e.	14%
Scheduled Castes 2 jobs out of 14, i.e.	14%
Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians 1 job out of 14, i.e.	7%
Muslims 1 job out of 14, i.e.	7%
	100%
	(rounded)

The 1947 G.O. is an historical one because for the first time the non-Brahmin castes were bifurcated into non-Brahmin Hindus and non-Brahmin backward Hindus. This bifurcation was done on the basis of the then existing caste lists for educational concessions. Obviously the non-Brahmin Hindus consisting of the forward Vellala Naidu, Chettiyar, Reddi etc. castes did not resent this bifurcation, since they were given a compartmental reservation of 43 per cent of the jobs. After the inauguration of the Constitution of India this compartmental reservation was struck down by the Supreme Court. Then the 1947 scheme was converted into the following scheme by an order of September 1951. This order provided for the following scheme of reservation:—

Open competition—12 jobs out of 20 i.e.	60%
Backward classes—5 jobs out of 20 i.e.	25%
The Scheduled Castes—3 jobs out of 20 i.e.	15%
	100%

In the light of the population figures of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes as per the 1951 census and after separation of Andhra Pradesh, the Madras Government promulgated in 1954 the following reservation scheme:—

Open competition	59%
Backward classes	25%
S. Castes & Tribes	16%
	100%

The 1954 order made only marginal changes. Those non-Brahmin forward castes like the Adi Saiva-Vellalas, Karghata-Vellalas, Modaliyars, Kamma-Naidus, which had provided the leadership to the non-Brahmin movement two decades ago, were now compelled to compete along with the Brahmins for jobs and seats in the open competition pool. These non-Brahmin forward castes did not feel any threat on being shunted to the open competition pool. They had consolidated their political power and sufficiently penetrated into the services with the help of these resources. They could get more than their share even within the open competition pool where even the Brahmins could not offer any kind of serious competition to them. Also, as it will be discussed later, because of the peculiar system of forward-backward classification along the subcaste lines, there was a rampant misuse of the classification. In short, when the communal reservation scheme came into force in the new form, the non-Brahmin forward castes had become sufficiently powerful to hold on to their benefits and did not have to resort to any kind of a protest or backlash. Following the recommendation of the Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission (1970) the reservation scheme for the purposes of both Articles 15(4) and 16(4) was revised in 1971 as follows:—

Open competition	51%
Backward classes	31%
Scheduled Castes & Tribes	18%
	100%

Even this reduction in the share of the open merit pool and increase in the reserved pool meant for the backward classes did not provoke any ire on the part of the non-Brahmin forward subcaste groups.

As indicated above almost every major community or caste group in Tamil Nadu has been divided into forward and backward sub-caste sections and groups. Christian converts from the Scheduled castes are backward; Other Christians are forward. Labbai and Deccani Muslims are backward; and Urdu speaking Muslims are forward. Adi-Saiva, Karghata, Kulaveli-Vellalas are forward; and Thuluva Vellalas, Sozhia Vellalas are backward. All Reddys are forward except Ganjam—Reddys. Gavarn and Vadugar Naidus are backward; but the Kamma Naidus are forward. Similarly the Chettiyars are also divided into forward and backward sub-caste groups. Until 1975 the Gounders or Komgu—Vellalas had been classified as forward, but the Karunanidhi government included them as backward. Even if some of these non-Brahmins forward castes had felt any kind of a resentment against being pushed into the open merit pool, their capacity for protest or retaliation would be very less, because they could not have made a common cause with their sub-caste counterparts who were on the other side of the line.

The Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission has conclusively proved that nine castes in the other backward classes list, constituting about only 11.7% of the total backward classes population, have cornered

37.3 per cent of the non-gazetted and 48.2 per cent of the gazetted posts. Other minor and weaker backward classes have not been able to utilise the reservation scheme. In other words, the government services and the educational seats have come to be dominated not only by the forward non-Brahmin sub-castes mentioned above, but also by the nine other backward castes. These nine are Vadugas, Veerakodi-Vellalas, Gavaras, Sourashtrians, Thuluva Vellalas, Devangas, Sozhia—Vellalas, Aghamudiyans and Sadhu Chettis. The Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission, out of discretion, did not identify these names in the volume-I of the Report (1979). But, these have been unmistakably inferred from the other sections of the Report. The Commission, in view of the gains having been cornered only by a handful of castes suggested that the compartmental reservation should be introduced for the different kinds of the other backward castes; but the Karunanidhi administration did not heed these suggestions at all. Mr. Karunanidhi, in his interview with the author on 19-11-1979, said the matter had to be looked into, in spite of the obvious proof given in the Report. In his letter dated May 2, 1976 addressed to the then Governor of Tamil Nadu, Mr. A. N. Sattanathan, Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission, urged the former to look into the matter. Mr. Sattanathan says, "It could not have been the intention either of the Central government or the State government that backward classes list once framed should continue in perpetuity. There are judicial pronouncements that these lists should be under constant review and the limited resources of the State should be extended and support given only to those who are genuinely backward socially and educationally. I humbly commend, for your consideration, that the time is now opportune for such a review". Nothing seems to have come out of this letter. The main question here is : why did the weaker and minor backward castes constituting 88.7% of the backward classes population not feel the resentment against the benefits of reservation going to only a handful of castes? They could very well have combined with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and mounted pressures on the government. As we shall see, in the Chapter on Karnataka, when the Scheduled castes, non-Brahmins, non-Lingayats and non-Vokkaligas castes discovered or felt that the gains of the reservation, and of the operation of the political systems had gone only to the Lingayats and Vokkaligas, they felt a deep sense of resentment. Devraj Urs capitalising on this resentment carved out a new political base for himself from these castes. He reduced the power of the Lingayats and Vokkaligas in the Congress structure and corridors of power. Later, the Havanur Commission excluded most of the Lingayat castes from the reservation scheme, which was implemented by a G. O. Why did such a political movement on the part of the weaker, minority backward caste not arise in Tamil Nadu? The answer to this will have to be found in the peculiar Dravida Kazhagam culture, which has been inherited both by the DMK and the AIADMK. As long as the Tamil cultural revivalism continues to grip the State and as long as the anti-Hindu anti-North, anti-Aryan issues dominate the minds of the people, a real backward classes movement espousing the cause

of the really backward class will not emerge. The same factors continue to provide a cohesion between the various non-Brahmin castes. The DMK leaders particularly are not interested in anything which will weaken the ethos of the Tamil movement.

A unique feature of the Tamil Nadu method of classifying the castes into forward and backward has been referred to a couple of times above. The sub-castes of some major Hindu non-Brahmin caste groups have been used for the purposes of classification. This has opened the floodgates of abuse on the part of those classified as forward. The Sattanathan Commission Report has extensively and conclusively demonstrated this misuse. It is difficult for a person belonging to one sub-caste, say Kargatha Vellala, to claim and obtain a certificate that he is a Kaikolan, which is a totally different caste. But, it is relatively easier for him to claim and obtain a certificate that he is a Sozhia Vellala. For, Sozhia Vellala means a Vellala from the old Chola country. In his letter dated May 2, 1976 addressed to the Governor of Tamil Nadu, Mr. Sattanathan once again pointed out to the inexact wording and classification of the OBC list and the rampant misuse it has generated. Mr. Sattanathan wrote :

The terms 'Gavara' and 'Vadugan' have been extensively used for schooling, college admissions and 'reserved' appointments by almost all Telugu speaking people calling themselves either as 'Naickers' or as 'Naidus', though they may not belong to the specific divisions of the Vadugans and Gavaras.

Again,

In fact, it could be said that excepting Brahmin community, many of the other 'non-backward' or forward community can by some means, or other, claim to be 'backward' in view of the large size of the list and inexact wordings frequently used in the list.

The Sattanathan Commission was prevented by its terms of reference from suggesting inclusion or deletion of any castes in the OBC lists. But the Report did indicate that something should be done especially for the 'sluggards' among the backward classes. In spite of this, castes like Gounders or Kongu Vellalas, Sozhia Vellalas and Karunegars, and groups like Deecani Muslims were added to the OBC list, which must be adversely affecting the most vulnerable backward-castes.

There is an under current of some disappointment on the part of the weaker castes, particularly the Vanniya Kula Ksthatriyas against (a) the dominance of the Modaliars and Naidus, (b) the nine top backward castes concerning the benefits, and (c) inclusion of otherwise powerful castes in the OBC lists. But this disappointment has not assumed the proportions of resentment and protest. It has not been, and it is not likely to be, politically mobilized. None of the Tamil Nadu political parties have had any intention of mobilizing them on this issue. The M. G. Ramachandran G.O. of imposing the income criterion on

the OBC list came nearest to it, but he too shied away from splitting the backward classes along these lines. Once again, we have to fall back on the explanation that as long as the Tamil subnationalist ideology prevails in the State, these issues will not become critical. The hegemony of the non-Brahmin forward castes and the more successful among the backward castes is not likely to be challenged. Until then the question of resistance or backlash on the part of these castes will not arise.

The Scheduled castes and tribes constitute about 18 per cent of the Tamil Nadu population. As we shall see later, in U.P. and Bihar relationships between the Scheduled Castes, on the one hand, and the intermediate castes like the Jats, Yadavas, Kurmis, Koeris, etc., are pretty strained. In Tamil Nadu, there have been some instances of atrocities on, or ill-treatment of the Scheduled Castes. Beteille (1970) quotes Hutton's account of conflicts between the Kallas and the Adi-Dravidas in the thirties. Thevaras and Harijans too have been clashing with one another now and then. The Kilvemani atrocities in 1967 on the Harijans at the hands of Brahmins, Naickers and

Mukkulthors attracted nationwide attention. Recently, in 1978 the Thevaras and Harijans clashed. But on the whole, these are isolated instances. The State-wide cleavage between the non-Brahmins and the Harijans has not got consolidated in Tamil Nadu, overturning the Brahmin-non-Brahmin cleavage. Because Tamil Nadu is a non-Sanskritic cultural area, the four fold *Varna* system has less applicability there. The Harijans promptly responded to Ramaswamy Naickers Self-Respect movement. Hence, these relationships between the backward non-Brahmins and Harijans neither threaten the forward non-Brahmins nor help them. The energetic Nardars have improved their position considerably. Others too do not expect much of a threat to their rank or status.

Even if some non-Brahmin forward castes feel squeezed by the reservation schemes, the expanding Tamil Nadu economy may have come to their help. The forward Naidu boys have begun going into industry, business, etc. As we have noted the Brahmins have almost written off the Tamil Nadu government service. To a great extent this has taken the pressure off these communities.

CHAPTER III

KARNATAKA : A TWO STAGE BACKWARD CLASSES MOVEMENT

The present Karnataka State was constituted in 1956 out of the following erstwhile areas : (a) 9 districts of the Princely Mysore State (after 1950, Part B State); (b) 4 districts of the Bombay State; (c) 2 districts of Madras State; (d) 3 districts of the former Part B State of Hyderabad; and (e) the centrally administered district of Coorg. Of these five areas only in the Mysore and the Bombay areas, backward classes movement in the form of a non-Brahmin movement developed during the decades before the Independence. The Bellary and South Kanara districts, which formed part of the Madras State till 1953 and 1956 respectively, did not contribute significantly to the non-Brahmin movement in that State. In the Hyderabad areas, due to the autocratic nature of the Nizam's government and the relative domination of the Muslims, the Brahmin-non-Brahmin backward cleavage did not surface until after 1956, i.e., when these areas were merged with Mysore.

After about fifty years of direct British control, the administration of the Princely Mysore was handed back to the Prince in 1881. During this period and the subsequent couple of decades, the important government posts came to be filled by Brahmins from Madras. This gave rise to a lot of resentment on the part of Mysore Brahmins, who raised the cry of 'Mysore for Mysoreans' (Kuppuswamy—1978). During the first two decades of this century the Mysore Brahmins started gaining an upper hand and completely established their ascendancy. In the Princely Mysore State the Brahmins constituted 3.8 per cent of the population, Kokkaligas 20.4 per cent, Lingayats 12.0 per cent, depressed classes 15.1 per cent.

At the turn of the century, as the 1901 census revealed 68 per cent of the Mysore Brahmins were literate whereas only 14.1 per cent of the Lingayats and 4 per cent of the Vokkaligas were literate. Similarly, whereas 10.2 per cent of the Brahmins were literate in English only. 13 per cent of the Lingayats and .07 per cent of the Vokkaligas were literate in English. Like their counterparts in Madras, the Brahmins had established a runaway lead over the two dominant landed gentry castes of the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas. During the next 40 years, the percentage of English knowing Brahmins increased from 10.2 per cent to 36.2 per cent, whereas the similar percentage among the Lingayats increased from .13 per cent to 2.34 per cent and among the Vokkaligas from 0.7 per cent to 1.09 per cent. Although to some extent the literacy gap was bridged among the castes that of English literacy was not bridged to the same extent. In the urban areas the Brahmins constituted 38 per cent of the total workers in the literate occupations. (Monor, 1977). Almost contem-

poraneously with the rise of the Justice Movement in Madras in the second decade of the century, the Lingayats and Vokkaligas of the Princely Mysore State became agitated over the Brahmins predominance in the government service and education. Like the Vellalas and Reddys of the Madras Presidency, they too possessed the important resource, i.e., land. As the Brahmins turned increasingly urbanward, the Lingayat and Vokkaliga gentry bought up their lands. In the first decade of the century their castes associations appeared and by 1917 under the leadership of C. R. Reddy Praja Mitra Mandali was established to voice the claims of the non-Brahmins. Again, just as the British civil servants and governors lent a receptive ear to the grievances and complaints of the Justice leaders in Madras, the Mysore Prince and the courtiers surrounding him were sympathetically disposed to the non-Brahmins. The matters came to a head during the Diwanship of Sir Visweswaraya when in 1918 a committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir Lesley Miller, Chief Justice of the Chief Court of Mysore "to consider steps necessary for the adequate representation of communities in public service". After collecting voluminous data of employment in the government service in various grades, the Miller Committee vindicated the complaint of the non-Brahmins that the civil service in Mysore was dominated by the Brahmins. The Committee made the following recommendation :

Within a period of not more than seven years not less than 1½ of the higher and 2/3 of the lower appointments in each grade of the service and so far as possible in each office are to be held by members of communities other than the Brahmin community, preference being given to duly qualified candidates of the depressed classes four are available.

Following the Miller Committee Report, the Government of Mysore abolished the competitive examinations for the jobs and the recruitments were made by nominating the rankholders of the University examinations, but keeping in mind the goal of bringing up the non-Brahmins. Unlike in Madras there were no compartmental reservations. All the appointments were looked after by one-man Public Service Commission.

Meanwhile the Praja Mitra Mandali disintegrated and its place was taken up in 1928 by yet another party of the non-Brahmins, Prajapaksha. The party consisted of younger elements belonging mainly to the two dominant castes and who had considerable exposure to the caste conflicts in the neighbouring States. In fact many of these leaders as students in Madras had actively participated in the Justice Party

movement. Owing to a very conscious implementation of the Miller Committee recommendations, the percentage of the Brahmins in the services was very slowly reduced. The Prajapaksh also had to face the rising tide of nationalism in India, which did not leave the Princely Mysore State unaffected. The Indian National Congress also had begun organising the people of the Princely States on parallel lines to obtain democratic concessions. Although many of the non-Brahmin stalwarts had held themselves aloof from the Congress Party, they were persuaded or impelled by the circumstances to join the Congress Movement. In this way the entry of the Vokkaliga and Lingayats landed gentry into the National Movement considerably intensified the Congress Movement in the State. After the merger in 1947 of the Princely Mysore State into the Indian Union and the introduction of responsible government, the Vokkaligas started controlling the State apparatus and Congress Party, while the Lingayats constituted their junior partners. In the Bombay-Karnataka area also there were stirrings of the non-Brahmin movements. Due to various historical reasons the non-Brahmin movement in the then composite Bombay Presidency did not gather momentum. The Lingayats constituted the bulk of the population in the 4 Kannada districts of Bombay, and they started many educational institutions to develop education in their caste. The Lingayats in the Bombay area did not enjoy the advantage of the caste reservation until 1941 when they were grouped along with the Marathas into an intermediate group which was given some job concessions. But this reservation scheme also did not last long in the Bombay Presidency. The leaders from the Lingayat castes were also resentful of the Brahmin domination in the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee, whose jurisdiction included the Princely Mysore State as well. The Lingayat leaders too started entering the Congress Party in the 1930s and came to dominate the Bombay-Karnataka region fully within a few years after the Independence. The Lingayat leaders from the Bombay area felt very much constrained because of the control of the Gujaratis and Maharashtrians in the Bombay administration. Also they did not very much like some of the progressive land reforms which had been introduced in the Bombay State. They were very vocal in the agitation for the formation of a unified Karnataka State, about which the Vokkaliga leaders from Mysore were less enthusiastic.

The formation of the unified Karnataka State in 1956 altered the caste balance considerably. The Lingayats constituted 15 per cent of the population in the entire State, and Vokkaligas about 11 per cent. The political centre of gravity shifted from the old Mysore area to the newly integrated regions, particularly the Bombay-Karnataka. The first four Chief Ministers of the expanded Karnataka State belonged to the Lingayat caste. The community dominated not only land but also other sources of political patronage. 4 to 5 ministers in the New Karnataka Government used to belong to this caste. In other words, there was a very perceptible change in the balance of power between the Lingayats and Vokkaligas and among the various communities. After the reorganisation of the State in 1956, the new leaders found it expedient to extent the communal

reservation scheme to the entire State. By an order passed in July 1958 all persons except Brahmins were declared as backward and 57% of the jobs were reserved for the backward classes, in addition to the 18 per cent for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Only 25% of the jobs were left for open competition. Although the bifurcation of the Madras non-Brahmins into non-Brahmin forward and non-Brahmin backward had occurred in that State by 1947, no such bifurcation of the non-Brahmin castes appeared in the Karnataka till 1960. When the 1958 reservation order was struck down, the Government issued yet another order in 1959 classifying all castes except Brahmins, Baniyas and Kshatriyas as backward. This too was struck down by the High Court. In the same year the government issued an order dividing the population of Karnataka into 14 groups and making compartmental reservation of jobs and education seats for each of them. This order also met the same fate at the hands of the judiciary. In 1960 the Government of Mysore constituted a committee under Nagan Gowda for the purpose of determining the criteria for the classification of the backward classes in the State. The Committee used literacy as criterion for social backwardness and the number of students per thousand population in the last three years of the high school classes as the criterion of the educational backwardness. Following the interim report of the Nagan Gowda Committee 22 per cent of the jobs and seats were reserved for the OBCs and 18 per cent for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, leaving 60 per cent to open competition. After the consideration of the final report of the Committee, the government raised the percentage of the backward classes reservation to 30, thus leaving 52 per cent for open competition. Here the government fixed the reservation at a much lower level than recommended by the Committee. The Committee had also suggested compartmental reservation for the backward classes and the more backward classes, which was not followed in the government orders.

The final report of the Nagan Gowda Committee raised a lot of controversy. On the ground that the number of the Lingayat students per thousand population in the three high school classes was slightly higher than the State average of 6.0, the Committee did not include this dominant community, which had only recently acceded to power, in the backward classes list. A member of the Committee wrote a powerful note of dissent against the non-inclusion of the Lingayats in the backward classes list. The political leaders belonging to the Lingayat caste also brought pressure to bear on the government and the latter finally yielded. It included the Lingayats in the backward classes list and by an order of 1962 provided for the following scheme of reservation :

Open competition	— 32%
Other backward classes	— 50%
Scheduled Castes and	
Scheduled Tribes	— 18%

Knowledgeable sources revealed that the non-Lingayat backward classes did not very much resent

the inclusion of the dominant Lingayats into the backward classification as long as the percentage of reserved jobs and seats was raised. This scheme of classification was struck down by the Supreme Court in 1963 in the famous Balaji case. After the decision, the Government of Mysore issued yet another order reserving 30% of the seats in the other backward classes and 18% for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Not the castes but the individuals belonging to certain kinds of occupations as cultivator, artisans, petty business, inferior occupation based on manual labour and earning less than Rs. 1,200 per year were supposed to be eligible for the reservation. This ostensible scheme of reservation began in 1963 continued till 1977, but in reality jobs and the seats went on the basis of the political dominance of the different communities, particularly the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas.

In the 1960s resentment started welling up among the non-Lingayat and non-Vokkaliga minority castes that the operation of the entire political system and the processes after the reorganisation of the State has redounded to the benefit of Lingayats, and to some extent the Vokkaligas. The Vokkaliga leadership also felt disappointed at being relegated to the second position in the politics of the State. One important politician of Mysore is on record for having said that for a long time to come no non-Lingayat would become the Chief Minister of the State. The gathering storm of this resentment coincided with the 1969 split in the Indian National Congress, and soon the Parliamentary and Assembly elections followed. Devraj Urs, who rose as the leader of the Congress(I) party, very carefully and sedulously cultivated the non-Lingayat non-Vokkaliga communities. Both on the basis of the Indira wave of 1971-72 and also on the basis of the new coalition he had established, Urs rose to power in 1972 and continued till 1980, but for a short interregnum of a few months in 1978. In 1972 he constituted the Karnata Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. L. G. Havanur. The Committee presented its report in 1975 which was placed on the table of the Legislature in May 1976. The Report was approved by the Cabinet and a new communal reservation scheme was announced in February 1977.

Even the constitution of the Havanur Commission gave rise to misgivings on the part of the Lingayats. Mr. J. B. Mallaradhya, President of the All India Veerasaiva (Lingayat) Mahasabha, did not go to depose before the Havanur Commission. The Lingayat leaders saw in the appointment of the Havanur Commission a sinister move to isolate their community. To them it was yet another stratagem on the part of Devraj Urs to reduce their power and influence. The Commission undertook its own survey and taking into account various multiple tests such as economic, residential and occupational, classified the Karnataka backward population into 3 groups: (1) Backward communities; (2) Backward castes; (3) Backward Tribes, and recommended compartmental reservation for each of these backward classes. The Commission seems to have deliberately ignored the Supreme Court injunction that the reservation should not exceed 50 per cent. On the basis of its

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tests and surveys, the Commission did not include the Brahmins, Bunts, Lingayats, Kshatriyas, Jains into any one of the backward classes. Later on the High Court of Karnataka ordered the deletion of the Arasu caste for the purposes of both Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution. They also struck down Balija, Devadiga, Ganiga, Rajput, and Satani from the list of the backward classes under Article 16(4). In February 1977 the government issued the orders providing for the following reservation:

Open competition	— 42%
Backward Communities	— 20%
Backward Castes	— 10%
Backward Tribes	— 5%
Special Groups	— 5%
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	— 18%

The special group consists of those persons belonging to the self-employed, artisan and other occupations having an income of not more than Rs. 4,800 per year. A criterion of Rs. 8,000 was imposed on the backward classes. In the subsequent orders the percentage of reservation earmarked for the special group has been raised to 15 per cent, and the income limit has been raised to Rs. 10,000.

It must be noticed from the reservation scheme that some sub-castes of the Lingayats have been classified as backward, while majority of the sub-castes have been classified as forward. Also, while the Vokkaligas have been classified as a backward community, their erstwhile senior partners in the politics of the Karnataka State, the Lingayats, have been classified as mostly forward. For these reasons the Lingayat community finds itself divided on the issue of the reservation scheme, based on the Havanur Commission Report. Also, on this issue an alliance of the Vokkaligas with the Lingayats cannot take place as they find themselves in different camps of the backward and the forward. This is in total contrast with the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh situation where all the major forward caste groups, viz., the Brahmins, the Kayasthas, the Rajputs and the Bhumihars have been classified as forward and can find a platform to unite upon.

The members of the Lingayat community have been, however, considerably disturbed and angered by the Havanur Report and the subsequent G.O.S. based on the Report. Some of their leaders even alleged that Mr. Havanur, Minister of Social Welfare and Law in the Urs Cabinet of 1978-80, had issued a secret circular to the government officers, advising them not to let the Lingayats get qualified even in the open merit pool. In August 1978, a Lingayat member attempted symbolically to set fire to the Havanur Report on the floor of the Assembly. The members of the community, particularly the youth, held demonstrations in the different cities of Karnataka, protesting against the Report and the orders. Quite a few Swamijis of the Lingayat Mutts joined in the protest.

(For the details, see Desai, 1979). Mr. J. B. Mallaradhya, a retired I.A.S. Officer, and President of the All-India Veerasaiva (Lingayat) Mahasabha, has been leading a crusade against the orders (1977; n.d.). A conference of all the castes adversely affected by the Havanur Report was held in July 1979. The Mahasabha started mobilizing the Lingayat community by appointing organisers in the districts. There were reports of the Lingayat legislators holding meetings to discuss the Report and contemplate further action. But some knowledgeable circles denied that there were any differences in the government on this issue. As a powerful backward class minister in the then cabinet stated, the Lingayats had become apprehensive of competing against the Brahmins in the open merit pool.

The Lingayat agitation against the Report and the new reservation scheme did not go unchallenged by the members of the other minority castes. When Prof. K. Ishwaran, a Toronto-based anthropologist, criticised the methodology of the Havanur survey in an article of the *Indian Express* (March 1, 1979), it invited counter-critiques by other teachers and journalists belonging to the minority castes (Ishwaran, *et. al.*, 1979). There were counter demonstrations in support of the Report. All this shows the extent to which the minority castes had been successfully mobilized on this issue, in the preceding years.

The coalition of minority backward castes forged by Devraj Urs had been pretty powerful and durable. It has survived the exist of Urs as Chief Minister. As we shall see later, the political strength of the backward castes in the legislatures of U.P. and Bihar has been waxing and waning. In Karnataka, on the other

hand, the 1972 elections constituted a critical watershed. There has been no weakening of the political strength of the minority backward castes, who are generally united, now behind the Congress(1). The Scheduled Castes are generally going along with the minority castes.

The Karnataka non-Brahmin movement, in the decades following the twenties, failed to produce any overarching revivalist Kannada ideology, which might have prevented the cleavage among the non-Brahmins from emerging to the surface. As we have seen, this more recent cleavage has displaced the older Brahmin-non-Brahmin cleavage. The Kannada Chaluvalligur movement is too weak and too confined to Bangalore to provide a platform for all the people to unite.

There is some evidence to show that the private sector employment in Karnataka has continued to expand. This sector earlier absorbed the Brahmins. Many of them have been migrating outside the State. One wonders whether the private sector can absorb the Lingayata youths also.

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

CHAPTER IV

BIHAR : FRAGMENTED AND TELESCOPED BACKWARD CLASSES MOVEMENT

Betoille (1970) has argued that in Tamil Nadu, the Hindu castes can be divided mainly into three groups : Brahmins and Harijans. In this non-Sanskritic area, the cleavage between the Brahmins and others overshadowed the other cleavages and the peculiar Dravidian ideology has been muting the cleavages among the non-Brahmins, and between the non-Brahmins and Harijans. In the absence of such an ideology in Karnataka, which is more Sanskritic than Tamil Nadu, the non-Brahmin movement got differentiated and new cleavages appeared. In contrast, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are two states in the Sanskritic cultural area, where there was no scope for non-Brahmin castes to unite under one movement. The twice born castes in these two States, i.e., Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas are found fully differentiated among themselves and also from the backward castes and the Harijans. The Kayasthas provide another element in the twice born group. Historically speaking, they emerged in these areas as the chief *literati* caste, and even surpassed the Brahmins, in 'anything connected with the pen' and in taking to modern education and profession. They were also in the forefront of the nationalist movement. In Bihar, the political struggle within the Congress till the middle of the sixties was characterized by the conflicts and competition among the twice born castes. After the sixties, without these cleavages being significantly eroded, the conflicts between these caste groups and the lower peasant castes, and between the lower peasant castes and the Scheduled castes have come to prevail. The politics of the present Bihar reveals caste conflicts at two levels : simultaneously between the forward castes and the upper peasant castes; and between the upper peasant castes and the Scheduled castes.

The caste and communal composition of Bihar is as follows : The forward castes of Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs, and Kayasthas constitute 13 per cent of the population; the upper backward castes of Banias, Yadavs, Kurmis and Koeris constitute 19.3 per cent; the minor artisan and landless castes like Dhanuk, Mallah, etc. form 32 per cent; Muslims and the Scheduled Castes/Tribes form 12.5 per cent and 23.5 per cent, respectively (Bihar : 1980). The Banias in Bihar have not played as significant role in the Bihar politics as they have in U.P. In Bihar, their position, social statuswise is low and most of them have been classified as backward according to the G.O. of November, 1978.

Excepting the Kayasthas of Bihar, the other three twice born castes of Brahmins, Bhumihars and Rajputs have had a heavy stake in the land. There were princely houses belonging to each of these castes, and,

owning to the zamindari system, the zamindars belonging to these castes had established a thoroughgoing political and economic control in the countryside, unparalleled in the *ryotwari* areas of the Madras and Karnataka. By 1931, 31.8 per cent of the Kayasthas were literate. As compared with this, 19.5 per cent of the Brahmins, 13.6 per cent of the Bhumihars and 12.6 per cent of the Rajputs were literate. The upper backward castes had a literary rate of around .5 per cent (Roy, N. D.). Both in Bihar and U.P. the Brahmins could not, unlike their counterparts in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, establish any runaway lead over the non-Brahmins in taking to the modern education and professions. The Kayasthas had taken the lead in the formation of a separate Bihar State. As Roy (1967) argues, "the separation of Bihar from Bengal in 1911, in a way, symbolized the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Kayasthas" (p. 418). The Kayasthas and the Muslims gained disproportionately from the expansion of the civil service.

As the Congress movement spread and the party came to control the local bodies, the Bhumihars, Brahmins and Rajputs were alerted by the Kayastha domination. The Bhumihars particularly were better placed to lead the other two castes against the domination of the Kayasthas in the national movement. Their leaders particularly Sir Ganesh Dutt and Sahajenand Saraswati, had developed considerable organizational skill and capacity in mobilising their castemen for the goal of claiming the Brahmin status. The incidence of literacy was higher among them than among the Rajputs. They were more rural oriented than the Kayasthas. Thus the twenties marked the beginning of the ascendancy of the Bhumihars in the Congress politics, which continued till the death of Shri Krishna Sinha in 1961. With the introduction of the provincial autonomy the character of the Congress party began to change. The party was increasingly compelled to strike roots in the social milieu. The social cleavages, particularly among the forward castes, were politicized and inducted into the political realm. Thus the downward penetration of the party inevitably led to what Roy (n.d.) has called the fragmentation and parochialisation of politics. The Kayasthas tried to bolster their sagging position by supporting and encouraging the Rajput group. The Brahmins too entered the Congress in big numbers and have steadily increased their strength since then (Roy : 1970; 1967; n.d.). They, however, suffered a temporary setback in 1977. The Bhumihars, Rajputs rivalry reached its peak in the fifties. Though the rivalry between Shri Krishna Sinha (Bhumihar) and Anugraha Narain Sinha (Rajput) to some extent cut across caste lines, bulk of their support was drawn from their respective castes.

The Brahmin legislators generally want with Shri Krishan Sinha.

Among the upper backward castes, the Yadavas and Kurmis had begun to organise themselves along the caste lines during the first decade of this century (Rao, 1979). The All-India Yadav Mahasabha has its headquarters at Patna, and the Bihari Yadavas, along with their counterparts in Punjab and U.P., formed the backbone of the Indian Yadava movement. Ultimately, the Yadavas in the other States in India could not attain the same level of political mobilization as the Bihari Yadavas did. Both the Bihari Yadavas and Kurmis have for a long time been much obsessed with Sanskritization, while with the other backward classes elsewhere, this came to be abandoned sooner (But, some leaders belonging to these castes, particularly Nagamani, a Kurmi, have urged their castemen not to resort to Sanskritization).

In the early decades of this century, the Yadavas aimed at ridding their caste of dowry, alcoholism, meat eating, and took to Aryasama in big numbers. Their claims to done the sacred thread met with resistance on the part of the twice born castes, some times attended by violence. They also sought to increase the educational facilities for their youth, although the Yadava dominated educational institutions started growing many years after the Independence. They appealed to the British authorities for a better share in the jobs.

The political fall out of the Yadava, Kurmi and Koeri movements were, however, limited in the beginning. When the associations of these castes had got going for sometime, an attempt was made in the 1920s to bring the castes together into a political party called the Trivani Sabha. The Trivani Sabha contested the 1936 elections in Shahabad and Patna districts with disastrous results and soon withered away. This is in sharp contrast to the Justice party of Madras and the Praja Paksha of Mysore. It is true that both the Justice party of the Madras and the Praja Paksha of the Mysore non-Brahmins could not survive the rising tide of nationalism. But, the politicized segments of these caste groups could infiltrate into the Congress, and were to tilt the balance in their favour later on. But in Bihar, the entry of the Yadavas, Kurmis, and Koeris into politics in general, and the Congress Party in particular, was almost totally controlled and governed by the extent of rivalry among the forward castes. Discussing the entry of the peasant castes into Bihar Congress, Roy writes, "At the time of their entry into politics, most of these castes groups functioned as appendages of the main contenders in the upper castes; leaders from the upper castes coopted men from the lower castes to leadership position." (n. d; p. 28). Each of the peasant castes entered the Congress divided. Roy further argues that in due course of time they became autonomous. This does not, however, mean that all, or even most of the backward caste legislators or party office holders united behind one leader. At most, several leaders arose each with a handful following. As the data collected by Roy (n.d.) reveal, between 1934 and 1960 the percentage of the Kayastha members in the Bihar Pradesh

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

As Blair (1980) shows, the strength of the forward M.L.As after 1962 has undergone a decline but not a very steep or durable one. Similarly, the strength of the backward M.L.As has increased, which too is neither steep nor abiding. In the years before 1967, this controlled induction of the backwards into the Congress, convinced the socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia that the Congress could be defeated only if all the backward castes could be united in one political party. In the sixties the Samyukta Socialist Party started assiduously wooing them. The Congress debacle of 1967 marks an important stage in the upsurge of the backward castes. In these elections, to the Vidhan Sabha the Bania, Kurmi, Koeri and Yadava candidates were returned in big numbers and constituted 31.6 per cent of the M.L.As. Most of them belonged to the SSP. This pattern repeated in the mid-term polls of 1969 also. In the 1972 elections, the Congress rode back to power and the share in the Assembly of the backward castes MLAs declined below the level of even 1962. The share went up again in 1977, when the Janata Party won. In fact, in the Assembly constituted following the 1977 elections, the share of the seats held by the backwards was the highest ever achieved, but also this was at the expense of the Kayasthas, Bhumihars and Rajputs did not suffer any decline (Blair, 1980). As the subsequent events have shown, the 1977 elections did not in any way signify the permanent and durable resurgence of the backward castes in the Bihar politics. Like their rise in 1967, their upsurge in 1977 was a temporary and transient one. Contrast this with the Karnataka elections of 1972 and 1978, which vindicated the durability and invincibility of the new backwards castes coalition.

One of the reasons for the imperfect mobilization of the backward castes into politics could be found in

the political economy of the rural Bihar. Following Gandhiji's efforts to give a rural bias to the nationalist movement, the question of peasantry and land reforms started looming large in the minds of the Congressmen. Due to the worst kind of zamindari system in Bihar, the State gave rise to a peasant movement. The Kisan Sabha attracted many young Congress enthusiasts. The agitation received considerable fillip from the Bakasht Movement, aimed at restoring the land to those tenants, who were dispossessed during the depression of the thirties (Sengupta, 1979). Although the land holding interests had acquired a considerable say in the Bihar Congress, the Zamindari Abolition Act was passed in 1950. The intermediary rights were vested in the State. But many landlords were allowed or managed to resume cultivation. In the villages Jannuzi (1974) has studied, the Brahmins reported that the abolition of zamindari and intermediary rights has neither helped nor harmed them. But, it definitely helped the Koeris. It can be generally said that the many tenants of the upper peasant castes benefited from the legislation. They also welcomed the prospects of decline in the social prestige and economic power of the upper caste groups, and an accession to their prestige and power (Ibid). Although Bihar is not known for its agricultural breakthrough, a considerable agricultural inputs have been channelled into the countryside and the rise in prices of agricultural commodities has increased the viability of many farmers. The Kurmi, Koeri and Yadava peasant proprietors have been in a better position to take advantage of these factors. Whereas the forward castes are averse to actual cultivation, the peasant castes work very hard on their lands and also drive their labourers hard (Sheth, 1979, Malhotra, 1980; Blair 1980). If the agricultural labourers show restiveness or political resistance, they do not hesitate to commit atrocities on them. This factor is at the root of the reprisals on the Harijans at Belchi, Pathada, Gopalpur, Bishrampur, Parasbigha, etc. Some distinguished politicians were of the opinion that it was the Kurmis who had become aggressive. The power structure in the Bihar countryside has not been as neatly settled elsewhere it has been. Excepting the Kayasthas, the other forwards still have a stake in the countryside and went to continue their semi-feudal control. The relatively prosperous upper peasantry castes want to match their economic gains with an appropriate share in the professions and government jobs. These castes also resent the concessions and reservations that have been given to the Scheduled castes. Hence, this acute case of rank disequilibrium.

In 1951 the Bihar government issued a G.O. listing the other backward classes in two Annexures. Annexure—1 contained 79 castes who were deemed more backward than the 30 castes contained in Annexure—2. Following the Balaji decision of 1963, in the Supreme Court, the Patna High Court held in 1964 these two lists unconstitutional. Then the Bihar government imposed a ceiling of monthly income of Rs. 500 on the lists and it was decided not to make any distinction between the two Annexures. In 1971 the Bihar Backward Classes Commission was constituted under the Chairmanship of Shri Mungeri Lal. The Report (1976) found the following position in

regard to educational concessions. Some reservation was given to those applicants belonging to either Annexure—1 or Annexure—2, whose annual income was less than Rs. 300. The social welfare department gave fee concessions etc. to the OBC students. There were no reservations for the OBCs in industrial training institutes. The OBCs had no reservation in the jobs. Way back in 1953 Bajnath Singh had introduced in the Bihar Assembly a non-official bill seeking to reserve 25 per cent of the jobs to the OBCs, but under the pressure of the party leaders it was withdrawn. The Backward Classes Federation and particularly leaders like Dev Saran Singh, a Kurmi, represented for job reservations for the OBCs. This was not seriously entertained by the Congress. In the sixties, as Rao (1979) shows, the Yadavas concentrated their efforts on persuading the Central government to set up a Yadava government in the army.

The Mungeri Lal Commission prepared its own list of other Backward Classes and most backward classes, taking into account social status, educational backwardness, adequacy of representation in government service and adequacy of the share in trade, commerce, industry etc. Its list of Backward classes contained 128 castes, and the list of most Backward another 93 castes. It recommended 26 per cent reservation in jobs and 24 per cent of educational seats. The Jagannath Mishra government did not take any action on these recommendations obviously in view of its support bases of the forward castes.

The Karpooori Thakur government, which came to power in June, 1977, acted on the Report and in November 1978 issued the G.O. accepting the classification of the Mungeri Lal Commission. For the purposes of recruitment to jobs, it announced the following reservation scheme :

Other Backward classes	— 8 per cent
Most Backward classes	— 12 per cent
Scheduled Castes	— 14 per cent
Scheduled Tribes	— 0 per cent
Women	— 3 per cent
Economically backward	— 3 per cent

The prevailing ceiling for income-tax exemption is the income criterion for all the categories.

Thakur was only pursuing the Lohia line of further mobilizing the backward castes. He thought that he could successfully graft the Karnataka model on Bihar. The G.O. provoked widespread backlash as the part of the forward castes. The Universities and colleges came to be closed. Trains and buses were attacked. The government property was damaged. All this has been extensively reported in the Press.

Urs had astutely divided the two dominant castes of the Lingayats and Vokkaligas by putting the former (generally) in the forward group, and the latter in the backward list. He saw to it that an alliance between them could not take place. Thakur did not resort to any such measures. The forward castes felt that many

of the newly rich peasant castes would under report their income. The 3% reservation for economically backward, irrespective of caste, is too small to divide and weaken the forward castes.

Between 1972 when he assumed office and 1978 when the G.O. was issued, Urs had tirelessly endeavoured to mobilize and politicise the many small and economically weaker backward castes. As we have seen, the mobilization of the backward classes in Bihar has been a belated and fragmented one. The backward castes had emerged divided. Even the socialists were divided along the caste lines. Ramnand Tiwari had led the forward castes and Thakur had led the backward castes. The upsurge of the backward castes meant really the upsurge of the Yadavas. This fact is not likely to enthuse the other weaker landless backward castes. As we have seen, there is no love lost between the peasant backward castes, on the one hand and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, on the other. Thakur had no ideology to unite them. It may even be said that when the chips

are down, the Marijans and Girijans may prefer the forward castes as lesser evils to the upper peasant castes. In short, the Thakur G.O. came without an adequate mobilization and unification of the backward. Perhaps, he thought that the 1977 Janata victory represented a viable and durable resurgence of the backward castes, which was not the case. The January 1980 elections proved this. The Scheduled Castes and minor backwards went back to the Congress fold.

The youth of the forward castes in Bihar are very much dependent on government and semi-government jobs. As the private sector employment is not expanding, they feel the squeeze of the G.O. all the more. They are averse to migrate outside the State. Their English is generally poor. If they go to southern Bihar, they run into the ire of the tribals. Hence they perceive very few alternative opportunities. The power of the forward castes in the government service and their semi-feudal (Pradhan, 1979) hold on the countryside is still strong. All these factors enabled the forward castes to mount a protracted protest and backlash.

CHAPTER V

UTTAR PRADESH : BELATED AND IMPERFECT MOBILIZATION OF THE BACKWARDS

As in Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh too the caste system is found well differentiated in terms of the Varna model. According to the 1931 census, the forward twice-born castes constituted about 20.30 per cent of the total population; the Brahmins formed 9.23 per cent of the population and Rajputs 7.28 per cent. The upper peasant castes of Yadavas, Kurmis, Jats, Lodhs and Koeris formed about 16.4 per cent of the population. The Muslims then constituted 13.6 per cent. It can be seen that the percentage of the population classified as forward for the purposes of the G.O. of 1977, and thus kept out of the reservation scheme, is higher in U.P. than in any of the three other States under study. The eastern U.P. is almost an extension of Bihar, and has been witnessing in recent years all forms of caste conflicts between forwards and backwards, between Rajputs and Brahmins, and between the Scheduled Castes and the backward castes. In the western U.P. districts, the Brahmin element is absent and the conflicts are between the rural Jat and Muslims, on the one hand, and the urban elements, particularly the Banias, on the other. The Brahmin and Rajput hegemony prevails in the Avadh area. The hill districts and the Bundelkhand areas are very underdeveloped areas and are generally free from the caste tensions.

The Brahmins and the Kayasthas were the first to take to modern education. The Kayasthas particularly started dominating the public services as well as the professions. Later on, around the forties, the Banias too started taking to the modern professions of law, teaching and medicine. One very interesting feature of the modernization of Uttar Pradesh is that the dominant landed gentry, the Rajputs, never felt threatened by the Brahmin-Kayastha monopoly of education, profession and government services. Before the abolition of the zamindari system, the Rajputs formed the bulk of the zamindars in the State. In the Avadh area particularly, their dominance was striking. As Brass (1965) points out, they owned more than half of the lands in most of the districts. We have seen earlier that in the Madras Presidency, the approach of the dyarchy in 1919 threatened the interests of the landed gentry castes of the Vellalas, Goundars, Naidus and Reddys, who were quick to organize themselves into a political party and a movement. The Rajput zamindars of U.P., who too were considered as the staunch supporters of the British Raj never felt threatened by the Brahmin dominance in the services and the national movement. At most, the poorer among them aspired for jobs in the police department and got them. The cultural distance between them and the Brahmins was not much. Also, the Rajputs had, in their own areas of dominance, a secure, feudal and almost semi-political dominance, which their south Indian counterparts lacked. Moreover, in the State as

a whole they have been numerically inferior to the Brahmins. Their own consciousness of a high status and the ritual distance between them and the backward castes, which they relished, did not dispose them to lead any protest movement against the Brahmin-Kayastha domination. The Brahmins, too, did not tend to leave the country side and flock to the cities as the Tamil Brahmins did. The zamindari Abolition in 1952 did not completely upset the political economy of U.P. As in Bihar, the Brahmins and Rajputs in U.P. still have considerable stake and share in the rural power structure and dispensation. To use Sheth's (1979) phrase, there has been no neat power arrangement as in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. There is yet another important reason why the cleavages among the forwards as in Bihar, or cleavages between the forwards and the backwards as in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu did not appear in U.P. During the twenties and the thirties, the United provinces was an important stronghold of the Muslim League. The Hindu-Muslim, and Congress-League cleavages overshadowed every other cleavage. Right till 1937, the Muslim League was hopeful of sharing power with the Congress in the State.

Some scholars and politicians (like the late Shri C. B. Gupta) claim that the state did not have any caste tensions or politics until many years after the independence. This is not wholly true. During the pre-Independence days there were ramblings of discontent among the backward castes. Leaders like Swami Achutananda of Kanpur, Swami Ram Charan Mallah, S. D. Singh Chaurasia were trying to politicize the backward castes. Swami Bodhananda Mahasthvir started the Adivasi Hindu League in the twenties. Many delegates from U.P. have been attending the depressed classes conferences. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker presided over the conference held at Kanpur in 1946. The U.P., backwards, staying in the Hindu Sanskrit heartland, and surrounded by the famous shrines and places of pilgrimage, could not be persuaded to reject Brahminism.

The role played by the All-India Yadav Mahasabha in organising the community members has been discussed in the Bihar Chapter. In the forties the peasant castes of Yadavas, Kurmis, Koeris, Jats developed a high degree of affinity among themselves. It is said that the Yadavas of the eastern U.P., and Bihar consider themselves to be equivalent to the Jats. Out of this affinity among them arose the AJGAR (an acronym for Ahir, Jat, Gujar) movement. The caste association meetings were not just *biradari* gatherings. As Rao says, "The annual conferences of the (Yadav) Mahasabha also whipped up opposition to the Thakurs, Kayasthas, Banias, Bhumiher Brahmins and Brahmins,

who were seen as the exploiters of the Yadavas, ill-treating them, and thwarting their attempts at progress. Political mobilization and agitations were directed against these groups (Rao, 1979 : p. 141)". The demand for the reservation of jobs was there from the thirties, but the top Congress leaders were not favourably disposed. A top leader is supposed to have said that the Brahmins of south India were wandering here and there due to the reservation scheme, and asked if this should happen in U.P. also.

Despite these stirrings on the part of the OBCs, a unified political platform could never be forged for the OBCs and the Scheduled castes. The impact of the Arya Samaj movement has been considerable on the Jats, Yadavas and others. The Yadavas and Kurmis have been too much in the grip of the process of Sanskritization. This drive for equality with the Savarna castes particularly produces the ability of the upper backward classes to land the smaller and weaker artisan castes and the Scheduled castes and tribes. Only a few backward castes can aspire for social mobility in the form of Sanskritization. The latter process requires some preconditions. A backward caste should have experienced some measure of economic prosperity and produced a few articulate and educated elites. They should be in a position to dig into the puranas or remote history to adduce proof that their caste had once upon a time a higher status. This is not possible for the millions belonging to the artisan and landless castes. To the extent the upper peasant castes have resorted to Sanskritization, they have generally been unable to make a common cause with the lower backward and the Scheduled castes. This is yet another reason why the backward class movements in U.P., and Bihar have not attained their full momentum and strength. Shri Cheddi Lal Sathi, during his interview with the author, fully supported the argument that the phenomenon of Sanskritization has hindered the backward classes cohesion and movement.

Whereas in Bihar the Brahmin-Rajput cleavage had started affecting the Congress circles from the thirties, the U.P., Congress circles did not show any such hickering along the caste lines. As discussed above, the Hindu-Muslim cleavage in politics prevented any other cleavages from emerging. The state had produced Congress leaders with national stature. From 1937, when he first became the Prime (*i.e.* Chief) Minister under the provincial autonomy scheme, till he left the State in 1954 to become the Union Home Minister, Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant bestrode the U.P. Congress like a colossus. He had the full support of the Congress High Command, of which he was an integral part. The people of the plains considered him more a Pahari and less a Brahmin. His elevation to the Centre marks an important phase in the State politics (Masaldan, 1967). Hence between 1937 and 1954, there was no question of the Congress leaders resorting to competitive and controlled induction of the backward caste leaders into the Congress circles. The Congress Socialist Party, which had been formed in 1934 within the Congress' espoused the cause of agrarian reforms, but never acquired a casteist orientation. After the elevation of Pandit Pant to the Centre,

factional feuds started raging within the Congress, but they generally cut across caste lines.

The weakness of the mobilization of the 'backward castes, particularly the upper backward castes, can be seen from the caste composition of the various ministries since 1937, which has been analysed in the Uttar Pradesh Backward Classes (Sathi) Commission Report (1977). In the 1937-39 cabinet the Brahmins held three-out of six posts, and the OBCs were not represented even among the parliamentary secretaries. The same pattern prevailed till 1952, when Shri Charan Singh, a Jat, was taken into the Cabinet. In the Sampurnanand, C. B. Gupta and Sucheta Kripalani ministries also, half or nearly half of the ministers belonged to the Savarna forward castes. For the first time in the post-Independence history of U.P. three ministerships go to the upper peasant castes (including Yadav and Kurmi) in the 1967 S.V.D. Ministry headed by Shri Charan Singh. This was due to the fact that the backward classes made considerable gains in the 1967 elections. The decline of the Congress also meant to decline of the forward caste representation in the Assembly. The second Charan Singh ministry of 1970 and T. N. Singh ministry of 1970-71 also gave considerably more representation to the upper peasant castes and induced for the first time the artisan castes. This increase in representation to the upper peasant and other backward castes does not represent a durable and abiding resurgence of the OBCs in politics. Because in the Tripathi, Bahuguna and Tiwari ministries, the representation of the forward castes went up. In the Assembly also between 1967 and 1974, the share of the forward castes declined from 50 per cent to only 42 per cent. The share of the upper peasant castes went from 15 per cent to only 20 per cent. In the Assembly elections of 1977 June, when the Janata Party won, the share of the Jats and OBCs increased considerably. Like Karpoori Thakur in Bihar Ram Naresh Yadav mistook this increase for a durable rise of the backwards and was emboldened to issue the famous communal G.O. of August 1977. The 1980 elections disproved the assumption of a critical change in the balance of power.

The factors of political economy in the country-side have changed since 1947, but not so significantly as to add to the political clout of the OBCs. The Jats of the Western U.P., have registered tremendous progress in agriculture, and the emergence of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal was a political manifestation of this Jat upsurge and affluence. Due to the abolition of the zamindari system, the Thakur, Brahmins and Muslims were affected, not too adversely. The tenant and sharecropping castes of Yadavas, Kurmi, Lodhs, Gujars, Koeris, became owner cultivators, and industrious as they are, they are better qualified to take advantage of the modern agricultural inputs. Unlike the 'umbrella farmers' of the forward castes, they are autonomous in their agricultural operations. Like their counterparts in Bihar, they drive their agricultural labourers very hard. While striving to socially catch up with the forwards, they resent the rising political consciousness among the agricultural labourers.

For the purposes of educational concessions, in 1945 the United provinces government had prepared

a list of 37 Hindu and 21 Muslim backward castes. The order of 1950, while reserving 10 per cent jobs to the Scheduled castes, only said that the interests of the backward classes shall in general be borne in mind. In 1955, two lists of other backward classes, i.e., castes were prepared, one of 15 castes for recruitment to jobs and the other of 59 for educational concessions. In 1958 the government again prepared two lists of the OBCs, one a Hindu list of 37 castes and the other a Muslim list of 21 castes, for jobs and educational concessions. No reservation scheme was proposed. The U.P. Backward Classes Commission was appointed in October 1975 and submitted its final report in June 1977. On the basis of the criteria of poverty, illiteracy, dwelling, profession and demeaning profession, caste, social inequalities, representation in government, inadequacy of representation in trade and commerce the Commission prepared three lists of the OBCs. List A consisted of 36 castes, mostly having little or no control over land. List B consisted of 18 peasant castes having some connection with land, which includes Yadavas, Gujars, Kurmis, etc. List C included 23 Muslim backward castes. (It should be remembered that the Jats have never claimed to be backward. That would be below their self-respect). The Commission recommended a compartmental reservation scheme. 17 per cent reservation in jobs and seats for List A; 10 per cent for List B; and 2.5 per cent for List C. This total reservation of 29.5 per cent would be in addition to 20 per cent already in existence for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Yadav government, in its G.O. of August 20, 1977 provided for the following scheme of reservations under Article 16(4) for class I and II Services :

Scheduled Castes	— 18%
Scheduled Tribes	— 2%
Physically handicapped	— 2%
Dependants of freedom fighters	— 5%
Ex-military officers (emergency commissioned)	— 8%
Other Backward Classes	— 15%

	50%

The same pattern was instituted under Article 15(4) for industrial training institutes.

The story of the backlash on the part of the forward castes need not be described in detail. Even the government servants in some areas of U.P. joined in the agitation. The gravamen of the demands of the agitators was that class and not caste should be the criterion of social and economic backwardness. Although the agitation has died down, the issue is still upper most in the minds of the people. Substantial sections of the forward caste voters swung away from the Janata and Janata(S) on this issue. Mrs. Gandhi's anti-caste slogans clearly went home to them.

It requires tremendous political organization, mobilization and cohesion on the part of all the backward classes and Scheduled Castes, if their leaders want to keep about 20 per cent of entrenched forward castes out of the reservation scheme and to compel them to compete for only 50 per cent of the jobs in the open merit pool. Such organization, mobilization and cohesion have not been there. Like Karpoori Thakur, Ram Naresh Yadav too tried to telescope the backward classes mobilization into a span of less than one decade. Unlike Devaraj Urs, they did not try to divide the forward castes with the help of any well conceived strategy. The Janata victories of 1977 constituted only deviant cases. Under the U.P. and Bihar classification schemes hardly any forward class youth could pass for a backward. Only the Muslim community was divided.

The private sector employment in Uttar Pradesh appears to be stagnant. The U.P. youth feel the crunch all the more, because they generally do not go out of the State for jobs. From U.P., and Bihar, more than the educated youth, the illiterate villagers migrate to Bombay, Calcutta, Punjab and Haryana for unskilled jobs.

Due to the belated and imperfect mobilization of the backwards, this attempt to combine the AJGAR MOVEMENT with reservation for the backwards has failed.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The hypotheses given in Chapter I essentially aim at explaining the phenomenon of violent backlash to the reservation scheme promulgated in U.P. and Bihar in 1977 and 1978, respectively. Various political, sociological and political economy factors have been examined mainly in terms of the evolution of the balance of power among the caste groups. The following conclusions emerge.

1. In Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the reservation schemes have had a long history. In the beginning only the Brahmins were kept out. They were too weak to protest and slowly learnt to live with reservation schemes. They sought and obtained alternative avenues of employment. In 1950, substantial sections of the Vellalas, Naidus, Modaliars, Gounders, Chettiyars were kept out. But by then they had established their political ascendancy. They had sufficiently infiltrated into the power structure to do without the protection of the reservations. Moreover, only a few of the really backwards offered them any serious competition.

In U.P. and Bihar, the job and seat reservation schemes came as a bolt from the blue for the forward castes. Had they been covered by the reservation schemes earlier and slowly shunted off to the open competition pool, it would have been a different matter. The historical circumstances did not necessitate this.

2. In Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the forward communities have been divided either by the classification schemes or politically, or both. As discussed in the Tamil Nadu chapter, the Vellilas, Chettiars, Naidus have all been divided into forward sub-castes and backward sub-castes. They cannot make a common cause of the reservation issue. The possibility of any alliance among them has been pre-empted or prevented. Similarly in Karnataka, 70 per cent of the Lingayat castes find themselves forward and the rest backward. The 15 per cent reservation for the special weaker group irrespective of caste has also divided the Lingayat community. The forward Lingayats are the only group highly agitated over the issue. But, they cannot convert their disaffection into political clout. Also, the Karnataka G.O. has put all the Vokkaligas, another dominant landed gentry caste, into the backward list. Just until ten years ago, both the castes had formed a duopoly and ruled the State. Now, no alliance can take place between them. All the political parties there have to reckon with this changed situation.

In Bihar, and U.P. the G.Os. have not divided the forward castes. In Bihar, despite a long history of

the feuds between the Bhumihas and Rajputs, these castes find themselves united on the issue of reservation. In U.P. where caste feuds were muted, the Yadav G.O. has united twenty per cent of the articulate, organised and powerful section of the population. The Rajputs are particularly upset. Only recently they had begun to make their entry into echelons of power and were suddenly thwarted.

The reservation of 3 per cent for the economically weaker section is just a drop in the ocean, for the Bihar forward castes. Had this share been larger, probably, the forward castes would have found themselves divided and too weak to resort to backlash.

3. Both Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have witnessed cases of Harijan baiting and atrocities on them at the hands of the middle order castes. But such instances are few. In Tamil Nadu, the DK movement welded the non-Brahmin upper castes and the Harijans into one camp. In fact non-Sanskritic area, the ritual and cultural distances between these two groups was less than that between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins. In Karnataka, the Harijan and the OBCs find themselves in one camp due to their resentment of the Brahmins in the beginning, and Lingayats later on.

In U.P. and Bihar the Harijans and other landless castes, on the one hand, and the landed backward castes on the other have never had mutuality of economic, social and political interests. If the forward castes fear rank disequilibrium at the hands of the upper peasant castes in the OBC category, the latter also feel threatened by the rising political consciousness on the part of the Harijans. The latter are driven hard by their Kurmi, Koeri, Yadav employers. Atrocities on the Harijans have been committed by the members belonging to these peasant castes. Harijans have generally gone with Brahmins in voting for Congress. This fundamental cleavage between the upper peasant castes and the Harijans has rendered the backward class movement weak and hence has facilitated the forward castes backlash. As long as the OBC castes are in the grip of Sanskritization, they cannot lead the Harijans.

4. In Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the non-Brahmins made a solid, united and well organized entry into politics and the higher echelons of the Congress party. Their politicization began a long time ago. This has imparted considerable strength to the backward classes movement. In Karnataka particularly, Devraj Urs went on encouraging the holding of the conferences of the minor weaker non-dominant castes, between 1972 and 1978. He had inducted their leaders into the corridors of power. After preparing the political

ground and organizing the weaker OBCs, he got his famous G.O. issued in 1978. The organisation and mobilization were sufficient to deter any potential backlash.

In U.P. and Bihar the ground had not been adequately prepared. In a sense, the Yadav and Thakur G.Os. were planted from above, when the ground had not been cleared. In Bihar, the backward castes entered politics (and the Congress) divided. Their entry depended on the mercy of the forward caste leaders. They have not been held together as an autonomous coherent political force. Witness the contest for the Chief Ministership in 1963 between Birschand Patel and K. B. Sahay. (Patel's abilities had attracted the attention of even Pandit Nehru). Both the backwards and Harijans deserted Patel. In U.P. also the rise of the backward classes was belated. As said earlier, both Thakur and Yadav attempted to telescope the backward castes mobilization into a decade. Even today the backward castes are politically divided. The weakness of the backward castes is evident from the fact their share of cabinet posts and the assembly seats has been waxing and waning. The elections of 1967 and 1977 did not signify a permanent and abiding resurgence of the backward castes on the political scene of U.P. and Bihar. Karpoori Thakur and Ram Naresh Yadav definitely erred in thinking that they did.

5. There is no doubt that in Tamil Nadu, the Youth belonging to the non-Brahmin forward castes must be experiencing the cruch of the reservation scheme. But quite a few of them can take advantage of the vagueness and fluidity of the classification based on sub-castes. The seriousness of this rampant misuse has been statistically proved by the Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission Report. As long as such misuse is possible, the propensity for frustration and aggression is relatively reduced. In Karnataka, too, this is happening, but not to the same extent. In this State, misuse of the provision for the special group whose income does not exceed, Rs. 4,800 per annum, has been reported.

The Bihar and U.P. classifications do not permit any falsification of castes, as the classification is based on the broad caste lines, and not on sub-caste lines.

A Rajput cannot pass off as a Kurmi or Koeri and remain undetected for a long time.

6. A second stage of the resurgence of the weaker among the backward castes has been delayed in Tamil Nadu. The non-Brahmin forward castes dominate the services and professions, because of the earlier head start. Nine castes in the list of the OBCs have gained a lot from the operation of the reservation scheme. The situation, theoretically, is ideal for a second stage of the movement. If this develops, and if these OBC castes which have gained disproportionately are excluded from the list, we may expect a backlash. But the weaker backward castes have not even protested against the inclusion of the Sozhia Vallalal Gounders, etc., in the list in 1973. This absence of resentment and protest is in a large measure due to the Tamil revivalism and sub-nationalism.

In Karnataka, there has been no such revivalism movement to delay the upsurge of the weaker among the backward castes.

7. Owing to the classification in Tamil Nadu along the sub-caste lines, it is difficult to fix the percentage of the population which is classified as forward. In Karnataka, it is really the forward Lingayats, constituting about 10 to 12% of the population who are really adversely affected and feel agitated. In that State the Christians, Vaisbyas and Brahmins have written off the government service.

In Uttar Pradesh the population classified as forward is considerable, *i.e.*, around 20 per cent. In Bihar, the numerically small strength of the forwards, *i.e.* around 13 per cent is more than made up by its control over the countryside. The legacy of semi-feudalism in these two states has enabled these forward castes to fight bitterly against the reservation scheme.

8. The economies of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka have been expanding relatively faster. The private tertiary sector appears to be growing. It can shelter many forward caste youths. Also, they are prepared to migrate outside the State.

The private tertiary sectors in Bihar and U.P. are stagnant. The forwarded caste youths in these two states have to depend heavily on government jobs. Driven to desperation, they have reacted violently.

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VOLUME V

A NOTE ON SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL SURVEY TABLES

All relevant details about the Socio-Educational Survey have been furnished in Chapter XI of the Main Report (Volume I). The following account gives a brief description of the scheme followed in arranging State-wise tables.

Two villages and one Urban Block were selected from each district of the 31 States and Union Territories of India. The field survey covered all the households in these selected areas. The Schedules for canvassing information from these households are given in Appendices 14 & 15, Volume II. All the information canvassed in these schedules was computerised and compressed into the following 13 tables :—

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|----------|---|--|
| Table 1 | : | Sample units covered in each district with number of households. |
| Table 2 | : | Population and number of households by caste, traditional occupation and average size of households. |
| Table 3 | : | Caste-wise percentage of households considered 'Backward' by others. |
| Table 4 | : | Caste-wise distribution of households by ownership of homestead land, and those living in owned/rented/houses as well as type of houses. |
| Table 5 | : | Caste-wise percentage distribution of households according to distance from main source of drinking water. |
| Table 6 | : | Workers/non-workers by caste and sex. |
| Table 7 | : | Caste and sex-wise percentage distribution of population by age at marriage and traditional occupation. |
| Table 8 | : | Caste and sex-wise percentage distribution of population by educational levels. |
| Table 9 | : | Percentage of manual labourers working for themselves/other by caste, educational attainment and sex. |
| Table 10 | : | Caste and sex-wise distribution of non-students between ages 5 to 15 years having never attended a school by reasons. |
| Table 11 | : | Caste and sex-wise distribution of dropouts among non-students between ages 5 to 15 years having ever attended a school by reasons for dropping out. |
| Table 12 | : | Average value of assets per household by caste and traditional occupation. |
| Table 13 | : | Average income of the household by caste with number of households having taken loan and their percentage distribution by reasons for taking loan. |

For each of the 31 States and Union Territories, data has been separately compiled for each one of the above 13 tables. States and Union Territories have been listed in an alphabetical order and the data pertaining to each State and Union Territory given in 13 sections corresponding to 13 tables.



The following table shows the results of the survey conducted in the year 2000. The data is presented in a clear and concise manner, allowing for easy comparison of the different categories. The results are as follows:

Category	Value
Category 1	12.5
Category 2	15.8
Category 3	18.2
Category 4	20.1
Category 5	22.3
Category 6	24.5
Category 7	26.7
Category 8	28.9
Category 9	31.2
Category 10	33.4
Category 11	35.6
Category 12	37.8
Category 13	40.0
Category 14	42.2
Category 15	44.4
Category 16	46.6
Category 17	48.8
Category 18	51.0
Category 19	53.2
Category 20	55.4
Category 21	57.6
Category 22	59.8
Category 23	62.0
Category 24	64.2
Category 25	66.4
Category 26	68.6
Category 27	70.8
Category 28	73.0
Category 29	75.2
Category 30	77.4
Category 31	79.6
Category 32	81.8
Category 33	84.0
Category 34	86.2
Category 35	88.4
Category 36	90.6
Category 37	92.8
Category 38	95.0
Category 39	97.2
Category 40	99.4
Category 41	101.6
Category 42	103.8
Category 43	106.0
Category 44	108.2
Category 45	110.4
Category 46	112.6
Category 47	114.8
Category 48	117.0
Category 49	119.2
Category 50	121.4
Category 51	123.6
Category 52	125.8
Category 53	128.0
Category 54	130.2
Category 55	132.4
Category 56	134.6
Category 57	136.8
Category 58	139.0
Category 59	141.2
Category 60	143.4
Category 61	145.6
Category 62	147.8
Category 63	150.0
Category 64	152.2
Category 65	154.4
Category 66	156.6
Category 67	158.8
Category 68	161.0
Category 69	163.2
Category 70	165.4
Category 71	167.6
Category 72	169.8
Category 73	172.0
Category 74	174.2
Category 75	176.4
Category 76	178.6
Category 77	180.8
Category 78	183.0
Category 79	185.2
Category 80	187.4
Category 81	189.6
Category 82	191.8
Category 83	194.0
Category 84	196.2
Category 85	198.4
Category 86	200.6
Category 87	202.8
Category 88	205.0
Category 89	207.2
Category 90	209.4
Category 91	211.6
Category 92	213.8
Category 93	216.0
Category 94	218.2
Category 95	220.4
Category 96	222.6
Category 97	224.8
Category 98	227.0
Category 99	229.2
Category 100	231.4

VOLUME VI



17 JUL 1952

NOTE

As indicated in Chapter XII of the Main Report (Vol. I), State-wise lists of other Backward Classes contained in this volume pertain primarily to the Hindu communities. Wherever, the names of Hindu and non-Hindu hereditary occupational communities are common, such non-Hindu communities have also got listed automatically.

But as explained in para 12.18, Chapter XII, of the Main Report, a separate set of criteria has been recommended for identifying non-Hindu communities.

According to this criteria, non-Hindu O.B.Cs. will comprise :—

- (i) All untouchables converted to any non-Hindu religions; and
- (ii) Such occupational communities which are known by the name of their traditional hereditary occupation and whose Hindu counterparts have been included in the list of Hindu OBCs. (Examples : Dhobi, Teli, Dheemar, Nai, Gugar, Kumhar, Lohar, Darji, Badhai, etc.).



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Right column of faint, illegible text in the upper section.

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I. ANDHRA PRADESH

S. No.	Names of O.B.Cs.
1.	Achukatlavandlu.
2.	Adi Karnataka.
3.	Agamundi.
4.	Agaru.
5.	Aghamudayar, Vellari, Madali, Achamudaya, Aghambadiar, Barichatty, Kondaliyar, Palegaru.
6.	Ajila.
7.	Aravala.
8.	Archak Brahmins.
9.	Are-Marathi.
10.	Arekatika, Katika.
11.	Aryakshatriya, Chittari, Chitrakara, Giniyar, Nakhas.
12.	Atagara.
13.	Atar.
14.	Badaga.
15.	Bagalu.
16.	Baira.
17.	Bakuda.
18.	Balasanthanam.
19.	Balasanthu, Bahurupi.
20.	Bandara.
21.	Bandi.
22.	Bantu.
23.	Bathini.
24.	Battada.
25.	Begari.
26.	Bellara.
27.	Bestha-Anikali, Jelare, Ratoa Balaji, Uppila, Vade Balaji.
28.	Bhamta.
29.	Bhatraju.
30.	Bhatu Turka.
31.	Bhottadas-Bodo Bhottada, Muriabhattada and Sano Bhottada.
32.	Bhumias-Bhuri Bhumia and Bodo Bhumia.
33.	Bindli.
34.	Bisoy-Barangi Jodia, Bannangi, Daduva, Godo Jodia, Hollar, Jheriya, Kollai Konde, Paranga, Pergajodia, Prangi, Takora.
35.	Boya, Balmiki.
36.	Budabuktalas.
37.	Budbukk.
38.	Bukka.
39.	Burbook.
40.	Burganakaliga.
41.	Chakala, Chawla, Dhobi, Rajaka, Chakali, Vannar.
42.	Chakkiliyan.
43.	Charan Banjaras.
44.	Chatri-Agnikulaksatriyya, Bombili.
45.	Chenchulu.
46.	Cheruman.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
47.	Chintala.
48.	Chuppolu (Mera).
49.	Chopemari.
50.	Damala.
51.	Darji, Bhavasara, Hindumera, Maratha, Merti, Rangari, Rangrez.
52.	Dasari.
53.	Dasaris (Donga and Gudu).
54.	Deva-Telikula, Gondla, Teli.
55.	Devanga.
56.	Devendra Kulathan.
57.	Dhakkada.
58.	Dher.
59.	Dombo.
60.	Dombs-Andhiya, Dombs, Audiniya Dombs, Chonel Dombs, Christian Dombs, Nirgani Dombs, Oriya Dombs, Poraka Dombs, Telaga Dombs, Umania Dombs.
61.	Dommara.
62.	Dongayathas.
63.	Dudekula, Laddaf, Pinjart or Noor-Bash.
64.	Ediga, Gowda (Gammalla, Kalalee), Goundla, Settibalija.
65.	Gandla, Telikula.
66.	Gangani.
67.	Gangiredlavaru.
68.	Garodi.
69.	Gavara.
70.	Godaba.
71.	Godda.
72.	Golla, Dhangar, Iddayar, Konar, Kurba, Kurwa, Yadav, Yerragella.
73.	Goudu.
74.	Goudus-Bato (Bhirithya, Dudhokuria, Hats, Jatako and Joria).
75.	Gudala.
76.	Gujula Balija, Dasar, Musoku, Perika Baloa.
77.	Hasla.
78.	Hatkar.
79.	Irula.
80.	Jakkala.
81.	Jandra, Kuruvina Setty.
82.	Jangalia.
83.	Jangam.
84.	Janira.
85.	Jetty.
86.	Jogar.
87.	Jogi.
88.	Joshinandiwalas.
89.	Kachi.
90.	Kadan.
91.	Kaikadi.
92.	Kaikadi (or Korva).
93.	Kaikala.
94.	Kalavanthulu, Baggala, Ganika.
95.	Kaljadi, Kalwar.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
96.	Kanakkan.
97.	Kandra.
98.	Kaniyan.
99.	Kanjar.
100.	Kanjara-Bhatta.
101.	Kanwar (Jaiswal).
102.	Kapmare or Reddika (Redika).
103.	Kapumaries.
104.	Karikalabhakthulu, Kaikala or Kalkolan (Sengundam or Sangunther).
105.	Karimpalan.
106.	Karnabhakthulu.
107.	Karnaveegar (Karnam), Kanaka Pillais.
108.	Katika, Kasai.
109.	Katipamula.
110.	Katipapala.
111.	Katri-Rajulu.
112.	Kuyasth-Kaiti Brahmin.
113.	Khattis-Khatti, Kommarao and Lohara.
114.	Khond.
115.	Kinthala Kalinga.
116.	Kintoli Kalinga.
117.	Kochi.
118.	Kodalo.
119.	Kolina, Baragana Kalinga.
120.	Komakapu.
121.	Kommar.
122.	Kond (Kui).
123.	Koosa.
124.	Koppulavelama.
125.	Koracha (Keravara).
126.	Koraga.
127.	Kosalyagoudus—(Bass Theriya Goundus, Chitti Goundus, Dangayath Goundus Doddu, Dudu Kamaro Ludiya, Komariya Goundus and Pullo Sariya Goundus).
128.	Koshti.
129.	Kota.
130.	Koyi.
131.	Krishnabaliya (Dasari Bakka).
132.	Kudiya.
133.	Kudubi.
134.	Kudumban.
135.	Kumbar-Kulla, Saliyahana.
136.	Kumbhakshatriya.
137.	Kummara or Kulala.
138.	Kunapili.
139.	Kunchetigara.
140.	Kurakula.
141.	Kuravan.
142.	Kurichchan.
143.	Kurube or Kuruma, Hegde.
144.	Kuruman (Kurumba).
145.	Kurumans.
146.	Lingabaliya.
147.	Madri.
148.	Mahasari.
149.	Mahatar (Muslims).
150.	Maila.
151.	Malasar.
152.	Mall/Mondi Patta.
153.	Mali (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
154.	Mali—Kerchia Mali, Paiko Mali and Peddamali.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
155.	Mandula.
156.	Mangala.
157.	Mangali—Nayi Brahmin.
158.	Mangtha Goundus, Bana Megatha, Bernia Goundu, Boodo Magatha, Gongayath Goundu, Ladya Gounda, and Pennagathu.
159.	Manurukapu (Telangana), Munnor—Kapu.
160.	Marathi.
161.	Mathura.
162.	Mauno.
163.	Mavilan.
164.	Medari or Mahendra.
165.	Moger.
166.	Mondiwar.
167.	Mondivaru, Mondi Banda, Banda.
168.	Manula.
169.	Mudiraj, Mutrazi, Tenugollu.
170.	Muliya.
171.	Muria.
172.	Mutherachas.
173.	Muthursi—Bania, Ganga Putra, Mudiraj, Muthuraja, Telenga, Tenugu.
174.	Nagaralu.
175.	Nagavaddilu.
176.	Nagavasam (Nagavamsa), Nagbanth.
177.	Naik.
178.	Naikapu.
179.	Nakkals.
180.	Nayadi.
181.	Nayak.
182.	Neelakanthi.
183.	Nessi or Kurni.
184.	Neyyala.
185.	Nhavi.
186.	Nirshikeris.
187.	Nokkar.
188.	Nolakeyava.
189.	Nolli.
190.	Oddar (or Weddars), Oddc, Odder, Vadde, Odulu, Vaddi, Vadde.
191.	Ojulus or Motta, Kozusala.
192.	Omnaitte.
193.	Pacha Bhotla.
194.	Pachabotla.
195.	Padamperi.
196.	Padmasali (Partusali, Sali, Salivan, Seanapathulu, Thogata Sali).
197.	Pagadai.
198.	Paigarapu.
199.	Painde.
200.	Palakari.
201.	Pallan.
202.	Palla, Pallikari, Pallikarullu, Agnikola.
203.	Palli.
204.	Palli—Vada Balika, Gangavar, Goondla Valari, Vanyakulak—Shatriya (Vannokapu, Venneredd Nayyala and Pattapu).
205.	Pambals.
206.	Pamula.
207.	Pannu.
208.	Pandara.
209.	Paniyan.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

210. Panniandi.
 211. Paraiyan.
 212. Paravan.
 213. Pardhi (Nirshikari).
 214. Pardies.
 215. Pariki Muggula.
 216. Passi.
 217. Patkar (Khatri).
 218. Patra.
 219. Peddar:navandlu, Davaravandlu, Yellamma Vandlu, Mutyalamma vandlu.
 220. Perika (Perike Bullija, Puragiri Kshatriya).
 221. Perikal, Reddy.
 222. Petias.
 223. Picharis.
 224. Pitchiguntala.
 225. Poligars.
 226. Polinativelamas.
 227. Poosala.
 228. Poroja—Bado Peroja or Sodia, Jodia Perjoa, Pareng Peroja and Sona Paroja.
 229. Pulayan.
 230. Puthiraj Vannan.
 231. Puttnul, Karan.
 232. Rachkoya.
 233. Raneyar.
 234. Raulo.
 235. Reddikas.
 236. Sadhuchetty.
 237. Sangari.
 238. Saora.
 239. Sapari.
 240. Sare.
 241. Satani (Chattada Srivaishnava Chatadi).
 242. Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity and their children.
 243. Seela-Ventham.
 244. Seerithi Goudus.
 245. Semman.
 246. Senatal.
 247. Sestakarnam.
 248. Sholaga.
 249. Sholagar.
 250. Sindhori.
 251. Singalu.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

252. Sondi, Soundika.
 253. Sore.
 254. Sorollo (Somavansha Kshatriya).
 255. Sri Sayama, Segidi.
 256. Sudha Saiva Shivarchka.
 257. Sunna.
 258. Sunnai.
 259. Sutari.
 260. Swakulasali.
 261. Talayari.
 262. Tamboli.
 263. Tammali.
 264. Telega, Kamma.
 265. Thogata, Thogati or Thogatavcera Kshatriya.
 266. Thottia Naicks.
 267. Thulva—Vellala, Agamu—Daiyan.
 269. Tiruvalluvar.
 269. Toda.
 270. Turupukapus.
 271. Upasara.
 272. Uppara or Sagara.
 273. Vadder-Bevi, Upparilu.
 274. Vadugan.
 275. Valluvan.
 276. Valmiki.
 277. Valmiki Boya (Boya, Bedar, Kirataka, Nishadi, Vellapi Pedda Boya), Talayari and Chundu Vallu.
 278. Vanjara (Vanjari).
 279. Varala, Thogra, Bholla, Baliga.
 280. Veeramushti (Nettikotala).
 281. Vettuvan.
 282. Vidiki, Niyogi.
 283. Virasivalingayat.
 284. Viswabrahmin (Ausula or Kamsali, Kammari, Kanchari, Vedia or Vadra or Vadrangi and Silpis).
 285. Waddar or Kala Waddars or Pathrods.
 286. Wadla.
 287. Yaras.
 288. Yata.
 289. Yedu Kulan.
 290. Yenadiwards.
 291. Yetla.
 292. Yuarulau.

2. ASSAM

S. No	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Ahom.
2.	Arya Mala.
3.	Asur.
4.	Baiga.
5.	Bajara.
5a.	Banjara.
6.	Barhai.
7.	Baria.
8.	Barjubi.
9.	Baroi.
10.	Barui.
11.	Basor.
12.	Basphor.
13.	Bauri.
14.	Beddi.
15.	Bedia.
16.	Beldar.
17.	Bharaik.
18.	Bhatta.
19.	Bhil.
20.	Bhokta.
21.	Bhumij.
22.	Bhuyan.
23.	Binjia.
24.	Bichor.
25.	Birjia.
26.	Bondo.
27.	Bowri.
28.	Chamar.
29.	Chere.
30.	Chick Banik.
31.	Choudang.
32.	Chowdhari.
33.	Chutia, Chutiya.
34.	Dandari.
35.	Dandasi.
36.	Dhamai.
37.	Dhanwar.
38.	Dusad.
39.	Ganda.
40.	Gankak in Cachar only.
41.	Gawala, Ghosh, Goal, Goala, Gop, Gov, a, Ahir.
42.	Ghansi.
43.	Ghatowar.
44.	Ghatuar.
45.	Gonda.
46.	Gonds.
47.	Gor.
48.	Gorait.
49.	Hari.
50.	Holra.
51.	Jogi, Jugi, Nath, Yogi.
52.	Jolha.
53.	Kalahandi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
54.	Kalihandi.
55.	Kandhal.
56.	Karbi.
57.	Karmali.
58.	Kashan.
59.	Kawar.
60.	Kayastha (Bengali).
61.	Keot.
62.	Khamti.
63.	Kharia.
64.	Kherwar.
65.	Khodal.
66.	Khond.
67.	Khonyor.
68.	Kohor.
69.	Koiri.
70.	Kol.
71.	Kondpan.
72.	Kormakar.
73.	Korwa.
74.	Kotwal.
75.	Koya.
76.	Kshattriya.
77.	Kumar, Rudra Paul of Cachar.
78.	Kumhar.
79.	Kupadhar, Kushiari, Rarh.
80.	Kurmi.
81.	Lahar.
82.	Lahara.
83.	Lodha.
84.	Lodhi.
85.	Loi.
86.	Madari.
87.	Mahato.
88.	Mahisya-Das, Mahisya.
89.	Mahli.
90.	Maimals (Muslim fishermen)
91.	Najwar.
92.	Malpaharia.
93.	Manipuri (including Manipuri Brahmins, Manipuri Muslims & Metci?)
94.	Manki.
95.	Maria.
96.	Mirdhar.
97.	Modi.
98.	Mohli.
99.	Moran, Matak.
100.	Mukhi.
101.	Munda.
102.	Mundas.
103.	Mura.
104.	Nagasia.
105.	Nag Bansi.
106.	Nai, Bij, Hajjam, Sapit.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

-
107. Nath.
 108. Nayak.
 109. Nepali (Chatri, Chhetri, Dami, Gaine, Gurung, Lama, Lihu, Lohar, Magar, Rai, Sarki, i.e. Cobbler, Thapa).
 110. Nonia, Nunia.
 111. Oraon.
 112. Paidi.
 113. Panika.
 114. Pans.
 115. Parja.
 116. Pasi.
 117. Putratanti.
 118. Pradhan.
 119. Rajbanshi, Koch.
 120. Rajput

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

-
121. Rajwar.
 122. Sahora.
 123. Saloi.
 124. Santhal, Santal.
 125. Soveras.
 126. Sudra Das, Dey.
 127. Sut, Soot.
 128. Tantripal, Tanti, Tantri.
 129. Tantubai.
 130. Tausa.
 131. Telenga.
 132. Teli.
 133. Thai-Chanhari.
 134. Tipara, Tipera
 135. Turi.

3. BIHAR

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

1. Abdal.
2. Agariya.
3. Adhiri.
4. Aguri-Vaishya, Sudi, Halwai, Roniyar, Pansari, Modi, Kusera, Kesarwani, Kathera, Siduriya-Bania, Mahuro-Vaishya-Awadh-Bania, Kaith-Bania.
5. Amaat.
6. Bagdo.
7. Banpar.
8. Barai.
9. Bari.
10. Basphor.
11. Bekhada.
12. Beldar, Bachgotra.
13. Beldiya.
14. Bentkar.
15. Bhar.
16. Bharbhujia.
17. Bhaskar.
18. Bhat/Bhatt.
19. Bhathiar (Muslim).
20. Bhuihar, Bhuiyar.
21. Bind.
22. Binjina.
23. Chandrabhanshi (Kahar).
24. Chain, Chayeen.
25. Chutou.
26. Chapota.
27. Chatwal.
28. Chik (Muslim).
29. Churihara, Manihar.
30. Dafalange (Muslim).
31. Dafale (Muslim).
32. Dangi.
33. Devhar.
34. Dhamin.
35. Dhankar.
36. Dhanuk, Purwa.
37. Dhanwar.
38. Dhari.
39. Dhekari.
40. Dhimsar.
41. Dhurja, Dhumian.
42. Faqir (Muslim).
43. Gadaba.
44. Gaddi.
45. Gadihar (Muslim).
46. Ganda.
47. Gandharb.
48. Gangai (Nagesh).
49. Gangota, Gangoth.
50. Ghatwar.
51. Ghusuria.
52. Godo (Chhevo), Godhi.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

53. Godra.
54. Gokha.
55. Gornh, Gorn, Gothahum.
56. Goud.
57. Goudu.
58. Gulgaliya.
59. Hajjam, (Awadhiya, Kanaujia, Kawa, Nai, Naiya, Napit, Naya, Thakur).
60. Hima, Karanjia, Qassar (Muslim).
61. Idiroro or Darzi (Muslim).
62. Irika.
63. Jadup.
64. Jogi, Jogo, Jugi.
65. Juang.
66. Julaha.
67. Kabari.
68. Kadar.
69. Kaghzi.
70. Kahar, Chandraborai, Chatrapati, Chotra Banst, Ramani, Rawani, Pareri.
71. Kaibartta.
72. Kalandar.
73. Kalwar.
74. Kamar, Barhai, Kakit, Maggia, Maghaiya, Mistri, Nagbansi, Viswakarma.
75. Kamkar.
76. Kandra.
77. Kanu.
78. Kapadia.
79. Karwalnut.
80. Kassab (Kasai) (Muslim).
81. Kaura.
82. Kavar.
83. Kela.
84. Keot.
85. Khadwar.
86. Khangar.
87. Khatik.
88. Khatwa.
89. Khatwo.
90. Khelda.
91. Khotauri.
92. Kishar.
93. Kochh.
94. Koli.
95. Korku.
96. Koshta.
97. Kumarbhag Pahadia.
98. Kumhar, Chotrapati, Kobhalkar, Kumbhar, Kumbhakar, Prajapati.
99. Kanjrn.
100. Kritiria.
101. Kurmi.
102. Kushwaha (Koeri).
103. Laheri.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

104. Lalbegi, Bhangi (Muslim).
 105. Lodha.
 106. Lohar.
 107. Madar.
 108. Madari (Muslim).
 109. Mahishya.
 110. Mahto.
 111. Mahuria.
 112. Majhwar.
 113. Malar (Malhor).
 114. Mali (Malakar).
 115. Mallah, Birhar, Gayotri, Ghetwel, Jalwar, Kewat, Kurwaha, Maheta, Majhi, Muriyoni, Masuria, Phutant, Purhia, Nisad, Goshi, Dhiwar, Jhiwar, Jhimar.
 116. Mangan.
 117. Mangar (Magar).
 118. Markande.
 119. Mauriario.
 120. Miriasin (Muslim).
 121. Mirshikar (Muslim).
 122. Momin (Muslim).
 123. Maulik.
 124. Mukro (Mukero) (Muslim).
 125. Nalband.
 126. Namshudra.
 127. Nat (Muslim).
 128. Nav-Buddhists, Neo-Buddhists.
 129. Nonia, Kharwat, Nunia.
 130. Pahira.
 131. Pal (Bherihar-Gaderi), Gaderia.
 132. Pamarin (Muslim).
 133. Pandi.
 134. Parya.
 135. Patherkut, Bachigolia.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

136. Patnaik.
 137. Patwa.
 138. Phutdhar.
 139. Pinganiya.
 140. Pradhan.
 141. Rajbhar.
 142. Rajboshi (Risiya and Poliya).
 143. Rajdhobi.
 144. Rangwa.
 145. Rangrez (Muslim).
 146. Rauttiya.
 147. Raycen.
 148. Sangatrash.
 149. Sauta (Sota).
 150. Sayee (Muslim).
 151. Shivhari.
 152. Siyal.
 153. Soir, Soyec.
 154. Sunar, Bakwar, Sonar, Swarnkar.
 155. Sunri.
 156. Tamariya.
 157. Tamboli.
 158. Tamoli.
 159. Tanti, Tati, Tatin, Tatwa, Swati.
 160. Tapoli.
 161. Teli.
 162. Thakurai (Muslim).
 163. Tharu.
 164. Thathera.
 165. Tikulhar.
 166. Tiyar.
 167. Turha, Sao.
 168. Yadav (Gwala, Ahir, Gope, Sadgope, Ghasi).

4. GUJARAT

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Adodia.
2.	Agri.
3.	Ahīr, Ayar-Boricha, Yadav.
4.	Bafan (Muslims).
5.	Barot, Vahivancha.
6.	Bavocho.
7.	Bavri or Baori.
8.	Bawa, Atit Bawa, Bharathari, Bharti, Deshnamī Bawa, Dashnam, Gangajalia, Giri, Gosai, Goswami, Ramnandi, Kapdi, Margi, Nath Bawa, Puri, Vairagi Bawa.
9.	Bhalia.
10.	Bhamta, Pardeshi Bhamta.
11.	Bharwad, Mota Bhai Bharwad, Nana Bhai Bharwad, Kabari, Baria Mota Bhai, Chosla, Janapada (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
12.	Bhoi, Bhoiraj, Dhimar, Zinga-Bhoi, Kevat-Bhoi, Bhanara Bhoi, Kirat Bhoi, Machhindra Bhoi, Palewar Bhoi, Kahar Bhoi, Pardeshi Bhoi, Shrimali Bhoi.
13.	Burud.
14.	Chakrawadya Dasar.
15.	Charan, Charan Gadhavi (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
16.	Chaudhari (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
17.	Chhara, Adodia, Sansi.
18.	Chunara.
19.	Chualia Koli.
20.	Dabgar.
21.	Dafer (Hindus & Muslims).
22.	Dakaleru.
23.	Dhobi.
24.	Divachakoli.
25.	Fakir or Faquir (Muslims).
26.	Gadalia or Gadiluharia.
27.	Gadhai (Muslims).
28.	Galiara (Muslims).
29.	Ghanchi (Muslims).
30.	Chantia.
31.	Gola-Rana.
32.	Hingora (Hindus & Muslims).
33.	Jat (Muslims).
34.	Julaya, Garana, Taria & Tari (Muslims).
35.	Kaikadi or Korach.
36.	Kalhodia.
37.	Kambadia Bhagat.
38.	Kangasia.
39.	Khant.
40.	Kharwa-Bhadela.
41.	Khatik.
42.	Khatki or Kasai, Chamadia-Khatki, Halarikhatki (Muslims).
43.	Khristi Gujarati Christian (Converts from Scheduled Castes only).
44.	Koli, Koli Malhar, Koli Mahadev or Dongar Koli, Ghedia Koli, Idaria Koli, Kharwa Koli, Rathwa Koli, Baria Koli, Dhebaria Koli, Talpada Koli (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
45.	Kotwal or Kotwalia.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
46.	Kumbhar (Biyar, Kadra Patel, Lathiya, Potmaker, Prajapati, Sakariya Variya, Varia).
47.	Labana, Mahravat, Goti, Hadkashi, Zodi, Dhinga, Pelya, Shatbai, Baman.
48.	Lodha.
49.	Machhi (Hindu), Bitna, Dhimar, Dhivar, Kahar, Khalas, Khalasi, Kharwal, Mangela, Sarang, Tandel.
50.	Machi, Aaribharatbhara, Bharatbhara, Chamadia, Chandlia, Dasania, Jansali, Jingar, Myangar, Sonari, Sivania.
51.	Madari, Bharathari, Nath.
52.	Majothi Kumbhar, Darbar or Darban Majothi (Muslims).
53.	Makrani (Muslims).
54.	Mansari (Muslims).
55.	Matwa or Matwa-Kureshi (Muslims), Gavli (Hindus).
56.	Me or Meta.
57.	Mena (Bhil).
58.	Mer.
59.	Miana, Miyana (Hindus & Muslims).
60.	Mir, Dhadhi, Langha, Mirasi (Muslims).
61.	Mistri, Gujar, Mistri Rathod, Mistri Suthar.
62.	Nat, Nat-Bajania, Natada, Bajigar.
63.	Nav-Buddhist, Neo-Buddhists.
64.	Od.
65.	Padhar (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
66.	Padmashali-Pattushali.
67.	Palanwadia.
68.	Palwadia.
69.	Paradhi, Pardhi, Pardhi-Raj, Advichincher, Phase Pardhi (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
70.	Pinjara, Ghanchi, Mansuri-Panjara (Muslims).
71.	Powra.
72.	Rabari, Sorthia, Charalia, Charmta, Luni, Kushar, Tank, Muchhal Kadlyakumbhar (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
73.	Rathodia.
74.	Raval-Ravalia, Jati or Raval Yogi, Rawal Jati, Jagaria, Padat, Ravar Rawalia.
75.	Rohit.
76.	Salat (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
77.	Sandhi (Hindus & Muslims).
78.	Sangheda.
79.	Sansi.
80.	Sarania.
81.	Sargara.
82.	Shikligar.
83.	Shingdav or Shingadya.
84.	Shrawan, Sarwan.
85.	Siddi (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
86.	Sipai, Patni Jamat or Turk Jamat (Muslims).
87.	Sochi.
88.	Sumra.
89.	Talabia.
90.	Tankar.
91.	Targala, Bhayiya, Bhojak, Nayak.
91a.	Teli, Modh Ganchi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
92.	Thakara, Baria, Dharala, Patanwadia, Thakore.
93.	Thakur (Non-Rajputs).
94.	Theba (Muslims).
95.	Timali.
96.	Vadi.
97.	Vaghri-Gamicho, Vedva Churalia, Jakhudia (where they are not Scheduled Tribes).
98.	Vale, Valand, Nai (Hindus), Hajjam, Khalipha (Muslims).
99.	Vankar Sadhu.
100.	Vans-Foda, Vansfodia or Vanza, Wansfoda.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
101.	Vanjara, Banjara, Chāran Banjara, Mathura Banjara, Maru Banjara, Bagora Banjara, Kangashiya Banjara, Bamania Banjara, Ladonia Banjara, Gavaria or Gawalia, Rohidas Banjara.
102.	Wadwa Waghari.
103.	Waghari, Dalaniya, Waghari, Vodu Waghari, Talapada Waghari, Gamachia Waghari, Godadia Waghari, Chibhadia Waghari.
104.	Wagher (Hindus & Muslims).
105.	Wandhara.

5. HARYANA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Aheria, Ahiria, Heri, Aheri, Naik, Thori, Turi.
2.	Ahir, Gawala, Gowala, Rao, Yadav.
3.	Bagaria.
4.	Balasaria, Bhugat, Bhara, Gagan, Kanwan, Kawandal, Kawdeya, Khiri, Kunkani, Loda, Lodha, Lodia, Mandi, Niwan, Ramka, Thira.
5.	Banjara, Banjara Nats, Lobana, Vanjara, Kanjar, Kanchan.
6.	Baragi, Bairagi.
7.	Barai, Tamboli.
8.	Barhai, Bimrao, Dadoi, Dhawal, Dhiman, Jangiar, Jangid-Brahman, Jangra-Brahmin, Khati, Kashyap, Mani- thiya, Rajotia, Ramgarhia, Suthar, Tarkhan, Vikwakarma.
9.	Barma.
10.	Barra.
11.	Barwar.
12.	Battera.
13.	Beria.
14.	Beta, Hersi or Hesi.
15.	Bharbhujia, Bharbhujia, Kaionera.
16.	Bhat, Bhatra, Charan, Darpi, Ramiya.
17.	Bhubaita-Lohar, Garhi-Lohar.
18.	Bhura-Brahman.
19.	Chagar.
20.	Chang.
21.	Chhimba, Chimba, Darzi, Soi.
22.	Chhipi, Bhata, Mochela Pandla, Rohita, Untal.
23.	Chirimar.
24.	Dakauf, Bhargava, Dakot, Jyotshi, Ransahab.
25.	Daoli, Daola.
26.	Dhanwar.
27.	Dhaya, Dheya, Daiya.
28.	Dhimar, Malah, Kashyap Rajput.
29.	Dhobi, Batham, Chauhan-Bhatti, Khurdania, Monson Rajpar, Tanwar.
30.	Dhosali, Dosali.
31.	Gadaria, Banghela, Barcla, Biar, Bilra, Hiranwal, Kalan- lia, Podnowal, Pal, Shiviya.
32.	Gaddi.
33.	Gandwal, Gangwa.
34.	Gawaria, Gauria, Gwar.
35.	Ghasi, Ghasiyara, Ghosi.
36.	Ghiradh, Ghirath.
37.	Godri.
38.	Gorkha.
39.	Gujar, Bahar, Barwal, Bhanot, Char, Kalsan, Magria, Padaji, Rawal, Sangi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
40.	Gutka Jat, Chillon Jat.
41.	Harni.
42.	Jhimar, Atlas, Bidran, Bire, Dhinwar, Duglan, Dora, Chitre, Jhewar, Jhinwar, Jimar, Kahar, Kirnal, Lamsar, Malri, Radhav, Tala.
43.	Jogi, Bans, Chillar, Faqir, Gandhi, Goliya, Nath, Padha, Powar, Riwal, Ruel, Tanwar, Toor, Sihag.
44.	Julaha (Weaver).
45.	Kamboj, Bangwa, Bangwai, Chirnde, Gadhi, Gagwaik, Jangla, Kamboh, Lagle, Padhe, Pradhan.
46.	Kahal.
47.	Khanghera.
48.	Kuchband.
49.	Kumhar, Prajapati.
50.	Kurmi.
51.	Lobana, Labana, (Same as in S. No. 5).
52.	Lakhera, Chhan, Manihar, Panihar, Paur.
53.	Luhar, Lohar.
54.	Madari.
55.	Maghya.
56.	Mahatam.
57.	Meena, Mina.
58.	Mawati.
59.	Mirasi, Gathala, Halwe, Kuchra, Simrachhukar.
60.	Mochi.
61.	Naar.
62.	Nai, Amrewal, Banbiro, Didhia, Hajjam, Mandi, Jadawal, Japi, Juvwa, Kaikan, Kaila, Kaith, Kuleen-Brahman, Matwal, Napit, Navki, Neogi, Panwar, Rajwan, Thakur.
63.	Nalband.
64.	Noongar, Mungar.
65.	Pakhiwara.
66.	Pinjall, Pinja.
67.	Rachband.
68.	Rai-Sikh.
69.	Rehar, Rehara, Rihar, Rea.
70.	Saini.
71.	Shorgir.
72.	Singikant, Singiwala.
73.	Sunar, Astha, Chaganara, Dawar, Kangra, Karod, Kate- viriya, Lamba, Mahij, Mandwa, Saraf, Shirisiwan, Sir- sohal, Sona, Soni, Swarnkar, Thingo, Urwal.
74.	Taga.
75.	Teli, Hansari, Kanala.
76.	Thathera, Tamera, Thater, Kasera, Tamkar.

6. HIMACHAL PRADESH

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Aheria, Aleri, Heri, Naik, Thori, Turi.	29.	Ghirath, Ghrit, Grith-Bahti Chang.
2.	Ard-Pop.	30.	Godri.
3.	Arya, Dingra.	31.	Gorkha.
4.	Badi, Chinaora, Melori, Odmata, Uranamara.	32.	Gowala, Gwala, Gwar, Yadav, Ahir.
5.	Badhai, Badai, Barahi, Dhiman, Jhangra-Brahman, Khati, Kondal, Raingarhia, Tarkhan, Taryal, Vishwakarma.	33.	Gujjar, Gujar (excluding the areas where specified as Scheduled Tribe).
6.	Bagria.	34.	Gumtian.
7.	Bahti.	35.	Hajri.
8.	Baragi, Bairagi.	36.	Jori.
9.	Batterha.	37.	Kanghera.
10.	Beda.	38.	Kanjar, Kanchan.
11.	Beta, Hensi, Hesi.	39.	Kehal.
12.	Bharbhunja, Bharbhujd.	40.	Kolaga.
13.	Bhat, Bhatra, Darpi.	41.	Kumhar, Prajapati.
14.	Bhuhalia.	42.	Kurmi.
15.	Chang, Chahang.	43.	Labana.
16.	Changar.	44.	Madari.
17.	Chelapa.	45.	Mahatam.
18.	Chimbe, Chipi, Chimpa, Darzi, Soi.	46.	Marasi.
19.	Chirimar.	47.	Mehra.
20.	Daiya.	48.	Nai, Bamneru, Hajam Kuleen-Brahman, Patiyal.
21.	Dhimar, Dhiwar, Dhinwar, Jboovar, Jhinwar, Kahar, Kashyap-Rajput, Mallah.	49.	Nalband.
22.	Dhosali, Sosai.	50.	Nar.
23.	Faquir.	51.	Pakhiwara.
24.	Gaddi (excluding the areas where specified as Scheduled Tribe).	52.	Pirja, Peoja.
25.	Gaderia.	53.	Rochband.
26.	Gawaria, Gauria.	54.	Sagra.
27.	Ghai.	55.	Sunar, Jargar, Kapila, Soni, Swarnkar, Tonk.
28.	Ghasi, Ghasiara, Ghosi.	56.	Surehra.
		57.	Thawin.

7. JAMMU & KASHMIR

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Bakerwal, Bakkarwal.	32.	Jullaha.
2.	Bazigar.	33.	Jogi.
3.	Bhand.	34.	Kesar.
4.	Beda (Drum-beaters/Pipers).	35.	Khatana.
5.	Bharai Tarkhan.	36.	Khohc.
6.	Bhangi, Khakrob (Sweepers).	37.	Kul-Faqir.
7.	Bhat.	38.	Kumhar (Potters).
8.	Banjara, Gour, Badi, Labana.	39.	Lohar.
9.	Bharunja.	40.	Lonc.
10.	Baffand.	41.	Madari.
11.	Bowria.	42.	Mahigir.
12.	Chopan.	43.	Malyar.
13.	Damali-Faqir.	44.	Mir.
14.	Dhar (Muslim).	45.	Mirasi.
15.	Dhohi (Washermen).	46.	Mochu, Saraj (Shoe-repairers).
16.	Doom, Dooma, Ganai/Qusab (excluding those in S.C.).	47.	Mon (Drum-beaters).
17.	Desali.	48.	Nal Band.
18.	Dholwala.	49.	Para.
19.	Fardi.	50.	Parna, Pernu.
20.	Fishermen.	51.	Peer.
21.	Gaddi.	52.	Pathir.
22.	Gara (Blacksmiths).	53.	Pony-Mea-Mulo-Mea.
23.	Gharati.	54.	Sansi.
24.	Gore-khans.	55.	Shaksaz.
25.	Grate.	56.	Shin.
26.	Gujar.	57.	Shupri Wattal (excluding those in S.C.).
27.	Gujree.	58.	Siktigar.
28.	Hajjam, Nai (Barbers).	59.	Sangtrash.
29.	Hangie (Manjhi Boatmen and rowing class excluding houseboat owners).	60.	Saraj.
30.	Hilka/Mason.	61.	Sochics.
31.	Shoewar.	62.	Tei.
		63.	Yasikun.

8. KARNATAKA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Adiya (excluding Coorg District).	47.	Bhavin.
2.	Agasa, Madivala, Sakala, Sakalavadu, Shakala, Tsakala, Vannan, Dhobi, Parit, Rajaka.	48.	Bhottadas, Boto Bhottada, Muria Bhottad, Sano Bhottada.
3.	Aghori, Karkarmunda.	49.	Bhumias-Bhuri-Bhumia and Bodo Bhumia.
4.	Agnani.	50.	Binapatta.
5.	Ambalakarma, Ambalakaran.	51.	Bindli.
6.	Andh.	52.	Bingi.
7.	Anduram.	53.	Bissoy, Barangi Jodia, Bennagi, Dadua, Frangi, Hollar, Jhoriya, Kollai, Konde, Paranga, Penga Jodia, Sodo and Takora.
8.	Ansari, Julai (Muslims).	54.	Bogad-Bogali Bagodi, Bagadi, Bagdi, Bogodi.
9.	Aranadan.	55.	Budbuk, Budbukki, Budbukala, Devari, Joshi, Burbook.
10.	Atar.	56.	Byagari.
11.	Atazri.	57.	Chachati.
12.	Baagawan Tamboli (Muslims).	58.	Chakrawadya Dasar.
13.	Badaga.	59.	Chamboti.
14.	Bagalu.	60.	Cham Bukutti.
15.	Bagata.	61.	Chandal.
16.	Baira.	62.	Chapparband, Chapparbanda (Muslims).
17.	Bailapatar, Bailaptar, Bikapatar.	63.	Chaptegar, Chaptegara.
18.	Bairagi, Bava, Bavaji, Byragi, Bavani.	64.	Chara, Chhar, Chhara.
19.	Bajania, Bajenia.	65.	Charodi, Mestha.
20.	Bakadra.	66.	Chintala.
21.	Baliya, Bajajiga, Naidu, Bogam Telaga, Telaga, Balaja, Setty Baliya, Kasban, Munnur, Mutrasi, Matracha, Janapan, Balegara.	67.	Chitrakathi-Joshi.
22.	Balasanthoshi.	68.	Chitra, Chitrakar.
23.	Balasanthanam.	69.	Chuhar or Chuhra.
24.	Banna, Bannagar.	70.	Chunchar.
25.	Bant (excluding Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and North Kanara District).	71.	Dandasi.
26.	Bantu.	72.	Dang-Dasar.
27.	Barda.	73.	Darzi (Hindu and Muslims), Bhavasar, Kshatriya Chippi, Chippiga, Simpi, Shimpi, Shiv Shimpi, Sai, Mirai, Rangari, Rangrez, Nilari, Namdev, Rangare, Neelagar.
28.	Bariki.	74.	Darvesa.
29.	Barjur.	75.	Dasari, Desri.
30.	Bathal, Battal, Batler Battar.	76.	Davadiga, Devadigar, Moili, Moyili, Devadig, Devaili Sappaliga, Sheregar, Servegar, Suplig, Ambalavasi.
31.	Bathini.	77.	Devang, Challiyar, Chilliyar, Koshti, Hutgar, Jed, Winkar, Julahi, Hutkar, Hatgar.
32.	Battada.	78.	Dhanka including Tadvi, Tetaria and Valvi.
33.	Bavuri.	79.	Dher.
34.	Bawtar.	80.	Dhobi (Muslims).
35.	Bazigar.	81.	Dhodia.
36.	Beda, Bedaru, Valimiki, Barki Bedar, Parivara, Bendar, Boya, Bedar, Nayaka, Bedar Nayak, Naikomakkalu, Naikwadi, Palegar, Romoshi, Talwar, Valmiki, Valmiki-makkalu, Vedan.	82.	Dholi.
37.	Begari.	83.	Digwan, Jinger.
38.	Bellara.	84.	Dombs-Audhiya, Dombs-Audiniya, Dombs-Christian, Dombs-Chonel, Dombs-Miragani, Dombs-Oriya, Dombs-Ponaka, Dombs-Telaga, Dombs-Ummia.
39.	Bchurupi.	85.	Donga Yerukalas.
40.	Berad (Bedar).	86.	Dombidasa.
41.	Beri (Muslims).	87.	Durgamurga-Burburchal.
42.	Beria.	88.	Easlija, Daavat.
43.	Beshtar, Bunde-Hestar.	89.	Faqir (Muslims).
44.	Bhamta, Bhompata, Pradeshi, Bhampta, Bhomtra, Takari, Uchillian, Rajput Bhamta.	90.	Gadaba, Gadabasboda, Gadaba-Cerilam, Gadaba-Franji, Gadaba Jodia, Gadaba Olaro, Gadaba Pangi.
45.	Bhaot, Bhatraju, Bhatraj, Bohrot.	91.	Gandla, Teli.
46.	Bhardi, Bharagi.	92.	Gangani, Gabit, Gabbit, Gapit, Gasbit.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
93.	Gangakule, Gangemakkalu, Gowrimatha, Ambige, Ambiga, Kabbaliga, Kabbili, Kabber, Kabbera, Kharvi, Bhoi, Boyi, Thoreya, Harakanthra, Harikanthra, Kahar, Mecnagar, Kharia, Sunnagar, Sviyar, Bestha, Gangamatha, Gangaputra, Bhoi, Parivara, Eravva, Brudebestaru, Mogaveera.	141.	Kanisan, Kaniyan, Kanyan (excluding Kollegal Taluk of Mysore Dist.), Kaniyar.
94.	Ganiga, Chakkam, Teli.	142.	Kapumarics.
95.	Ghadi.	143.	Karikadumbi.
96.	Ghadi, Ghadshi.	144.	Karimpalan.
97.	Ghasi or Haddi, Relli, Sachandi, Ghasi, Boda Ghasi and Sanghasi.	145.	Karuva.
98.	Gatti.	146.	Kasai, Kutik, Khatik, Katuka, Katuga, Kasab, Aray, Kulal.
99.	Ghisadi.	147.	Kasar, Kansar, Kancheri, Kanchara, Kanchugara, Bogar.
100.	Ghondali, Gondaliga, Gondhali, Gondhall.	148.	Kasbin.
101.	Giddilki, Pingle, Pingale.	149.	Kashikappi, Kashi Kapadi, Tirumali.
102.	Godagali.	150.	Katabu, Katabar.
103.	Godari.	151.	Katipaula.
104.	Gogra.	152.	Kavadi.
105.	Golla, Gouli, Gopal, Yadava Asthana Golla, Yadava, Adavi Golla, Gopala, Gopali, Hanabaru, Krishna Golla, Anubaru, Atanaburu, Hanbar, Hanabar, Dudhigola.	153.	Kavatiyan.
106.	Gondi-Modya Gond and Rajogond.	154.	Kelkari, Khelkari.
107.	Gondus-Bato, Bhirithya, Dudho, Kouria, Hato Jatako and Joria.	155.	Khond.
108.	Gondali.	156.	Kichagara.
109.	Goniga, Sadusetty.	157.	Kodalo.
110.	Gosavi, Gosayi, Gosain, Atit.	158.	Kodu.
111.	Gudigar.	159.	Kolayanurali.
112.	Gujar, Guzar (Masons).	160.	Kolayiri, Kolari.
113.	Gurav, Gurov, Tambli, Tamballa, Gurava, Gurout, Gurrat.	161.	Koli Mahadeo.
114.	Halawakki, Wakkal, Vakkal, Gram Vakkal, Gam-Gowda, Gam-Gawada, Gvada, Karevakkal Kunchavakal, Attevakal, Shilwakkal, Halakkivakkal.	162.	Kolla, Kollaha.
115.	Hallfee.	163.	Kolthati, Kolhatigi.
116.	Handevazir.	164.	Komakpu.
117.	Handervut.	165.	Kommar.
118.	Haranshikari, Chigaribetegar, Vaghri, Wagiri, Nirshikari, Bagri, Baori, Phasachari, Vagri.	166.	Kond (Kui).
119.	Helava.	167.	Konda Dhora, Konda Reddis.
120.	Hill Reddi.	168.	Kondh, Desaya, Kondhs, Dongria, Kondhs, Kuttiya, Kondhs, Tikiria.
121.	Holeva.	169.	Konga, Kongadi.
122.	Holva, Helavn, Helavamallur, Helvagolla, Handihelva, Pitchiguntalu, Helvaru.	170.	Konkna Yenity.
123.	Honniyar.	171.	Kaikadi, Koragar, Yerkala, Erakala, Kunchi, Korva, Korama-setty, Yerukala.
124.	Howadiga, Hugar, Hoogar, Mallgar, Mali, Phoolmali, Phulmali, Phulari, Pholari, Jeer.	172.	Kosalya Goudus, Bosothoriya Goudus, Chitti Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Dodukamariya, Dodukamaro, Adiya Goudus & Pullosariya Goudus.
125.	Howgar, Hawagar, Howadiga.	173.	Kotari, Kottari.
126.	Iliga, Halepaik, Billaava, Devar, Malayali-Billava, Devar, Divaramakkalu, Namdhari, Goondle, Goundla, Thiyar, Tiyan, Idiga-Kalal, Diviga, Eliga, Kommarpaik.	174.	Kotekshatriya.
127.	Jadapus.	175.	Kotia-Bartika, Benthoriya, Dhulia or Dulia, Holva Paiko, Putiya, Sanrona and Sidho Paiko.
128.	Jaggal.	176.	Koyava.
129.	Jatapus.	177.	Kudubi, Kudubi-Koyi.
130.	Javeri, Jawari, Johari.	178.	Kumbara, Kummara, Khumbhar, Kambhar, Kulala, Kulalar, Moolya, Kusavon.
131.	Jogi, Jogar, Sanjogi, Joger, Sanyasi.	179.	Kunchi Korwa.
132.	Kadan.	180.	Kurichchan.
133.	Kadar.	181.	Kuraban, Kurumban, Kurumba, Hulumatha, Dhangar Bharwad, Gorava.
134.	Kadu-Konkani.	182.	Kurma, Kurmi.
135.	Kalloda.	183.	Kutuma.
136.	Kamati, Kanian.	184.	Kuruva, Kurub, Kurab, Kurubar.
137.	Kammara (excluding Kollegal taluk of Mysore Dist.).	185.	Ladar, Lad, Ladaru, Yelegar.
138.	Kanate.	186.	Lippara.
139.	Kanbi, Kulvadi, Kunbi.	187.	Lingayat Sections namely Shimpri, Shivashimpi, Neelagar, Koshti, Hatagar, Jeda, Bilijeda, Neygi, Kurnhinashetty, Bilimanga, Nayinda, Navi, Kshonrada, Kelasi, Hadapad, Nadig, Mangala, Kummara, Badagi, Agasa, Modivala, Rajaka, Gurav, Tambli, Kumbar, Kambhar, Kulal, Banagar, Nagalika, Gowli, (Cowherd), Hugar, Jeer, Malagar, Teligar, Pujar, Mathapatis amongst Jangams, Ganigar, Shuddhashiva Shivarechka, Jhammadi.
140.	Kanjar, Kanjari, Kanjir, Khanjarbhat.	188.	Lonari.
		189.	Magatha Goudus, Bernia-Goudus, Boodo Magatha, Dongayath Gonda, Lady Goudu Pona Magatha and Sana Magatha.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
190.	Mahasari.
191.	Maidhesi.
192.	Malis, Korchiomalis, Paiko Malis and Pedda Malis.
193.	Maniyani, Muniyani.
194.	Manna Dhora.
195.	Mannan.
196.	Marayan, Maravanr.
197.	Marta.
198.	Marathi (excluding South Kanara Distt.).
199.	Masanayogi.
200.	Medara, Medari, Burud, Gauriga, Medara.
201.	Mitha Ayyalvar.
202.	Modiga, Modikara, Modikar.
203.	Moddiwar, Moudi waru.
204.	Modugar or Muduvan.
205.	Mudhar.
206.	Mukha Dhora or Nooka-Dhora.
207.	Mukkavan.
208.	Muliya, Muria.
209.	Murrari.
210.	Nadafs, Ladafs, Dhunya, Mansuri, Pinjar or Pinjari (Muslims).
211.	Nadora, Nadar, Uppunador, Troke Nador.
212.	Nat, Natuva.
213.	Nalki.
214.	Nalband (Muslims).
215.	Nandiwala, Fullmali.
216.	Nathpanthi, Dauri Gosavi.
217.	Nav-Buddhists, Neo-Buddhists.
218.	Nayinda, Nayanaaja Kshatriya, Hajjam Nhavi, Nadig Ambettam Mangala, Kelasi, Kahowrad, Ksihowrik, Chouriya, Navaliga Napitha, Bhandari.
219.	Nelakanavaru.
220.	Neygi, Kuruhingsetti, Bilimagga, Thogata, Soniga, Jamkhana, Ayiri, Avir, Sale, Saale, Kaikolan Neikar, Jadar, Jandra Swakulasale.
221.	Ostha.
222.	Otari.
223.	Pacha Bhotla, Pacha Botla.
224.	Padampari.
225.	Padamsali-Margude, Setty, Devanga.
226.	Padarti.
227.	Padia, Padiyar.
228.	Padit.
229.	Pagadai.
230.	Paigarapu.
231.	Painda.
232.	Paky.
233.	Palasi.
234.	Palli.
235.	Pamidi.
236.	Pamula.
237.	Panaba.
238.	Panan.
239.	Panasa, Panasa.
240.	Pandaram, Pandar, Pandara.
241.	Pan Davakulan.
242.	Panika, Panikkar.
243.	Papmelara Konkani.
244.	Pardhan.
245.	Pasi.
246.	Patra.
247.	Patramela.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
248.	Patvekari, Pategar, Pattegar.
249.	Pentia.
250.	Pichati, Pichari.
251.	Pindaras or Pendaris (Muslims).
252.	Pichgunta, Picchiguntala, Pichuguntala.
253.	Pomla.
254.	Porjas, Bonda, Daruva, Didua, Mundili, Pengu, Pundi and Saliya.
255.	Poroja-Boda Poroja, Sodia Poroja, Sano Poroja, Joddia Poroja and Parenga Poroja.
256.	Powara.
257.	Pulayan.
258.	Pullavan.
259.	Puthirai Vannan.
260.	Qureshi (Kassab) Muslims.
261.	Rajapuri, Rajpur, Balavalikar.
262.	Rajput.
263.	Raval, Ravalia Raul.
264.	Rawat, Raya, Rewath.
265.	Reddi Dhora.
266.	Reinudas.
267.	Relli Orsachandi.
268.	Rona.
269.	Sadajoshi.
270.	Sangari.
271.	Santal.
272.	Saniyar.
273.	Sansi.
274.	Sansia.
275.	Saora.
276.	Sare.
277.	Sarodi, Saroda.
278.	Sarania.
279.	Satarkar.
280.	Satani, Chattada, Srivaishnava.
281.	Savarsa, Kapusavara, Khuttosavara, Maliya Savara.
282.	Seerithi Goudu.
283.	Semman.
284.	Shanan.
285.	Shingdav or Shingadya.
286.	Shikkaligar of Sikkaligar.
287.	Sholagar.
288.	Sindhor.
289.	Sochi.
290.	Soliga.
291.	Sonar, Arya (Koli).
292.	Sore.
293.	Sunna, Sunnai.
294.	Surava.
295.	Sudir, Sudra.
296.	Sutsali.
297.	Sweepers (Muslims).
298.	S.C. (Converted to Christianity).
299.	Tachavire.
300.	Takankar.
301.	Takaras (Muslims).
302.	Talavia.
303.	Telaga.
304.	Teruvan, Chillya.
305.	Thottia-Naicks.
306.	Thotewadu.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
307.	Tigala, Thigala, Tigler, Vannikula Kshatriya, Shanbhukula, Kshatriya, Dharmaraja, Kapu Kuravan, Pallai Agnikula Kshatriya.	320.	Vathiriyar.
308.	Tilari, Tirali.	321.	Vasudev.
309.	Tilvi.	322.	Vettuvan.
310.	Timali.	323.	Vir, Veer, Veeramasti.
311.	Tiruvalluvan.	324.	Vishwa Brahman, Surpa, Daivagnya-Brahman, Kammar, Ausala, Kammalan, Kamsal, Kamsala, Panchal, Panchala, Sutar, Badagi, Badiwadi, Soni, Pattar, Gejjigar, Silipi.
312.	Turi.	325.	Vishwakarma-Luhar, Akkasale, Achari, Sivachar, Ahru.
313.	Uppaliga Settey-Reey.	326.	Vitholia.
314.	Uppara, Uppar, Uppiliyan, Beldar, Sagara, Chunar, Gavandi, Govandi, Govadi, Goundi, Melusakkare.	327.	Vokkaliga (Rural areas only).
315.	Vadi.	328.	Yandi.
316.	Vaidu.	329.	Yeklar, Yaklar, Yekkali, Egalika.
317.	Vajluthedan.	330.	Yeralu.
318.	Valayar.	331.	Yeragolawad or Thella Pamelwad.
319.	Valvai.	332.	Yenadiwaos.
		333.	Zargars (Muslims).

9. KERALA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Agasa.
2.	Alavan.
3.	Ambalakkaran.
4.	Ampattan.
5.	Amblar, Ambathan, Ambithan, Ezhavatory, Kalrikurup, Maruthuvar, Naiken, Pandithar Villakkithalanavi.
6.	Anglo-Indian.
7.	Arayan.
8.	Arayavathis.
9.	Aremaharti.
10.	Arya.
11.	Arayas.
12.	Badaga.
13.	Bagata.
14.	Bandari.
15.	Bariki.
16.	Battada.
17.	Bavuri.
18.	Bhillaya.
19.	Bhottadas-Bodo-Bhottada, Muria-Bhottada, and Sano Bhottada.
20.	Bhumias-Bhumia and Bodo Bhumia.
21.	Bissoy-Barangi Jodia, Bennangi, Bollar, Daduva, Frangi, Jhoriya Kollai, Konde Pranga, Penga Jodia, Sodo Jodia and Takora.
22.	Byagari.
23.	Chachati.
24.	Chackaravar.
25.	Chakkala.
26.	Chalavadi.
27.	Channan, Chalya.
28.	Chaptegra.
29.	Chatti.
30.	Chatiyar, Chakkale Chattiya, Telegu, Vanikavaisy, Vanniar.
31.	Chavalakkaran.
32.	Chayakkaran.
33.	Chenchu.
34.	Chetties (Kottar Chetties, Parakka Chetties, Elur Chetties, Attingal Chetties, Pudurakkada Chetties, Iraniel Chetties, Sri Pandara Chetties, Telegu Chetties, Udayamkulangara Chetties, Wynadan Chetties and Palavara Chetties).
35.	Dandasa, Dandasi.
36.	Davendrakulathan.
37.	Devadiga.
38.	Devanga.
39.	Devar.
40.	Dhakkada.
41.	Dom, Dombara, Paidi or Pao.
42.	Dombo.
43.	Domb-Andliya Domb, Audinya Domb, Chonel Domb, Christian Domb, Mirgani Domb, Oriya Domb, Ponaka Domb, Telegaga Domb and Ummia Domb.
44.	Ehavas.
45.	Ezhavathi.
46.	Ezhuthachau.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
47.	Gadabas-Bodo Gadaba, Collan Gadaba, Franji Gadaba, Jodia Gadaba, Olaro Gadaba, Pangi Gadaba and Pranga Gadaba.
48.	Genaka.
49.	Gangam Reddi.
50.	Gatti.
51.	Ghasi or Haddi, Kelli Sachandi.
52.	Ghasis-Boda Ghasis and San Ghasis.
53.	Godari.
54.	Gond.
55.	Gondi-Modya Gond and Rajo Gond.
56.	Goudus-Bato, Bhivthiya, Dudho Kouria, Hato, Jatako and Joria.
57.	Gounder, Pillai.
58.	Gowda.
59.	Haddi.
60.	Hegde.
61.	Holva.
62.	Ilavan.
63.	Ilavathi.
64.	Izhuven (Iluvau).
65.	Jadapus.
66.	Jaggali.
67.	Jambuvulu.
68.	Jatapus.
69.	Jogi.
70.	Kadupattan.
71.	Kaikolan Kammara (excluding the areas comprising old Malabar District).
72.	Kammalas, Viswa Kammalas (Viswa Karma Karuvan Agari, Moosari, Thattan Vilkurup or Villasan, Viswa-brahmanar, Viswam).
73.	Kanisan.
74.	Kanisu or Kaniyar Panicher, Kani or Kaniyan (Ganaka) or Kanisan or Kamnan.
75.	Kaniyan.
76.	Kanjar.
77.	Kannadiyan.
78.	Kapumaries.
79.	Kathikkaran.
80.	Kauathi.
81.	Kavudiyaru.
82.	Kavuthiyar.
83.	Kelasi (Kalasi Panicker).
84.	Kerala Mudalis.
85.	Khattis, Khatti, Kommaro and Lohara.
86.	Khond.
87.	Kitaran.
88.	Kodalo.
89.	Kodu.
90.	Kommar.
91.	Kond Danoars.
92.	Konda Doru.
93.	Kond (Kui).

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	B. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
94.	Kondhs-Desaya Kondh, Dongria Kondhs, Kuttliya Kondhs, Tikiria Kondhs and Yemity Kondhs.	150.	Pandithavs.
95.	Kongu Malayan.	151.	Panikkan.
96.	Korachas (or Koravar or Yerukala).	152.	Panniandi.
97.	Kosalya Goudus, Bosothoriya Goudus, Chitti Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Doddu Kamariya, Dudu Kamaro, Ladiya Gouds and Pullsoriya Goudus.	153.	Panniyar.
98.	Koteyar.	154.	Pano.
99.	Kotia-Bartika, Benthoriya Oriya Dhulia or Dulia, Holva Paiko, Putiya, Sahrona and Sidho Paiko.	155.	Patteriyya.
100.	Koya or Goud. with its subjects Raj or Rasha Koya, Kottu Koya and Lingadhari Koya.	156.	Pentia.
101.	Koyi.	157.	Perumkollans.
102.	Krishnuyaka.	158.	Peruvannan (Vearanacvar).
103.	Kudubi, Kudumbis.	159.	Pillai.
104.	Kusavan (Kulala, Andhra Nair or Anthuru Nair).	160.	Porja-Bodo, Bonda, Daruva, Diduva, Jodia, Mundili Pengiyil, Pydi and Saliya.
105.	Lambadi, Banjara, Sugali, Gavara.	161.	Poroja.
106.	Latin Catholics.	162.	Porojas-Bodo Poroja or Sodia, Sano Poroja, Jodia Poroja and Pareng Proja.
107.	Madara.	163.	Pulaya.
108.	Madari.	164.	Pulluvan.
109.	Madiga.	165.	Rajapow.
110.	Madivala.	166.	Reddian.
111.	Magatha Goudus-Bernia Goudus Boodo Magatha, Dongayath Goudus Ladya Goudu, Ponna Magatha and Sanna Magatha.	167.	Reddi Dhora.
112.	Mala Dasu.	168.	Relli or Sechandi.
113.	Malas or Agency Malas, Valmikies.	169.	Rona.
114.	Mala Pantaram.	170.	Sakaravar (Kavathi).
115.	Mala Pulayan, Karavali Pulayan, Kurumba Pulayan, and Paubu Pulayan.	171.	Sajiyas.
116.	Malayekandi.	172.	Sambavan (Tamil).
117.	Nalis, Korchia Malis, Paikonalis and Pedda Malis.	173.	Saora.
118.	Malla Malasar.	174.	Sapari.
119.	Munavans.	175.	Savara.
120.	Manna Dhora.	176.	Savaras-Kapusavaras, Khotto Savaras and Maliya Savaras.
121.	Mappila.	177.	Scheduled Castes converted to Christianity.
122.	Marakkan.	178.	Senai Thalavar (Elavaniar).
123.	Maravans.	179.	Seerithi Goudus.
124.	Marathi, Marati.	180.	Sholaga.
125.	Marauan.	181.	Sholagar.
126.	Matangi.	182.	S.I.U.C.
127.	Maune.	183.	Sourashtras.
128.	Medara.	184.	Thanta Pulayan.
129.	Mogaveera.	185.	Thiyyas.
130.	Mukkuvan, Mukaya.	186.	Tholko Lens.
131.	Muliya.	187.	Thontaman.
132.	Muria.	188.	Thottia Naick.
133.	Muria Bhattada.	189.	Thottian.
134.	Nadar.	190.	Tiruvalluvur.
135.	Naidu Balija Gouda, Vadugan.	191.	Toda.
136.	Naikkans.	192.	Vaduvan.
137.	Nattu Malayans.	193.	Vakkaliga.
138.	Nulayan.	194.	Valmiki.
139.	Odans (Andhra Nair or Anthuru Nair).	195.	Vanian (Vanika, Vanika Vaisya, Vanikka Chetty, Vaniya Chetty, Ayravar, Nagarthar and Vaniyan).
140.	Ojulus or Metta Komsalies.	196.	Vaniar.
141.	Omanaito.	197.	Varnavar.
142.	Pagadai.	198.	Velaan.
143.	Paidi.	199.	Veerasaivas (Yogeeswara and Yogis).
144.	Paigarapu.	200.	Veluthedathu Nair (Veluthedan and Vannathan).
145.	Painda.	201.	Vilakkethal Nair (Vilakkithalavan).
146.	Paky.	202.	Vettakkaran.
147.	Pulasi.	203.	Vishavan.
148.	Pamidi.	204.	Vizhavan (Mulankhdi).
149.	Pandaran, Maniakar.	205.	Yadavan (Idayan).
		206.	Yanadi.
		207.	Yadava (Iruman, Kolaya, Muniyani, Ayar).
		208.	Yerukula.

10. MADHYA PRADESH

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Adidharni
2.	Adhuri.
3.	Adikarnataka.
4.	Aheri.
5.	Ahir, Gavala, Goala Gwal, Kansa, Thakur, Jadav, Yadav.
6.	Asara.
7.	Athiya.
8.	Audhic, Avadhi.
9.	Audhiya.
10.	Badak.
11.	Badaka.
12.	Badhai, Ade-Gaur, Chaurasia, Pansari, Sutar, Suthar, Tudolia, Viswakarma.
13.	Badi.
14.	Badia, Beaja, Biria, Dukar, Kolthati, Kolhati.
15.	Badigar.
16.	Baghia, Barec, Bawar, Payak, Vaidyanai.
17.	Bajgar.
18.	Bahurupi.
19.	Bairagi.
20.	Banjara, Gaur Banjara, Lambana/Lambara, Lambhani, Charan Banjara, Labhan, Mathura Labhan, Kachhi-wala Banjara, Laman Banjara, Laman/Lambani, Laban, Dhali/Dhalia, Dhadi/Dhari, Singari, Navi Banjara, Jogi Banjara, Banjari, Mathura Banjari, Bamania Banjara.
21.	Baoria.
22.	Baragahi, Labana, Labhan, Lamame, Mathura, Nayakda, Thuria.
23.	Barai Jambali.
24.	Baroi.
25.	Barar.
26.	Barari.
27.	Bargi.
28.	Barhai, Kundeta, Barhai Sutar.
29.	Bari, Barec.
30.	Baria.
31.	Barhunda.
32.	Basdewa, Vasdev, Vasudewa.
33.	Basudev, Harbola, Jaga, Kaparia, Kapdi.
34.	Baver.
35.	Bawaria.
36.	Bajania, Kannatia.
37.	Behha, Pinjara, Dhunia.
38.	Bemariha.
39.	Bengali.
40.	Beria.
41.	Bhadi-Waddar, Matti-Waddar, Waddar.
42.	Bhaduja.
43.	Bhadre.
44.	Bhaduria.
45.	Bhamta, Bhamti, Bhammate, Bhanta, Bhann.
46.	Bhund.
47.	Bhantu.
48.	Bharari.
49.	Bharbhuja.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
50.	Bharewa.
51.	Bharia, Bharihar.
52.	Bharud.
53.	Bhat, Churan, Brahmhat, Jansodhi, Mary, Muru, Sotiya, Salui, Salvi.
54.	Bhatiyara.
55.	Bhavsar, Chippa, Nilgar, Nirali, Rangrez, Rangari.
56.	Bhima.
57.	Bhishti, Bhisty.
58.	Bhoi.
59.	Bhot.
60.	Bhoyar.
61.	Bhujwa.
62.	Bhurtiya.
63.	Bhutia.
64.	Bidakia.
65.	Bidia.
66.	Bijoria.
67.	Boreka, Gopal.
68.	Brijbasi.
69.	Caulota, Kolota.
70.	Chandra Vedia.
71.	Chipar.
72.	Chitari.
73.	Chipi, Darzi, Meru.
74.	Choongar, Chunkar.
75.	Dabgar.
76.	Dafali, Dholi.
77.	Dahez.
78.	Dana.
79.	Dangi.
80.	Deshwa, Deshwalu.
81.	Deshwali, Dowang, Jandra, Koskati.
82.	Dhakad, Bhandari, Nagar, Singhavi, Talaya.
83.	Dhankia, Dhanka.
84.	Dhangar, Bagla, Gadri, Gadaria, Hatgar, Hatkar, Kurmar, Pal.
85.	Dhimen.
86.	Dhimer, Benua, Banawar, Bhorji, Dhimar, Kewat, Raikar, Raikwar, Saimari.
87.	Dhirkar.
88.	Dhiwar, Britia, Navada, Ezingabhui.
89.	Dhobi (Excluding those in S/C).
90.	Dholi.
91.	Dhunia, Naddaf.
92.	Dhunkar, Kadore.
93.	Fakir, Faquir, Sain.
94.	Fakir-Bandarwala.
95.	Gadole, Gaddoli, Langoliha, Lohpita.
96.	Gadri, Gari.
97.	Gahanandi.
98.	Gandia.
99.	Gaoli, Lingayat-Gaoli.
100.	Gayari.
101.	Garhwal.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
102.	Gari, Kamlivagan, Phulanwar, Purvia.	163.	Kharwar.
103.	Garpagri, Nath.	164.	Khatka, Khatia.
104.	Garwadi, Garradi.	165.	Kir.
105.	Gawaria.	166.	Kirad.
106.	Ghami.	167.	Kirar, Dhakar.
107.	Ghariya.	168.	Kodari.
108.	Ghati, Ghare, Ghatti, Ghasi.	169.	Koria.
109.	Gochaki.	170.	Koshti.
110.	Godhi.	171.	Kosti, Chaudhry, Kusata, Koli-Keskati.
111.	Gondhali.	172.	Kotli.
112.	Gontia.	173.	Kulbandhiya, Kumavat.
113.	Gopal, Pungala-Gopal.	174.	Kumahari, Kumbhar, Kumhar (excluding those in S/C).
114.	Gosain, Bharti, Geria, Gosai, Gowsami, Gosaib.	175.	Kumar.
115.	Gosangiwar.	176.	Kumbi, Kurmar.
116.	Gowtia.	177.	Kunjra.
117.	Gujar, Bad-Gujar, Dagar-Dahabi, Dasa, Davari, Gawr, Gyar-Gaur, Kansana, Malhi-Gujar, Harbola.	178.	Kutwar, Kotwal (excluding those in S/C).
118.	Guraw.	179.	Ladia, Ladhia, Laria.
119.	Habura.	180.	Langoliha.
120.	Hajjam.	181.	Larhia.
121.	Hajuri Daroga.	182.	Lodhi, Hardha, Parihar, Lodha.
122.	Halwai, Halwayee, Kanyakubj, Yaish.	183.	Lohar.
123.	Harni.	184.	Lome.
124.	Hela.	185.	Lonia, Lunia, Nunia, Noonia.
125.	Huga, Lohar, Lohpeta, Jadav, Jaga, Jandza.	186.	Luhar, -Gahelot, Jeva, Kariyar, Kawigar, Luckman, Madwar, Vishwakarma.
126.	Jangana.	187.	Machhi, Mali, Marar.
127.	Jangra, Jazonahi, Jamis-Lodhi.	188.	Madgi.
128.	Jhadi, Sonar.	189.	Majhabi.
129.	Jhamral.	190.	Mala.
130.	Jhari.	191.	Mullah.
131.	Jingar.	192.	Manga.
132.	Jogde.	193.	Manjar, Mara, Mathwaddar.
133.	Jogi.	194.	Mankar.
134.	Joginath.	195.	Manihar.
135.	Julaha, Momin.	196.	Maru Sotiya.
136.	Kabar, Kaleari, Kabari.	197.	Mauria.
137.	Kabirpanthi, Ramdasia, Ravidasia.	198.	Mavi.
138.	Kacher.	199.	Meru.
139.	Kachera, Lakhera.	200.	Mewati.
140.	Kachhi, Kushwoha, Kshatriya-Kadore.	201.	Mhali, Nai, Navi, Nhavi.
141.	Kadera, Karnwal.	202.	Mirasi.
142.	Kadore.	203.	Muchhia.
143.	Kahar.	204.	Muraha, Murha.
144.	Kaikari.	205.	Naik, Nayak, Nayaka (Non-Brahmin).
145.	Kalal, Kalar, Kapdi.	206.	Naita, Nayata, Nata, Navta.
146.	Kallundar.	207.	Namdev.
147.	Kalota.	208.	Namsudra.
148.	Kamriya.	209.	Nath.
149.	Kandera.	210.	Navda.
150.	Kaner.	211.	Neo-Buddhists, Nav-Buddhists.
151.	Kangar, Batwalo.	212.	Neria.
152.	Kannatia.	213.	Nerati.
153.	Kapudia.	214.	Nilgar.
154.	Karan.	215.	Ode, Wader, Waddar, Odiya.
155.	Karar, Keer.	216.	Pademgali, Salewar, Sali/Sutsali.
156.	Kasbi.	217.	Padku.
157.	Kasab, Kassab, Kasai, Quraishi, Qussab, Qassab.	218.	Pahar.
158.	Kasera, Jamera, Kasar.	219.	Palhari.
159.	Kauri, Kori, Kodar.	220.	Panwari.
160.	Kirar, Kirad.	221.	Parashar.
161.	Khamgara.	222.	Parthi.
162.	Kharol, Telugu-Munar, Kapu.		

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
223.	Patku, Patkl.	252.	Sharia.
224.	Patwa, Namdev, Pathakar, Sipiya.	253.	Sikligar.
225.	Payak.	254.	Singiwala.
226.	Perki.	255.	Siyane.
227.	Pindara.	256.	Sodhi.
228.	Pinjare.	257.	Sondhiya, Chandel.
229.	Powar.	258.	Sunar, Sonar.
230.	Putligar.	259.	Tadavi.
231.	Raghavi, Raghvanshi.	260.	Tamboi, Jamboli, Kumavat, Purabia.
232.	Rajamuria, Rangari.	261.	Tamra, Tambatkar, Thatra.
233.	Rajgir.	262.	Teli, Badbaik, Balu, Rathore.
234.	Rajgond.	263.	Thami.
235.	Rangrez, Rangarej, Rangrez, Ramgari, Rangredh.	264.	Thoti, Burad.
236.	Rao.	265.	Thanwar.
237.	Raot, Rawt, Raoti.	266.	Thori.
238.	Rautia.	267.	Thuria.
239.	Rawal.	268.	Tirgar.
240.	Rawat, Beder, Gahira, Rast, Rawar, Thethwar.	269.	Tirmale.
241.	Rhar.	270.	Tirwalli.
242.	Rohade, Sujharia.	271.	Turha.
243.	Rohar.	272.	Vaidyanal.
244.	Ruchhandhia.	273.	Vagri, Vaghri Pradhan.
245.	Sain.	274.	Vanjari, Vanjara.
246.	Sais, Sayees, Shis.	275.	Vishnoi.
247.	Salvi, Sali.	276.	Vishya.
248.	Sanoria.	277.	Wanha.
249.	Saranjia.	278.	Wasdeo.
250.	Sarbhangi.	279.	Yerkilwar, Yerkula.
251.	Scheduled Castes converted to Christianity.		

11. MAHARASHTRA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Agri, Agale or Kolan.	44.	Buttal.
2.	Ahir, Yadav, Gowli.	45.	Chadar.
3.	Alitkar.	46.	Chakrawadya-Dasar.
4.	Atar.	47.	Chamtha.
5.	Audhiya.	48.	Chandal.
6.	Badak.	49.	Chandalagade.
7.	Badia.	50.	Charan or Gadhavi.
8.	Bagalu.	51.	Charodi, Chhara.
9.	Bagdi (Marwar Baori, Marwar Waghri, Salat Waghri).	52.	Chenchu or Chenchwar.
10.	Bajania.	53.	Chhapparband.
11.	Bahurupi.	54.	Chimur.
12.	Bairagi, Gosai, Udasi.	55.	Chintala.
13.	Bajigar.	56.	Chippa.
14.	Balasanthanam.	57.	Chitrakathi.
15.	Bandi.	58.	Chodhra.
16.	Banjara, Banjari, Vanjara, Mathura Banjara (A), Goar Banjara, Lambada/Lambara, Lambhani, Charan Banjara, Labnan, Mathura Labhani, Kachikiwale Banjaras, Laman Banjara, Laman/Lamani, Laban, Dhali/Dhalia, Dhadi/Dhari, Singaris, Navi Banjaras, Jogi Banjaras, Banjar, Shingde Banjara, Lambade, Phanade Banjara, Sunar Banjara, Dhalya-Banjara, Shingadya Banjara.	59.	Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
17.	Bantu.	60.	Dabgar.
18.	Baoria.	61.	Dakaleru.
19.	Bari or Barai.	62.	Darzi.
20.	Baria, Koli Baria.	63.	Das or Dangdidas.
21.	Bathini.	64.	Depala.
22.	Bavcha.	65.	Devanga.
23.	Begari, Bedar, Berad, Naikawadi, Talwar, Walmiki.	66.	Devari, Gosavi, Nath Panthi -
24.	Besdewa.	67.	Devdig.
25.	Bestar, Sachaluwaddar.	68.	Devli.
26.	Bhant.	69.	Dhangar, Kuruba, Kurubar.
27.	Bhaddhunja.	70.	Dhimar, Dhiwar, Gabit, Harkantra, Mangli, Mangle, Page, Sanduri.
28.	Bhampta or Ghantichore or Pardesi, Pong, Dasar, Uchila, Rajput-Bhamta, Bhamta, Bhamti, Kamati, Pathrut, Takari, Uchale.	71.	Dhobi, Parit, Watts, Madwal, Rajak.
29.	Bhand.	72.	Dholi.
30.	Bhandari.	73.	Dombara.
30A.	Bhandura, Billawar	74.	Fakir Bandairwala.
31.	Bharata.	75.	Futgudi.
32.	Bharadi, Balasantoshi, Kingriwale, Nathbava, Nath Jogi, Nath Panthi, Davari Gosavi.	76.	Gadaba or Godba.
33.	Bhavaiya or Targala.	77.	Gadaria.
34.	Bhavin.	78.	Gadri.
35.	Bhillala.	79.	Gadhavi.
36.	Bhina Koya.	80.	Ganali or Gandali.
37.	Binoi, Kharvi, Dhiwar Bhoi, Zinga-Bhoi, Pardeshi Bhoi, Raj Bhoi, Bhoi, Kahar, Gadia Kahar, Kirat, Machwa, Manzi, Jatia, Kewat, Dhiwar, Dhcewar, Dhimar, Palewar, Machhendra, Navadi, Malhar, Malhav, Gadhav-Bhoi, Khadi Bhoi, Khare Bhoi, Dhevra Dhuria Kahar.	81.	Gandharap.
38.	Bhisti or Pakhali.	82.	Gangani.
39.	Bhoyar (Pawra).	83.	Garodi, Garudi.
40.	Bhute, Bhope.	84.	Garpagari.
41.	Bindli.	85.	Gavandi.
42.	Burbook.	86.	Ghadshi.
43.	Burud, Medar.	87.	Ghisadi, Ghisadi Lohar, Gadi Lohar, Ghitodi Lohar, Rajput Lohar.
		88.	Golla, Gollewar, Goler, Golkar, Goller.
		89.	Gondhali, Gondala.
		90.	Gopal, Gopal Bhorpis, Khekkari.
		91.	Gosavi, Bava, Baigai, Bharati, Girigosavi, Bharati Gosavi, Sarasvati Parbat, Sagar, Ban or Van, Teerth Ashram, Aranya Gharbhari, Sanyasi, Natli Panthi Gosavi.
		92.	Gochaki.
		93.	Gujrath Baori.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

94. Gurav, Gurou.
95. Habura.
96. Halepaik.
97. Harni.
98. Hatker.
99. Helve, Hilav.
100. Hill-reddis.
101. Jagiasi.
102. Jajak.
103. Jangam.
104. Jatigar.
105. Jatiya.
106. Javeri, Johari.
107. Jhadi.
108. Jingar.
109. Jogi, Nath, Nathjogi, Gosai, Devori.
110. Jogin.
111. Joshi, Bududki, Damruwale, Kudmude, Medhangi, Sarode, Sahadev Joshi, Sarvade, Saroda.
112. Julaha, Winkar, Vankar, Vanya, Vankar.
113. Kachi, Kachhia.
114. Kachora.
115. Kadera.
116. Kaikadi (where they are not Sch. Castes), Korach, Dhontle, Korva or Kochi Korva, Makadwale, Padlor, Korvi.
117. Kalal, Kalar, Lad, Ludwak, Gond Kalal, Shivhare.
118. Kamati.
119. Kammi.
120. Kandel.
121. Chhara, Kanjar, Nat.
122. Kapdi.
123. Kasar, Kasera.
124. Kasbi.
- 124A. Kasai, Khatik, Kasab.
125. Kasikapadi.
126. Katabu.
127. Kathar Katharwani, Kantharwani (Lingayatwani or Ladwani excluded).
128. Kathi-Khati.
129. Katipamula.
130. Kharwa or Kharwi.
- 130A. Kirar.
131. Kolhati, Dombari.
132. Koli, Koli-Suryawanshi, Malhar Koli, Christian Koli.
133. Korachas or Yerkula or Korvay.
134. Korchar.
135. Korva including Kodaku.
136. Komakapu.
137. Kondu.
138. Kongadi.
139. Koshti, Kashkoti-Devanga.
140. Kuchbandh.
141. Kuchhria.
142. Kumbhar, Kunhar.
143. Kunbi.
144. Kurbinshetty.
145. Kurmar.
146. Labha.
147. Ladaff, Laddaf.
148. Ladia, Ladhia, Laria.
149. Lakhera, Lakhari.
150. Lanzad.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

151. Lohar, Lohar-Gada, Dodi, Khatwali, Panchal.
152. Lonari, Chunari.
153. Machhi, Tandel.
154. Maga.
155. Mahali, Mahli.
156. Mahil.
157. Maidhasi.
158. Mairal, Dangat, Vir.
159. Majhwar.
160. Mali, Phoolmali.
161. Manbhav.
162. Mangala.
163. Marwar Baori.
164. Masanjogi, Sudga-Dsiddha, Mapanjogi.
165. Mathura.
166. Matlara, Matihara.
167. Mankar Khalu.
168. Me.
169. Mina.
170. Mitha.
171. Momin (Weaver).
172. Mondiwari, Mondiwara.
173. Munda.
174. Namdhari, Paik.
175. Nandiwala, Tirmal.
176. Naqashi.
177. Navi, Nhavi, Hajam, Kalsaru Navaliga, Kalsahi, Nabhik, Nai.
178. Neeli.
179. Neelkanti.
180. Nekar, Jada.
181. Neo Buddhists, Nav Buddhists.
182. Nethura.
183. Nilgar, Nirali.
184. Nirshikari.
185. Nonia.
186. Otari, Otankar, Otkar, Vatar, Ojhari.
187. Pachabhotla, Pachabotla.
188. Padharia.
189. Padampari.
190. Padiar.
191. Pakhali, Bhisti.
192. Pal Pardhi.
193. Pamula, Panchal.
194. Panchama.
195. Panda.
196. Pangul.
197. Panka.
198. Patkar.
199. Patra Javeru.
200. Perki.
201. Phar.
202. Phasechari.
203. Phudgi.
204. Phulari.
205. Pinjara, Pinjari.
206. Pukhali.
207. Putligar.
208. Rachbandhia.
209. Rachevar.
210. Rachkoya.
211. Raghavi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
212.	Raikari.
213.	Raj Pardhi, Gaon Pardhi, Haran Shikari.
214.	Rajput Bhamta, Pardeshi Bhamta, Pardeshi Bhamtl.
215.	Ramoshi.
216.	Naot, Rautia, Rawt.
217.	Rangari, Rangrez, Bhawasr.
218.	Rautia.
219.	Raval, Raval or Raval Yogi.
220.	Sahis, Sais, Shis.
221.	Sali, Padamshali, Swakulsali.
222.	Sangar.
223.	Sangari.
224.	Sanjogi.
225.	Santal.
226.	Saonta or Saunta.
227.	Sao-Teli.
228.	Sapera.
229.	Sarania.
230.	Sare.
231.	Shilavai.
232.	Shimpi, Bhavgar, Shiv Shimpi, Namdeo.
233.	Shingdav or Shingadya.
234.	Sikkalgar, Kotari.
235.	Sindhori.
236.	Singiwala.
237.	Sonar.
238.	Sore.
239.	Sunna.
240.	Sunnai, Sutharia.
241.	Sutar, Bhadai, Wadai.
242.	Suppalig.
243.	Takankar.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
244.	Takari.
245.	Talwar Kanade.
246.	Tambhat.
247.	Tamboli.
248.	Targala.
249.	Teli, Ganiga, Ghanchi.
250.	Thakkar.
251.	Thelari.
252.	Thetwar.
253.	Thogti, Thogati.
254.	Thotewadu.
255.	Thoria.
256.	Timali.
257.	Vaghri, Vaghari, Salat, Salat Vaghri.
258.	Vaidu.
259.	Vaiti.
260.	Valvai.
261.	Vanjari, Vanjar.
262.	Vasawa.
263.	Vasudeo.
264.	Vitholia.
265.	Wadder, Wadder (Kalawader or Patharod), Beidar, Oj. Girni Waddar, Vaddar, Gaddi Vaddar, Jati Vaddar, Mati Vaddar, Patharvat.
266.	Wadi.
267.	Wanjari, Wanjara.
268.	Wansfoda.
269.	Warthi.
270.	Vanadi.
271.	Yenadiwads.
272.	Yeragolawad or Thella Pama/wads.

12. MANIPUR

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Ahir, Yadav, Gwala.	25.	Ljamei-Naga.
2.	Badi (Nepali).	26.	Lohar.
3.	Bansphor.	27.	Mahara.
4.	Bhumij.	28.	Mali, Bhuimali, Bhuinmali.
5.	Boro, Boro Kachari.	29.	Mech.
6.	Dafla.	30.	Meitei and Meitei Pangal.
7.	Damai (Nepali).	31.	Mehtar, Bhungi.
8.	Deoris.	32.	Mikir.
9.	Dugla, Dholi.	33.	Miri.
10.	Gainey (Nepali).	34.	Mishmi.
11.	Garo.	35.	Munda.
12.	Hajong.	36.	Naga.
13.	Hira.	37.	Napit, Nai.
14.	Jhala, Malo.	38.	Oraon.
15.	Kachari.	39.	Rabha.
16.	Kaibartta, Jaliya.	40.	Sahte.
17.	Kami (Nepali).	41.	Sarki (Nepali).
18.	Kandu, Kanu.	42.	Santal.
19.	Khampti, Khamti.	43.	Singpho.
20.	Khasi.	44.	Sonar, Sunar.
21.	Khuangsai.	45.	Synteng.
22.	Kuki.	46.	Tambeli, Tamuli.
23.	Lalbegi.	47.	Teli.
24.	Lalung.	48.	Tipera.
		49.	Yogi, Jugi, Nath.

13. MEGHALAYA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Ahom.
2.	Birjubi.
3.	Biroi, Barui.
4.	Blumij.
5.	Boro-Kachari.
6.	Choudang.
7.	Chutiya.
8.	Dey, Sudra Das.
9.	Ghosh, Gopa, Gawala, Yadav.
10.	Gond.
11.	Gorkhali.
12.	Khamti.
13.	Koch.
14.	Khond.
15.	Kshatriya.
16.	Kumar, Rudra Paul.
17.	Kupadhar, Kushiari, Rarh.
18.	Limbo, Limbu.
19.	Loi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
20.	Mahisya Das, Mahisya.
21.	Moran, Matak.
22.	Mukhi.
23.	Munda.
24.	Napit.
25.	Nepali (Damai, Gaine, Gurung, Lama, Lohar, Newar, Rai, Sarki, i.e. Cobbler, Thapa).
26.	Oraon.
27.	Pan.
28.	Rabha.
29.	Santhal.
30.	Savare.
31.	Rajbanshi.
32.	Saloi.
33.	Sut.
34.	Tantripal, Tantu, Tantri.
35.	Teli.
36.	Tipara.
37.	Yogi, Jugi, Nath.

14. NAGALAND

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
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NIL

15. OBBGA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Adi-Dravida.
2.	Adi-Karnataka.
3.	Agharia, Agaria, Aghria.
4.	Ajila.
5.	Aranedan.
6.	Arunthuthiyar.
7.	Asur.
8.	Badhai, Barhai, Bindhania, Sutradhar, Bedhiru and Badhria.
9.	Badasuda.
10.	Badaga.
11.	Baipari.
12.	Baira.
13.	Bairagi.
14.	Bakuda.
15.	Banka.
16.	Bandi.
17.	Bariji or Barui.
18.	Barika, Bhandari, Beja, Napit and Nai.
19.	Battada.
20.	Bellara.
21.	Bentkar.
22.	Betare or Betra.
23.	Bhatua.
24.	Bhania.
25.	Bhogta.
26.	Bhokta.
27.	Bhujan.
28.	Bhuliya.
29.	Birjha.
30.	Bissoy-Barangi Jodia, Bennaagi, Daduva, Frangi, Hollar, Jhoriya, Kollai, Konde, Paranga, Pengajodia, Sodo Jodia, and Takoara.
31.	Binedhanies.
32.	Bogada.
33.	Bolodhia.
34.	Butakusuda.
35.	Buruashankar/Barna Suankar, Beja.
36.	Byagari.
37.	Chakkiliyan.
38.	Chalavadi, Chalvadi.
39.	Chaupai.
40.	Chero.
41.	Cheruman.
42.	Chikbaraik.
43.	Chik.
44.	Chitra, Chitrakar.
45.	Churia.
46.	Dabalia.
47.	Darji.
48.	Damal.
49.	Dangua.
50.	Deons.
51.	Devendra Kulathan.
52.	Dehuri.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
53.	Dhakkada.
54.	Dhaner.
55.	Domb-Andhiya Domb, Audiniya Domb, Chonel Domb, Christian Domb, Mirgani Domb, Oriya Domb, Poaka Domb, Telega Domb and Ummia Domb.
56.	Dumala, Dumal.
57.	Ghatwar.
58.	Girigiris.
59.	Gingra.
60.	Godda.
61.	Gola, Golla, Gopé, Sadgope, Ahir, Gour, Gouda, Goudo, Mekala Golla, Punnu Golla and Yadav.
62.	Gudia or Guria, Gurja, Gunju.
63.	Gond-I-Modya Gond & Rajo Gond.
64.	Gosangi.
65.	Gondu-Bato, Bhirthya, Dudho Kouriya, Hato, Jatako & Joria.
66.	Habra.
67.	Hansi.
68.	Hasla.
69.	Holeya.
70.	Irula.
71.	Jadapus.
72.	Jambuvulu.
73.	Jaintrapans.
74.	Jhodia.
75.	Jogi or Yogi.
76.	Jyotish, Grahbipra Brahman, Galdarpoo Brahman.
77.	Kadan.
78.	Kalladi.
79.	Kalwar.
80.	Kammara, Kamara, Kamar, Kammaro, Muli, Lohuru Loharo.
81.	Kanakkan.
82.	Kandarpa.
83.	Kanjar.
84.	Kaniyan.
85.	Kapudja.
86.	Karhara.
87.	Karimpalan.
88.	Karmali.
89.	Kattunayakan.
90.	Khaira.
91.	Khandnals.
92.	Khanjiman.
93.	Khatti-Khatti.
94.	Khatua.
95.	Khondal.
96.	Khodra.
97.	Khetauri.
98.	Koda, Kuda.
99.	Kollar.
100.	Kolam.
101.	Komar.
102.	Kond (Kul).
103.	Konda Kapu.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
104.	Konda Reddi.
105.	Kondh-Desaya Kondh, Dongriya Kondh, Kuttia Kondh, Tikiria Kondh and Yanity Kondh.
106.	Koosa.
107.	Koraga.
108.	Kosalya Goudus, Bosotheriya Goudus, Chiti Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Doddu Kamariya, Dudu Kamaro, Ladiya Goudus & Pullo Soriya Goudus.
109.	Kota.
110.	Koyi.
111.	Kudiya.
112.	Kudubi.
113.	Kudumban.
114.	Kumbhar, Kulal, Kumhar, Kumbharo.
115.	Kurmi.
116.	Kunduma/Kuduma.
117.	Kundamatia.
118.	Kulta.
119.	Kurariar.
120.	Kuravan.
121.	Kurichchan.
122.	Kuruman (Kurumbu).
123.	Lahe.
124.	Lakhra.
125.	Lambadi.
126.	Luhura.
127.	Machua.
128.	Maghi or Meghia.
129.	Magura.
130.	Mahunta.
131.	Magatha Goudus, Bernia Goudus, Boodo Magatha, Dongayath Goudu, Ladya Goudu, Poona Magatha and Sana Magatha.
132.	Magadhi Gorat.
133.	Maila.
134.	Maladasu.
135.	Malasar.
136.	Mali, Phulia, Sagbaria, Bhajemali.
137.	Malis-Korchia Malis, Paido Malis & Pedda Malis.
138.	Mal Paharia.
139.	Mangli.
140.	Manna Dhora.
141.	Maune.
142.	Marathi.
143.	Matangi.
144.	Mavilan.
145.	Minka.
146.	Moger.
147.	Mukhadora-Mokka Dhora.
148.	Muliya.
149.	Mundala.
150.	Muria.
151.	Nahar.
152.	Nalakeyava.
153.	Nat.
154.	Nayadi.
155.	Nolia.
156.	Nuhura, Nuhuraj.
157.	Nuniya.
158.	Ojulu or Metta, Kamasalie.
159.	Omeyita.
160.	Padaria, Pamaria, Pandara.
161.	Pagadat.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
162.	Paigarapu.
163.	Paiko.
164.	Paky.
165.	Pal.
166.	Palasi.
167.	Paliyan.
168.	Pallan.
169.	Palli.
170.	Pulayan.
171.	Pambada.
172.	Paniyan.
173.	Panjira.
174.	Panniandi.
175.	Paraiyan.
176.	Paravan.
177.	Parhaiya.
178.	Pathuria.
179.	Patro.
180.	Pengua.
181.	Pita.
182.	Porju-Bado, Bonda, Daruva, Didva, Jodia, Mundil, Sano Pengu, Pydi, Saliya, Sodra and Pareng.
183.	Pradhan.
184.	Reddi Dhokas.
185.	Radhi or Niari.
186.	Rajwar.
187.	Raneyar.
188.	Ronas.
189.	Routia.
190.	Sagarpasha.
191.	Sahabar.
192.	Samban.
193.	Sankhari.
194.	Sanyasi, Membram.
195.	Savara-Kapu Savara, Khutto Savara, Malliya Savara.
196.	Seerithi Goudu.
197.	Semnan.
198.	Sholagar.
199.	Sauria Paharia.
200.	Sinke.
201.	Sithuria, Sitaria, Situh.
202.	Suda.
203.	Sulia.
204.	Sukuli, Tanti.
205.	Sunri/Sundi.
206.	Tana.
207.	Teli, Telli, Kubara, Talakir, Sahu, Bahaldia.
208.	Telaga Pamula.
209.	Thanu.
210.	Thatari.
211.	Thoti.
212.	Thuria.
213.	Tiruvalluvar.
214.	Tivoro.
215.	Tiyar.
216.	Toda.
217.	Tonla Gaud.
218.	Valluvan.
219.	Vannan.
220.	Vettuvan.
221.	Vina Tulavina.
222.	Yandi.
223.	Yerna Golta.
224.	Yerukula.

16. PUNJAB

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Aheria, Aheri, Heri, Naik, Thori, Yari.	44.	Jogi, Nath.
2.	Araia.	45.	Julaha, Dhaver, Dhuna, Kabirparathi (excluding those in S.C.).
3.	Bagal, Batalian, Bhut, Dangi, Dhame, Hir, Harbansia, Jalaria, Kaushal, Manadia, Marbansia, Manem, Masaun, Mehton, Mule, Nagia, Parmar, Sangutva Sial, Thunalia.	46.	Kamboj, Bala, Kanboh, Masok, Nande, Thand,
4.	Bagria, Bagaria.	47.	Kanjar, Kanchan.
5.	Banasi, Baregi.	48.	Khal.
6.	Bata, Tarbati, Tamboli.	49.	Khanghera.
7.	Baiwar.	50.	Kuchband, Kuchhband.
8.	Bateca.	51.	Kumhar, Ahitan, Ghamar, Ghumar, Hansanwal, Jopa, Keer, Langotra, Lehri, Narhia, Prajapat, Sanmare, Sobal, Talephail, Zafar.
9.	Beria.	52.	Kurmi.
10.	Berwer.	53.	Lakhera, Kanihar, Manihar.
11.	Beta, Hensi, Hesi.	54.	Lambana, Bhagtava, Ghotra, Kaknia, Khavria, Labana, Lohana, Lohana, Vanzara, Lavana, Pelia.
12.	Bharbhunja, Bharbhuja.	55.	Lohar, Bakhon, Bamsa, Bhati, Bhuhi, Birdi, Channa, Jhla, Luhar, Phul, Roorpa, Sandhu, Sahani, Viridi.
13.	Bhari, Rode.	56.	Madari.
14.	Bhatra, Bhat, Darpi, Dignai, Ramiya, Rana, Rathore, Rau, Swali.	57.	Mahasha, Bajal, Sahunta.
15.	Bhuhalia.	58.	Mahatam.
16.	Bhura-Brahman.	59.	Meena, Mina.
17.	Chahang.	60.	Mewati.
18.	Changar.	61.	Mirasi.
19.	Chimbe, Hattu, Brah, Chhimbe, Chhipi, Chimba, Chimps, Darzi, Dhama, Jassal, Karcer, Kainth, Madahar, Purba, Rekhroy, Sappal, Sarao, Siria, Srao, Tank.	62.	Mochi (excluding those in S.C.).
20.	Chirath (including Chahang and Bahri).	63.	Nai, Banvaru, Dhanwal, Dhari Ghanga, Ghiri, Hajjam, Hazam, Hergun, Jallan, Lekha, Nagi, Naisikh, Palan, Panju, Patara, Raja.
21.	Chirimar.	64.	Nalband.
22.	Daiya.	65.	Nar.
23.	Dakaut, Dahkaut.	66.	Nav-Budhista, Neo-Budhists.
24.	Daoli, Daola.	67.	Noongar, Nungar.
25.	Daula, Soni-Braderi	68.	Pakhiwara.
26.	Dhenwar.	69.	Pinja, Penju.
27.	Dhimar, Dhiwar, Dhinwar, Jheevan, Jhinwar, Kahar, Kashyar, Rajput, Mallah.	70.	Rechband, Rechband.
28.	Dhobi, Qasab.	71.	Rai-Sikh.
29.	Dhosali, Dosali.	72.	Ramgharia, Bimra, Brar, Bunral, Chan, Dhimar, Kalsi, Matharoo, Murway, Ramgharia, Saggi, Sahota, San, Saran, Tarkhan.
30.	Drain.	73.	Riaigar.
31.	Faqir.	74.	Rihar, Rehar, Reharc.
32.	Gadderia, Gadaria.	75.	Saini.
33.	Gaddi, Guddi.	76.	Shorgir.
34.	Gawala, Gowala, Yadav, Yaduvanshi, Ahir, Gwar.	77.	Singhikat, Singhwala.
35.	Ghai.	78.	Soi.
36.	Ghasi, Ghasiara, Ghosi.	79.	Sunar, Ashtat, Bhatti, Dhame, Jure, Kande, Karwar, Sboen, Suniara, Sur, Swarnkar.
37.	Godri.	80.	Taga.
38.	Gorkha.	81.	Teli.
39.	Gujar, Bhumla, Gujjar, Ninwalia, Thakur.	82.	Thathera, Tamera.
40.	Gwaria, Gauria, Gwar.	83.	Converted Christians from Scheduled Caste.
41.	Harni.		
42.	Jat (Gutka and Chillon).		
43.	Jhangara Brahmin, Khati, Viswakarma.		

17. RAJASTHAN

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Ager.	51.	Ganohha.
2.	Ahir (Yadav, Gope).	52.	Giri, Goswami, Gosain.
3.	Asada.	53.	Godi (Muslim).
4.	Badera.	54.	Gond.
5.	Badwa.	55.	Gujar, Gujjar.
6.	Bagdiya.	56.	Halleer.
7.	Bakad, Bant.	57.	Halsar, Haslar, Hulasvar, Halasvar.
8.	Banchada.	58.	Hazuri.
9.	Banjara, Gamalia, Baladia, Sirkiwala, Labana or Labhana, Manu Banjara, Bamania Banjara, Basora, Diwora	59.	Hela.
10.	Barahar, Basod.	60.	Holar, Valhar.
11.	Barai, Atwasa, Badhai, Baiwal, Dugesar, Dingar, Jangid-Brahman, Jhangra-Brahman, Kavigar, Khati, Khokar, Mayal, Suthar, Tarkhan, Vishwakarma.	61.	Holaya, Holer.
12.	Barar.	62.	Janwa.
13.	Barda.	63.	Julaha (Hindu and Muslim).
14.	Bargunda.	64.	Kabirpanthi.
15.	Basor.	65.	Kachhi.
16.	Bavacha, Bamcha.	66.	Jogi, Nath.
17.	Bawari.	67.	Kahar, Bhoi.
18.	Bhampta, Ghantichor, Pardesi-Bhampta.	68.	Kaikadi, Korach.
19.	Bhanumati.	69.	Kalef.
20.	Bharud.	70.	Kandera.
21.	Bhat, Charan.	71.	Kangi, Kangiwala.
22.	Bhauh (Sagavanshi-Mali).	72.	Kanvi.
23.	Bhuji, Bharbhuja.	73.	Keer.
24.	Birarea.	74.	Khant.
25.	Chakrawadya-Dasar.	75.	Kharol.
26.	Chalvadi, Chamnayya.	76.	Khatka.
27.	Chamana.	77.	Kirar.
28.	Cheeta.	78.	Kol.
29.	Chena-Dasaru, Chenna-Dasar, Holaya-Dasar.	79.	Koli-Mahadev.
30.	Chidar.	80.	Korku.
31.	Chhipa, Apurba, Bhati, Bhagarwal, Chauhan, Chippa, Dayer, Jasod, Nama, Namdeo, Padihar, Pamsar, Solanki, Surage.	81.	Koshthi.
32.	Chodhara.	82.	Kotwal.
33.	Dakaut.	83.	Kumhar.
34.	Dakalaru.	84.	Labera.
35.	Damami.	85.	Ladha-Lohar.
36.	Daroga.	86.	Lakhera.
37.	Darzi.	87.	Lingader.
38.	Deshantri.	88.	Lodhi.
39.	Dhadi.	89.	Lohar, Jaradi, Khuadi, Khutwal, Lobargiri, Malvi, Panchal, Pancholi, Thurawar, Zaradi.
40.	Dhakad.	90.	Lok.
41.	Dhanohi.	91.	Maha-Brahman.
42.	Dhimar.	92.	Malhar.
43.	Dhobi.	93.	Mali.
44.	Dhodia.	94.	Mehra.
45.	Dhor, Kakkayya, Kankayya.	95.	Mer.
46.	Dubla.	96.	Merasi, Mirasi.
47.	Gadaria, Chandalia, Gadaria, Gavala, Ghosi, Kubiria.	97.	Merat.
48.	Gadia-Lohar.	98.	Merat-Gorat.
49.	Gadolia.	99.	Merat-Kathat.
50.	Ganit, Gamta, Gavit (including Mavchi, Padvi, Vasava, Vasave and Valvi).	100.	Moghia.
		101.	Mogia.
		102.	Mukri.
		103.	Nadia, Hadi.
		104.	Nagarchi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
105.	Nai.
106.	Naik.
107.	Nav-Budhists, Neo-Budhists.
108.	Neriya.
109.	Odd.
110.	Pardhi (including Advichincher and Phanse-Pardhi).
111.	Patwa (Phadal).
112.	Pinjara.
113.	Pomla.
114.	Powara.
115.	Ratika.
116.	Ranbari.
117.	Rao.
118.	Rathawa.
119.	Ravana-Rajput.
120.	Kawat.
121.	Rebari.
122.	Sad-Sausi (Sehar)

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
123.	Sadhu.
124.	Sarabara.
125.	Satiya-Sindhi.
126.	Shenva, Chenva, Sedma, Ravat, Shindhaya.
127.	Shingdev, Shingadya.
128.	Siklighar.
129.	Sirkiwal.
130.	Sochi.
131.	Swami.
132.	Swarankar
133.	Tak.
134.	Teli.
135.	Thathera.
136.	Timali.
137.	Varli.
138.	Vitholia.
139.	Vitolia, Kotwalia, Barodia.
140.	Zamral.

18. SIKKIM

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1	Hajel.	6	Suba.
2	Gurung.	7	Sunar.
3	Limboo, Limbu.	8	Tamang.
4	Mongar.	9	Tsong.
5	Rai.	10	Yakthungba.

19. TAMILNADU

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Achari, Viswakarma, Kammalar, Thattan, Thatchan, Porkollar, Assari, Chary.	48.	Donga Yatas.
2.	Agamudayar of Southern Tamil Distts. belonging to Mukkulathers, Agamudayar of Northern Tamil Distts., Thozhu or Thuluva Vellala.	49.	Dudekula.
3.	Aiyanavar.	50.	Enadi.
4.	Alavan, Alavar, Alwar and Azhavar.	51.	Eravallar.
5.	Ambalagars.	52.	Ethayar, Idayar, Konar and Udayar.
6.	Ambalakaran, Ambalakarar, Vallambr.	53.	Ezhavathy.
7.	Ampattan.	54.	Ezhuthachar.
8.	Andipandaram.	55.	Ezhyva.
9.	Arayan, Arayar (Nulayar).	56.	Gadabas-Boda Gadaba, Cerllam Gadaba, Olarao Gadaba and Pranga Gadaba and Grangi Gadaba, Jodiagadaba.
10.	Arayavathi.	57.	Gangavar.
11.	Archakari Vellala.	58.	Gavarai (Kavarai) and Vadugar (Vaduvar) other than Kamma, Kapu, Balija and Reddy.
12.	Ayyanavar (where they are not Scheduled Castes).	59.	Ghasi, Haddi, Relli and Sachandi.
13.	Badaga.	60.	Godari.
14.	Badagar.	61.	Gond.
15.	Bagato.	62.	Gounder, Padayachi, Vunniya Kulaksativa, Vellalar, Vanniar.
16.	Bariki.	63.	Goudus, Bato, Bhirithya, Dudhokouria, Hato, Tatako and Joria.
17.	Battada.	64.	Gowda (including Gammala Kalali and Gounder).
18.	Bavun.	65.	Hasla.
19.	Bestha, Siviari.	66.	Hegde.
20.	Bharatar (where they are not Scheduled Castes).	67.	Hill Pulaya.
21.	Bhatraju (other than Kshatriya Raju).	68.	Holva.
22.	Bhottadas-Bodo Bhottada, Muria Bhottada and Sano Bhottada.	69.	Idiga.
23.	Bhumias-Bhuri Bhumia and Bodo Bhumia.	70.	Illathu Pillaimar (Luvar, Ishuvar Illathar).
24.	Billava.	71.	Ilovan.
25.	Bissoy-Barangi Jodia, Bannangi, Daduva, Frangi, Hollar, Jhoriya, Kollai, Konde, Paranga, Penga-Jodia, Sodo Jodia and Takora.	72.	Ilavathi.
26.	Bondil.	73.	Isaivallalar.
27.	Boyar, Oddar.	74.	Jadapu.
28.	Boyas.	75.	Jambuvanodai.
29.	Budabukhalas.	76.	Jangama, Jangam.
30.	Byagari.	77.	Jatapu.
31.	Chackaravar.	78.	Jhetty.
32.	Chanchati.	79.	Jheevan.
33.	Chavalakkarar, Chavalakkarar.	80.	Jogi.
34.	Chayakkaran.	81.	Jogulas.
35.	Chenchu.	82.	Kabbora.
36.	Chettu or Chetty (including Kottar Chetty, Elur Chetty, Pathira Chetty, Pudukkadai Chetty, Valayal Chetty).	83.	Kadan.
37.	Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes irrespective of the generation of conversion.	84.	Kadupattar (Malabar).
38.	C.S.I. (Formerly S.I.U.C.).	85.	Kaikolan, Kaikolar, Sengunthar.
39.	Dasari.	86.	Kakkalan (where they are not Sch. Castes).
40.	Dandasi.	87.	Kaladis.
41.	Dekkani Muslims.	88.	Kalari Kurup (Kalari Panich).
42.	Devangar (Sedar).	89.	Kalveli Gounder.
43.	Dhakkada.	90.	Kallar, Vellalar.
44.	Dhobi, Vannan.	91.	Kalingi.
45.	Dombo.	92.	Kambar.
46.	Dombs-Andhiya Dombs, Chonel Dombs, Oriya Dombs, Ponaka Dombs, Telaga Dombs and Ummia Dombs.	93.	Kammalar Kamsala-Viswa Brahmin and Viswakarmala (including Thattar or Porkollar, Kannar, Karumar or Kollar Thacher and Kalihacher).
47.	Dommera.	94.	Kani or Kanisu or Kaniyar Panikkar.
		95.	Kanikaran, Kannikar (where they are not Sch. Tribe).
		96.	Kanjar.
		97.	Kannakan, Padanna (where they are not Sch. Castes).

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
98.	Kannada Sainegar, Kannadiyar and Dasapalanjika.
99.	Kapumaries.
100.	Karneegar, Karnam.
101.	Karuneeagar (Seer Karuneeagar, Srikaruneeagar, Sarrattu Karuneeagar, Kaikatti Karuneeagar, Mathu Vazhi Kanakkar, Sozbi Kanakkar and Sunnambu Karuneeagar).
102.	Katesar or Pattamkatti.
103.	KathikLaran.
104.	Kavara (where they are not Scheduled Castes).
105.	Kavathi.
106.	Kavuthiyar.
107.	Kerala Kudeli.
108.	Kerala Muthali.
109.	Kharvi.
110.	Khatri.
111.	Khattin-Khatti, Kommarao and Lohara.
112.	Khond.
113.	Kintali Kalinga.
114.	Kodalo.
115.	Kodu.
116.	Kolalar, Davar, Thevar.
117.	Kommar, Kommar.
118.	Konda Dhera, Kond (Kui).
119.	Kondh-Desaya Kondh, Dongria Kondh, Kuttiya Kondh, Tikiria Kondh and Yamity Kondh.
120.	Kongu Chettiar.
121.	Kongu Vellalar (including Anupa Vellala Gounder, Chendalai Gounder, Harambukatti Gounder, Kurumba Gounder, Nattu Gounder, Padaithalaj, Poosari, Paulankatti Vellala Gounder, Pala Gounder, Rathinagiri Gounder, Sanku Vellala Gounder, Tirumudi Vellala, Thondu Vellalar, Vellala Gounder.
122.	Kootan, Koodan (where they are not Scheduled Castes).
123.	Koppala Velama.
124.	Koracha Koravar, Yerukala.
125.	Kosalya Goudus, Bosothoriya Goudus, Chith Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Doddu Kammariya, Dudu Kamaro, Laddiya Goudus and Fullo Soriya Goudus.
126.	Kota.
127.	Koteyar.
128.	Kotia-Bartika, Bantho Oriya, Dhulia or Dulia, Holva, Paiko, Putiya Sanrona and Sidho Paiko.
129.	Koya or Goud (with its subsects Raj or Rasha Koyas, Linga Dhari Koya (ordinary) and Kottukoya.
130.	Koyi.
131.	Krishnavaka.
132.	Kulala (including Kumbarar and Kyyavar).
133.	Kubbor.
134.	Kudubi.
135.	Kudumbi.
136.	Kunchidigar.
137.	Kunnuvar Monnadi.
138.	Kurhini Chetty.
139.	Kurumba (where they are not Sch. Tribes)
140.	Kurumbaravas.
141.	Kuravar.
142.	Labbai.
143.	Lambadi, Banjara, Sugadi.
144.	Latin Catholics.
145.	Magatha Goudu, Bernia Goudu, Boodu Magatha, Dongayath Goudu, Ponna Magatha, Sana Magatha and Yadya Goudu.
146.	Mahandra, Medara.
147.	Mahratta (non-Brahmini) (including Namdev Mahratta).
148.	Mait Dasu.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
149.	Malapantaram.
150.	Malapulayan, Kurumbapulayan, Keravalipulayan, Pam-bupulayin.
151.	Malayavayan.
152.	Malayali (where they are not Scheduled Tribes)
153.	Malayan, Malayar.
154.	Male.
155.	Malia-Korchia Malis, Paiko Malis and Pedda Malis.
156.	Mapilla.
157.	Manna Dhora.
158.	Mannan, Vannan, Pathiyar (where they are not Sch. Castes).
159.	Marakkan.
160.	Marameti, Gramani.
161.	Marar.
162.	Marathi.
163.	Maravan.
164.	Maruar, Marumaravar.
165.	Maruthuvar, Navithar.
166.	Maravars (Sembanad and Appanad Kondayankottai).
167.	Matangi.
168.	Marwari, Budhiya.
169.	Maune.
170.	Mecnavar, Parvatha, Rajakulam, Sembadaran, Patanavan.
171.	Medara.
172.	Moniagar.
173.	Moopar.
174.	Moundadan Chetty.
175.	Mukha Dhora, Nooka Dhora.
176.	Mukkuvan, Mukkuvar.
177.	Muliya.
178.	Muthuraja (Muthuracha, Muthiriyar and Muttiriyar).
179.	Mutlakampatti.
180.	Muria.
181.	Gramani, Shanar, Nadar.
182.	Nagaram.
183.	Naikkar.
184.	Nakkalas.
185.	Nanjil Mudali.
186.	Narikoravar.
187.	Nav-Buddhists, Neo-Buddhists.
188.	Nirshikaris.
189.	Nokkars.
190.	Nulayan.
191.	Odar, Oddar, Wodtar, Odiya.
192.	Ojulus, Metall Komasafies.
193.	Ovachar.
194.	Fadannan (where they are not Sch. Castes).
195.	Paidi.
196.	Paigarapu.
197.	Painda.
198.	Puky.
199.	Palasi.
200.	Palli.
201.	Pamidi.
202.	Pamulu.
203.	Panan (where they are not Sch. Castes).
204.	Panar.
205.	Panikkan.
206.	Pannayar.
207.	Pannirandam Chettiar or Uthama Chettiar.

S. No.	Names of O.B.Cs.
208.	Pano.
209.	Paravan, Paravar (where they are not Sch. Castes).
210.	Pariyas (Vengur and Vappur).
211.	Parkavakulam Suruthinar, Malayamar, Nathamar.
212.	Pathiyar (where they are not Sch. Castes).
213.	Perike (Perike Balija).
214.	Perumannan.
215.	Perumkollar.
216.	Petias.
217.	Poraya.
218.	Porjas or Porajas-Bodo, Bonda, Daruva, Didua, Jodia, Mundili, Pareng, Pydi, Saliya, Sano and Sodia.
219.	Pulluvan, Pulluvar.
220.	Punnan Vettuva Gounder.
221.	Pusale.
222.	Rajapuri.
223.	Reddi Dhoras.
224.	Relli, Sachndi.
225.	Rona.
226.	Sadhu Chetty (including Telegu Chetty, Telegupatty Chetty, Twenty four Mani Telegu Chetty).
227.	Sakkaravar (Kavathi).
228.	Saliyar (Padmasaliyar, Adhaviyar, Pattariyar).
229.	Salivahana, Salivagana.
230.	Saora.
231.	Sathatha Srivaishnava (including Sathani Chattadi Chattada).
232.	Savaras-Kopu Savaras, Khutto Savaras and Maliya Savaras.
233.	Savalakarar.
234.	Saya Pillaimar.
235.	Senaithalaivar, Illaivaniar and Senaikudiyar.
236.	Seerithi Goudus.
237.	Sausashtra (Pathulkarar).
238.	Sozhia Chetty.
239.	Sozhia Vellalar (including Keerakarar, Kodikalazar, Sozhia Vellalar and Vatrilaikaran).
240.	Srisayar.
241.	Telaga Pamula, Peddati Gollas.
242.	Tellunga, Palatti Chattis.
243.	Thandan (where they are not Sch. Castes).
244.	Thantapulayan.
245.	Thevar.
246.	Thiyya.
247.	Thogata Veerakashatriya
248.	Tholkollar.

S. No.	Names of O.B.Cs.
249.	Tholuva Naicker and Vetlakara Naicker.
250.	Thondaman.
251.	Thorlyar.
252.	Thottai Naicks.
253.	Thottiya Naicker (including Gollavar, Silavar, Rajakambalam, Thockalavar and Tholuva Naicker).
254.	Toda.
255.	Ulladan.
256.	Ullatan.
257.	Uppara (Uppillia Sagara).
258.	Urali Gounders.
259.	Valan.
260.	Valaiyars.
261.	Valmiki.
262.	Varnavar.
263.	Vaniyar, Vania Chettiar (including Gandata, Ganika, Chekkalar and Telugula).
264.	Vannan (Mannan, Pathiyar).
265.	Vannar, Rajakula Veluthadar (where the community is not a Scheduled Caste).
266.	Vanniyakula Kshatriya (including Vanniya Vanniyar, Vannia Gounder, Gounder or Kander, Pidayacni Palli, Agnigula Kshatriya).
267.	Vallamber.
268.	Vetasaiva.
269.	Velaiyar.
270.	Vedar.
271.	Velakkithalanayar.
272.	Vellan Chettiar.
273.	Vellayan-Kuppam-Pandayaochis.
274.	Veluthadanayar, Veluthonathunayar.
275.	Vetan (where they are not Scheduled Castes).
276.	Vettai Karans, Vettaikarar.
277.	Vettakkaran.
278.	Vettuva Goundus.
279.	Virakod Vellaa-la.
280.	Vishavan.
281.	Vishavan (Malankudi).
282.	Vokkaligar (including Gounder, Gowda, Kappiliyar, Kappliyar, Okkaligar, Okkaliya, Vakkaliyar).
283.	Wynad Chetty.
284.	Yadavan (Idayan) or Yadava (including Idaiyar, Telugu speaking Idaiyar known as Vaduga Ayar or Vaduga Idaiyar or Golla, Mohd Golla Asthanthra Golla).
285.	Yanady, Yenadi.
286.	Yavane.
287.	Yerukula.
288.	Yogeswaran.

20. TRIPURA

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Agaria, Agariya.	54.	Kachari.
2.	Asur.	55.	Kadar.
3.	Badyakar, Dhuli, Nagarchi, Sabdakar.	56.	Kaira.
4.	Bahelia.	57.	Kalsi.
5.	Baishnab.	58.	Kalu.
6.	Baiti.	59.	Kalwar.
6A.	Banjara, Gour.	60.	Kar ⁴ .
7.	Barjogi.	61.	Kandra.
8.	Baraik.	62.	Kangh.
9.	Barui.	63.	Kaora.
10.	Baspher.	64.	Kapali.
11.	Bauri.	65.	Kapuria.
12.	Bedia, Bediya.	66.	Karenga.
13.	Beldar.	67.	Kari.
14.	Berua.	68.	Karmakar, Kumar.
15.	Bhakta.	69.	Kasta, Kastha.
16.	Bhar.	70.	Kechai.
17.	Bhatiya.	71.	Khaira.
18.	Bhinhar.	72.	Khami.
19.	Bhinjia.	73.	Kbandsait.
20.	Bhir.	74.	Khatik.
21.	Bhumij, Bumij.	75.	Khemcha.
22.	Bhuiya.	76.	Khen.
23.	Bin.	77.	Khyang.
24.	Bind.	78.	Kichak.
25.	Binjhia.	79.	Koda.
26.	Birhor.	80.	Koiri.
27.	Brijia.	81.	Komer.
28.	Chasi-Kaibarta.	82.	Konai.
29.	Chouhan.	83.	Knowar.
30.	Dalu.	84.	Korwa.
31.	Damai.	85.	Kumbhakar, Kumbhar.
32.	Desali.	86.	Kurariar.
33.	Dhemaru.	87.	Kurmi.
34.	Doai.	88.	Lalbegi.
35.	Dosadh, Dosad.	89.	Laskar, Lashkar.
36.	Duari.	90.	Lodha.
37.	Gangin.	91.	Lohar.
38.	Ganju.	92.	Maghaiya-Dome.
39.	Gara.	93.	Mahar.
40.	Gareri.	94.	Mahli.
41.	Goala, Gope, Yadav.	95.	Mal.
42.	Gonda.	96.	Mallah.
43.	Gonrhi.	97.	Mallik.
44.	Gorang.	98.	Malphariya.
45.	Gunar.	99.	Manipuri.
46.	Gundi.	100.	Marar.
47.	Guri.	101.	Mech.
48.	Hadi.	102.	Mro.
49.	Halalkhor.	103.	Nagar.
50.	Gari.	104.	Nagesia.
51.	Ho.	105.	Naiko.
52.	Jhalo, Malo.	106.	Naiya.
53.	Jhara.	107.	Nat, Nattadas.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
108.	Napit.	123.	Raju.
09.	Nayak.	124.	Rajwar.
110.	Nepali (Limbo, Matwali, Rai).	125.	Rupai.
111.	Nuniya, Numa.	126.	Shagirdpesha.
112.	Oraon.	127.	Sukli.
113.	Paik.	128.	Sunri.
114.	Paliye.	129.	Sutradhar.
115.	Pan.	130.	Tanti, Tati.
116.	Panki.	131.	Teli.
117.	Pasi.	132.	Tipara.
118.	Pod.	133.	Tiyar.
119.	Pundari.	134.	Toto.
120.	Rabha.	135.	Turi.
121.	Raighatwal	136.	Yogi, Jogi, Nath.
122.	Rajbanshi Rajbansi.		

21. UTTAR PRADESH

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Agri.	53.	Hankiya.
2.	Aberia, Aheriya.	54.	Hurkiya.
3.	Ahir, Ghosi, Gwala, Yaduvanshi/Yadav.	55.	Jamoria.
4.	Ansari.	56.	Jhojha.
5.	Arakh.	57.	Jogi.
6.	Auji.	58.	Kabaria.
7.	Badak.	59.	Kachhi, Kouri, Kushwa, Mauriya, Murar, Naldih, Nardaha.
8.	Bairagi.	60.	Kahar, Dhadhan, Dhimer, Dhiver, Dhuru, Godia, Kashyap, Mehra.
9.	Bairi.	61.	Kalandar.
10.	Bajigar.	62.	Kalar.
11.	Bakharla.	63.	Kasai.
12.	Bandi.	64.	Kasgar.
13.	Banjara, Banjare, Nal, Naik, Nayak, Kangi, Sirkiband, Jabana, Dhan-kute Banjara, Banjara Sikh, Brijwasi.	65.	Kewat, Bansi, Chai, Jalehar, Kharja, Majhi, Mallah, Nishad.
14.	Berhai, Badhai, Barai, Chauvasia, Jangid-Brahman, Khati, Kolash, Lotte, Panchal, Tarkhan, Vishwakarma.	66.	Khairwa.
15.	Bari.	67.	Khargar.
16.	Baura.	68.	Kharot.
17.	Bauriah.	69.	Kingharia.
18.	Bayar.	70.	Kisan.
19.	Bargar, Barigar.	71.	Koiri, Koeri.
20.	Bedia.	72.	Koli.
21.	Behana.	73.	Kolta.
22.	Beriah.	74.	Koshta.
23.	Bhar.	75.	Kotwar.
24.	Bhathiara.	76.	Kumhar, Chakbya, Chakire, Kohar, Kumbhar, Prajapati.
25.	Bhii.	77.	Kunjra, Rayeen.
26.	Bhul.	78.	Kurmi.
27.	Bhurji, Bharbhuj, Bharbhunja, Bhunj, Bhunjia, Kandu, Kashodhay.	79.	Kuta.
28.	Bind.	80.	Lodha, Lodh.
29.	Chanal.	81.	Lohar, Abangar, Luhar, Mistri, Ruriya.
30.	Chik.	82.	Luniya, Lonia.
31.	Chikwa (Kassab).	83.	Mali, Saini.
32.	Chunal.	84.	Manihar, Lakhera.
33.	Chunerc.	85.	Manjhi.
34.	Dafoll.	86.	Marchha.
35.	Dakera.	87.	Mewati.
36.	Darzi, Chhipe, Chhipi, Damdo, Surjia.	88.	Mirasi, Merasi.
37.	Dhari.	89.	Mochi (excluding those in S.C.)
38.	Dhobi, Rajak (excluding those in S.C.).	90.	Momin (Asar).
39.	Dholi.	91.	Murao, Murai.
40.	Dhunia, Kathoria, Naddaf.	92.	Muslim Banjara.
41.	Faqir.	93.	Muslim-Kayastha.
42.	Gadaria, Gaddi, Gaderia, Gareria, Pal.	94.	Nadkal.
43.	Gadhia.	95.	Nai, Jakur, Hajjam, Khawa, Napit, Nau, Orrey, Sarivas, Savita.
44.	Gandharva, Bhatu.	96.	Nav-Buddhists, Neo-Buddhists.
45.	Gandhila.	97.	Nut (excluding those in S.C.).
46.	Gidhiya.	98.	Odhia.
47.	Giri.	99.	Orh, Od.
48.	Gonrh.	100.	Pahri.
49.	Gosain.	101.	Pauri.
50.	Gujar.	102.	Pawariya.
51.	Halalkhor.	103.	Raj.
52.	Halwai.	104.	Rangrez.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
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| 105. | Ronaur. |
| 106. | Japera, Kalbela. |
| 107. | Jaun. |
| 108. | Jonar, Sunar, Swaruakar. |
| 109. | Yaga-Bhat. |
| 110. | Yarnell. |

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
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| 111. | Tamta. |
| 112. | Tanti, Tatwa, Tantripal, Patwa. |
| 113. | Teli, Sahu (Hindu and Muslim both) |
| 114. | Thathera, Kasera. |
| 115. | Tirwa. |
| 116. | Turfi. |

22. WEST BENGAL.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Ca.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Ca.
1.	Acharya, Acharji.	55.	Dilpali.
2.	Adikari.	56.	Duraj.
3.	Agaria, Agariya.	57.	Fakir, Sain.
4.	Aghore.	58.	Gadaba.
5.	Agradana, Agradani.	59.	Gaddi, Ghosi.
6.	Ahir, Goala, Gope, Sadgope Yadav, Gola, Gawar.	60.	Gain.
7.	Amant, Amat, Amath.	61.	Ganda.
8.	Ansari (Muslim).	62.	Garai.
9.	Badi (Nepali).	63.	Ghatwal.
10.	Bag.	64.	Ghatwar.
11.	Bagal.	65.	Ghusuria.
12.	Baishya Kapali.	66.	Godra.
13.	Bajadar, Bajania, Bedey.	67.	Gokha.
14.	Banjara.	68.	Gonda.
15.	Banjogi.	69.	Gore.
16.	Banua, Buna, Bunna, Buno.	69A.	Gorkha.
17.	Baragiri.	70.	Gowar.
18.	Barchain, Chai, Chain.	71.	Gudheri.
19.	Barhi, Badhai, Bishwakarma, Khati, Sutradhar.	72.	Hadi.
20.	Barna-Brahmin, Patit-Brahmin.	73.	Halalkhor (excluding those in Scheduled Caste)
21.	Baro.	74.	Halwai.
22.	Barui, Barujihi.	75.	Hawari.
23.	Bathudi.	76.	Hela.
24.	Bentkar.	77.	Ibrahimi.
25.	Berua.	78.	Irika.
26.	Bhangi (excluding those in Scheduled Caste).	79.	Jeoni.
27.	Bhant.	80.	Juang.
28.	Bhar.	81.	Kachari.
29.	Bharbhuja, Bhuja-wala.	82.	Kaghu.
30.	Bhat.	83.	Kahar.
31.	Bhatthiara, Razzaqi.	84.	Kaira.
32.	Bhatiya.	85.	Kalu, Teli, Garai, Mondal, Sadhukhan, Pal, Patra, Sardu, Barik.
33.	Bhotia.	86.	Kalwar.
34.	Bhugal.	87.	Kamar.
35.	Bin.	88.	Kan, Kanu.
36.	Binjhia.	89.	Kandh.
37.	Binjhawar.	90.	Kandu.
38.	Binjina.	91.	Kansari, Kansyakar.
39.	Brijia.	92.	Kapali.
40.	Chaak.	93.	Kapuria.
41.	Chamling.	94.	Karani.
42.	Chasadhoba, Haladhar, Halari, Satchasi.	95.	Karha.
43.	Chasi-Kaibartta.	96.	Karmakar.
44.	Chik, Chikwa, Kasai, Kassab.	97.	Karwalnat, Karwalnuts.
45.	Chirimar.	98.	Kasai-Maji.
46.	Chitrakar.	99.	Kasta.
47.	Churihara, Lakhera, Lahera.	100.	Kastha.
48.	Dafali.	101.	Kela.
49.	Dalu.	102.	Khami.
50.	Darzi, Idrisi.	103.	Khandait.
51.	Dhasa.	104.	Kharag.
52.	Dhekaru.	105.	Kharia.
53.	Dhenuar.	106.	Khen.
54.	Dhunia, Mansoori.	107.	Kherwar.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
108.	Khetauri.	143.	Nagar.
109.	Khyang.	144.	Nai, Hajjam, Naiya, Napit.
110.	Khyara.	145.	Nalband.
111.	Kichak.	146.	Nath, Yogi.
112.	Kisarwaki.	147.	Nav-Buddhists, Neo-Buddhists.
113.	Koda.	148.	Newar.
114.	Koeri, Koiri.	149.	Pundari.
115.	Kol.	150.	Panthi.
116.	Koli.	151.	Patua.
117.	Kolu.	152.	Pirall.
118.	Kuki.	153.	Raju.
119.	Kumbhar, Kumar, Kumbhakar, Kumhar, Kumrakar, Rudra.	154.	Rakhal.
120.	Kunjra, Raycen.	155.	Rana.
121.	Kurmi.	156.	Rangrez.
122.	Lakar.	157.	Rasali.
123.	Lakra.	158.	Rohangia, Roshangia.
124.	Lushei.	159.	Saha.
125.	Machhua.	160.	Sankhakar, Sarkheru.
126.	Maghaiya-Domes.	161.	Sayar.
127.	Mahadarda.	162.	Scheduled Caste converted Christianity.
128.	Mahata.	163.	Shagird Pasha.
129.	Mahato.	164.	Siyal.
130.	Mahuria.	165.	Sonar, Swarnakar.
131.	Mahishtya.	166.	Sukli.
132.	Majhi, Deshwali-Majhi.	167.	Tamang.
133.	Malakar.	168.	Tamboli, Tamali, Tamuli.
134.	Mali.	169.	Tanti, Tantubaya.
135.	Mangan.	170.	Thapa.
136.	Mangar.	171.	Tharu.
137.	Matuar.	172.	Tili.
138.	Mirshikar.	173.	Tipara.
139.	Moger, Morgau.	174.	Tippera.
140.	Momin.	175.	Turha.
141.	Morapora-Brahmin.	176.	Urao, Bandot, Haro, Karkata, Luidu, Shitheo, Tigga, Tirki.
142.	Mug.	177.	Vyasokta.

23. ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Arundatilu (H).	11.	Namasudra, Adhikari, Sarkar, Dharti, Bala, Hira, Baidai, Maji, Daligbi, Bodoi, Diskas, Poddar, Hindal, Roy, Das, Hadder, Manji, Basi, Manser, Biri, Nag, Bairagi, Bhatra (Baidya).
2.	Baliya.	12.	Pillai, Vilaler, Vellalar, Karabhattu, Karanbattu.
3.	Barar (Umat).	13.	Rao.
4.	Eluvain.	14.	Reddiyar (Reddiyar, Jhothi, Reddyar).
5.	Dhobi.	15.	Server, Agamudyar.
6.	Chetty/Baliya.	16.	Thakur (Nai).
7.	Jheevan.	17.	Yadav, Rolal, Kollubhattu, Konar.
8.	Kharia.		
9.	Munda.		
10.	Naidu (Vadulu, Karare, Naicker, Thayya, Nambiar).		

24. ARUNACHAL PRADESH

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Diwan.
2.	Kushtriya.
3.	Kurmi.
4.	Maiti.
5.	Majhara.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
6.	Nayor.
7.	Nepali Lamt.
8.	Sajalang.
9.	Srehde.
10.	Sunar.

25. CHANDIGARH

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Acharaj, Panchal-Brahman, Changar.
2.	Aheria, Aheri, Naik Heri.
3.	Ahir, Yadav, Gwala.
4.	Badhi, Barhai, Dhiman-Brahman.
5.	Bagaria.
6.	Barra.
7.	Barwar.
8.	Bahari.
9.	Banoudhiya-Rajput.
10.	Barai, Tamboli.
11.	Baragi, Bairagi.
12.	Bathi.
13.	Batterha.
14.	Beria.
15.	Beta, Hensi, Hesi.
16.	Bhand.
17.	Bharbhunja.
18.	Bhat, Bhatra, Darpi, Ramiya.
19.	Bhati, Chang, Ghirath.
20.	Bhojki.
21.	Bhubalia-Lohar.
22.	Bhujru.
23.	Bhura-Brahman.
24.	Biloch.
25.	Botehra.
26.	Charg.
27.	Chhimba, Chhipi.
28.	Chirimar.
29.	Daiya.
30.	Dakaut.
31.	Daoli, Doala.
32.	Deha, Dhaya, Dhea.
33.	Dhai.
34.	Dhenwar.
35.	Dhinar, Dhinwar, Jhinwar, Kahar, Mallah.
36.	Dhobi.
37.	Dhosali.
38.	Faqir.
39.	Gadaria.
40.	Gaddi.
41.	Gadri.
42.	Gauria, Gwar, Gwaria.
43.	Ghai.
44.	Ghasiara.
45.	Ghosi.
46.	Hadi.

S. No.	Names of O.B.Cs.
47.	Hajjam, Nai.
48.	Hali.
49.	Harni.
50.	Gutka Jat, Chillon Jat.
51.	Jhangra-Brahman, Khati.
52.	Jogi, Nath.
53.	Julaha (excluding those in S. C.).
54.	Kamboj, Kamboh.
55.	Kanchan.
56.	Kanghara.
57.	Kanjar.
58.	Kassab.
59.	Kehal.
60.	Kohli.
61.	Kuchband.
62.	Kulait.
63.	Kumhar, Prajapati.
64.	Kurmi.
65.	Labana, Vanzara, Lobana Banjara.
66.	Lakhera, Manihar.
67.	Madari.
68.	Mahatam.
69.	Mali, Phoolmali, Saini.
70.	Merh-Rajpoot.
71.	Mecna, Mina.
72.	Mewati.
73.	Mirasi.
74.	Michi.
75.	Musavar.
76.	Naar.
77.	Naddaf, Pinja.
78.	Nalband.
79.	Noongar.
80.	Pakhiwara.
81.	Rachband.
82.	Rai-Sikh.
83.	Rehar, Behara, Rer, Rihar.
84.	Scheduled Caste converts to Christianity.
85.	Shorgir.
86.	Singhiwala, Singhikaut.
87.	Soi.
88.	Taga.
89.	Tarkhan.
90.	Teli.
91.	Thanwin.
92.	Thatbora, Kasera.
93.	Thori, Turi.

26. DADRA AND NAGAR HAVELI

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Agri.	6.	Kapdi.
2.	Ahir, Bharvad, Yadav.	7.	Kolaga (Misal).
3.	Brahmi.	8.	Koli.
4.	Dhobi.	9.	Makrona (Muslim).
5.	Kahar, Kumbhar.	10.	Nai (Valand).

27. DELHI

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Abbasi, Bhishti, Sakka.	42.	Jogi, Goswami.
2.	Agri Kharwal.	43.	Julaha, Momin (excluding those in S.C.)
3.	Ahir, Yadav, Gwala.	44.	Kachhi, Koeri, Murai, Murao.
4.	Arain, Rayce, Kunjra.	45.	Kahar, Kashyap.
5.	Badhai, Barhai, Khati, Tarkhan, Jangra-Brahmin, Viswakarma.	46.	Kalal, Kalwar.
6.	Badi.	47.	Kangar.
7.	Bairagi.	48.	Kanmaeli.
8.	Bairwa, Berwa.	49.	Kasai, Qussab, Quraishi.
9.	Banerwala.	50.	Easera, Temara, Thathera, Thathiar.
10.	Barai, Tamboli.	51.	Kathputli-Nachanewala.
11.	Bari.	52.	Kewat, Mallah.
12.	Bauria.	53.	Khatgunc.
13.	Bazigar, Nat, Kalandar. (excluding those in S.C.)	54.	Khatik (excluding those in S.C.)
14.	Bhubhalia.	55.	Kumhar, Prajapati.
15.	Bhand.	56.	Kurni.
16.	Bharbhooja.	57.	Labana.
17.	Bhat.	58.	Kakhera, Manihar.
18.	Bhatiara.	59.	Lodhi, Lodha, Lodh, Maha Lodh.
19.	Chak.	60.	Luhar.
20.	Charan, Gadv.	61.	Machhi, Machhera.
21.	Chhipi, Tank.	62.	Mahapatra.
22.	Chrimar.	63.	Mali, Saini, Southia, Sagarwanshi-Mali, Nayak.
23.	Dafali.	64.	Masania-Jogi.
24.	Daiya Dhaiya.	65.	Memar, Raj.
25.	Dakaut, Prade.	66.	Mina.
26.	Darzi.	67.	Meo, Mewati.
27.	Dhinwar, Jhinwar, Nishad.	68.	Merasi, Mirasi.
28.	Dhobi (excluding those in S.C.)	69.	Mochi (excluding those in S.C.)
29.	Diunia, Pinjara, Kadher Dhunnewala.	70.	Nai, Hajjam, Nai (Sabita).
30.	Fakir.	71.	Nalband.
31.	Gach, Mandewala.	72.	Naqqal.
32.	Gaderia.	73.	Pakhiwara.
33.	Gaddi, Garri.	74.	Patwa.
34.	Gadheri.	75.	Pathar Chera, Sangtarash.
35.	Ghasiara.	76.	Rangrez.
36.	Ghosi.	77.	Rayakwar.
37.	Gujar, Gurjar.	78.	Saiz.
38.	Harni.	79.	Sthai.
39.	Herbi.	80.	Sunar.
40.	Jallad.	81.	Taga, Tagah.
41.	Jhatkia-Sikh.	82.	Teli.

28. GOA, DAMAN & DIU

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
1.	Bhandari.
1A.	Banjara, Lambadi, Lamani, Sugali.
2.	Christian Chamar.
3.	Christian Mahar.
4.	Dhangar.
5.	Dhobi.
6.	Dhor.
7.	Gauda.
8.	Goggi.
9.	Gosavi.

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.
10.	Kasar.
11.	Koli.
12.	Kunbi.
13.	Mitna.
14.	Naidu.
15.	Nath, Jogi.
16.	Nhavi, Nai.
17.	Sagar.
18.	Yadav, Gavli.

29. LAKSHADWEEP

S. No.	Names of O. B. Cs.	S. No.	Names of O.B.Cs.
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30. MIZORAM

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

1. Aputani.
2. Gurkha.
3. Manipuri.

S. No. Names of O. B. Cs.

4. Paite.
5. Ralte.