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RESERVATION POLICY : EMERGENCE OF BACKWARD ISBJ NON-BRAHMINS AGAINST FORWARD NON-BRAHMINS IN COLONIAL TAMIL NADU

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S. Kulasekaran

Abstract:-Despite its pejorative overtones as communal counterpoise, communal appeasement, minorityism, and so on, communal representation in India is often identified with the Non- Brahmin Movement. In fact, communal representation and reservations were integral even to the Pre-British Indian Society in the sense of the numerous social closures operated by the caste system. These indigenous incarnations continued and some categories were introduced by the British. This was only in keeping with the British endeavour to create an overarching administrative machinery, reflecting the established structure of the country and its related concern for incorporating into its colonial framework the well entrenched and the strategically placed, traditional social groups, as its compradors. The origin of the term "Backward Classes" may be traced to the later part of the Nineteenth Century. During the British period in Tamil Nadu, different kinds of terms were adopted to denote the socially, educationally and economically weaker groups, because the identification of the term 'backward classes' vary from time to time, period to period, state to state, district to district, region to region and rural to urban areas. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the concepts of backwardness was adopted by the Madras Presidency, while offering employment opportunities. From 1870 onwards, the description 'Backward classes' commonly applied to various sections of the Socially Educationally Backward Classes. In the first half of the Twentieth Century, a demand for reservation with reservation among the non-Brahmin communities which are described as 'Backward Classes' in modern sense. The Backward Non-Brahmins reported that all the educational and employment opportunities of the Backward Classes were utilized by the Forward non-Brahmins who were mostly elite communities. It paved the way for the rise of the Backward Non-Brahmins in Tamil Nadu politics.

Keywords:-reservation, communal order backward classes, depressed classes, Brahmins, non-Brahmins, British, caste,

INTRODUCTION

The first official recognition of "backward classes" was given by the Department of Education. The Grant-in-Aid Code offered monthly stipend of the value of rupees two and one or even half-a-rupee to the pupils in elementary schools coming from "illiterate" and "indigent castes" and they were labeled as the "backward classes.¹

The Director of Public Instruction was competent to add to the list of recipients any caste following occupation similar to the castes already recognized as backward. The Government received application from several communities requesting inclusion in the list of recipient castes. They were referred to the Collector or the local authority concerned to report on the position and status of the caste in question and on their favorable recommendation, the caste was admitted into the list of Backward Castes. In the year 1907 alone, more than ten communities were recognized as backward.² In the next year, Thorians of the Coimbatore District, Valaiyans of Thanjavur, Agambadiyans of Madurai, Padayachis of Thanjavur and Kadaiyans were admitted to the list by separate orders of the Government.³ The Backward Castes, which numbered 39 in 1895, increased to 113 in 1913, became 128 in 1920 and reached the figure of 152 in 1950. More and more castes became conscious of their "backwardness" and desired to receive the special educational concessions offered by the Government. To that extent it was indeed a welcome social change.⁴ But the great increase in the number of applications for admission to the list of Backward Classes presented a real problem to the Government and it was found necessary to re-consider the whole matter in 1914.

Unable to align itself with the Non-Brahmin high castes or with the untouchable depressed classes, the Backward Classes constituted a separate and distinct group and claimed special representation in the state services. "Non-Brahmin

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Hindus", to whom the Communal G.O. of 1922 reserved five out of every twelve vacancies, constituted more than seventy per cent of the population in widely different levels of progress. The more advanced castes among the Backward Classes inevitably appropriated to themselves all the chances open to Non-Brahmin Hindus through the policy of reservation.

A Government Order, passed in 1930, enumerated 30 untouchable castes, 24 criminal tribes and 35 aboriginal and hill tribes as "depressed classes" for the purpose of representation in government services. This was replaced by a larger list in the year 1931 according to which 35 "untouchable" castes and 82 "others", totaling 117 were regarded as "depressed". In the Act of 1935, the term "depressed classes" was replaced by "scheduled classes" for franchise purpose. Eighty six castes, classified as untouchables in the Census Report of 1931, were recognized as the "scheduled classes". In 1934, the term "scheduled classes" was employed for communal returns of public services.⁵ In 1938, this substitution was extended to the communal rule of appointments.⁶

The criminal, aboriginal and other 'touchable' castes that were formerly included in the depressed class, were eliminated from the category of Scheduled Classes and they were compelled to take their chances along with the numerous Non-Brahmin Hindu Castes. These communities, included among "Non-Brahmin Hindus", had "no chance in the competition with the better-educated and intelligent segment of the Non-Brahmins.⁷

It was the combination of "touchable depressed" and Backward Non-Brahmins that made up the new "Backward Non-Brahmin Hindus" which came to prominence in 1930. Bound by the common consciousness of backwardness and under the leadership of the more forward among them, they formed a league in 1934. They approached the Government through their association and through the members of their castes in the legislature, to revise the communal order to provide for separate turns for "Backward Non-Brahmin Hindus". The break-up of the great Non-Brahmin Community as forward and backward and the isolation of untouchables as a distinct category were the most important results of the continued application of the communal principle in Government Service.

In November 1933, Basu Dev, a member of the Legislative Council, led a deputation to the Governor and represented that appointments reserved for Non-Brahmin Hindus went to a few classes such as Reddis, Vellalars and Mudaliyars and hence the backward in the Backward Non-Brahmin Hindus were in need of special reservation.⁸

Many resolutions, repeating the above demand, were moved in the Legislature⁹ and the nominated members belonging to the castes of Vanniakula Kshatriyas and Viswabrahmins, who considered themselves as constituting this backward of the Backward Non-Brahmin Hindus, took great interest in the subject.¹⁰ In 1934, M.A. Manikkavelu Nayakar moved a cut motion regarding special representation for Hindu Backward Classes in the services and suggested the following three methods:

1)The backward classes may be classified separately in the Communal Order as an additional group making a total of six groups in the Non-Brahmin Hindus;

2)That they may be classified separately and called backward class group and treated differently from the remaining Non-Brahmin Hindus and the Brahmins being clubbed together under Non-Backward Classes.

3)Madras Service Commission may be asked to give preference to Backward

Hindus along with Non-Brahmin Hindus.

C.Krishnan, a member of the Legislative Council, in the columns of 'The Mail' wrote in support of the resolution urging the need for revising the Communal Order 11 in view of the fact that the backward classes, which formed nearly one-third of the total population, did not derive as much benefit as the depressed classes did.¹² He was in favour of clubbing together Brahmins and High Caste Non- Brahmins and providing separate representation for the Backward Castes. The Vetakkat Nair Samajam of Malabar sent a petition to the Government that unless a few posts were set apart for the Backward Castes, they could not hope for any progress in their position.¹³ A deputation by Kallars of Madurai, a representation from the Maravar Valibar Sangham, a memorial on behalf of Kamma Community prayed for relaxation of general rules with regard to admission to services and special concessions in the matter of education for the communities whom they represented.¹⁴

Thus a regrouping was taking place among the backward communities in the Non-Brahmins Hindu Bloc because they were dissatisfied with the working of the Communal Order. The backward people among Non-Brahmins were critical because Non-Brahmins as a homogeneous entity was purely a political contrivance that had no relation to reality and that the term referring to Non-Brahmin Bloc was a ploy to exploit the ignorant masses for the benefit of a few Non- Brahmin leaders at the top. They pointed out that the members of the ruling party distributed offices and patronage to their own friends and kinsmen. They also viewed that the forward Non-Brahmin leaders exploited the Backward Non-Brahmins just as the Brahmins of the past exploited the Non-Brahmins.

Evidently the high principles enunciated by T.M. Nair and P.Theagaraya Chetti had not worked to benefit all Non-Brahmin castes in an equal measure. The disappointed ones became aware of the great gulf separating them from certain castes such as the Vellalars and the Mudaliyars who were equal in every respect to the Brahmins. Hence these Backward in the Non-Brahmin group felt the need to organize themselves as a separate political body. Once again the division of groups provided a new political classification of Hindus into three viz;

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(i)Brahmins and some High Caste Non-Brahmins(ii)Backward Non-Brahmins(iii)Untouchables or Scheduled Classes.

Effort was made to provide a list of backward classes eligible for special consideration. Steps were also taken to bring about the unification of all backward communities. A Memorial, submitted by the Backward Classes League, furnished the following statement.

Communities	Population in lakhs	Population Percentage	Approximate Number of Gazetted Posts held by them	percentage of Gazetted Appointments
Brahmins	15	3	820	37
Christians	20	4	190	9
Muslims	37	7	150	7
Forward Non- Brahmins	113	22	620	27
Depressed Classes	70	14	25	1.5
Backward classes	245	50	50	2

In other words, the Forward Non-Brahmins had conspired to aggrandize themselves at the cost of backward of the Backward Classes. The Memorial also stressed that the Backward Classes among the Non- Brahmins were worse off than the Depressed Classes. The Memorial suggested revision of the Communal Order so as to divide a unit of 24 vacancies at 1 for Brahmins; 2 for Christians; 2 for Muslims; 4 for Scheduled Castes; 5 for Forward Non-Brahmins and 10 for Backward Non-Brahmins.15 It suggested opportunities to be given to serve in the Government as well as the public services to different groups of communities of the Province as far as possible on the basis of the population of each group. According to the formula evolved by the memorialists, Brahmins should be given 3 per cent, Christians 4 per cent, Muslims 7 per cent, Scheduled Classes 14 per cent, Forward Non-Brahmins 22 per cent and Backward Classes 50 per cent. A list of Backward Classes containing more than 100 castes was presented to the Government.

The rise of the Backward Classes was a political phenomenon paralleled by the political progress towards autonomous Province, with its executive wholly elective. The Backward Communities had the opportunity to ventilate their grievances and demand redressal. They complained that "the Indian Council Act of 1935 had enabled the forward classes to establish their sectional rule over the vast majority of the Hindu population". They added that unless proper safeguards were provided "to enable them to have a legitimate share in the administration of the country both in the center and the province, Independence, Dominion Status, Swaraj or whatever it may be called, would mean nothing to the Backward Classes and would only result in the perpetual bondage and slavery of the vast dumb millions who constitute the bulk of the masses in the country".¹⁶ The Memorial demanded the recognition of the Backward Classes as a separate entity not only for representation in complexe but also for representation in the Logiclature and Logal Bodies and being and share of a system of the set of th

services but also for representation in the Legislature and Local Bodies and hence suggested the adoption of a system of functional representation.

But Government sternly opposed the move to sub-divide communities for electoral or any other purpose.¹⁷ The Secretary of the Backward Classes League suggested to the Government that where posts were reserved for Scheduled Castes

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and no suitable candidates of those castes were available, the next preference should be given to the Backward Classes. But as this also required a revision of the Communal G.O., Government rejected the proposal.¹⁸

By consistently resisting the pressures from many sides to revise the Communal Order, the Government prevented, for the time being, the outbreak of certain communal-political conflicts which the worsening of certain administrative complications. The Government felt that amending an established rule would lead to more difficulties than framing one. Had the Government shown the slightest inclination to amend the Communal Order, the five groups recognized under the Communal Order, would have protested. It was not possible to find a just or equitable solution to the communal problem since it originated in the distrust and jealousy among the communities. Even if the Government disregarded all the prevalent views and carried out an amendment to please the Memorialists, the communities, whose interests happened to be adversely affected, would not have hesitated to call the Government unjust, partial and arbitrary.

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