CHAPTER V

SOCIAL MOBILITY: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A number of students of social mobility like Miller, have stressed the need for a historical knowledge of the study of social mobility. This historical approach will put the study of social mobility into a wider context and help us in answering such basic questions as to what is the relation of social structure at a particular period in history of a nation to the rates and avenues of mobility. Was there a stronger social mobility at one period of history than another? If so why? What were the causes and consequences of such historical developments? Such a panorama of social mobility helps us in comprehending the causal as well as the consequential analysis of social mobility. While discussing such historical antecedents of social mobility we tend to enter into the discussion of social movements where a group or rather a class of people make deliberate attempt to move up the social hierarchy thereby bringing about either partial or total change in society. Writers like Sorokin, have attached great


importance to such collective type of social mobility. Sorokin, who has called the mobility of individuals up and down the hierarchy as infiltration, observes that infiltration is a part of normal social process which does not very much influence change. Whereas collective mobility is of greater significance, because, the movement of a group of people en masse, basically affects the entire social structure.

Hence, in this chapter an attempt is made to review briefly the organized attempts made by different sections of Indian society who used education as a leverage to move up the social hierarchy. It is also attempted to show how the movements, which appear to be sudden and dramatic, are not actually so in their origin and growth, but have their own historical antecedents. Such organized movements which bring about significant changes in social structure are culminations of amorphous and unorganized stages in the career of the movement. It will be seen how under conditions of sustained politicization and effective leadership, episodic issues of conflict, long-term grievances and discontent, and even random cases of complaints and conflicts tend to develop into full fledged movements with an organized structure, ideology and collective goals.
The evolution of the education system in India can be traced through four main phases, viz., (i) Aryan Civilization (ii) Buddhism (iii) Islamic culture and (iv) British India. During the earlier phases the teacher was never a secular functionary. During the first phase the teaching profession prescribed by Manu and hallowed by tradition was the monopoly of the highest caste namely the Brahmins. In those days education consisted of a study of sacred texts and scriptures. Hence the Non-Brahmins were ritually barred from acquiring this knowledge. Though the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas did appear on the educational scene, the core of education being a training of the young Brahmins for their future vocation as priests, their position was essentially peripheral. With the arrival of Buddhism, there was a shift not only in the venue of education but also from the topmost stratum of Brahmins to the lower strata of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Now the monasteries and maths headed by the Buddhist monks of Kshatriya origin became the main venues of imparting knowledge. The famous maths of Sringeri, Badari, Dwarka and Puri are said to have come into existence during this period. The disciples of the maths and monasteries included besides the priestly

class, the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas who were trained to pursue their technical skill. The technical and professional skills so acquired was passed on from generation to generation. Thus during the Buddhist rule, in addition to Brahminic intellectual tradition, facilities were provided by the guild school and monasteries for others to train them in productive skills. While during the earlier phase education was confined mainly to the vedic studies, during this phase, the monastic system facilitated education both sacred as also secular with the help of the monks.

Then came the third phase with the arrival of the Muslims about the 10th century A.D. Naturally the establishment of muslim rule in India led to a number of changes in the educational system. With the consolidation of Moghul power in India, Persian and Arabic came to be accepted as the languages of the new rulers. This new development called for a change in the traditional educational system. To a certain extent it weakened the position of Brahmin teachers and Buddhist monks who by virtue of their caste and religious position enjoyed a monopoly in the field of education. Now with the advent of a new ruling class with their own native languages, they, for the first time faced a stiff competition from the Muslim Moulvis who commenced teaching Persian and Arabic on the traditional pattern of education through religion. The Muslim Moulvis in the beginning had no class distinction
like the traditional system in India. But as the Muslims became Indianized they also fell in the rut of tradition worn by their Hindu predecessors. They followed the pattern set by the Brahmins so closely that while in the past education comprised of memorization of Vedas and Vēdāngas, now education meant memorization of Tafsīr and Hadīs. While in the past it was the Brahmin pandits and Buddhist monks who were the fountain-heads of learning, it was now the Muslim Moulvis who occupied that position. While in the past education was imparted in the monasteries and maths, now it was done in the Maktab and Madrasaha. Hence the Muslim rule changed the linguistic aspect of education, but the basic format of the system was retained. As a result while in the past it was the Hindu and Buddhist elite who monopolised education, during the Moghul rule it was the priestly class among the Muslims who came to rule the roost in the field.

When the British came to power, the question of imparting education to Indians became a centre of great controversy. Two schools of thought namely the occidentalists and orientalists emerged around this question. These schools carried on a debate with regard to defining the aims of modern education, its pattern and organization, the medium of education, as well the method and extent to which education was to be spread in India and the agencies which would finance and establish educational
While the occidentalists like Lord Macaulay and Raja Ram Mohan Roy strongly advocated the introduction of Western education in India, the orientalists who condemned secular education as Godless education favoured the status quo. However, the appointment of Lord Macaulay as the president of the committee on public instruction in the year 1834 and Sir Charles Wood's Dispatch of 1854 can be said to have turned the tide against the orientalists. Declaring that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole of native literature of India and Arabia", Lord Macaulay strongly advocated the imparting of knowledge of English literature and science. From our point of view what is more significant about Macaulay's Minute and Wood's Dispatch is that they completely severed the traditional link between religion and education. Especially Lord Macaulay's unequivocal declaration that it was the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions, can be said to have inaugurated a new era of educational system in India.

Thus education in India which was for centuries firmly rooted in religion, was for the first time secularized. But the leviathan of the centuries cannot be wiped

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out with a single administrative fiat. Therefore, even these revolutionary innovations had to be implemented gradually within the framework of traditional structure. They were forced to adopt the 'filtration theory' of education namely "educate the class and the masses will take care of themselves". This policy naturally was welcomed by the upper classes of the Hindu society who were quick to see the opportunity in this policy to retain their superior position in the society. Hence they took a leading part in acquiring the European education.

The tremors of these revolutionary changes in the educational system of India did not take long to reach Dharwad, which was the cultural centre of North Karnataka then known as Southern Maratha country. The Brahmins of Dharwad took the initiative to start the first native school in 1882. The school which was started in Kamankatta (a locality in Dharwad) was managed by the Brahmin leaders of the time namely Sriyuths Shambu Rao Kirloskar, Krishna Rao Gadagkar and Hanmant Rao Morab. True to their traditional outlook these leaders maintained strict segregation in the policy of admitting students to these schools. The schools were meant mainly for the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins were discouraged from enrolling themselves in the schools. But the shadows of the coming events were there for any one to see. That the doors of these educational institutions could not for ever be shut against
the Non-Brahmins was obvious. This fact was foreseen by
the discerning English administrators even as far back
as 1860. Mr. Russel, the educational inspector had forecasted that the Non-Brahmins like the Lingayats would be
the first to knock at the doors of this citadel of the
Brahminic preserve. He observed ".... the Lingayats, I
hardly remark, are the mass, the agricultural and trading
class of the Canerese country.... They out-number the
Brahmins. The Lingayats are backward yet, as regards
instruction, but in course of time, and with proper
encouragement of their learning.... they will not only
form an overwhelming majority in our schools, from sheer
force of numbers, but will also, I have reason to think,
compete successful with Brahmins, for all kinds of
official posts under government." How true the prophesy
of Mr. Russel turned out to be!

Under the dynamic leadership of Deputy Channabasappa, a Lingayat engineer turned into a deputy inspector
of education, the Lingayats of North Karnataka started
acquiring the modern education. Shri Channabasappa collected fifty promising Lingayat boys under his care and
trained them especially in English language and other
subjects. The posse of these fifty Lingayat youths was

5. Quoted in A.G. Mudbidri; "Dharwad - A Study in Urban
p. 246.
destined to play a historical role in the education of the Lingayats of this area. Many of these educated Lingayat youths inspired by Deputy Channabasappa's reformationary zeal took up the spread of education among the Lingayats as their life's mission and became teachers. Having realized the fact that besides English language the knowledge of Sanskrit was a powerful weapon to challenge the supremacy of Brahmins, these reformers started imparting knowledge both in English and Sanskrit. A special school was started by them in Madihal (a locality in Dharwad).

By early 1880's a vigorous drive was launched by them to collect contributions from the wealthy traders of their community with a view to constituting scholarships to help brilliant but poor Lingayat boys. Thus was born, the Lingayat Education Association in the year 1883. The association which grew from strength to strength took strident step to promote the spread of modern education among the Lingayats. As a result there was not only a phenomenal growth of educated youths but also there was an impressive advancement among them. A number of Lingayat youths went to England to compete in the I.C.S. or to be called to the Bar.

The Low Castes soon took a cue from the lead given by the Lingayats. However, unlike the Lingayats who were
a dominant and wealthy group in this area, the low castes had to face more formidable barriers and they continued to be kept out of the schools and colleges started by these native pioneers. This policy of segregation had initially the tacit approval of the British administrators who after the tumultuous happening of 1857 had grown wary of interfering in the traditional ways of the Indians. The Director of Public Instruction of Bombay under a note of caution regarding admittance of low castes boys to the schools, wrote, "... low caste boys as a general rule, are dirty and offensive in their persons. It would evidently not be fair to other children to compel them to receive such a fellow pupil by their side. It would be like intruding a chimney sweep or crossing sweeper upon a class of clean well dressed boys in an English national school. The effect would be to drive away those who are most able to profit by education, for the benefit of those who are least able".

Some other zealots like Lord Ellenborough had even seen in the education of the low caste pupils a political threat to the British Empire. For in one of his notes he stated "education and civilization descend from higher to inferior classes and so communicated, may impart new

vigour to the community, but they will never ascend from the lower classes, to those above them; they can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to a general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims".  

However, the British who were vowed to the policy of universal education could not pursue the policy of open discrimination for long. The Government Minute dated 5th May 1857 declared: "There is no rule of government or of the Department of Public Instruction, prohibiting the admission of boys of low castes in any of the Government schools.... on the contrary, it has been declared, on more than one occasion, and might be shown to be the avowed ultimate policy of the government, that its schools and colleges should be open to every caste, class and creed".  

However, the showdown on this issue came when a Mahar boy called Vitto bin Narayan wanted to join the Government Marathi school at Dharwad in 1856. The application of the boy was promptly rejected but this boy went in petition and requested the government of Bombay to intercede on his behalf and see that he was admitted to the government Marathi school at Dharwad. In response to this crisis the government came out with a firm decision on such issues in 1858. It announced that "..... although the Governor-in-council does not contemplate the introduction of low caste pupils into schools, the expenses of

7. Ibid., 5. pp. 230-31
8. Ibid., 5. pp. 231-32.
which are shared with the Government by local contributors and patrons who object to such a measure, he reserves to himself the full right of refusing the support of the Government to any partially aided school in which the benefits of education are withheld from any class of persons on account of caste or race, and further resolves that all schools maintained at the sole cost of Government shall be open to all classes of its subjects without distinction.9

When this principle of the government was implemented the upper castes revolted either by withdrawing their caste pupils from these schools or by closing the schools altogether. But the government was equally resolute and put its foot down firmly to quell this revolt. In 1882, the Director of Public Instruction expressed his readiness to close down the schools rather than refuse admission to the low caste boys of Mahar and Mang castes.10 Indeed in that year the admission of two boys belonging to the Holiya castes did lead to upheavals in Dharwar for 4 to 5 days. As a protest a Brahmin by name Lele started a private English school exclusively for the Brahmins. But


10. Ibid., 5. p. 236.
this school had a short and uneventful life. Hence the high castes in the face of this firm action of the government beat a retreat. Thus the centuries old barrier that kept the low caste pupils out of the schools was brought down once for ever.

Encouraged by this turn of events the low Caste boys thronged to the schools with great enthusiasm; nor did the government lag behind in encouraging this enthusiasm of the down-trodden pupils. In the year 1881 the Inspector of Education (southern division) went a step ahead and announced that the low caste students belonging to Machigar, Holiya and other low castes attending schools in Hubli and Dharwar were to be exempted from paying fees. So in 1885-86 the British Officer noted with great satisfaction that "Dharwar has the largest number of these (low castes) children but has no special schools or classes. This is as it should be ...." 12

Another significant development of this period was the female education. Here again the missionaries of Dharwar took a lead. Brother J Iyer and Brother Albrecht started two schools for girls in Dharwar in the year 1847. Their initiative was supported by the enlightened native

11. Ibid., 5. p. 237.
12. Ibid., 5. p. 237.
gentlemen like Tirmalrao Inamdar. However, this private enterprise by the missionaries and native gentlemen gained momentum when the government started taking interest in female education. In 1867 the Secretary to the Government of Bombay requested the British Indian government at Simla for an annual grant of Rupees thirty thousand from the Imperial Fund for the purposes of female education. The request was granted. Mr. John Jardine the Collector of Dharwar in 1870 took keen interest in promoting education among the Indian females. A number of native girls entered the three girls' schools in Dharwar district. With a view to promoting female education Mr. John Jardine instituted a special prize for girls. The public interest in female education which, understandably, was slow in coming up, gradually increased as years passed by. In the year 1882 Diwan Bahadur Rodda noted with great satisfaction the progress made in female education. He stated "Five years ago the total number of female students in this (Dharwar) district was not more than 800, of whom 60 studied in Dharwar. But now nearly two thousand girls attend schools in the District and more than two thousand of them are in Dharwar town..."  

Shri Rodda regarding female education in Dharwar district was that Lingayat girls were more in number than the Brahmin girls. By 1883, the number of girl students in various schools of Dharwar district rose to four thousand twenty five (4,025) students. Hence the need was felt to train women teachers to cater to the educational needs of increasing number of female students. Therefore, in the year 1895 Women Teachers' Training College was established in Dharwar. During the first year of its establishment the candidate teachers who enrolled themselves in this college came from different caste backgrounds. "Of the five candidate teachers admitted to this college, one was a Brahmin, two Lingayats, one a native Christian and one of a shepherd caste". All of them after the completion of their training became school mistresses.

A number of historians of Indian Freedom Movement have detected the first flicker of the movement during this period. A number of Indian youths who had learnt the English language and had in the process imbibed the Western values of individualism, equality, liberty and fraternity, started asking for more responsibility for the Indians in the administration of the country. Nationalists like Lala Lajpat Rai, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee

14 Ibid., 5, p. 244.
and Westerners like Annie Besant launched a movement for
the revival of the Indian culture.

Karnataka was soon influenced by this nationalistic fervour and responded promptly to the call of these leaders. A large number of political institutions for public education and social service was established. The Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha of Dharwar (1890), the Lingayat Education Association of Dharwar (1893), the Basaveshwara Vidya Vardhak Sangha of Bagalkot (1906), the Karnatak Liberal Education Society of Belgaum (1916), are some of the institutions which sprung up throughout Karnataka. This period also witnessed a remarkable outburst of literary activity in Kannada. Talented and earnest writers like Galaganatha and Hardikar Manjappa, opened out in their writings a historical and cultural treasures of the past and provided inspiration for national awakening. ¹⁵ 

Another significant development of this period is the growth of Non-Brahmin movement in this part of India. This movement started as a part of struggle for sharing 'spoils and percentage, seats and favours' under the British. The leaders of Non-Brahmin movement in Karnataka

were at pains to prove that the Non-Brahmin movement was not an anti-Brahmin movement. This attitude is reflected in the statement made by Lingaraj of Sirsangi in his address as President of the Veerashaiva Maha-Sabha held at Dharwad in 1904, "Some friends educated on Western lines and some Congress patriots have expressed misgivings that communal conferences of this type will lead to communal hatred. Their contention is that, such conferences in our country where communities are so many, will endanger the attainment of national unity. This contention does not stand to reason. If each family, and each community should endeavour to improve its own condition, the progress of the country is assured. A number of families constitute a community, and a country is the sum-total of many communities. If the progress and unity of a country are sought to be secured after the elimination of communal differences, the country has to wait for a long time for that achievement and the effort is tremendous. On the other hand, if each community should attempt to achieve its own progress, the effort it entails is less and the unity of the country can be achieved sooner."

"Let Brahmins, Jains and Muslims and all other communities organize their own mahasabhas. There will be no harm done to the national cause, ....... These are the ideas and motives which have prompted the formation of this Mahasabha; and we have no desire to quarrel with other
communities or to blame them. Let my co-religionists always bear this in mind.\textsuperscript{16}

Nevertheless, in effect, the movement has a tendency at times to turn out to be just that. In the field of education this movement manifested itself in the establishment of a number of colleges and other institutions of higher education. It was precisely during this period that the well known colleges of this area like the Lingaram College Belgaum (1916), Karnatak College Dharwad (1917), Basveshware Arts College Bagalkot (1944), Karnatak Education Board's college Dharwad (1944) were established. The role of the maths and Lingayat Swamijis is also noteworthy in this context. Spurred by enthusiasm for the upliftment of the members of their community and others, the Swamijis spared no pains to start a number of educational institutions throughout North Karnataka. They also started hostels and free boarding and lodging facilities for the students of their community. As a result of this overwhelming zeal of the enlightened Lingayat leaders and Swamijis of maths, there was an impressive spread of modern education among the Lingayats who only a couple of decades ago were totally unexposed to modern education. Hence it was the Lingayats who trod into the field of education which was for centuries

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 15, pp. 26-30.

the sanctuary of the Brahmins. It was but natural that the educational institutions started by the Lingayat pioneers and Swamijis should give priority to their own community members while recruiting teachers to these institutions. As a result, an overwhelming majority of teachers working in these institutions were drawn from this particular community, thereby giving a handle to the critics especially the Brahmins in dubbing the movement as anti-Brahminical.

The following figures (Table No. 5:1) collected by B.G.Halbar and T.N.Maden in 1966, which give the caste composition of the teachers working in the Lingayat Institutions in Dharwad district seem to substantiate this contention. While the lion's share of 60.00 per cent of the positions in the secondary and collegiate Institutions are occupied by the Lingayats, the remaining 40.00 per cent are held by the other non-Lingayat Caste members including the Brahmins.

While the freedom movement can be said to have opened up the gates of education for the Non-Brahmin upper castes like Lingayats in Karnataka, it was the revolutionary legislations that were passed during the post-independence period that can be said to have brought down the traditional barriers and encouraged the lower castes to enter into this field.
TABLE 5:1

CASTE COMPOSITION OF TEACHERS WORKING IN LINGAYAT INSTITUTIONS IN DHARWAD DISTRICT
(1966)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste-Groups of Teachers</th>
<th>Lingayat Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingayats</td>
<td>2 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Caste Hindus</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Caste Hindus</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harijans</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Number of Institutions studied - 1
** Number of Institutions studied - 33
*** Number of Institutions studied - 6
The legislations were the outcome of long-drawn agitation of the backward classes to free themselves from the age-old bondage of the upper castes. The history of the backward classes movement in Karnataka can indeed be traced back to the year 1918. The Non-Brahmin movement in the old Mysore state assumed a shape of adequate representation in the government services. A deputation of Non-Brahmins met the Maharaja and brought to his notice that almost all the important government jobs were cornered by the Brahmins leaving the Non-Brahmins with nothing. As a result the Maharaja appointed a backward classes committee with Sir Leslie, C. Miller, the Chief Justice of Mysore State as its Chairman.\textsuperscript{17} The Committee treated all the castes and communities which had less than 5 per cent of the literates in English as enumerated in the census of 1911 as Backward Classes. Despite this criterion the committee included the Indian Christians, Mudaliars and Pilles in the list of Backward Classes, though they had more than 5 per cent of literates in English. As a result, the list of Backward Classes included all the castes and communities except the Brahmins and it was recommended that there should be reservations for these classes in the government jobs. In the year 1927 the

Mysore Government raised the proportion of Backward Classes and reserved for them 75.00 per cent of the total vacancies.

While the struggle for preferential treatment for the non-privileged castes was going on in South India, Dr. Ambedkar launched a struggle to get 'adventitious aids' for the depressed castes at the Central level. As a result of his ceaseless efforts 8.1/3 per cent of reservations were made in the Central services for the depressed castes in August 1943. As the agitation under his leadership gained momentum and depressed castes became a political power to reckon with, the reservations for them were raised to 12.1/2 per cent in June 1946. After August 1947 when India attained independence the quota was raised to 16.2/3 per cent.

This measure more or less settled the issue of adventitious reservations for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But the problem of Backward Classes which were not Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes remained. With a view to studying this issue in depth the Government of India in accordance with Article -340 of the constitution appointed the Backward Classes Commission under the

*A term used by F.Subba Rao, former Chief Justice of India.*
Chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar. The report was published in 1956. The following recommendations were made by the Commission for the upliftment of the Backward Classes.\textsuperscript{18}

1. Reservations in technical Institutions - 70.0 per cent of the seats available.

2. Reservations in Government Services
   a) Class I Posts 25 per cent,
   b) Class II Posts 33.5 per cent,
   c) Class III Posts 40.00 per cent,
   d) Class IV Posts 40.00 per cent.

3. There should be a review of the situation after ten years.

4. There should be a Ministry for the advancement of Backward Classes.

5. The future census must obtain information about castes.

After making these recommendations in the body of the report, Kalelkar created a controversy by writing a covering letter. In this letter he expressed many doubts and suspicions about his own report. The Chairman who set out to help the Backward Classes on the basis of the proverb

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 17 Part II, pp. 82-83.
'using the thorn to remove the thorn', throughout his report indicates that the evils of castes could be removed by measures which could be considered in terms of castes alone. But in his covering letter he expressed serious doubts saying "But we cannot be oblivious to the dangers to the solidarity of the country. Communalism and caste-ism are bound to destroy the unity of the Nation, and narrow down the aspirations of our people". He ends up his letter with a hope "Let us therefore try to find criteria of Backwardness that could eschew ideas of caste or class".

Since Kaka Kalelkar's report did not yield much results due to its intrinsic contradiction, the Government of Mysore appointed the Nagangouda Committee to study the issue and make recommendations. The Committee in its report found that caste and community could alone be the basis for determining the backwardness of classes. The Committee found that the average for the whole state of students in the three highest classes in the high-schools was 6.9 per thousand of the state population. Any caste or community which had an average below 6.9 per thousand was classified as Backward. Any caste or community whose average was below 50.00 per cent of 6.9 per thousand was classified as more Backward. On the basis of this formula, Mysore Government issued an order classifying castes or communities as Backward or more Backward.19

19. Ibid., 17, Part II, p. 60.
The Mysore Government accepted the recommendations of the committee with certain modifications. As a result 68.0 per cent of the seats available in educational and training institutions were reserved for the Backward Classes. However, the order of the Mysore Government was challenged in the Supreme Court in the Balaji case. The Supreme Court set aside the Government order on two grounds:

1. The criteria laid down under the notification for the ascertainment of Backwardness were not correct.
2. This proportionate reservation of seats for the so-called Backward Communities at 68.0 per cent infringed the fundamental right of the citizens of India.

In view of the above decision of the Supreme Court, the Mysore Government issued another notification on the basis of economic conditions and occupation of the people. This notification was also challenged in the Supreme Court in Chitralekha's case on the ground that the exclusion of caste as one of the considerations in ascertaining the Backwardness of a group of persons was contrary to the provisions of the constitution. The Supreme Court, however, rejected this contention mainly on the ground that Article 15(4) which enables the States to reserve seats only speaks

20. Ibid., 17, Part II, pp. 60-61.
of "Backward Classes" and not "Backward Castes". Though it recognized the relevance of caste background in ascertaining the Backwardness of citizens, it maintained that caste cannot be either sole or dominant criterion. Hence, the Supreme Court held that the state did not go wrong in not taking into consideration the caste of the applicant.

While passing judgement in Balaji v/s State of Mysore (AIR 1963, S.C. 649) case, the Supreme Court laid down certain specific guidelines for classifying a group as Backward. It said: "Sociological, social and economic conditions come into play in solving the problem and evolving appropriate criterion for determining which classes are socially backward. It is obviously a very difficult task, which will need an elaborate investigation and collection of data and examination of the said data in a rational scientific way. Social backwardness is in the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a large extent. The classes of citizens, who are deplorably poor, automatically become socially backward." 21

It was also stated that "a list of Backward Classes shall be prepared by the Presidential Commission under Article 340 or if it was not feasible, by a State Commission after a thorough and objective investigation. Such a

21. Ibid., 17, Part II. p. 56.
commission shall suggest ways and means of improving the conditions of the said Backward Classes. It shall give not only the lists of Backward Classes, but also special schemes of development peculiar to those classes. The Committee or Committees appointed to select candidates for admission to educational institutions or for state employment shall accept those lists as final for the purpose of selection.²²

It was further stated that "the Courts shall ordinarily accept those lists as final, unless it is found that in the preparation of the list, there was perversity, fraud and grave injustice."²³

According to a number of political observers in India, the General Election of 1972 was a significant turning point in the history of amelioration of the down-trodden classes in India. The Congress party under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi adopted the slogan "Garibi Hatao" (Banish Poverty) as the main plank of her party in the election and during the campaign her party appealed to the down-trodden sections of the Indian population and was successful in getting their support to return to power. Not only a number of M.L.As and M.Ps

²² Ibid., 17, Part-II. p. 56.
²³ Ibid., 17, Part II, p. 56.
belonging to these castes got elected to the State Assemblies and the Parliament, but also a number of them occupied ministerial and other important positions in the decision-making bodies. As a result of this significant change in the political atmosphere of the country there were more genuine efforts in the Central and State government policies regarding the ameliorations of the conditions of the down-trodden low castes with support of whom the Congress party had come to power. Devaraj Urs was one such person who had genuine interest in the upliftment of the down-trodden people, and he became the Chief Minister of Karnataka. With a view to seeing that the welfare measures embodied in the constitution and the Law books really penetrated the upper strata of the Non-Brahmins and reached the poor and the down-trodden, he introduced several measures. On such measure that has direct bearing on our subject is the appointment of another Backward Classes Commission in August, 1972. The Commission consisted of 7 members with Shri L.G. Havanur, an advocate and indefatigable fighter for the welfare of the Backward Classes, as the Chairman. This report is popularly known as Havanur Commission Report.

After marshalling a number of facts and figures and extensively quoting a number of authorities, Shri Havanur has tried to show in his report how the caste system has been mainly responsible for all the miseries
of Indians in general and low castes in particular. Thus he makes an earnest plea for the abolition of caste system. And after tracing the various causes for poverty in India, he comes to the conclusion that "there can be no eradication of poverty in India without the curtailment or abrogation of fundamental rights". Despite these revolutionary recommendations, Shri Havanur, as a realist, is aware that these measures are more easily said than achieved. Hence, like his predecessor Kaka Kalelkar, he seems to have decided to "remove thorn with thorn" by paying the devil its due.

In his report he pleads for recognizing caste as a basis for disbursing adventitious aids to the Backward Classes. The earnestness with which he holds this view is seen in the fact that he recommends even the constitutional amendment to treat the Directive Principles of State Policy under which the provision for the upliftment of Backward Classes is made on par with the fundamental rights so that due importance is given to these measures.

On the basis of the facts collected by him about the socio-economic conditions of the various castes and communities in the state, he has given a list of Backward

Classes in four categories and has suggested ways and means of improving their conditions. On the basis of the recommendations made by Shri L.G.Havanur, the Government of Karnataka passed an order which is given below:

The Karnataka Government Order No. DEARI SBC 77, Bangalore dated 4 - March - 1977, reads as follows:

In the Government Order dated 9th July, 1975, orders were issued in supersession of all the earlier orders for making reservations in appointments and posts in the State Civil Services for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes of citizens not adequately represented in the State Civil Services. In the Government order dated 22nd February, 1977, the Government after considering the recommendations of the Backward Classes Commission, have determined under Article 16(4) of the Constitution of India the Backward Classes of citizens who are not adequately represented in the State Civil Services and have directed that reservations in appointments and posts shall be made for these classes to the extent indicated in that order. These reservations will be in addition to the reservations of 15 per cent for Scheduled Castes and 3 per cent for Scheduled Tribes.

2. Accordingly, Government are pleased to direct that reservations in appointments and posts in the State Civil Services shall be made for the following classes of
citizens to the extent indicated against them:-

I. 1) Scheduled Castes, as defined in the Constitution of India... 15 per cent.
    2) Scheduled Tribes as defined in the Constitution of India... 3 per cent.

II. Other Backward Classes, viz.
    1) Backward Communities 20 per cent.
    2) Backward Castes 10 per cent.
    3) Backward Tribes 5 per cent.
    4) Special Group 5 per cent.

Note: Backward Communities consist of 16 castes, Backward Castes consist of 129 castes and sub-castes, Backward Tribes consist of 62 tribes and the Special Group is defined as follows: "A candidate shall be considered as belonging to the Special Group if his family income is Rs. 4,800/- (Rupees Four thousand and Eight hundred) only or less per annum and if he and/or his parents or guardians (if parents are not alive) are/is -

(i) an actual cultivator, or
(ii) an artisan, or
(iii) a petty businessman, or
(iv) holding an appointment in Government service or service in private employment including casual labour, or
engaged in any occupation involving manual labour or self employed.

("Family Income" means the income of the candidate and his parents and if the parents are dead, the income of his guardian).

In order to forestall any manipulation at the bureaucratic level, the order also contains details regarding the mode of selection, and reservations for persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in specified categories of promotional vacancies (for details, please see notes at the end of the Chapter).

One significant fact about the Havanur Commission Report is that it left out of the list of Backward Classes two dominant Non-Brahmin castes of the state namely the Vakkaligas and Lingayats. This raised a hue and cry. The Lingayats and Vakkaligas opposed it in the legislature and it was also challenged in the court of law. However in Deyanandiah v/s State of Karnataka case, the court upheld the conclusions of Havanur Commission Report on the ground that the classification of Backward Classes was done on the basis of multiple tests like residence, occupation, economic backwardness and also caste. Hence, while the Havanur Commission can be said to have opened the avenues of employment for Non-Lingayat and Non-Vakkaliga low castes in the government and other public sectors like the primary and
secondary schools, the Karnataka State Universities Bill, (piloted by other backward caste leaders in the Assembly like Shri D.K.Naikar - then Law Minister), passed on 25th September 1975 can be said to have opened the gates of employment for these groups in the colleges and Universities.

It is a well known fact that ever since the reorganization of the States on the basis of language the various states in India have been ruled by one or two dominant castes in that State. In Karnataka it was the Vakkaligas and Lingayats who came to power and it was these castes which inundated the government colleges and universities with their own caste members. As a result while the colleges and universities in the old Mysore area were filled with Staff members belonging to Vakkaliga castes, the colleges and University in the North Karnataka area were filled by the Lingayats. The break up of the caste composition of the Karnataka University and other constituent colleges will prove this fact (Table 5:2).

In view of the past experience that the various legislative measures can be defeated if proper care is not taken to plug the various loop-holes at the legislative as well as the implementation level, the Urs government tried to plug as many loop-holes as possible. One of the favourite excuses for not filling the reservation quota for the weaker section of the population in the past was that there
### TABLE 5:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste Group</th>
<th>No. of Teachers working in Karnataka University</th>
<th>No. of Teachers working in Constituent Colleges</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmins</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingayats</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Caste Hindus</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Caste Hindus</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harijans</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>251</td>
<td>18</td>
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were no candidates belonging to these castes who possessed adequate qualifications to be appointed to these positions. Therefore, with a view to solving this problem the government took measures to train adequate number of students belonging to these sections by making sure that they got enrolment in schools, colleges and other educational institutions. Measures were taken to strictly adhere to the reservation recommendations while admitting students to these institutions.

The keenness with which the government intended to implement these policies is seen in other respects also. A lady of the scheduled caste was appointed as the Director of Public Instructions. One Dr. Rudrappa a Scheduled Caste member was appointed as Director of Medical Education. Several members of these sections were appointed as judges in the lower and higher courts. Members of Scheduled Castes became the Vice-Chancellors of three Universities in Karnataka, i.e. Narsimhalah - Bangalore University, Dr. Dwarkinath - Agricultural Science University and Dr. Nagraj - Gulbarga University. Members of the weaker section got nominated to the Senate, Academic Council, Syndicate and to a body known as Scheduled Castes' and Scheduled Tribe Cell, which is found to scrutinize the appointment of teachers to the aided colleges and schools. The significant changes that these measures brought about in the composition of the student population in the post-
graduate courses and the composition of the decision making bodies like the Syndicate will be seen by making a comparison of these two categories before and after 1975, (Table 5:3). Also there are a number of cases where government grants have been withheld to those colleges and schools which have infringed the government regulations in the appointment of the members of the weaker sections to various positions.

Hence, the movement started by Deputy Channabasappa and others led to the inflow of Lingayats into the teaching profession and the movement led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar started the inflow of the members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes into the teaching profession and the Backward Classes Movement started in 1918 which gained momentum during the early 1970's started the inflow of the members of the lower strata among the Backward Castes into the teaching profession.

In the following chapters an attempt will be made to analyse the various aspects of this inflow and the consequent outflow of teachers in the various educational institutions.
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NOTES

MODE OF SELECTION

(a) The appropriate selecting Authority shall first prepare consolidated list of all eligible applicants irrespective of classes to which they belong, arranging them in the order of merit (hereinafter called the First List).

(b) The Selecting Authority will then prepare from out of the first list a second list (hereinafter called the Second List) containing the names of applicants equal to the number of posts to be filled—upon the basis of general merit (i.e., the number of posts other than those reserved in favour of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes) arranging them in the order of merit commencing with the first name in the first list.

(c) The Selecting Authority will then prepare from out of the First List excluding the portion forming the Second List, a third list (hereinafter called the Third List) containing the name of applicants belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Communities, Backward Castes, Backward Tribes and Special Group equal to the number of vacancies reserved for each category in the order of Merit determined in the First List.
(d) The Selecting Authority will then prepare a final list of selected candidates for appointment to the category of posts for which selection is made by arranging the names of candidates included in the Second List and the Third List in the order of merit.
Sub:- Reservations for persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under Article 16(4) of the Constitution in specified categories of promotional vacancies.

ORDER NO. DPAR 29 SBC 77, BANGALORE, DATED 27TH APRIL 1978.

The question of making reservation under Article 16(4) of the Constitution in promotional vacancies has been engaging the attention of Government for some time past. After considering all aspects of the matter, Government have decided to make reservations in favour of persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in promotional vacancies also, to the extent indicated in the succeeding paragraphs.

2. Government are accordingly pleased to direct that there shall be reservations for persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at 15 per cent and 3 per cent respectively of vacancies to be filled by promotion in all the cadres upto and inclusive of the lowest category of Class I posts in which there is no element of direct recruitment, and if there is an element of direct recruitment, such element of direct recruitment does not exceed 66.2/3 per cent.

3. The reservations shall be made for each category of posts under each promoting authority according to the percentages indicated in para 2. For the purpose of
calculating the vacancies to be reserved for persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a rotation of 33 vacancies shall be followed for each category of posts under each authority competent to order promotions.

4. The rotation of vacancies shall be as indicated in the annexe to this order, and shall be a running account until the 33rd vacancy is reached. For example, if on the first occasion of promotion 21 posts have been filled, on the next occasion of promotion the classification will start from the 22nd point, and so on. All authorities competent to order promotions shall maintain a separate register indicating the promotional rotation for each category of posts under them.

5. In giving effect to these order, against vacancies reserved for persons belonging to Scheduled Castes, the seniormost qualified and suitable persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and against vacancies reserved for persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes, the senior-most qualified and suitable persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes shall be promoted irrespective of their ranking in the overall seniority list of the cadre from which promotion has to be made.

6. If on any occasion of promotion, qualified and suitable Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribe candidates for whom vacancies are reserved are not available, such
vacancies shall be filled by promotion of qualified and suitable persons from amongst others in accordance with the rules of recruitment. The vacancies lost to persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on account of such promotions shall not be carried forward and future vacancies shall be filled up according to rotation as indicated in the Annexe to this order.

7. Inter-se seniority amongst persons promoted on any occasion shall be determined in accordance with rules 4 of 4A (as the case may be) of the Karnataka Government Servants (Seniority) Rules, 1957.

8. Government are also pleased to direct that all institutions receiving grants or aids from Government, other than the educational institutions established and administered by minorities based on religion or language, shall also be required to make reservations in employment under them in accordance with the provisions of this order.

9. Under Government order No. GAD 6 SBC 75 dated 3-5-1975 as amended and G.O. No. DPAR 1 SBC 77 dated 4-3-77, the Secretaries to Government were requested to issue directives to companies, Statutory Boards, Corporations, etc., under their administrative control whether fully owned or partly owned by Government to make reservations for persons belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes. The Secretaries to Government
are requested to issue in the same manner, additional directives to the Companies, Boards, etc. to follow the provisions of this order also. The draft of the directive which was forwarded to the Secretaries to Government under government order dated 3-5-1975 should be modified suitably to include the provisions of this order.

BY ORDER AND IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNOR OF KARNATAKA,

Sd/- x. x. x.
( N.NARASIMHA RAU)
Chief Secretary to Government.