

OBCs Representation in Bihar: Appropriation Or Equal Distribution?

Satya Prakash*

Ph.D. Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi, Email: spdelhiuniversity@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

The popular concerns of justice, equality, liberty, freedom, and fairness may seem like old music, but when you offer feedback, it always sounds up to the minute. In a contemporary just society, the affiliated members of the society must have obligations towards each other to promote the notion of justice. Since 1977, with a few exceptions, the politics of Bihar has been under the influence of backward classes. Yet the question of representation is raised promptly by the distinct backward communities. This article attempts to analyse the issues of representation and reservation for backward communities across different development institutions.

Keywords: *Reservation, Representation, Recognition, Education.*

Introduction

Literature on OBC reservations depicts that the reservation policy in India is the product of caste-based discrimination, which has been present for generations. Sociologists, historians, anthropologists, and political scientists have their vantage points to analyze the caste structure, its practices, and the later consequences of caste. 'Purity and impurity, caste as exclusion, caste as social hierarchy, caste as promoting inequality, caste as a stigma, and so forth are some of the criteria upon which caste has been discussed. In the 21st century, India has fixed its goal to be a global power and present itself as the largest economic hub of the future. In this situation, caste-based discrimination and backwardness stand as the biggest obstacles in achieving the desired goals. The founding vision of policymakers in post-independent India was to make India more egalitarian (Hasan, 2009, p. 19), where everyone could be treated equally by each other. In this regard, the constitution makers introduced many provisions in the Indian constitution, for instance, Part III- fundamental rights, Part IV- directive principles of state policy, etc. But in practice, establishing egalitarianism reflected utopia (Sagar, 1997, p. V-VI). The Hindu philosophy believes in *Tatvamasi* i.e. you and me are one. According to Buddhist philosophy "human beings are absolutely at equality with one another and the concept of equality is not fragmentary and sectional but complete and universal" (Blu, 2003). However, the practices of discrimination, denial, and inequality based on different social criteria of caste, race, creed, and language are socially constructed. The idea of democracy depicts that in every society there shall be an achievable degree of equality which means economic access, educational opportunities, social position and so forth should not be concentrated in the hands of a few. The concentration of resources makes one man subordinate to others, which consequence to inequality in the long run. According to J. J. Rousseau, there exist two types of inequalities among men one is natural and the other is political. The later inequality is created by the privileged men in the society, which means the political inequality in society is the product of the social arrangements and the hierarchy created of distinct types. (Rao, 2008, p. 483). Due to such social arrangements in India, a major chunk of the population remained out of the purview of development. To bring them to an achievable equal platform, the government of India introduced policies to uplift their social and political economy, and the reservation policy is one among all. This article is an attempt to investigate the impact of reservation and representation on the Other Backward Classes of Bihar. It also looks into the debate of who are the major beneficiaries and is there any structural discrimination existed which favoured a few communities of Bihar to develop their communities.

Understanding Caste

In Indian social system we born in a caste, we live in a caste and also, we die in caste that means caste walks like a shadow with every Indian and every corner of the country. There exist several types of discrimination in

society but what is particular about caste. We do feel more offended when one is discriminated because of caste status. Caste divides the Indian society into different types of rigid water-tight compartments which restrict the mobility of one caste to another. That means since birth the caste is fixed. Caste in India has layers of hierarchies and almost each caste group has their own caste occupation for example carpenter, barber, gold smith, manual scavenging etc. are some of the occupations to which caste is attached. In western world class defines the status that means economic value of one person decides its position and respect in the society however the presence of races white and black behave differently going beyond the one's economic structure. The caste in India as Louis Dumont describes is based on the principle of 'purity and impurity' (Dumont, 2014, 46-48). Why he sees castes in India as purity and impurity has some specific cause. The caste has its origin in *varna* system which has four layers of structure of classes of castes i.e. *Brahmins*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudras*. The first three are considered to be pure and twice born. In Later phase of caste, untouchability emerged as another category. The works of *Shudras* and untouchables were graded as pollution. Cleanliness, manual scavenging, shoes making, etc. were the major occupation of these castes. Each category of *varna* has their own living standard and style like the twice born castes had access to better education system, high social position, landholders, politically advanced etc. However, the other categories like *Shudras* and untouchables were landless, and at the lower end in the caste hierarchy, uneducated, and politically disadvantaged. Therefore, it is said that those who lack the human resources, inequality in power, prestige and power also lacks the opportunities in life, political participation, representation, and ideology. Every existing social system in the world has values and goods present to which Louis Dumont defines it as modern ideology (Dumont, 1986, p. 9). The values and goods which are found common are selected for the comparative study. The common values and goods actually reflect the mind-set of the society and 'hierarchy' is one of the values present in almost every society and when the comparison among the hierarchies reflects disharmony the impact of hierarchy is then acknowledged. Like the other societies the hierarchical Indian social system has legions differences constructed upon divergent grounds but the differences among the other differences divorces the one from another social community and that difference prevails in India for years. Caste is one such factor. Within the self-introspection of the history of caste in India reservation and representation are conceived as the threshold of the social justice. The edge of social justice for the purpose of this paper could be expanded in three dimensions. First is reservation, this fact converses at the common junction that the society we live in is surrounded by distinctive forms of inequality, inequality is the reality of social system and is inevitable but few inequalities have ill-impact on the selected communities of the societies. The persisted inequalities crippled down the socio-economic and political lives of those communities therefore to uplift those communities to an achievable equal platform government enacts laws to reserve few seats in jobs and educational institutions in favour of deprived that is widely known as reservation. Second is the representation that makes one feel being the part of the whole which enables to make decisions and laws for self. The representation is connected with autonomy, democracy, enlightenment, identity and rights (Colebrook, 1999, p. 1). Here the representation has two positions: political and epistemological. In the former theory, the representation is gravitated around the politics of identity, self-emancipation, and self-governed which have been in crisis for years. The latter category is premised upon locating the self-representation from the popular representation. In a society that was based on the uni-dimensional model of representation, the politics of modern democratic representation brings a change in the social structure and draws a linear line that separates the heterogeneous past to the modern inclusive democracy brought in through representation. The third is recognition, Louis Dumont in his book *Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology in Anthropological Perspective* rejects any form of external and hierarchical form of order offering that the laws could not be imposed from outside (Dumont, 1986, p. 9-12) rather it could be created by collective consensus considering every voice. However, the Indian social structure was biased and dominated by the dominant castes in the hierarchy, and formulated laws and decided without taking the consent of the deprived and marginalised masses.

Composition and Socio-Economic Status of Caste in Bihar

David Edmonds in his book *Caste Wars: A Philosophy of Discrimination* argues that "caste is a term that admits gradation" (Edmond, 2006, p. 40). Caste in India and for that matter in Bihar is attached to occupation therefore in a way we can say that caste is a group of people who have shared identity, occupation, and characteristics that also affect the political, social, and economic activity of those social groups. Caste is the dominating force in the Indian social system which decides the power and position of the community or the individual for that matter. In the caste ridden society historically the aspirations, demands and feeling of the individual and the community are decided by those who have the dominant position in the caste hierarchy and in most of the scenario the aspirations, demands and feelings transformed into discrimination, deprivation and under-development for the unprivileged. The growing urbanization with the advent of globalisation the rigid caste structure looked partially liberated but yet the condition has not changed much. Taking experiences from the local society in which we have been grown, we often compare the one caste with the another like caste of A is superior to B or the living standard of Caste X is derogatory to Caste Y and because of this caste inferiority and superiority debates the caste which claims of being superiority jeered and hurled castes epithets. Sometime the living condition, the style of wearing dresses, the food we eat, the appearance of the parents, housing structure etc. predicts the caste to which one associates with. As far the population of castes is concerned according to caste census 1931 the total population of Backward Classes in Bihar is 51.3 percent. But when we

see the population of Backward Classes separately the Upper Backward Castes (Yadav, Koeri, Kurmi, etc.) constitute total 19.3 percent of population and Extremely Backward Castes is consisted of total 32.0 percent of population (Blair, 1980, p. 65). The Extremely Backwards is also sometimes called as Lower Backward or the Most Backward. Whereas the population of upper castes is concerned as per census 1931 the total population of upper castes in Bihar is consisted of 13.0 percent (Blair, 1980, p. 65). Brahmin, Bhumihar, Rajput and Kayastha are the prominent upper castes in Bihar.

Figure:1 Population of Upper Castes in Bihar (As Per Census 1931)

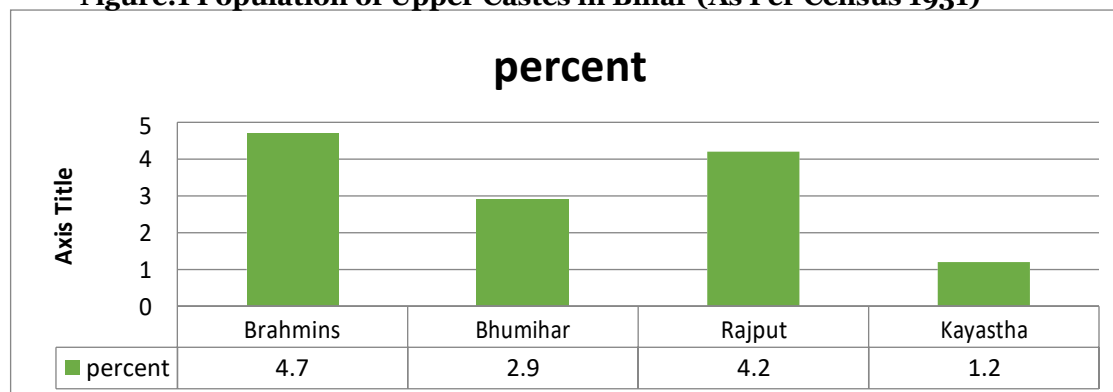
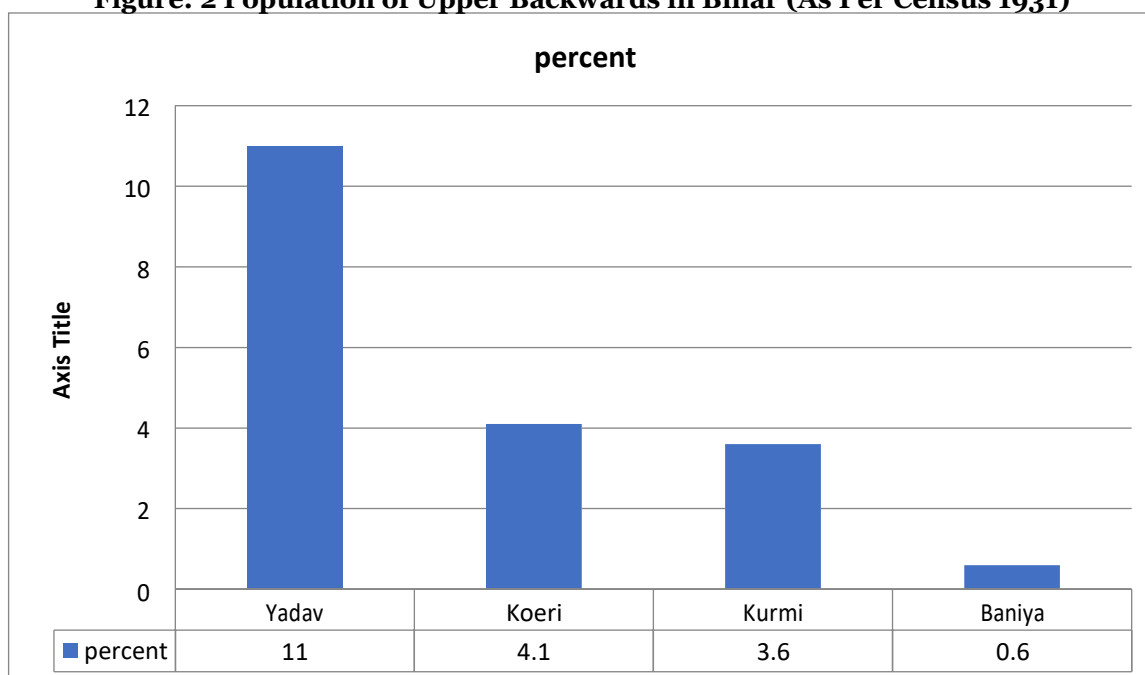


Figure 1 in this article describes the population of upper castes in percentage. Out of 13.0 percent of the total population, the total population of Brahmins is 4.7 percent, at the second position Rajput comes with 4.2 percent, Bhumihar has consisted of 2.9 percent, and Kayastha in Bihar is the least populated consisting of 1.2 percent.

Figure: 2 Population of Upper Backwards in Bihar (As Per Census 1931)



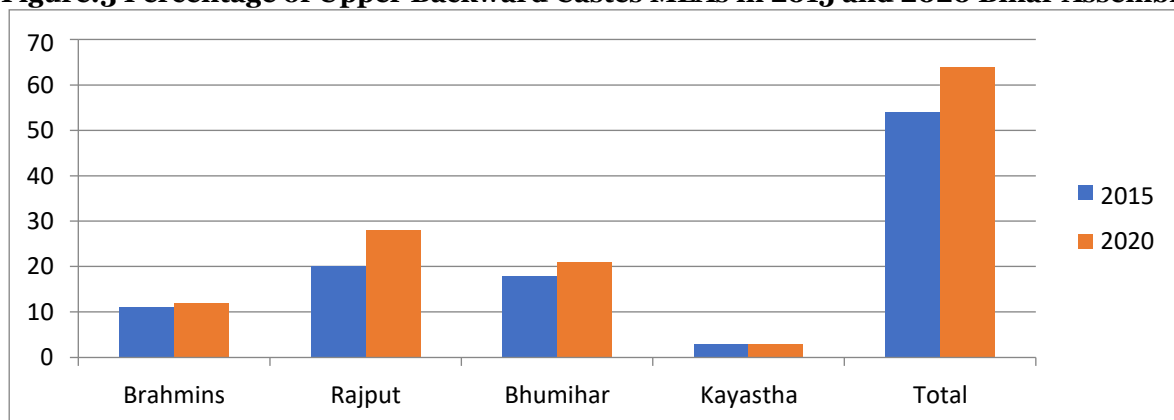
It is clear from figure 2 that the Yadavs among the upper backward occupied the highest population i.e. 11.0 percent. Kurmi consists of 4.1 percent, and Kurmi and Baniya comprise 3.6 and 0.6 percent of the population. The caste structure among the Extremely Backward Classes is very complex as it is divided into several small population castes like *Nai*, *Kumhar*, *Badhai*, *Teli*, *Kahar*, *Dhanuk* etc. The Extremely Backward Classes are also known as the *Pawani Class* i.e. service delivering castes. Among the Extremely Backward Castes group, there is no such castes group whose population exceeds more than 3 percent for instance the population of *Nai* as per census 1931 is 1.4 percent, *Kahar* constitutes 1.7 percent, *Badhai* is 1.0 percent, *Dhanuk* is 1.8 percent etc.

Political and Educational Representation of Backward Castes

1. Political Representation

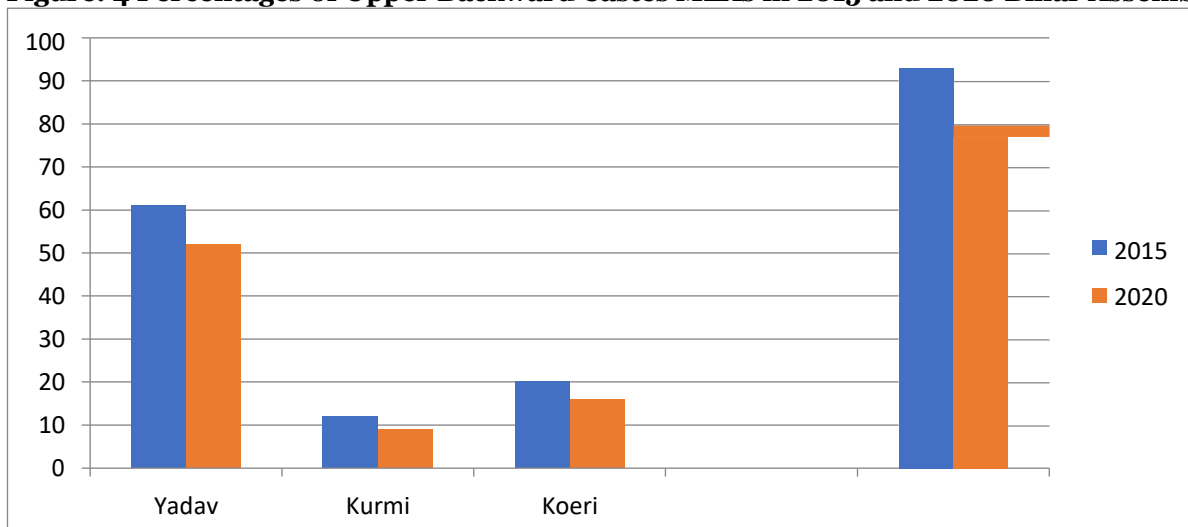
What the political representation contends that the masses that are being to be represented transfer the power to the representative and therefore it limits the power and political role of the masses and the representative is all authorised to make decisions and enact laws in their names. This view got space in the political philosophy of Thomas Hobbes who was of opinion that the citizens relocated their power to the representative body to which Hobbes calls 'the Great Leviathan' who is vested with the exclusive legitimate power to act as he finds fit. The representative form of government is another way of "making present" (Pettit, 2009, p. 62) the representees (ibid.) in the law-making assembly. Bihar has been the biggest example of feudal and caste-based politics. The politics of Bihar could be analysed in two separate phases. The first phase revolves around the period before advent of Mandal politics and the second one in post-Mandal politics. In the first phase the power in Bihar was under the clutches of upper castes, Karpoori Thakur, B. P. Mandal and few others are exceptions. But the post-Mandal period politics was dominated by the upper backward classes. Since 1990 Bihar has not witnessed any Chief Minister from upper castes. In post 1990s period Lalu Prasad Yadav, Rabri Devi, Nitish Kumar and Jitan Ram Manjhi have been the chief ministers for different period of time in Bihar. The follower of former Chief Minister and a committed socialist Karpoori Thakur and the Backward Castes politicians who had faith in the Lohia socialism and demands for the inclusive development of the backwards remained untouched. Yadavs and Kurmi occupied the top most political position in the Bihar Legislative Assembly as chief minister. But if we see the political development and representation among the backwards the upper backwards dominated the Bihar politics in terms of representation whereas the most populated Extremely Backward Castes remained out of purview of the representation politics. The introduction of reservation of seats in the Panchayati Raj for different castes and sex groups has provided an opportunity to increase their base in the local level politics. But still there remains a huge gap between the local level politics and the apex politics in terms of representations. At the apex level the decision and policies made had larger impact whereas the decision made and implemented at the grassroots politics has the limited impact.

Figure:3 Percentage of Upper Backward Castes MLAs in 2015 and 2020 Bihar Assembly



Sources: Collected from SPINPER Project and TCPD (Data in Percentage)

Figure: 4 Percentages of Upper Backward Castes MLAs in 2015 and 2020 Bihar Assembly



Sources: Collected from SPINPER Project and TCPD (Data in Percentage)

The figures 3 and 4 show the representation of upper castes and the upper backward castes in the Bihar Legislative Assembly for year 2015 and 2020. The figures clearly depict that the number of members for the upper castes in the assembly has increased in comparison to the backward castes.

Among the upper castes every upper castes mentioned in the figure 1 has registered their increments in total seats in 2020 in comparison to 2015 but Kayasths remained at the same position whereas the number of seats for the upper backwards has declined in 2020 in comparison to 2015 (SPINER and TCPD). The caste-based disparities while distributing the seats in the 2020 Bihar state assembly election has also been marked. The RJD and JD (U) who claim themselves to be the harbinger of social justice in Bihar remained concentrated in distributing maximum tickets to their own castemen. In 2020 RJD distributed 36 percent of its total election tickets to Yadav community and only 9% of the tickets were distributed to extremely backwards (SPINER and TCPD). The BJP and JD (U) distributed 10.9 percent and 15.7 percent respectively of the total election tickets to extremely backward castes. Bihar highly populated caste groups received the least tickets for contesting elections. The representation of castes in Bihar Legislative Assembly could be analysed in two phases. Since independence the politics of Bihar was under the domination of upper caste till 1990s. Karpoori Thakur and B.P. Mandal governments are only exception in this phase. The upper caste representation in Bihar Legislative Assembly from 1962 to 1990 remained above 40%, it declined by only 2% only in 1990. The representation of backward castes in the assembly increased dramatically after 1990. For the year 1995, 2005, 2000a (re-election held when political parties failed to form government) and 2015 the representation of backwards as a whole remained above 40 percent (SPINER and TCPD). Whereas Yadavs alone, among the backward, was represented above 50 percent for years 1990, 1995, 2005, 2015 (SPINER and TCPD). The Koeri and Kurmi also maintained more representation than their population. The extremely backward castes had very marginal representation than the upper backwards like for year 1990, 1995 and 2000 the representation of the extremely backwards was below 10 percent in Bihar Legislative Assembly. It reached to 20 % only in 2020 assembly (SPINER and TCPD).

2. Reservation: Monitoring Efficiency

The compartmentalized castes have divided the labor work in the society. There exists a hypothesis that the superior castes are vested with more intelligence and informed which create a sense among the castes that the caste and merit are linked strongly (Rao, 2008, p. 83). This vintage angle of castes hierarchy has created many social challenges for those who were leveled as the less intelligent and impure in terms of caste. This further resulted into derogatory life standard and dignity. Therefore, in order to provide remedy to the discrimination, deprivation and disparities made for years and to establish an achievable egalitarian society our constitution makers introduced many provisions in the constitution for the socio-economic and political upliftment of the people at the lower end. In this regard, Preamble to the Indian Constitution mentioned to have a society based on equality, justice, liberty and fraternity. Further the provision enshrined in Article 14 says that every person shall be treated equal and they shall have the equal protection of law. The Article 17 of the Constitution promised to eliminate untouchability in all form. These are the turning point for those who had faced several challenges historically based on caste. In order to provide an equal opportunity Article 16 (4) of the constitution opened up the door for the educationally and socially backward people of India. But when the provision for the reservation in the favour of educationally and socially backward castes was tabled by the Mandal Commission, L. R. Nayak, member of the Mandal Commission objected the recommendations of the Mandal Commission (Arawal and Aggarwal, 1991, p. 231-32). The recommendation of 27 per cent of reservation of seats by Mandal commission in government services and educational institutions provided a new momentum to the development of Other Backward Classes but it also created an irony for the inclusive development of the backward classes. It was ironic in the sense that the upper backwards i.e. Koiris, Kurmis and Yadavs etc. were the prominent beneficiaries of the Mandal Commission in Bihar (Mathur, 2004, p. 117-18). Before the implementation of the Mandal Commission, Kaka Kelkar Commission was assigned the task to devise a mechanism upon which the backward caste could be provided reservation, a long waited due social justice. When Kaka Kelkar submitted its report, it was rejected by the parliament on the ground that the Commission formulated the recommendation only on the basis of caste and caste could not be the single entity in defining the backwardness of a caste. Later the central government came up with the other provisions with respect to the reservation policy and the task to provide reservation to the backward classes was assigned to the state governments and it could be seen from the figure no. 5 that many states while providing reservation to the backward classes they followed a layered reservation model that means there existed a compartmentalized reservation. The backwardness existed among the backward castes as whole was different types for the different castes. Therefore, the purpose of the layered reservation was to provide social justice to all, those who are more backwards and as per the population of those castes the share in the reservation policy for the different caste groups was devised.

Table: 5 Backward Classes Commissions and Reservation Model in States of India

Name of State/UT	Backward Classes Commission(s), Year	Total Reservation for OBC	Share of Reservation
Andhra Pradesh ⁱⁱ	a. Manohar Pershad Commission, 1968. b. Veerapa Committee, 1975. c. Murlidhar Rao Commission, 1982	29%	“BC-A: 7%; BC-B: 10%; BC-C: 01%; BC-D: 07%; BC-E*: 04%” ⁱⁱⁱ
Bihar ^{iv}	a. Mungerilal Commission, 1971. b. U.N. Sinha, 1994.	30%	BC: 12%; EBC: 18%; OBCs Women: 35% (horizontal reservation). ^v
Karnataka	a. L.C. Miller Committee, 1918. b. Nagan Gowda Committee, 1961. c. Havanur Commission, 1975. d. Venkataswamy Commission, 1985. e. Chinnappa Ready Commission, 1990	32%	Cat. I- 4%; Cat. IIA-15%; Cat. IIB-4%; Cat. IIIA- 4%; Cat. IIIB- 5%. ^{vi}
Maharashtra	a. Deshmukh Committee, 1961	21%	Other Backward Classes: 19% Special Backward Classes- 2%. ^{vii}
Tamil Nadu	a. Sattanathan Commission, 1969 b. J. A. Ambashankar Commission, 1982	50%	Backward Classes: 26.5%; Most Backward Classes: 20%; BC Muslims: 3.5%.

Sources: Collected from different sources

In caste of Bihar, Mungerilal Commission was established to deal with the reservation policy in 1975-76. The Mungerilal Commission recommended two layered of reservation first was 18 percent for the Extremely Backward Classes, 12 percent for Backward Classes and later 3 percent each of reservation was introduced for women and economically backward classes. Similarly Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka has five layers of reservation policy, (PIB, 2018 and www.karnataka.gov.in). So looking at the experience of the state based reservation model L. R. Nayak doubted the recommendations made by the Mandal Commission. He has mentioned in the minutes that there is possibility that the upper backward castes may corner the biggest share of the reservation benefits like the big fish inhale the small fish. The primary data collected by NSSO, NUEPA, PIB etc. reveals that due to reservation policy in higher educational institution the number of other backward classes students has increased. For instance, in 2007 the number of OBCs students in the higher education reached to 1, 96, 236 and in 2018 it increased further to 3, 90, 286 then it became 41, 77, 17 in 2009 and for 2010 the data was 4, 47, 717. Hence the data shows that since the implementation of the reservation policy in higher education in 2007 the number of students increased in 2010 almost by 2 lakh (Ministry of Social Justice, pib.nic.in). On the similar pattern the Gross Ratio Enrollment has increased from 14.57% in 2007 to 29.36 % in 2014 (Sabharwal and Manish, 2016, 33). It is evident from the data available that the number of OBCs student has registered their high presence in the higher education but yet there remain a doubt about the efficiency of the reservation policy. The Extremely Backward Classes, who were mostly landless, service provider to others, indulge in less paid jobs. But the condition of Other Backward (Upper Backwards) has not been same in comparison to the Extremely Backwards. The upper backwards had respective landownership, politically advanced, educated and informed. It is widely believed that those who has less share in the resources, political and social activities have less chances of equal opportunity, dignity and respect and the establishment of Justice Rohini Commission for re-visiting the OBC reservation policy justify the arguments.

3. Educational Representation of the Backward Castes**Table 6: Representation of the Backward Caste Students in 10th and 12th from 380 Schools out of the 2800 High Schools of Bihar**

S. No.	Caste	Out of 380 schools, Number of schools admitting of students of these castes	Matriculation			Intermediate		
			Total Number of students	Total No. of OBCs students	Students of the caste	Total Number of students	Total No. of OBCs students	Students of the caste
1	Kumhar	58	3,610	1,561	92	3,372	1,402	90
2	Koeri	86	5,053	1,950	408	4,638	1,774	402
3	Kurmi	190	14,169	4,212	815	10,670	3,838	689
4	Kandu	23	1,339	586	24	1,125	497	25
5	Kahar	48	2,713	1,101	97	2351	952	80
6	Karmkar	26	1680	681	44	1413	609	31
7	Tanti	19	1394	476	21	1210	408	18
8	Teli	118	6813	2540	381	6097	2272	300
9	Turha	04	356	150	3	346	155	5
10	Tamoli	03	337	93	5	320	97	5
11	Baniya	46	2697	1125	161	2447	1007	169
12	Bind	01	40	30	02	39	25	01
13	Badhai	61	3925	1548	110	3645	1383	88
14	Beldar	03	204	97	04	184	78	05
15	Bhedihar	14	683	311	16	634	279	17
16	Halwai	33	2119	809	43	2008	711	50
17	Hazam	196	13141	4613	300	11772	4231	218
18	Mali	09	544	203	12	468	182	04
19	Mallah	48	3022	1150	74	2748	1032	56
20	Noniya	23	1183	468	28	1155	434	19
21	Yadav	270	15805	5375	1508	13933	4932	1361
22	Sudhi	31	2154	858	102	2258	794	97
23	Modi	03	111	48	05	96	45	05
24	Thathera	03	167	48	03	143	47	03
25	Kalwar	24	1472	597	61	1345	512	39
26	Momin	13	914	410	70	855	377	53
27	Kunjara	03	202	69	05	159	60	02
28	Marwari	01	160	73	01	133	69	00
29	Dhanuk	32	2217	827	76	2059	741	63
30	Kasera	02	284	122	02	259	118	03
31	Kamar	06	181	95	04	148	78	03
32	Devhar	03	251	56	11	239	61	06
33	Aamat	06	442	125	07	396	107	04
34	Varnwal	07	324	154	11	317	157	08
35	Sonar	27	1797	647	30	1589	581	24
36	Khatwe	03	247	66	02	229	53	01
37	Banpar	02	66	24	05	63	17	04
38	Sanyasi	01	106	26	00	80	24	01
39	Dhuniya	07	399	182	10	341	141	11
40	Aansari	06	358	150	21	301	121	06
41	Chudihar	01	50	11	00	39	11	02
42	Julaha	07	508	207	20	490	200	10
43	Kewat	10	455	207	18	352	168	16
44	Musalman	15	699	354	30	626	317	33
45	Bhueya	01	55	02	02	51	02	02
46	Poddar	01	117	43	05	114	46	08

47	Surak	01	117	43	01	114	46	01
Source: Mungerilal Commission Report, Part, III, 1976, p. 111-11; Satya Prakash, "Analysing Social Transformation in Bihar Under the Regime of Karpoori Thakur, M.Phil., Unpublished Thesis, 2017.								

The collected by the Mungerilal Commission from 380 schools out of 2800 high schools suggest that the number of representations of the Upper Backward Classes like Yadavs, Koiri, Kurmi and Baniya was much more appreciable than the representation of the lower backward classes. The education representation of the backward castes since independence has not been advanced in comparison to the upper castes. But the data shown in the table above shows the representation of upper backward in comparison to the extremely backward castes has been placed better. While self-studying the present condition of educational status of the backwards at the 10th and 12th for year 2019-20 and 2020-21 in two schools of Rohtas district shows that the presence of extremely backward castes at the 10th and 12th level for both the stream of science and arts has increased to a close representation of upper backwards. In Prem Nagar High School, Rohtas Bihar out of 70 students in class 10th section A the number of upper backward castes students' enrolment is 29 and the number of extremely backward students is 27. But further after investigation of their educational status it is found that many of the extremely backward castes after 10th and 12th are not able to get enrolled in the prestigious educational institutions.^{viii}

Conclusion

The politics of Bihar is said to be following the path designed by Ram Manohar Lohia and Karpoori Thakur who always advocated the empowerment of the backward and the downtrodden. But looking at the data available on the political, educational, and social representation of backward castes it seems that a few chunks of the backward communities have overrepresentation in socio-educational, political, and economic institutions. This only means that there exist structural discrimination among the other backward which favoured mostly the upper backward because of which the upper backwards progressed faster than the lower backward. After analysing the different parameters of development like the political, educational, and educational status of the Extremely Backward Castes mark that the yet after 75 years of Independence the status of the extremely backward castes in comparison to the upper castes and the upper backward castes has not changed. It is also found that due to complexities and fragmentation of castes the extremely backward castes have failed to form any active political association that could bargain with the mainstream political parties.

ⁱ In 1953 the first Backward Classes Commission was set by the Government of India under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar. The Commission submitted its report on March 30, 1955. The Commission identified 2, 399 castes as the Backward Castes out of which 837 castes were identified as the most backward castes. The measure recommendations of the Commission was that all women should be treated as class as 'backwards'; reservation of 70 per cent of seats in professional and technical institutions for the backward classes; the Commission recommended separate level of reservation for different classes of services etc. However, the recommendation of Kelkar Commission was not accepted since it adopted caste as the main entity in defining backwardness and failed to provide a proper test in identifying the backward classes.

ⁱ 25% of seats were reserved in class I services; 33.3% in class II; 40% in Class III and IV services and 70% seats reserved in all technical and professional institutions.

ⁱⁱ Andhra Pradesh had appointed three backward classes commission in different years to tackle the issue of reservation policy for backward classes for instance Manohar Pershad Commission in 1968; Veerapa Committee, 1975; Murlidhar Rao Commission, 1982.

ⁱⁱⁱ Government of India, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Press Information Bureau, *Status of Reservation of OBC in Various States*, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=108754> Accessed on May 21, 2018.

^{iv} In Bihar Mungerilal Commission was established in 1971 to prepare the list of backward classes and its recommendation was implemented by Chief Minister Karpoori Thakur in 1978.

^v TNN, "Nitish Kumar Demands Separate Quota for EBCs in Central Government Jobs", *Times of India*, January 24, 2018. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/nitish-kumar-demands-separate-quota-for-ebcs-in-central-government-jobs/articleshow/62640122.cms> Accessed on May 18, 2018.

^{vi} <https://www.karnataka.gov.in/mscwb/Pages/Reservation.aspx>. Accessed on June 30, 2018.

^{vii} "List of Caste and Tribes in Maharashtra". <http://www.ymnonline.com/data/stureg/caste.html>

^{viii} Self-Assessments of the student's attendance register done by the scholar by visiting the school.

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