

RESERVATION FOR BACKWARD CLASSES IN TAMILNADU – PRESENT SCENARIO

A. Anithapandi, Full Time Research Scholar, Department of History, DDE, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai -21, anithaphdmku@gmail.com.

Dr. S. Pushpalatha, Assistant Professor & Head (i/c), Department of History, DDE, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai -21, lathasamayanallur@gmail.com.

Abstract

Tamil Nadu is a state in Southern India. It is a tenth largest state in India by area and sixth largest state in population. In Sangam age, there was caste institution. The society was based on occupations related to their residing lands. In course of time due to the invasions and migration social structure transformed in Tamil Nadu. The present caste system came into practice. After the arrival of the Britishers, they saw the society based on caste system which is structured vertically. There was no mobility in society. So, Britishers wanted to eliminate all the social evils which have been followed in India. By implementing the quota based reservation policy in education and employment opportunities, they wanted to emancipate the discriminated section of the society. In this research paper, an attempt has been made by the researcher to find out the reservation for backward class people in Tamil Nadu and enlighten the recent changes in reservation in Tamil Nadu.

Key Words: *Reservation, Affirmative action, Exclusive, Amendment, Backward Class.*

Introduction

Reservation is a form of quota based affirmative action. Reservation system in India constitutes a number of initiatives like reserving access to seats in the legislatures, in Government jobs and in higher educational institutions. Reservation is one of the social measures has been put in practice to secure rights, powers and privileges for the age old discriminated section of the Indian population.¹ Along with this affirmative policy, the Indian Government has undertaken various associated social measures for the benefit of the socially weaker sections. For introducing various social measures now and then several committees and commissions were appointed to study the socio-economic conditions of the backward and the downtrodden sections of the society. On the basis of their recommendations, major social welfare measures have been implemented. Tamil Nadu is one among the pioneer states to implement the welfare measures like reservation for the weaker sections. Since Independence, Tamil Nadu has so many issues, such as caste divisions, regional and linguistic differences, problems of illiteracy, religious, backwardness and poverty, the minority problems, and socially and economically weaker sections' struggle for rights.² In this research paper, an effort has been taken to focus on reservation for the backward castes in Tamil Nadu and its present scenario.

Britishers ruled over India from 18th century onwards. In Britain, they witnessed only class system whereas in India, they saw a peculiar society based on caste system which is structured vertically. Class system and caste system are entirely opposite to each other. Class system is based on economy, in which one could be rich or poor. It has the option of flexibility from moving one strata to another without any difficulty. Hence, when one has money, he or she will be in the high status of the society. The same person will be in the low status, when he or she doesn't have money. So the society is based on economy. In India, society is based on the social system called caste system where there is no mobility. When one person born in low caste, till his death he continues to be in the same caste. There have been many unwritten rules and regulations, which have been imposed through the ages gradually.³ Rulers also encouraged and perpetuated the same social institution. During the British period, it was seen as unhealthy social institution.

Britishers have seen many social evils including the caste system in the life style of Indians. In due course, they used the same social institution to prolong their rule in India. By implementing the quota based reservation policy in educational and employment opportunities they found very easy to apply their popular strategy ‘divide and rule’ in India. When separate electorate was introduced in Minto-Morley Reforms Act, it was heralded that this reservation would be having long time impact in India. Accordingly, seats were reserved for Muslims in legislative bodies. Similarly, other communal and caste groups, particularly in the name of non-Brahmin Hindus in south India, agitated for their rights. Thereby, there arose demands of various groups for reservation.

Emergence of the Term Backward Classes and its Connotation

The idea of reservation for “backward classes” was first debated in 1881, by Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, in his statement to Hunter Commission which is set up by the British Government to enquire into the status of Primary and Secondary education in India. In 1885, the Madras Government referred to the term “backward classes” while discussing the level of education in its province, without really specifying who were the backward classes. The term “backward classes” in Colonial India meant different things in different places. Maharaja of Kolhapur was inspired by Jyotiba Phule, while implementing his own reservation policy in 1902. He reserved 50 percent of the posts in his administration in favour of “backward classes”, which he defined as “all castes other than Brahmins, Prabhus, Shenvis, Parsees and other socially and economically advanced sections.”⁴ So, it was obvious that before the execution of the British, the Maharaja of Kolhapur implemented the reservation policy in his state. It was given to the non-Brahmin section of the society in the name of backward classes without defining the term actually. In 1933, the Bombay Government passed a resolution which contained three “schedules” or lists. These lists referred three groups of the Presidency Viz., depressed classes, aboriginal and hill tribes, and “other backward classes”. Schedule I contained a list of 47 “depressed classes”. Schedule II had 29 aboriginal and hill tribes. Schedule III was the longest list – it consisted of 125 castes called in the name of “Other Backward

Classes”. But there was no clarity that who were all backward classes. And also, it was very clear that, the term “other backward classes” was not restricted to the Hindus alone.⁵

Britishers identified that Brahmins dominated in all the fields such as politics, education, and employment. In 1909, Minto-Morley Reforms Act was passed to give representation to the Muslims in order to divide the Indian society and to prolong their regime. It awakened the other sections of the Indian society. In the subsequent decades Non Brahmins of South India, especially in the Madras Presidency, formed an association called South Indian Liberal Federation to fight for their rights and privileges. It was later renamed as Justice Party. The South Indian Liberal Federation issued a Manifesto in 1916 with the help of small body of elites. This Manifesto came to be known as the “Non-Brahmin Manifesto” of 1916 as designed to secure the advancement of Non-Brahmins in Education and Government services.⁶ This Manifesto stood for the rights and privileges of the Non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency. When the South Indian Liberal Federation turned as a political party, it served for the cause of the emancipation of the non-Brahmins.

Resolution of 1921 and Communal G.Os in Tamil Nadu

In August 1921, a resolution was passed in the State Legislative Council of the Madras Presidency recommending the Government to take steps to increase the number of posts in Government Offices held by Non-Brahmin community. Thereby, the first Communal G.O. was enacted. According to the roster system that was suggested in the first Communal G.O was set to the following pattern: Brahmins, Non-Brahmin Hindus, Indian Christians, Muhammadans, Europeans and Anglo-Indians and others.⁷ It was accepted by the Board of Revenue. By this G.O. all the grades were opened to all communities. This G.O. changed the socio-political condition of the non-Brahmins and assisted their upliftment. The first Communal Government Order (G.O) was not implemented till 1927 because of the strong opposition of the Brahmins. According to the proceedings of the half year returns submitted as per the first Communal G.O, the percentage of new appointments from different communities in the half year ending 31 December, 1921, was the Brahmins 22%, the non-Brahmin Hindus 48%, the Indian

Christians 10%, the Mohammedans 15%, the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians 2% and others 3%. The inadequate statistics of the returns forced for its revision.⁸ Hence, the second Communal G.O. was enacted in 1922 which enhanced the opportunities of appointments of the Non-Brahmins. This G.O. informed that the principle of Board's Standing Order should be given effect to both at the time of recruitment and at every point of promotion. The Third G.O. passed in 1928, placed each community in an orderly manner.⁹ At that time there was no backward caste or depressed caste list to treat them separately.

In 1923, the Government ordered that any school, which received funds from government, should not deny the admission to the children belong to depressed castes. The Madras Government announced that if any school denied admission to such children, no aid would be given by the government. A Bill was passed in the Madras Legislative Council on 28 April, 1925 with the efforts of Rettamalai Seenivasan. According to that, access was given to the downtrodden people in all places.

In 1925, Government divided the backward classes list into two: 1) the depressed classes with 85 communities consisting of Panchamas and Tribals; and 2) castes other than the depressed classes. By splitting the list into two, the government pointed out that the Depressed Class people are eligible for the grant of fee concession. This helped the STs also to enter in the field of education.¹⁰ The year 1927 was another milestone for passing the third Communal G.O. which also enabled the Non-Brahmins to have their share. The communities were grouped into five categories; but the proportion of appointments out of every 12 posts as follows: Non – Brahmin Hindus - five out of twelve, Brahmins – two out of twelve, Muslims – two out of twelve, Anglo- Indians and Christians – two out of twelve and Depressed Castes – one out of twelve. It was appointed in the rotation manner. So, a kind roster system was also introduced. This G.O. was in operation till 1947.¹¹

The Brahmin Community, traditionally the learned class, was always leading in the social and educational advancement. The Non-Brahmin Hindus with their large

population just experienced the beginning to acquire education. These communal government orders paved the way for Non-Brahmins to get their share in employment opportunities. These communal orders facilitated for their recruitment to Government Services.¹² In communal government orders also, there was no criteria to define the term backward caste or class.

After independence, the Constitution of India also does not define the term 'backward classes'. The drafting committee of the Constituent Assembly, under the Chairmanship of Ambedkar, was responsible for adopting the phrase "backward class" in Article 16(4) of the Constitution. A few years later, in a debate on the first amendment to the Constitution, Ambedkar explained that the backward classes were "nothing else but a collection of certain castes".¹³

Backward Classes and the Indian Constitution

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

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

Article 340 - Appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes.

- 1) The President may by order appoint a Commission consisting of such persons as he thinks fit to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the Union or any State to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition and as to the grants that should be made for the purpose by the Union or any State the

conditions subject to which such grants should be made, and the order appointing such Commission shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission

- 2) A Commission so appointed shall investigate the matters referred to them and present to the President a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper
- 3) The President shall cause a copy of the report so presented together with a memorandum explaining the action taken thereon to be laid before each House of Parliament.

Reservation in Tamil Nadu after the First Amendment

The implementation of the Clause (4) of Article 15 of the Constitution paved the way for the formulation of new reservation scheme in Tamil Nadu. According to that reservation was made as like 15% for SCs/STs, 25% for BCs and 60% for others. Social and educational backwardness was the criteria for fixing the reservation in Public Services. Muhammedans, Anglo-Indians and Christians were also included in the BCs.¹⁴

Kaka Kalelkar Commission

From 1870 onwards, the description 'Backward Classes' (BC) was commonly applied in various sections of the population. In the Constitution itself the terms SCs & STs are clearly defined. According to the Constitution, the backward categories were divided into three segments like, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). It was very difficult to identify the OBC. Accordingly, under the provision of Article 340 (1), the first All India Backward Classes Commission was set up in the year 1953, under the Chairmanship of Kaka Saheb Kalelkar and nine other members. The main objective of the Commission was to determine the criteria for identifying the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes. The Commission prepared a list of such backward communities throughout India. The Kaka Kalelkar Commission submitted its report in 1955 with the following important recommendations

1. Undertaking Caste-wise enumeration of people in 1961 Census.

2. Inclusion of all women under backward classes.
3. Reservation of 70% of seats in professional & technical institutions for qualified students of backward classes.
4. Reservation of 25% of vacancies in class I cadre, 33 1/3 % in class II and 40% in class III and IV of union services
5. Relating social backwardness of a class to its low position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society.

Since the recommendations were not accepted and executed, this Commission was a failure. This commission tried to prepare the list of BCs on the basis of occupations and failed to specify the socially backward. Differences of opinion over the report within the members of the Commission led to the failure of the main objectives of the Commission.

Sattanathan Commission

As the efforts were undertaken by the Government of India to identify the OBCs, the task was given to the State Government in 1961. The then Chief Minister of TamilNadu, M. Karunanidhi appointed the First State Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of A. N. Sattanathan in 1969. The main objective of the Commission was to study the progress of BCs in educational, economic and employment in Government Services and to suggest measures for their improvement.¹⁵In 1970, the Commission submitted its report and pointed out the following facts.

- 1) Some forward group castes as ‘small minor groups’, should be included in the list of ‘BCs’ for gaining the benefits given to the underprivileged.
- 2) The commission took the term ‘caste’ as the unit to identify the BCs.

Recommendations of Sattanathan Commission

Main Recommendations

1. The existing list of Backward Classes contained several inconsistencies and the same should be rationalized.
2. 33% of posts under the State Government should be reserved for the candidates of Other Backward Classes.
3. The above reservation should be followed in respect of admission to various professional & technical institutions also; and
4. Various educational concessions, special coaching facilities, etc., should be provided to the students of Other Backward Classes.¹⁶

The Sattanathan Commission identified a category called “Most backward classes (MBCs)”. The Sattanathan Commission suggested reservation of 33% in favour of BCs.¹⁷

Keeping in view of the above recommendations of the Commission, the Supreme Court’s judgement in Balaji case and the population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as per 1971 Census, the state government ordered reservation of 31% of all posts for Backward Classes and 18% for SCs & STs. In respect of educational institutions also the reserved quota for these two categories of students was fixed at 31% & 18% respectively.¹⁸

The State Government has enhanced the reservation quota for OBCs from 31% to 50% from January 24th, 1980, both in Government services & educational institutions. This is in addition to the quota of 18% reserved for SCs & STs.

In M. Balaji Vs Mysore [3] (1963) case, court has put 50% cap on reservation in almost all states except Tamil Nadu (69% under 9th Schedule) & Rajasthan (68% quota including 14% for Forward Castes).¹⁹

The Annual income of the Backward Classes

According to the recommendations of the Sattanathan Commission, the then A.I.A.D.M.K Government fixed that concessions to be given on the economic basis, fixed Rs.9000/- annual income for the Backward Class people. So, those who got more than Rs.9000/- as their annual income should be considered as economically advanced as per the G.O. of 1979.²⁰ This step was taken to throw away the concessions enjoyed by the

backward people. The Dravida Kazhaham raised their voice against this action. Dravida Munnetra Kazhaham, Dravida Kazhaham, Communist Parties, the Muslim League and other allied parties also started agitation against the order.²¹ Due to the 1980 Parliamentary Election, the then A.I.A.D.M.K government withdrew, the G.O. related to the income Rs.9000/-. On the contrary, to pacify the people, reservation for the Backward Classes was enhanced from 31% to 50%. The G.O. explained that the SCs STs were to have 18% and 32% left for the open competition.

Ambasankar Commission

In 1982, the M.G.R. Government appointed the second Tamil Nadu State Backward Classes Welfare Commission under J. A. Ambasankar, a retired I.A.S Officer as a Chairman of the Commission with 12 members. This Commission was appointed to review the existing BC list and the measures so far undertaken by the State Government for their welfare. This commission submitted its report in 1985.²²

Recommendations

Ambasankar Commission recommended compartmental reservation under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution. He arrived at this conclusion from the survey conducted by the commission which revealed the wide disparity the level of backwardness among the Backward Classes. Special reservation should be provided to the Most Backward Castes. The percentage of the reservation for the Backward Classes has gone up. But the concessions did not reach the Most Backward Classes like Vanniyar, Muttaraiyar, Ambalakarar, Fisheries, Navithar, Washerman, Boyar, Narikuravar, etc., Hence the Commission recommended for exclusive reservation for MBCs in the BCs' reservation. Subsequently, out of the 50% reservation for BCs, the Most Backward Classes and Denotified Communities have got 20% reservation. This announcement and the tabling of the Amba Sankar Commission Report in the State Assembly suggest that there is some hope for the really backward sections among the BCs in the state.²³

Mandal Commission

In 1978, due to unprecedented violence over the OBC reservation scheme, the second All India Backward Class Commission was appointed on 20 December, 1978, Morarji Desai's Government chose Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal, former Chief Minister of Bihar, to head the all India Second Backward Class Commission to "identify the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes" of India. He submitted his report two years later on 31st December, 1980. By then, the Morarji Desai's Government had fallen and Indira Gandhi came to power. It remained in deep freeze during her term and that of Rajiv Gandhi also. During the time of V. P. Singh, it was put into effect.

Recommendations

Following are the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.

The Commission identified the OBC's on the basis of caste, economy and social indicators, comprised 52% of the India's population in 1980. It was done according to the 1931 Census. It was the last enumeration of caste in the country.

The Commission's report recommended 27% of jobs under the Central Government and Public Sectors to the members of OBCs. Hence, according to Commission's recommendation total reservation increased to 49.5% for SCs, STs and OBCs in all India level opportunities.

The Data

- (1) The Mandal Report says that reservations to the extent of 27 per cent in Central and State government services, public sector undertakings and educational institutions for 3,473 castes, both Hindu and non-Hindu, who have been grouped under the category of backward castes must be given.
- (2) Backward Class candidates recruited on the basis of merit in open competition should not be adjusted against their reservation quota of 27 per cent.
- (3) 27 per cent reservation should be made applicable to promotions at all levels also.
- (4) Quotas which are not filled should be carried forward for a period of three years and de-reserved thereafter.

(5) Special educational/vocational training must be made for Backward Class students.²⁴

Identification of the Other Backward Classes

Mandal commission has made castes and communities as the basis of identification of Other Backward Classes in the Indian society. The commission apart from the caste has also applied stigma of low occupation, criminality, beggary and untouchability to identify the social backwardness. It has also taken into account the inadequate representation in public services as another test for identification of Other Backward Classes. Thus, the Commission with the help of Bureau of Economics and Statistics of various states, surveyed 405 out of 407 districts of India.²⁵ The Mandal Commission concentrated on two aspects of reservation - namely, the criteria and quantum of reservation. Eleven indicators were grouped under three heads - social, educational and economic indicators were devised in order to ascertain the socio-economic backwardness of the people.²⁶

A. Social Indicators

The social indicators included:

- (i) Castes/ Classes considered as socially backward by others.
- (ii) Castes or classes mainly dependent upon manual labour for their livelihood.
- (iii) Castes/ Classes where at least 25% females and 10% males above the State average get married at an age below 17 years in rural areas and at least 10% females and 5% males do so in urban areas.
- (iv) Castes/Classes where participation of females in work is 25% above the State average.

B. Educational Indicators

- (i) Castes/Classes where the number of children in the age group of 5-15 years who never attended schools is at least 25% above the State average.

- (ii) Castes/Classes where the rate of student drop-out in the age group of 5-15 years is at least 25% above the State average.
- (iii) Castes/Classes where the proportion of matriculates is at least 25% below the State average.

C. Economic Indicators

- (i) Castes/ Classes where the average value of family assets is at least 25% below the State average.
- (ii) Castes/Classes where the number of families living in Kuccha houses is at least 25% above the State average.
- (iii) Castes/ Classes where the source of drinking water is beyond half a kilometer for more than 50% of the households.

These indicators added a total score of 22 points.²⁷

The Commission formulated criteria for determining socio-economic backwardness on the following lines: Low social position in the traditional Hindu caste hierarchy.

1. General lack of educational advancement in the major section of a caste or community.
2. Inadequate or no representation in government service.
3. Inadequate participation in trade, commerce and industry.

A list of 2399 backward castes or communities for the whole country was prepared with 837 being classified as the most backward.²⁸ Mandal Commission adopted criteria for selecting OBCs on the basis of their castes. The report was shelved for many years and it was implemented during the Prime Ministership of V.P. Singh, only in 1990 and 27% seats were reserved for OBCs in central government jobs and educational institutions respectively.

Indhira Sawhney Case

In 1992, in Indhira Sawhney's Case, for the implementation of the Mandal Commission's recommendations, Supreme Court reiterated that the reservation percentage cannot

exceed 50% and also subjected to the exclusion of the advanced sections among the BCs or the creamy layer. The 50% ceiling meant the Other Backward Classes received 27% share in the reservation pie while SCs and STs together got 22.5% bring the total to 49.5% in all India level educational and employment opportunities. But some states including Tamil Nadu already have more than 50% of reservation.²⁹

In order to retain the previous quota, the State Assembly passed the Tamil Nadu Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Act, 1993, under Article 31(C) and kept its reservation limit intact at 69%. Due to the efforts taken by the then Chief Minister Jayalalitha's Government, 69% reservation was included in 9th Schedule of the Constitution (76th Amendment by Parliament Act) in 1994. In Tamil Nadu, the reservation for BCs - 30%, MBCs- 20%, SCs- 18%, STs- 1% was given by the State Government. Till now it has been continued with some exclusive reservation of seats.³⁰

OBC Term

The term Other Backward Classes (OBCs) has been used by the Government of India to classify castes that are educationally and socially disadvantaged. They constitute 52% of the country's population according to Mandal Commission Report of 1980. According to the Indian Constitution, OBC's are known as "Socially and Educationally Backward Classes". In all India level OBC's are entitled to 27% reservation in public sector employment and higher education. Until 1985, the affairs of the Backward Classes were looked after by the Backward Classes Cell in the Ministry of Home Affairs. In 1985, a separate ministry of welfare was established to attend to matters relating SCs, STs and OBCs. Later, it was renamed to Ministry of Social justice and Employment in 1988. In all India level there are 181 castes which are considered as OBCs.³¹ As Andre Beteille says, "The Other Backward Classes constitute a congeries of communities of rather uncertain status." They mainly consist of peasant castes, occupying a low position in the caste hierarchy and have remained educationally backward. Lack of education reveals their poor representation in government jobs or in white-collar jobs yet they may occupy a pivotal role in the economic and political life of the village.³²

OBC Reservation in 2020

The National Eligibility cum Entrance Test (NEET), to which there is much opposition in Tamil Nadu, surprisingly played a crucial role in the Madras High Court's reservation for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in the All India Quota (AIQ) Medical/Dental seats in State Government run colleges.³³ Candidates those who passed in NEET exam, are eligible to apply the U.G courses in Medical Colleges. In which the reservation scheme of the State government is followed.

The Tamil Nadu government on 15th September unanimously passed a bill in the state that provide 7.5 percent seats set apart on preferential basis to students those who studied in State Government schools and have qualified in NEET for getting admission to Under Graduate Courses of MBBS, BDS, Siddha, Ayurveda, Unani and Homeopathy from the academic year 2020 – 2021. It would be applicable to the State Quota seats in all Government Medical / Dental Colleges and to the seats allotted by the State Government in the self – financing Medical / Dental Colleges and all courses for which NEET has been prescribed as eligibility criteria.³⁴

A batch of pleas moved by candidates who got allotted to self-finance medical colleges through reservation but opted to waitlist as they could not afford the fee. A day later, the state government announced that it would sponsor all such students who are allotted seats in self-financing colleges.

Tamil Nadu Government has sanctioned an amount of Rs. 16 crore for creating a revolving fund to be operated by the Tamil Nadu Medical Services Corporation Limited to enable the payment of all type of essential fee and hostel fee for the students who have got admission under the 7.5% preferential allotment of seats in MBBS/BDS courses.³⁵ Simultaneously, the government passed an Act to provide for preference in admission to undergraduate professional courses in Universities, Government colleges and Private colleges for the students who studied in Government schools.³⁶ Hence, it is applicable in Engineering colleges.

Another drastic change in reservation was, the Tamil Nadu Government issued a notification reserving 20% of all the government jobs to the candidates who studied in the Tamil Medium.³⁷ The Public Interest Litigation (PIL) was filed in the State High Court's Madurai Bench, delayed the notification for the 20% reservation in the state government jobs and other positions.

The notification was issued about the amendment in the State of Persons Studied in Tamil Medium Act, 2010. Under the amendment, the state government can provide 20% reservation to the candidates studied in Tamil Medium in government services. The then Governor of the State, Banwarilal Purohit accorded his assent to the bill on 7th December, 2020. The amendment was passed by the State Legislative Assembly in March 2020. These reservations will come into force from next TNPSC recruitment notifications. The state government notified the Persons Studied in Tamil Medium (PSTM) will be given quota in the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission (TNPSC) recruitment such as TRB, TNPSC Group II exam and TNPSC Group IV exams.³⁸ 7.5% and 20% special reservations are considered within the respective reserved category.

Conclusion

The Government should take a national level survey to identify the deserving people, those who are socially & educationally backward within the caste & communities of our society. For those who are educationally backward but economically good, there should be reservation for education. For those who are economically backward but educationally good, there should be reservation for employment. For those who are educationally & economically backward, there should be reservation for both. So, everyone needs reservation in their own perspective for improvise their status in the society. The other backward classes have persistently appealed for reservation and fought for their status in Tamil Nadu, as an agricultural caste.

End Notes

- ¹. Srinivas, M. N., “**Caste in Modern India**”, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964, p.11.
- ². Panikkar, K. M., “**Hindu Society at Cross-Roads**”, Asia publishing House, Bombay, 1971, p.7.
- ³. Sharma, G. L., “**Caste, Class & Social Inequality in India**”, Vol. II, Jaipur, 2003, p.26.
- ⁴. Yesu Suresh Raj & Gokul Raja, “**An Analysis of Reservation System in India**”, IJR, Vol. 2, Issue 10, 2015, p.1039. E-ISSN: 2348 – 6848.
- ⁵. **Baburao S/O RajaramShindeVs State of Maharashtra and Ors. on 3.06.2002.**
- ⁶. **Non-Brahmin Manifesto of 1916.**
- ⁷. **G.O.No.613, Public Department**, dt.16.09.1921.
- ⁸. Pushpalatha S., ‘**Evolution and Growth of Reservation Policy in Tamil Nadu before Independence**’, SKRGC Publications, Madurai, 2019, p.99.
- ⁹. **Ibid.**, p.102.
- ¹⁰. **G.O.Ms.No.855, Law (Education)**, dt. 19.05.1925.
- ¹¹. **G.O.Ms.No.1071, Public**, dt. 04.11.1927.
- ¹².**G.O. No. 3447, Public (Services)**, dt. 2.11.1947.
- ¹³. **Report of the Backward Classes Commission of Tamil Nadu**, Madras, 1971, p.24.
- ¹⁴. Pushpalatha. S., ‘**History of Reservation Policy in Tamil Nadu 1916-1991**’, Sarup Book Publishers, New Delhi, 2012, p.150.
- ¹⁵. **G.O. Ms. No.842, Social Welfare Department**, dt. 13.11.1969.
- ¹⁶. **Report of the First Backward Classes Commission, I part, 1980**, Vol. I & II., p.11.
- ¹⁷. **Ibid.**
- ¹⁸.**Ibid.**, p.11.
- ¹⁹. **AIR 649, 1963.**
- ²⁰. **Report of the First Backward Classes Commission, Tamil Nadu, 1971**, Vol. I., pp.145-184.
- ²¹. **Ibid.**, pp.145-184.
- ²². **Report of the Second Backward Classes Commission**, Tamil Nadu, Vol. 1, 1985.
- ²³. **Economic & Political Weekly**, Jun. 10, 1989, Vol. 24, No. 23 (Jun. 10, 1989), pp. 1265, 1267-1268,ISSN 2349-8846.
- ²⁴. Rupa, C., “**Reservation Policy – Mandal Commission and After**”, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1992, p.134.
- ²⁵. **Report of the Backward Classes Commission**, Vol. I & II, p.52.
- ²⁶. Aparajit, J. L., “**Equality and Compensatory Discrimination under the Constitution**”, Dattson Publications, p.127.
- ²⁷. **Report of the Backward Classes Commission, Vol. I & II**, p.53.

- ²⁸. Jitendra Mishra, “**Equality versus Justice (The Problem of Reservations for Backward Classes)**”, Deep & Deep Publications, p.72.
- ²⁹. **AIR 1993 SC 477, 1992 Supp 2 SCR 454.**
- ³⁰. Agarwal S. P., and Agarwal, J.C., “**Educational and Social Uplift of Backward Classes at What Caste and How? Mandal Commission**”, New Delhi, 1991, p.23.
- ³¹. Report of the Backward Classes Commission of Tamil Nadu, **Op.cit.**, p.144.
- ³². Rupa, C., **Op.cit.**, p.134.
- ³³. S. Muhammad Imranullah, **The Hindu**, dt. 29.07.2020.
- ³⁴. **G.O. Ms. No.438, Health and Family Welfare (MCA.1) Department**, dt. 29.10.2020.
- ³⁵. **G.O. Ms. No.496, Health and Family Welfare (H1) Department**, dt. 30.11.2020.
- ³⁶. **ACT No. 14 of 2021**, Tamil Nadu Government Gazette Extraordinary, dt. 31.08.2021.
- ³⁷. **ACT No. 40 of 2010**, Tamil Nadu Government Gazette Extraordinary, dt. 27.10.2010.
- ³⁸. **G.O.Ms.No.40**. Personnel and Administrative Reforms Department, dt: 30.04.2014.