

SPONSORED MOBILITY IN INDIA

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As evident from colonial history the pursuance of preferential policies favouring a particular community or communities did occur in some British colonies. However the weakness of the policy pursued was that it was aimed at redressing communal inequalities only in the public sector. Nothing concrete was designed as a social engineering device to correct the rooted socio-economic inequalities of the disadvantaged communities. Merely reserving a certain quota for the economically weak and expecting them to participate in open competition and avail themselves for appointments does not ensure equality of opportunity if inequalities in the environment are not removed. The British did not realise that as unequals these disadvantaged communities had to be treated unequally and that their mobility in the socio-economic sphere had to be sponsored by the state. Experiences in India, Ceylon and Malaya indicate this oversight in British colonial policy and it is this mistake which the post independent governments of these countries set out to undo.

In a society like India which is characterised by institutionalised inequality where some communities are relatively backward, it is reasonable to assume that unequal opportunity be granted so that the disadvantaged communities could acquire benefits and eventually stand on equal footing with the advanced communities. This is where the role of the state becomes pertinent. As the guardian of its people it delves upon the state to understand the different social and economic conditions of its people and undertake measure to overcome the disparity. Otherwise the poor and backward groups, who lack economic, educational and psychological resources, will rarely benefit in the competition for opportunities.

Usually the best recommendation will involve an unflinching systematic effort to implant educational, commercial and administrative traditions among these people. Such an action would mean the upholding of the principle of equality of opportunity which states that "goods considered appropriate should themselves be such that people from all sections of society have equal chance of satisfying them" ¹ Hence the need for 'merit' criteria to be replaced by a 'need' criteria which will secure social justice.

Such ameliorative measures undertaken by the state take the form of 'affirmative action' as practiced in the United States to assist the disadvantaged minorities like the Blacks or becomes a policy of protective discrimination as evident in Sri Lanka, India and Malaysia. The Indian Government resorted to a policy of reservation to ensure that compensatory justice is secured and desired egalitarian results achieved within the stipulated time period.

This paper attempts to examine the Indian government's effort to remove existing barriers and provide preferential treatment to its backward and disadvantaged population so that

these neglected communities, lacking in resources and incentives, will eventually wind up with equality in resources.

Status of Harijans

Harijans or India's untouchables were designated in official terms as exterior castes, depressed castes and scheduled castes. They were a mass of humanity considered marginal to society and treated as subhumans by the rest of the Indian population. Socially oppressed and economically condemned to live a life of penury the debilitating impact drained them of not only independence and initiative but also curtailed the development of positive personality and produced psychological debility in them. At the beginning of this century they were described as the "most abject, hopeless and unpromising specimens of humanity".²

British rule in India, after more than a century, far from alleviating the conditions of this section of the Indian people, reinforced the socio-economic inequality that was already in existence by the introduction of English education as a prerequisite into the modern occupational world. This widened the gulf between the higher castes, particularly the Brahmins who had traditionally enjoyed a higher social prestige by virtue of their ritual position in the caste hierarchy, and the downtrodden Harijans. The former, with their tradition of learning, acquired English education and gradually monopolised the administrative bureaucracy and the professions, particularly in South India.

In 1854 the British had recommended that for appointments in each district a proportion should belong to other castes. Later in 1871 the Superintendent of Census, noting that more than half of the high school graduates were Brahmins in the preceding fifteen years and that "they had monopolised the best places" in government employment, wrote that "the true policy of the state should be to limit their numbers in official positions and to encourage a large proportion of non-Brahmin Hindus and Muslims to enter official service so as to allow no special preeminence or great preponderance of any particular caste"³ In 1918 the Brahmins who formed less than 1.5 million or 3.5 per cent of the population in Madras Presidency constituted "70 percent of all arts graduates, 71 per cent of graduates in engineering and 74 per cent of graduates in teaching".⁴ The British knew of this "extraordinary ability displayed by Brahmins in passing examinations"⁵ which contributed to their preponderance in public sector employment but for purposes of administrative expediency continued to recruit them. Although official policy advocated limiting the number of Brahmins and encourage a large number of non-Brahmins to enter government service⁶ efforts in the form of education remained paltry. Failure to correct the imbalance in education and public service of non-Brahmins, particularly the Harijans, led the latter to live "in ignorance, fear and centuries old traditions, leading an impoverished and difficult existence"⁷

Table 1: Literacy of Brahmins and Untouchables in Madras, 1901-1931

	Brahmin	Untouchables
1901	36.55	0.43
1911	38.50	0.94
1921	39.68	1.36
1931	45.71	1.16

Source: **Census of India 1931**. vol. XIV. Madras, Part I, pp. 281-282

Table 2 : Representation of Brahmins and Untouchables in Government Service

	Brahmin	Untouchables
1901	45.85	0.08
1910	51.61	0.12
1921	55.47	0.13

Source: **Madras Revenue Office**, Public, G.O. No. 1357 19-5-1927. Appendix A.

Early Evidence of Reservation

The initial decades of this century marked a turning point in the socio-political history of South India with the emergence of the non-Brahmin movement to challenge the supremacy of the Brahmins in the social, economic and political spheres. The presentation of the Non-Brahmin manifesto in 1914 to the government which outlined Brahmin dominance in education, administration and the professions led to establishment of the office of the Protector of Depressed Classes to investigate conditions of Harijans and help to improve their status. Non-Brahmin consciousness gradually led to the formation of the Justice Party in 1916 which championed their cause, captured political power in 1920 and began the task of restructuring society. In 1927 it promulgated a reservation procedure whereby out of every 12 posts, 5 should go to Non-Brahmin Hindus, 2 to Brahmins, 2 to Muslims, 2 to Anglo Indians and 1 to Depressed Classes. Higher caste Non-Brahmins began to make inroads into the fields of government service and education and gradually replaced the Brahmins, who, feeling the squeeze of the 1927 General Order, migrated to other metropolitan cities like Bombay and Delhi to take up appointments in the Central Government.

The leadership ranks of the Justice Party was dominated by the higher caste Non-Brahmins (like Vellalar, Reddi and Nayar), particularly the landed classes, and showed disinclination to broaden the base of the party by including the lower classes in South Indian society. This did not mean that they neglected Harijan interests. A Labour Department was established

which set up separate schools for the Harijans called labour schools. Aids in the form of books and clothing and exemption of fees were granted to them.

In 1923 orders threatening to withdraw grants were issued to enforce integration in public schools⁸ and in 1926 further orders were given to local boards "to ensure that when higher caste children are withdrawn as a result of admission of Harijans, the vacancies are filled up as far as possible by...Depressed Classes' children and no compromise is allowed".⁹ This latter order further urged local boards "to employ Adi Dravida teachers in large numbers in public schools.... to encourage pupils of Depressed Classes to seek admission freely in such schools"¹⁰. As a result of such measures the number of Harijan children receiving government scholarships and other educational aid increased to 20,000 by 1929 and by 1932 more than 93 percent of public schools were opened to Untouchable children although only about 37 per cent of these schools actually admitted Harijans.¹¹ The government raised the upper age limit from 25 to 27 for Harijans for appointments to post of clerk and typists.

Despite such measures the Harijans felt aggrieved that Non-Brahmins rule was not promoting their interests. Their position showed no remarkable improvement because planned changes had to be carried out through local structure of power controlled by the higher caste elites. Introduction of primary education, provision of public utilities like water, sanitation and roads and inclusion of Untouchables in local boards meant changes in the existing power structure.

Developments at the national level also affected decisions in the states. In 1934 the Government of India had issued instructions that Harijans ought to be given fair representation in public service but could not fix a percentage due to their educational backwardness. Only in 1942 it took steps to grant age concessions and reduction in examination fees to enable Harijan candidates to enter government service.. Subsequently in August 1948 a reservation of 8¹/₂ per cent was fixed for them. This was raised to 12¹/₂ per cent in June 1946 to reflect their representation in the population but it applied only to direct recruitment based on open competition.¹²

Meanwhile the Communal G.O. of 1927 which had come under scrutiny of the Madras Government under Congress Party was revised in 1947 so that out of every 14 posts 6 went to Non Brahmin Hindus, 2 to Backward Hindus, 2 to Brahmins, 2 to Scheduled Castes, 1 for Anglo Indians and Indian Christians and 1 for Muslims. The leadership of the Congress which had gradually fallen into Non-Brahmin hands bifurcated the Non-Brahmin to take into account the plight of the backward castes among them. The share of Harijans, too, increased substantially from 8 per cent to 14 per cent and certain relaxations were introduced for Harijans in their recruitment to government service. For example only a pass degree was required of them for appointment to upper division clerical service in Madras Secretariat Service as against a First Class Degree for others.

The little efforts of the government in the preindependence period to uplift the Harijans educationally is not entirely without results. Their literary rate showed an increase from 0.43 per cent in 1901 to 1.16 per cent in 1931¹³ and their representation in government service indicated a modest increase from 0.08 per cent in 1901 to 0.22 per cent in 1927.¹⁴ The increases, though dismal in relation to the rate of increase among other communities need to be viewed in juxtaposition with their erstwhile status in society. Many generations of life spent in a state of poverty and segregation had engendered habits and behavioural dispositions that became fairly permanent and quite resistant to change. They accepted poverty as a way of life, lived in it and passed on the values and attitudes that accepted poverty on to their children. Lacking the motivation to psychologically gear themselves to take full advantage of changing conditions in the socio-political scene in South India they could not understand the importance and necessity of education for their children.

The Non-Brahmin challenge to Brahmin dominance and subsequent attempts to correct the imbalance of caste representation had spread to other parts of South India. The Mysore Government became aware of the preponderance of Brahmins in the public service and in 1921 introduced reservation which limited Brahmin proportion to only 3 out of 10 post. In Travancore - Cochin (Kerala) 35 per cent of posts were reserved for backward communities like Ezhavar (13 per cent), Muslims (5 per cent), Kammas (3 per cent), Nadar (3 per cent), Syrian Christian (1 per cent), Latin Christian (6 per cent), 2 per cent other Hindus and 2 per cent Christians. In Andhra out of every 7 posts 6 went to Non-Brahmins. However the history of North India does not provide evidence of organised Non-Brahmin movement and as such reservation was a later development enforced in compliance with the constitutional provisions after independence.

Policy of Reservation and Harijans

Prior to Indian independence the appalling conditions of the Harijans who had been socially oppressed and economically subjected to servitude for centuries had already captured the attention of the nationalists due to the efforts of Dr. R. Ambedkar¹⁵ and Mahatma Gandhi¹⁶, both of whom championed the cause of the downtrodden section of the population. A constitutional provision for the reconstruction of Indian society by raising the status of Harijans was regarded the best assurance of positive action. Thus when drafting the Indian Constitution of independent India it was felt imperative as a moral and social responsibility to adopt positive state measures or a policy of compensatory discrimination to uplift this mass of humanity who had been unjustly discriminated in the past and remove existing socio-economic inequalities by special programmes. In pursuance of this objective Article 46 of the Indian Constitution explicitly spelt out that

"The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation"¹⁷

A further Article 335 of the Indian Constitution made it mandatory that the special consideration had to be granted to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the appointment to services and posts in the States of India.

With the incorporation of these provisions the Government of India carried out measures to uplift the Harijans. A number of legal actions were instituted questioning the preferential treatment accorded to Harijans on the grounds that it violated the principle of equality that the Constitution desired to uphold.¹⁷ However the courts invariably interpreted and ruled that the constructive element that is found in compensatory discrimination which prompts the offer of unequal benefits to certain disadvantaged communities is consistent with constitutional equality. The drive of the directive principle enshrined in the Indian Constitution was geared towards the constitutional goal of providing a real equality of opportunity and of achieving actual equality.

In pursuance of this directive the policy of reservation in force was continued whereby for appointments to Central Government service a quota of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of vacancies was made for Scheduled Castes in 1950. This reservation applied to recruitment made by open competition on an all India basis. For recruitment made otherwise the reservation was $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent of vacancies.¹⁸ For Scheduled Tribes the reservation was 5 per cent in both cases. There was no provision for reservation in promotions. Muslims and other minorities like Sikhs, Anglo Indians and Indian Christians who had, since 1934, enjoyed job reservation of up to $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 10 per cent respectively found their position reviewed in 1947 and reservation withdrawn with the commencement of the Indian Constitution. Besides this reservation the Central Government made various concessions to Harijan candidates to facilitate their adequate representation in the services by relaxing age limit for entry into service, relaxation of standards in departmental competitive examination and confirmation examination, admission fee for recruitment examination reduced to one quarter of standard fee, relaxation with regard to experience, separate interviews for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe candidates, extra effort to advertise vacancies through the media, additional coaching and training for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe candidates selected by relaxed standards and maintaining a roster for selection of candidates.¹⁹

The State Governments also framed rules for the reservation of posts for Harijans and took adequate measure to increase their representation in the State services. As the percentage fixed was expected to reflect their proportion of the state population reservation varied from as low as 8 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir to as high as 25 per cent in Andhra Pradesh. Bihar reserved 24 per cent, Kerala 10 per cent, Karnataka 18 per cent, Maharashtra 20 per cent, Tamil Nadu 18 per cent and Uttar Pradesh 20 per cent.

Besides solving the problem of employment most of the State governments placed particular emphasis on pertinent socio-economic issues that confronted the Harijans. As for example the Andhra Pradesh government instituted development programmes in the 1970s that in-

cluded allocation of housing for Harijans, agricultural development schemes, infrastructural facilities like roads, water supply and sanitation, institutional financial assistance for agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, handloom and other industries undertaken by Harijans with relaxation on collateral besides greater attention being granted in their educational advancement.²⁰ Pre and post matriculation scholarships, hostel facilities, residential schools, special coaching centres, pre examination training centres, free clothing, stationaries and midday meals were provided to encourage and assist as many Harijans as possible to take full advantage of the benefits provided and join the ranks of the advanced sections of community. In this effort the Central Government, too, gave assistance to States for Harijan development enterprise on a 49:51 sharing pattern besides allocating funds for scholarship, book banks (for medical and engineering courses), coaching scheme and voluntary organisations involved in Harijan welfare.

The objective of the Five Year Plans, too, laid heavy emphasis on the social and economic development of the Harijans and huge allocations were made towards achieving this objective. Particularly from the Third Plan onwards intensification of such objectives and measures were noticable. For example the First Plan had allocated 5.46 crore rupees (1 crore = 10 million) but the Third Plan increased it to 31.81 crores.²¹ Annual expenditure for scholarships alone rose from 47697 rupees in 1944 to 43, 765, 839 rupees in 1966.²² The number of post matriculation scholarships increased from 2356 in 1954 to 103,000 in 1967.²³ The effect of such unflinching efforts of Government was witnessed in the gradual rise in literacy of Harijans from less than 1.9 per cent in 1931 to 10.27 per cent in 1961.²⁴ The percentage in some states was significantly higher as in 1971 the national average literacy rate of Harijans stood at 11.3 per cent while states like Manipur and Meghalaya recorded 28.71 per cent and 26.45 per cent respectively.²⁵ While the literacy rate reflected the fact that the number of Harijan children in school had increased remarkably from about half a million in 1948 to about 6 million in 1964 it does not speak the same with regard to their enrolment in higher education. In 1971 there were only 49,496 persons with university qualifications in a population of 80 million Harijans in India.²⁶

Table 3 : Literacy among Scheduled castes in 1931 and 1961

State	1931	1961
Assam	3.1	24.41
Bengal	5.0	13.58
Bombay	2.8	15.78
Tamil Nadu	2.8	14.66
Pubjab	0.8	9.64
Jammu	0.5	4.72
Mysore	1.4	9.06
Kerala	14.7	24.44

State	1931	1961
Delhi	1.4	20.86
Bihar	0.6	5.95
Orissa	0.6	11.57

In 1963 the number of Harijans in Central Government service was 329,046 (out of 2.3 million government servants) unevenly distributed over the various grades of employment. There were 186,481 persons (17.5 per cent) in Class 4 and 7,336 persons (7 per cent) in Class 3 but only 761 persons (2.6 per cent) in Class 2 and 237 persons (1.3 per cent) in Class I as Indian Administrative Service officers²⁷. The small number of Harijans pursuing higher education particularly with technical qualification had resulted in a much lower representation in the higher grades of public sector employment. As a result the Government set aside a quota of 15 per cent of seats in technical institutions like Engineering and Medical Colleges besides reserving 7¹/₂ per cent of total scholarships for Harijans to study in public schools²⁸. Part of the problem was the result of a widespread tendency among Harijan students to gravitate towards liberal studies instead of technical education. For example in Maharashtra in 1968 out of 182,066 Harijan students in universities 134,801 (74 per cent) pursued general education. In 1974 Harijans share of Class 1 posts rose to 3.58 per cent with 4.83 per cent in Class 2, 10.34 per cent in Class 3 and 17.86 per cent in Class 4.²⁹ This position witnessed a gradual increase and by 1980 attained a percentage of 4.75, 7.37, 12.55 and 19.32 in Class 1 to 4 respectively.³⁰

Other than in government departments the enforcement of reservation was extended to various other bodies where government control or influence was possible e.g. public sector enterprises (industrial units set up by government which enjoy a certain amount of autonomy and operation flexibility but are funded by government and under its control), statutory and semi-government bodies, autonomous bodies (registered under Societies Registration Act formed under statute or companies registered under Companies Act), voluntary agencies receiving grant-in-aid from government and public sector and nationalised banks.³¹ Due to government directive there were, in 1980, 340,710 Scheduled Castes and 139,586 Scheduled Tribes persons out of 1,856,332 employees in 177 public sector undertakings.³² This represents an increase from 8.17 per cent in 1971 to 18.35 per cent in 1980 although the prescribed percentage was only 15 per cent for Harijans³³. But here, too, their representation in 1980 in class 1 and 2 remained dismal at 2.9 per cent and 5.11 per cent respectively.³⁴

The provision for preferential treatment was initially for ten years within which time it was expected to see changes otherwise it will be extended for another decade. But lack of visible changes in the overall position of the Harijans, particularly the rural population where they predominated, convinced the government to extend the policy at the end of each decade to put the community on a firmer footing. The Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Sched-

uled Tribes reported at the end of three decades that their position "is most unsatisfactory and discouraging... unless some drastic remedial steps are taken, these weaker sections of the nation are not likely to be represented in the services in the foreseeable future".³⁵ Recognising this concern the Government not only extended the policy of reservation for yet another decade but included in its Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) a Special Component Plan for upliftment of Harijans with a hefty allocation of 40 billion rupees from the Central Government and 6 billion rupees annually from the states. Incremental emphasis on vital issues like education where education in general and vocational and technical education in particular was focussed; economic programme in agricultural development, cooperative organisation and development of cottage industries ; infrastructural and telecommunication facilities in their places of habitation and provision of health facilities constituted continuing special programmes for the amelioration of Harijans.

Other Backward Castes and Policy of Reservation

In the context of backwardness and reservation it is inevitable that the status of other backward communities in India is brought to discussion. As in the case of Harijans it is evident that their status was primarily the effect of the inegalitarian concept of caste and its concomitant prejudicial treatment accorded to that section of the society. Besides this unfortunate section there was yet another half of the remaining Indian population who, not because of social isolation but due to developments in modern Indian history experienced gradual downward mobility. The advent of British rule and its systematic policy of transfer of resources and destruction of small scale industries, handicrafts and agriculture disrupted the economy so badly that mass poverty, unemployment and growing inequalities became permanent features of the Indian economy. No positive effort was made during British rule to assist them find alternate mode of employment and absence of any prospective socio-economic transformation condemned them to a life of destitution and poverty.

The Government of India Act in 1935 recognised the plight of the depressed classes and provided reservations of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 25 per cent for Muslims for political reasons but the other backward sections of the society were neglected. In 1947 the Indian Government again revised the quota to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for Harijans based on open competition and $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent for recruitment other than by open competition. For the Muslims it was $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and 10 per cent for the other minority communities like Sikhs, Anglo Indians and Indian Christians. But with the commencement of the Indian Constitution in 1950 preferential treatment for all other communities was withdrawn except the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, the clause in Article 46 empowering the State to make special provision "for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens": and further clarified in Article 16 (4) permitting "any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State" gave rise to the question of the other backward communities in India. Socially, educationally and economically

backward these communities, comprising about half the population, forwarded claims for preferential treatment.

In the case of Harijans the criteria adopted for preferential treatment was caste but for the other backward communities this became a vexing problem. The Government appointed a Backward Classes Commission under Kaka Kalelkar in January 1953 to determine the criteria to be adopted and a list of communities for consideration. The Commission used the criteria of social position in the traditional hierarchy, literacy, representation in government service, in the field of trade, commerce and industry and drew up a list of 2399 castes and communities which amounted to 70 per cent of India's population needing assistance. It appeared that the commission had used the criteria of caste to determine backwardness which it rightfully admitted by stating that "our society was not built essentially on an economic structure but on the medieval ideas of varna, caste and a social hierarchy"³⁶. It observed that it was difficult "to dissociate caste from social backwardness at the present juncture"³⁷. However the Government rejected the report when it was tabled in Parliament in 1965 due its heavy reliance on 'caste' and subsequently requested the State Governments to use other criteria to classify backward groups and grant preferential treatment accordingly. Thus the States set up their own commissions and used the criteria of place of habitation, occupation, income and educational backwardness and eventually in 1969 drew up a list of backward classes identified in terms of communities, an euphemism for caste. The percentage of reservation varied according to the backward class population in each state. Andhra Pradesh identified 92 communities and reserved 25 per cent, Bihar chose 128 communities and reserved 26 per cent, Tamil Nadu with 105 communities and 50 per cent reservation, 25 per cent in Kerala, 14 per cent in Maharashtra, 40 per cent in Karnataka, 40 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir and 15 per cent in Uttar Pradesh.

Reservations of this nature resulted in numerous litigations brought against the Government and as early as 1963 the Supreme Court had explicitly laid down a maximum of 50 per cent reservation³⁸ so that a substantial number of places are open for merit competition thus ensuring a balance between claims of social justice and claims of meritocracy. However some states had evidently ignored this judicial judgement and reserved in excess of 50 per cent.

Table 4: Total Reservation by States of India³⁹

States	Categories		Total Percentage
	Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes (%)	Other backward Communities (%)	
Andhra Pradesh	25	25	50
Bihar	24	26	50
Jammu & Kashmir	8	42	50
Karnataka	18	50	68

Kerala	10	40	50
Maharashtra	20	14	34
Tamil Nadu	18	50	68
Uttar Pradesh	20	15	35

Besides reservation in services the Central and State Governments undertook various programmes and initiatives for the development of these backward communities. By the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan the Government had spent about 517 crores of rupees while the Sixth Plan alone incurred a financial outlay of Rs 895 crores. In all the plans though health, infrastructural and economic programmes were emphasised education alone reached highest priority as imbalances and inequalities continued to persist in this sector.

Conclusion

The Indian Government had adopted a policy of compensatory discrimination to correct the socio-economic imbalance by enhancing the beneficiaries in society. Such a policy received justification from its compensatory and distributive element inherent in it. Compensatory justice took into account not only the removal of existing inequalities but also compensated for past injustices and discrimination to which the Harijans were subjected. In addition the need to promote redistribution of goods where more benefits reached the designated groups exemplified distributive justice. Hence the "need" criteria became important for it recognised that men are different in intelligence, ability and motivation and as such there is a necessary pressure to equal up the conditions by giving unequal benefits to those governed by unfortunate conditions. It assisted the beneficiaries to gain access to the opportunity structure of society. That is why when legal action was instituted against this policy judicial decisions upheld legitimization of government initiatives to level up social, economic and educational status of these disadvantaged communities as the only way to overcome inbuilt inequality in Indian society. The principle of equality of opportunity cannot be applied till the reconstruction and transformation of Indian society is achieved.

However prolonged enforcement of such safeguards is bound to have adverse effects. It is bound to engender dependency, deprive initiative and even reinforce stereotype images that certain groups are unable to achieve success without government protection. The advanced sections of Indian population, realising the long term benefits of promoting overall equality, had made a compensatory sacrifice. However forty years have passed since its implementation yet the claims remain that the conditions of Harijans and other beneficiaries have not improved significantly. This smacks of either ineffective state measures or an indication that this policy had become a tool of aggrandisement in the hands of politicians to stay in power. Symptoms of simmering discontent on the part of those opposed to continued extension of the policy became obvious in the last decade but gradually translated into open violence and confrontation in recent years.

ENDNOTES

1. B Williams, "The Idea of Equality" in P Laslett and W.G Runciman (ed.), **Philosophy, Politics and Society**, 1962 pp 125-126
2. E Thurston, **Castes and Tribes of Southern India**. 1990, p. 118.
3. W.R. Cornish, **Report of Census of Madras Presidency**, Madras 1871. Vol 1 . p 197
4. R Indhu, **The Tyranny of Caste. The Non-Brahmin Movement and Political Development in South India**. New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1985, p.22
5. *Ibid.*, p 99
6. W.R Cornish, *op.cit.*, p 197
7. **Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1952**. Indian Government Press, 1953, p 141
8. **Madras Revenue Office, Education, G.O.**, 16, Jan 1923
9. **Madras Legislative Council Proceedings**, L1 (24 Jan 1930), Q. 1240 p. 484.
10. *Ibid.*
11. **Madras Legislative Council Proceedings**, XL (2 Mar 1928, p. 2753 **Madras Revenue Office, Education, G.O.** 1288, 21 Mar 1934. Letter dated 14 Feb. from Director of Public Institution to Secretary to Government.
12. P. Singh, **Equality, Reservation and Discrimination in India**. New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, 1982, pp.82-87.
13. **Census of India 1931**. Vol. XIV Madras, Part I, pp 281-282
14. **Madras Revenue Office, Public G.O. No 1357**, 19th May 1927, Appendix A
15. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, An Untouchable, was the chief spokesman and champion of the Harijans. He was also the chief draftsman of the Indian Constitution.
16. Gandhi was the leader of the Indian struggle for independence
17. Article 46 was challenged in **State of Madras v Chapakam Dorairajan**. AIR, 1951, S.C. 226 that it violated Article 15(1) which mentions of prohibition of discrimination on certain grounds. The court upheld the constitutional provision and subsequently incorporated Article 15(4) which stated that "the State may make any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". Similarly Article 16(4) was included to permit the State to make "any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward classes of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State."
18. **Report of Committee on Untouchability, Economic and Educational Development of Scheduled Castes and Connected Documents**, 1969, Govt. of India, Department of Social Welfare, p 251
19. **Implementation of Reservation Policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Occasional Paper 2 SC/ST/82**. Delhi, Public Enterprise Center for Continuing Education, 1982 (hereafter referred to a IRPSCST) pp. 598-598: 651 654. To ensure proper implementation of policy various agencies were established e.g. Dept. of Personnel and Administrative Reforms (1970) which issued a book "Brochure on Reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in

Services" which contained directives on percentage of reservation, roster format and maintenance, relaxation and concession; a Bureau of Public Enterprise to clarify points raised with regard to reservation in Public Enterprises; a Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Nov. 1950 through Article 338) as an independent authority to ensure implementation of policies; and Liaison Officers appointed in each Ministry and Department to see due representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are secured.

20. B.R.V. Sharma and K.M. Reddy. **Reservation Policy in India**. New Delhi, Light and Life Publishers, 1982.
21. A. Beteille. **Castes: Old New**. London, Asia Publishing House, 1969, p. 98. The total amount of money spent by Central and State governments under Third Five Year Plan was 404 million rupees.
22. **Handbook of Scheduled Castes**. New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1968, pp. 101-106.
23. Lelah Dushkin, 'Scheduled Caste Politics', in M. Mahar (ed.). **The Untouchables in Contemporary India**. Arizona, Arizona University Press, 1972, pp. 178-179.
24. **Report of Committee on Untouchability...**, op.cit., p. 183. See Table 3 for individual states.
25. **Census of India 1971**. Series 19-TN, Part V-A. Special Tables on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, p. 285.
26. **Census of India, 1971**. Series 1 - India. Part V-A(1) Special Tables for Scheduled Castes.
27. H. Isaacs. **India's ex-Untouchables**. New York. John Day and Co., 1965, p. 108.
28. **Report of Committee on Untouchability...** op.cit., p. 184.
29. **Report of Commissioners for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes**. Govt. of India, 1973-74, p. 398.
30. **A.B.S.K. Sangh v Union of India (1981)**. 1. S.C.C. 246, p. 284.
31. IRPSCST, 1982.
32. **Report 1980-81**. Department of Personnel and Administration Reform, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1988.
33. IRPSCST, 1982, p. 602.
34. **Report 1980-81**, op.cit.
35. **Report of Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1980**.
36. **Report of Backward Classes Commission, Vol. 1, 1959**, p. 39.
37. **Ibid.**, p. 41
38. **Balaji v State of Mysore** A.I.R., 1963, S.C. 649.
39. P. Singh, op.cit., p. 199.
40. **Draft Sixth Five Year Plan**, p. 254.