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Backward Classes is now a generic, much hackneyed and much controverted term applied to three distinct categories of the Indian population, viz. Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and Other Backward Classes or just Backward Classes as a more familiar usage, who are entitled to the special treatment provisions of the Indian Constitution. Though this term thus assumes meaning and significance in the constitutional context it had begun to evolve more than a century ago.

This paper is an attempt at understanding its emergence and growth in Tamil Nadu right from the late nineteenth century. The paper is divided into six parts. These will cover, respectively, the origin of the backward classes categories, backward classes in the Education Commission of 1882, the earlier appellations of backward classes, core provisions of the backward classes concessions, problems and procedures in the enumeration of backward classes, and growth and diversification of the backward classes categories.

1 Origin of the backward classes

The term backward classes emerged as educational categories of the British administration from its realisation that shaping men of the high castes in the Macaulay mould of 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, opinions, morals, and intellect', was no longer the only necessary and desirable motivation of its educational policy in India.

Implicit in this realisation was a belated concern for

broadening the base of its colonial paternalism. That probably explains the Court of Directors' consideration, in the Despatch of 19 July 1854,[1] of "how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life, might be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts", a consideration which by their own admission was too much neglected until then(GOI, REC, 1883, 1: 2). The how and why of this concern need to be examined in detail in the context of the British educational policies in India from the early nineteenth century, which is beyond the scope of this paper. But, more pressing than this concern was an abiding concern for imperial interests: The acrimonious debates on Indian education in both England and India in the wake of and immediately after the mutinies of 1857,[2] the Government of India resolution of 7 August 1871 on Muslim education regretting much that "so large and important a class... should stand aloof from active cooperation" with its educational system, the Government of Madras follow-up resolution of 29 July 1872 stressing that the gradual disappearance of Muslims from the public service was 'injurious... to the most vital interests of the Empire',[3] and the special treatment of Muslims in regard to education and employment in the subsequent years were all expressions of this concern.

In fact, Muslims were the first to be treated as a backward class in Madras Presidency. That was as early as in 1872 following the above two resolutions. They were then not labelled as a backward class. But the idea was to treat them so, by

holding out, as reported in a subsequent resolution, 'special inducements' to a backward class' for promoting their education and employing those qualified among them in the public service.[4] The inducements in regard to education were mainly establishment of elementary Muslim schools and corresponding classes in other schools at the principal centres of Muslim population, with Urdu as the medium of instruction; arrangements for training Muslim teachers and for teaching Persian in any high school with a sufficient demand for it; special recognition to Arabic and Persian by the Madras University; award of scholarships on the results of Matriculation and First Arts examinations; extra grants for Muslim students in consideration of the late age at which they began their secular instruction and of their comparably slow progress therein; and most important of all, their admission to schools under public management upon payment of half the usual fees.[5] In the following year the Oriyas of Ganjam district were placed on an equal footing in regard to the fee concession. They were also allowed to choose either Oriya or Telugu as their vernacular instead of the compulsory learning of both.[6]

Just about a decade after this began the saga of the backward classes categories. That was in the context of the education of the lower strata of society, or what the public instruction department then termed as 'popular instruction', by both governmental and private efforts, especially those by Christian missionaries.

Soon after the public instruction department was organised

during 1855-56 following the Despatch of 1854, it had acknowledged the utter neglect of such instruction. By its own admission it had produced little or no effect upon the mass of the population and its action was almost entirely confined to those that hoped to secure employment in the public service. It regretted that while the university examinations with the honours they held out, and the uncovenanted service examinations which presented direct pecuniary advantages as well as a share of credit, afforded a powerful leverage for the improvement of superior and middle class education, no such machinery afforded itself for the spread of primary instruction (RAMP, 1859-60).

By 1880 it had become more candid about this neglect, or what it soon characterised as the reproach that the educational efforts of the government had hardly touched the lowest castes:

The small number of children of the lowest castes reading in schools is deplorable and shows how true the statement is that the present educational system has hitherto failed to reach the lowest classes of the population, the very classes for which in Europe popular elementary education is more especially designed. The classes who are taking advantage of schools, public and private, throughout the country are the well-to-do... and not the masses of the labouring population (PIR, 1880-81; also 1882-83).

Though the public instruction department had not then begun to collect castewise statistics on the population under instruction if the statistics available are any indication, this neglect was indeed very glaring. Of the total Matriculates/BA graduates in the Presidency from 1864 to 1880 the percentages of Brahmins, Christians, and Europeans-Eurasians were 59.9/63.8, 7.4/12.2, and 7.4/7.8, though their percentages in the total Presidency population were only 3.6, 2.2, and 0.1 respectively.

As against these, the percentages of Matriculates/BA graduates from 'Other Hindus' and Muslims were 23.7/16.0, and 1.5/0.2, though their population percentages were 87.9 and 6.2 respectively.[7] The lower strata of society then had no access even to primary education. The public instruction report of 1880-81 gives some indications of this: Of the total population under instruction in the Presidency the percentages of Hindus, Christians, Muslims, Europeans-Eurasians, and 'Others' were 81.8, 8.9, 6.7, 1.7, and 0.8 respectively. But 'Others' also included the numerically large Paraiyas and other 'outcastes' accounting for about one-fifth of the total Presidency population(PIR, 1880-81). Thus, it is only to be inferred that apart from Brahmins the 'Other Hindus' who benefited from education were also mostly from the upper strata of society.

2 Education Commission and the backward classes

Meanwhile, the Education Commission appointed in 1882, apparently under pressures from missionary-educationists,[8] had dwelt at length on the 'classes requiring special treatment'. These were the 'chiefs and nobles' at the one extreme, and the 'aborigines' and 'low castes' at the other, besides the 'Musalmans' and the 'poorer classes' whose poverty had practically debarred them from all education. Of these the bulk of all but the 'chiefs and nobles' were gradually absorbed into the fast emerging backward classes categories. As such, any further discussion of the emergence and growth of these categories should be preceded by a brief look at the Commission's treatment of these classes.

The Commission used 'aborigines' as but a loose and

indefinite expression for distinguishing those races which had not been Hinduised and which, in its view, preferred the "freedom of forest or mountain and the pursuit of game to the monotony of the school". It admitted that there was a gradual shading off between the 'aborigines' partially Hinduised and the Hindus, which rendered it difficult to determine the dividing line between the two. It used 'low castes' as a euphemism for the 'untouchables' and explained them as a large population found in every Hindu village community, usually living on the outskirts of the village settlement. Its discussion of 'Musalmans' was with reference to certain sections of the Muslim community, which according to it, had "sunk... into a deplorable state of ignorance". Its use of 'poorer classes' was with reference to the poor families irrespective of caste. It noted that though instances of great poverty were not confined to the lowest classes of society but existed in every caste, including Brahmins, such instances increased as the caste descended in the social scale (GOI, REC, 1883, 1: 147-50).

These descriptions and an attempt at discerning backward classes as socio-historical categories should bring out the close nexus between the backward classes categories of the Commission's description and those envisaged by the Constitution: Bulk of the non-Hinduised 'aborigines' are the Scheduled Tribes. The 'untouchable low castes' are the Scheduled Castes. As border-line cases, some of the partially Hinduised 'aborigines' are Scheduled Tribes and some Scheduled Castes. While the 'poorer classes' are spread over the entire society, only those comprising the lower

strata just above the Scheduled Castes are ideally the Other Backward Classes. This is for at least two reasons. First, as the Commission itself contended, instances of great poverty are more among these than among the upper strata. Second, poverty of the poor among the lower strata is not only economic but also social and cultural, whereas that of the poor among the upper strata is primarily economic. Of these two reasons the second is also the heart of the present controversy on who the (other) backward classes are.

The Commission summarised the causes which practically placed these classes under the bane of ignorance as "want of civilisation, lowness of caste, loss of political status and extreme poverty" (GOI, REC, 1883, 1: 148). While the 'aborigines', 'untouchable low castes', and the other lower strata of society had hardly any access to the indigenous system of education because of either deliberate exclusion or extreme poverty, [9] their condition was not any better under the British system either. It is in this context of the historically accumulated deprivation that the Commission's recommendations on their education and the emergence of the backward classes categories have to be understood.

Recommendations

The Commission's recommendations for the education of 'aborigines' were mainly six:

- 1) Exemption of the children of 'aborigines', wherever necessary, from payment of fees, over and above any general exemptions otherwise provided for;
- 2) if necessary payment of extra allowances under the result

system for those taught in ordinary schools;

- 3) when found sufficiently instructed to become school-masters among their own people, attempts to establish them in schools within the borders of the tribe;
- 4) liberal assistance, on the basis of abstention from any interference with religious teaching, to any bodies willing to undertake the work of education among the 'aborigines';
- 5) where the language of a tribe is not reduced to writing or otherwise found unsuitable, use of the vernacular of the neighbouring population with which the tribe is most often in contact; and
- 6) if education of a tribe is carried on in its own language, use of the vernacular of the neighbouring district as additional subject of instruction where found advisable.

For the education of the 'low castes' the Commission made two important recommendations:

- 1) Reaffirmation as a principle the principle laid down in the Court of Directors' letters of 5 May 1854 and 20 May 1857, and repeated by the Secretary of State in 1863, "that no boy be refused admission to a government college or school merely on the ground of caste", and its application with due caution to every institution which is not reserved for special races and which is maintained at the cost of public funds, whether provincial, municipal, or local; and
- 2) liberal encouragement of the establishment of special schools or classes for children of low castes in places where a sufficient number of them are found to form

separate schools or classes, and where the schools already maintained from public funds do not sufficiently provide for their education.

For the education of the Muslims the Commission's recommendations were mainly the following:

- 1) Special encouragement of Muslim education as a legitimate charge on local, municipal, and provincial funds;
- 2) liberal encouragement of higher English education of Muslims, and of indigenous Muslim schools to add purely secular subjects to their curriculum of instruction;
- 3) prescription of special standards, and employment of Muslim inspecting officers more largely than hitherto, for Muslim primary schools;
- 4) use of Hindustani as the principal medium for imparting instruction to Muslims in primary and middle schools, except in localities where the Muslim community desires the adoption of some other language;
- 5) where necessary, establishment of a graduated system of special scholarships, and of Normal schools or classes for training Muslim teachers; and
- 6) reservation of a certain proportion of free studentships for Muslims in all schools maintained from public funds.

On the education of the 'poorer classes' the Commission drew a distinction between the claims of the poor for primary and for higher education and stated that while it is the duty of the state to extend primary education as widely as possible, in secondary and collegiate education the state is concerned only with boys of promise. Accordingly its recommendations were mainly

of two categories:

- 1) Liberal remission of fees for attendance at primary schools; admission of a certain proportion of pupils as free scholars on the ground of poverty in all board schools; a general or larger exemption from payment of fees in special schools established for the benefit of the 'poorer classes'; and
- 2) a well organised system of scholarships in schools of higher order and colleges (GOI, REC, 1883, 1: 148-50, 507-20).

3 Earlier appellations

Though the Commission broadly indicated the classes requiring special treatment, and following its recommendations the public instruction reports devoted considerable space to their educational progress, [10] each of these classes was of an unwieldy and amorphous character comprising several groups of disparate size and socio-cultural background. Therefore, political considerations notwithstanding, governmental efforts to impart education among these heterogeneous ensembles entailed their ad hoc classification into easily identifiable categories. Each of the categories so classified differed from the rest for certain educational concessions and also overlapped with them for certain others depending upon the official perception of it and of its educational needs. All of them, however, gradually got absorbed into the fast emerging backward classes categories. This process of classification was well on the way even before the appointment of the Commission. The annual and quinquennial public instruction reports classifying the population under instruction into different categories came handy for it. [11]

Poor pupils and poor schools

Thus, by 1880 appeared 'poor pupils' and 'poor schools'. It is not clear how the 'poor' was defined to begin with. But in the Grant-in-aid Code[12] of 1893 any 'native' pupil the ordinary monthly income of whose family did not exceed Rs 8 in Madras Municipality, Rs 6 in district municipalities, and Rs 4 in non-Municipal areas, and any European pupil the ordinary monthly income of whose family in any area did not exceed Rs 5 for each member were treated as poor. These definitions varied over the years. For instance, in the Grant-in-aid Code of 1895 any 'native pupil' the ordinary monthly income of whose family did not exceed Rs 7 irrespective of the area and any European pupil the ordinary monthly income of whose family did not exceed Rs 7 for each member were treated as poor. In the Code of 1901 the corresponding income limits were Rs 8 and Rs 7.[13]

The concessions granted to 'poor pupils' were mainly free admissions, and scholarships. The scope of these also varied over the years. Until 1884 free admissions were upto five per cent of the aggregate number of pupils in the primary, middle, and high school departments combined. In 1884 free admissions upto twenty per cent were provided in the college departments also. In 1886, while introducing for the first time a compulsory fee in results primary schools proper, the government found it desirable to offer 'ample protection' to the poorer class of pupils, and provided for upto fifteen per cent free admissions in such schools. It also modified other free admissions as upto twelve per cent of the aggregate number of pupils in primary and

middle departments combined, upto ten per cent and eight per cent respectively in high school and college departments, and upto five per cent each in colleges and schools maintained from provincial funds.[14]

The scholarships granted until 1885 were 11 of Rs 15 and 18 of Rs 10 each, awarded on the results of the First Arts and Matriculation examinations respectively, tenable in government or private colleges affiliated to the Madras University. Of these 8 were reserved for Muslims and Oriyas, and the rest were attached to specified districts. In 1885 the DPI reviewed the system under which government scholarships were granted, so as to ensure that the money was spent for encouraging higher education among backward classes and women. Following this, from 1 January 1886 the scholarships, 8 of Rs 15 and 18 of Rs 10, were distributed thus: Muslims 3 and 6; women 2 and 4; backward classes 2 and 6; and Oriyas 1 and 2. By 1889 the scholarships were increased to 16 of Rs 15 and 30 of Rs 10. Female candidates had a preferential claim on the former, but since they were then exceedingly few, Muslims (including Mappilas), Oriyas, and the backward classes had the next claim in order of merit. Of the 30 scholarships 6 were reserved for Muslims. In the scholarship scheme approved by the government in November 1894 provision was made for 80, 45, and 24 scholarships to male students passing the primary, lower secondary, and matriculation examinations, and of these as many as 20, 15, and 8 respectively were reserved for Muslims (including Mappilas). In the award of scholarships on the results of the FA examination, preference was given to them next to the backward classes mentioned in the Grant-in-aid Code.[15]

Apart from these scholarships, when the Grant-in-aid Code was revised in 1885 provision was made for the award of scholarship grants under certain conditions to promising students passing through the senior college (BA), junior college (FA), and upper secondary course. Its object was to enable students "too poor to prosecute their studies otherwise" to pass through the different stages of education until they attained a degree in the university. But in consequence of the omission in the Code of any restriction as to the classes of students for whom scholarship grants were to be given, it had come to pass that not only poor but also well-to-do classes had been allowed scholarship grants. Consequently, in 1894 the DPI pointed out that there was no reason to throw open the scholarship grants to all while government scholarships for the FA and BA courses were confined to girls of all classes, Muslims (including Mappilas), Oriyas, and the backward classes specified in the Code. Accordingly from 1 January 1895 such grants were also limited to these classes.[16]

Any school with over half its pupils as poor was also treated as poor. All schools for Muslims (including Mappilas) were treated so irrespective of the proportion of poor pupils therein. Schools, the majority of whose pupils belonged to the backward or indigent classes mentioned in the Grant-in-aid Code were also admitted to the privileges which the Code allowed to poor schools.

The classification of a school as poor entitled it to certain concessions. Thus, in 1881, on DPI's request, the government made

provisions in article 99 of the Grant-in-aid Code empowering him to sanction grants, not exceeding Rs 200, for class books for the use of pupils in these schools at such intervals as he deemed expedient, on condition that the books remained the property of the schools concerned and were used by children during the school-hours only.[17] Poor schools were also entitled to specially enhanced rates of grants and certain exemptions from and relaxation of the conditions laid down in the Grant-in-aid Code such as school strength, school days, age of the pupils, and recognition of the school.

Backward races

In 1883 appeared 'backward races'. That year, on DPI's request, the government made provisions in article 77 of the Grant-in-aid Code for enhanced rates of grants for certain categories of elementary schools. The grants were at double rates to managers of schools in the Agency Tracts of the Northern Circars; at rates 50 per cent higher than these to managers of schools in the Kollegal and Satyamangalam (above the Ghats) taluks of Coimbatore district, in Nilgiri district, and in the Wynad taluk of Malabar district; and at excess rates of 50 per cent on account of pupils passing in schools wherever situated and belonging to any of the eleven groups listed by the DPI[18] or to any other sanctioned by the government.

The DPI stated that the object of these provisions was the encouragement of the instruction of children of 'backward races' by private effort, whether living within or without the special localities to which their 'tribe' belonged, that the necessity for such encouragement needed no arguments from him and that the

time had arrived when the advantages offered would have a practical result.[19]

There were also other measures such as maintenance of special schools and scholarships on the lines recommended by the Education Commission, but there is no need to go into the details of these for the purpose of this study.

Backward or indigent classes, races or castes

In 1884 appeared 'backward or indigent races or castes', and 'indigent or backward classes'. The School Fee Notification of that year contained two important provisions for variations for definite periods in the uniform standard of fees introduced for the first time.

The first was for lower rates of fees in special localities, as provided in rule 3 of the Notification. This was intended to deal with the fee question "rather in relation to the means of people to pay than the demand for education", taking into consideration the wide variations in the economic condition of the people in different parts of the Presidency and the fact that the fee that was fair in one locality was burdensome and probably prohibitive in another.

The second was for special rates of fees for pupils belonging to backward or indigent classes. Of this, rule 5 of the Notification:

The Government may, from time to time, fix by Gazette Notification, for the Presidency generally, or for any district or town therein, the favourable rates at which children belonging to backward or indigent races or castes shall be admitted to public instruction; and no school, receiving aid from public funds, not being expressly authorised to limit admission to certain sections of the population, shall be at liberty to

refuse admittance to such pupils at the rates notified.

And rule 21 of the same Notification:

Nothing in these rules shall be deemed to affect the levy of fees in schools for Hindu and Muhammadan girls, in schools for European and Eurasian poor and other indigent classes, in Practising Schools attached to Normal Schools, in Industrial and other special schools, in all which institutions, fees shall be levied at such rates as may, from time to time, be notified by the Government.

This provision was based on the same principle followed until then in regard to Muslims and Oriyas on account of their poverty. The DPI stressed it as absolutely necessary for bringing the poor and indigent fully within the education scheme. But, here also he provided for local circumstances, as a class might be miserably poor in some districts or towns and well-to-do in others.

Apart from special rates of fees, pupils from these classes were also entitled to free admissions. Of this, rule 13 of the Notification:

The Government may, by notification, declare the proportion to total strength of school, of pupils of backward or indigent classes, who may be received as free scholars in a particular district or town, and the maximum proportion which such pupils should bear to the total strength of the schools. Such pupils shall not be considered in making the calculations required by rule XII.[20]

Exemptions and relaxations

Though the specially enhanced rates of grants for the backward races and later the backward or indigent classes were primarily intended to induce the schools to enroll more and more students of these classes, in 1891 the DPI found it necessary to offer more inducements. He reported that while the working of the

results grant chapter of the Grant-in-aid Code was very favourable to the numerically large and financially sound schools, it was much less so and in some cases even unfavourable to the numerically small and financially weak schools mostly in small and remote villages, and those meant for the poor and other backward classes. He pointed out that these were the very institutions that needed the greatest encouragement to enable the managers to place them on a permanent and more satisfactory basis, as urged by them and by the missionaries engaged in educational work. Therefore, on his recommendation, the government relaxed in favour of these schools the special conditions of aid such as school strength, school days, and age of the pupils. Later it also exempted them from the operation of a number of articles as to staff, accommodation, etc., imposed by the Madras Educational Rules.[21]

Backward classes

Backward classes proper also appeared in 1884 as a reference to 'aborigines' and 'low castes' in the remarks of the Madras Government sent to the Government of India on chapter nine of the Education Commission's report on the education of classes requiring special treatment. It was used in 1885 as a reference to Muslims as mentioned earlier, in 1886 in the School-Fee Notification as a synonym for 'backward or indigent classes', and often thence by the public instruction department,[22] before it crystallised in the second decade of this century as categories comprising the numerous bottom groups.

4 Half-fee concessions

While of the appellations backward or indigent classes (and

later backward classes) was the most significant, of the concessions half-fee was the most attractive. Though the School Fee Notification of 1884 had for the first time provided for levy of lower rates of fees from pupils of backward or indigent classes, this provision was enforced only selectively. The government's reluctance to give it full effect was quite evident from a correspondence of 1888. A resolution of the Mayavaram Municipal Council passed at a meeting held on 23 March 1888 that pupils of the artisan communities such as Saliar and Kaikolar should be admitted to the Municipal high school in all its departments at half the prescribed rate of fees was favourably endorsed by the DPI in so far as it concerned the poorer artisan classes. In a draft notification to this effect he proposed the admission at half the prescribed rate of fees of all children of artisans working for daily hire or cooli, of ordinary coolies, and of any of the backward or indigent classes enumerated in the Grant-in-aid Code. The government, however, felt that the provision in the School Fee Notification empowering the DPI to prescribe special rates of fees for backward or indigent classes was never intended to cover so 'revolutionary' a change as he proposed. The grounds on which it rejected his proposal are noteworthy:

The test on which school fees in future is to depend is whether the parent is paid by the day and by the job or by the month... It will be very unfair to the poorest class of labourer who gets a monthly wage paid in grain, and it will be undoubtedly taken advantage of by every wealthy artisan who is paid for his job. It will create endless jealousies and complaints and will break down the whole effect the school fee notification may have had or have in future. The scheme... is quite impracticable. Advantageous though it might be to

encourage the children of the poorer artisans to come to school, no distinction can possibly be drawn between them and the children of other labouring classes. That reason seems sufficient for the immediate condemnation of the proposal.[23]

However, just about three years later the DPI's proposal found favour with the government, though it is not clear under what motivation. In 1892 the government permitted children of the backward or indigent classes specified in the Grant-in-aid Code (alongwith girls, and also Muslims and Oriyas permitted during 1872-73) to pay only half the standard rate of fees in institutions under public management:

Under para 3 of the School-Fee Notification published at page 8 part 1 of the Fort St George Gazette, dated 5 January 1892 His Excellency the Governor in Council resolves to direct that, in institutions under public management, fees shall be levied from children of Muhammadans and Uriyas and of the backward and indigent classes specified in... the Grant-in-aid Code at half the standard rates prescribed in para 8 of the above notification; and that in institutions under private management receiving aid under the provisions of the Grant-in-aid Code such rates of fees shall, so far as pupils of the classes referred to are concerned, be regarded as the standard rates, that is, the rates at which the fee income from such pupils shall be calculated for the purpose of passing grants to such institutions.[24]

This half-fee concession was extended to Muslims in all professional colleges in 1896, following a resolution passed at a meeting of the Board of Muhammadan Education[25] on 23 July 1894, and the DPI's recommendation.[26] It was granted to the Oriyas in 1901, following a question in the Legislative Council to that effect.[27] The question of extending it to the backward or indigent classes was not raised and considered until 1908. That year the DPI pointed out that when all the classes declared backward under the Grant-in-aid Code were placed on an equal

footing in regard to the rates of fees levied in general institutions under public management, there was no reason for not according them equal treatment in regard to the payment of fees in professional institutions under public management. The government accordingly granted this concession to the backward or indigent classes as well.[28]

It was with the introduction of these concessions since 1892 that the scramble for backward class status started,[29] and the backward classes list lengthened like Hanuman's tail. Apart from the exemption of the school from certain conditions of recognition and relaxation of certain conditions in its favour in regard to the eligibility to claim the grants, inclusion of a community in the list had a two-fold effect: First, it gave the teacher of any boy or girl of the community an enhanced capitation grant. Second, it allowed the pupils of that community to get admission free of fee to all elementary schools and on payment of half the standard rates of fees in secondary schools and colleges under public management.

5. Enumeration procedures and problems

Inclusion in the list could have been on the basis of petitions by caste members or caste associations. Often obsequious, recalling the benevolence of the alien rulers and reaffirming loyalty to them, these petitions dilated the petitioners' 'glorious past', and deplored their 'gloomy present'. By thus trying to invoke sympathy they prayed for inclusion in the list and for employment in government service, and justified their prayers by referring to the concessions already granted to certain other communities.[30]

The inclusion could have also been on DPI's recommendation, either of his own accord or based on the reports of the inspecting officers or collectors or both, occasionally also in consultation with the superintendent of the government museum.[31] In either case, inclusions were announced through a notification in the Fort St George Gazette.

The principal criterion for inclusion was educational backwardness, which in many cases coincided with low socio-economic status. But, this criterion was seldom used with rigour and consistency. To cite a couple of instances: In the public instruction report of 1887-88 the DPI stated that the "material condition is not so much the test of the backwardness of a class as its past traditions and social circumstances" (PIR, 1887-88). In the following year, based on the Madurai Collector's strong opinion in favour of the inclusion of Kallars, the DPI requested the government to reconsider its earlier decision to the contrary. Here, he stressed that the educational condition and not the material was the ground on which the determination of the government should rest. He also pointed out that though many well-to-do Muslims shared in the benefit allowed to the whole Muslim community this fact was not brought forth as a plea for discontinuing the concession in their case, and that the remark applied to other 'backward races' also. The government stolidly refused to reconsider the matter. But, about a decade later, on similar recommendations, it included Kallars (and Maravars) of both Madurai and Tinnevely. The Madurai Collector stated that the prevalence of crime among Kallars and Maravars was due to poverty and

that education was not likely to improve them much until they got enough to eat. While acknowledging this and their poverty and backwardness, the DPI contended that there was no harm in admitting them to the benefits of education on terms more liberal than those accorded to wealthier classes. While accepting the DPI's recommendation the concerned official of the education department wrote: "I do not see that education will much affect the character of these thieves and rowdies for a long time to come".[32]

Similarly, despite repeated representations for about two decades since 1903, the inspecting officers, collectors, DPI, and the education department all alike refused to include the artisan castes in the list on the ground that artisans as a class were neither poor nor educationally backward. In one context the DPI even endorsed the opinion of the Acting Collector of Kistna district that it was "inexpedient to do anything that would divert the energies of the members of the caste in question from their hereditary occupations... or would place on respectable artisans the stigma of 'backwardness'".[33] But in 1926 all these castes were also included in the list.[34]

In 1913 the education department itself admitted that the list was not drawn scientifically, inasmuch as castes in it were of every degree of literacy ranging from one per mille to over 300, some entries were caste titles, names of subcastes, etc., some were not found in the recognised list of castes in Thurston's work and in the various Census Reports, and some were duplications with the same caste shown under more than one

name. The department, however, felt that not much good would be effected by going into the limitations, while omission of names already in it would be certain to evoke protests from missionaries who, according to it, had 'schools full of the backward'. [35] However, from this time right upto 1935 it empowered the DPI to add to the list any other similar classes or castes or persons following similar occupations. [36]

Occasionally the list also bore the brunt of the howlers of ignorant officials. For instance, based on a suggestion by the Commissioner of Labour, in 1925 the Government included 'Kapu', an aboriginal tribe found in the Telugu districts of Godavari and Vizagpatam (better known as Konda Kapu), in the list of 'Depressed Classes'. When this list was replaced in 1935 by the first list of Scheduled Castes the fact that 'Kapu' referred to an aboriginal tribe was lost sight of and the name was included in the list of 'Castes other than Scheduled Castes'. This omission enabled the Reddi and other large and influential agriculturist castes of the Telugu districts, broadly classed as 'Kapus', to avail of the fee concession which was otherwise meant for only the backward classes. It was only in 1942 that the government detected and rectified this howler. [37]

Liberalisation/control dilemma

As the government proceeded with the implementation of the half-fee concession one of the problems it faced was of enforcing the concession in private institutions. For, the concession was strictly applicable only to institutions under public management and was granted in private institutions at management's discretion and under government's inducements.

This had given rise to complaints, especially by Muslims. In 1909 the Muhammadan Educational Conference of South India pointed out that Muslim students were not allowed the concession in many private institutions and requested the government to enforce it in all institutions by taking upon itself, by means of enhanced grants, the loss which the managements might sustain. In 1912 the Muhammadan Educational Association of North Arcot requested the government to issue peremptory orders to this effect. The government refused to issue such an order. Its contention was that private managements already commonly allowed this concession and that the arrangement was encouraged by the departmental practice of reckoning the fees due by Muslims at half the standard rates in calculating the teaching grants.

In order to further induce the adoption of the concession, in 1912 the government amended rule 32 of the Grant-in-aid Code by expressly providing that the allotment of grants ordinarily admissible might be increased by half the amount of fee income foregone under rule 102 of the Educational Rules. It also extended the benefit of enhanced rates of grants on behalf of pupils belonging to the backward classes in all schools as against the earlier provision of only schools in which the majority of the pupils belonged to these classes.

In 1921 a resolution for enabling Muslim students to study in all aided institutions on half-fee was moved in the Legislative Council by Khan Bahadur Usman Sahib Bahadur and passed by the Council. The government accepted the resolution and ordered the payment of grants to those schools which admitted Muslims,

Oriyas, girls, and the backward classes at half the standard rates, and which otherwise would not earn grants under the provisions of the Grant-in-aid Code.[38]

Another problem which the government faced was of restricting the concession to the really needy so as to prevent dilution of the list and reduce government's expenditure on concessions. For, with its rapid growth and the rising clamour for inclusion in it the very *raison d'être* of the list was under threat. Anticipating this, in the revised draft fee regulations of 1910 the DPI proposed two important modifications. The first was to restrict the concession to only pupils of the specified classes as against the existing provision of allowing all pupils in the schools meant for these classes. The second was a 'wealth limit' clause for restricting the concession to those pupils of the specified classes whose parents' total annual income did not exceed Rs 500. But in the Educational Conference convened by the DPI for discussing the draft regulations while the first modification was approved the second was dismissed as leading to "unpleasant inquisitorial enquiries".[39]

A GO issued in 1920, following the recommendations of the Education Conference of 1916, convened in connection with the revision of the Grant-in-aid Code and Educational Rules, was intended to tackle both the problems. It made the concession compulsory in all institutions, but at the same time restricted it to the really poor among the backward classes by requiring the production of a 'poverty' certificate from an authorised officer. But, the government received several protests against the 'poverty' certificate that the GO had the effect of

compelling parents of poor pupils to produce certificates in all cases and that this caused untold hardship to such parents. Because of either real or apprehended discrimination by certifying officers there were even suggestions for definition of poverty. In the light of these, after about a year the production of such certificates was insisted upon only in doubtful cases.[40]

6 Growth and diversification

The decennial lists of backward classes from 1883 right upto 1988, collated as an alphabetically arranged matrix fully capture the lengthening of the backward classes list for over a century now: from just eleven names in 1883 to 39 in 1893 to 46 in 1903 to 122 in 1913 to 131 in 1923 to 182 in 1933 to 238 in 1943 to 270 in 1953 to 302 in 1963 to 323 in 1988 (see appendix).

Though the fee concession was made general only in 1892, the list had begun to lengthen even a decade earlier. Its first major expansion was in 1884 following the extensive revision of the Grant-in-aid Code taking into consideration the recommendations of the Education Commission. Its second expansion was in 1913, following the Government of India resolution of 21 February 1913 to extend primary education and assist local governments with large grants from imperial revenues.[41] The grant allotted to Madras Government during 1913 was Rs 23 lakhs. This was utilised by making provisions of slates and books for poor and backward pupils, the absence of which had been urged independently by a very large number of inspecting officers as a very potent obstacle to larger attendance at schools already in existence; by

opening new schools; and more importantly for the purpose of this study, by adding considerably to the backward classes list on the basis of the 1911 Census, with a view to securing a larger measure of freedom from payment of fees in the case of the pupils of these classes.[42]

An important characteristic of the list was that names were often added to it but seldom deleted from it. No doubt, from time to time the government made abortive attempts to curtail the number of communities in it so as to reduce expenditure on concessions. Thus, in 1934 it directed that concessions should not exceed 7.5 per cent of the fee receipts of the institution concerned in the previous year. But this was found unworkable and soon abandoned.[43] In 1940, it removed eight of the communities from the list. But under pressures and pretexts most of them were soon readmitted.[44]

Closely related to the rapid growth of the list was its diversification. This had begun as early as in 1884. That year the Paraiyas and kindred classes[45] alias Panchamas[46] alias Adi-Dravidas and Adi-Andhras[47], as these classes were renamed subsequently, were added to it. Though they were then only part of the list and does not appear in the appendix as a separate category they were singled out for special treatment by the public instruction department, and treated as a separate category in the public instruction reports since 1891. This probably indicated the increasing concern for their social amelioration and their emerging identity as a separate category within the backward classes list.

Paraiyas and kindred classes

In fact, in 1884 itself, reviewing the public instruction report for 1883 the government had pointed out that special measures were necessary for the education of these classes and the DPI had considered the practicability of extending to them the measures taken for the education of the 'backward races' (PIR, 1883-84). But nothing tangible was done immediately. It was only in 1892 that the need for their special encouragement was really recognised.

By this time official opinion had also grown in their favour. In the public instruction report of 1889-90 the DPI had stated that he agreed with Professor Huxley "that a national system of education should provide a ladder from the gutter to the University, so that the poorest child in the country should have the means and the opportunity of receiving the best education he is capable of benefiting by". Citing this statement, Tremenheere, the then Chingleput Collector, examined the ladder leading from the Paracheri (Paraiya settlement) gutter. This revealed that save where there were mission schools next to nothing was done even for the primary education of Paraiyas. "What may be expected from the education of the Pariahs" he asked, and answered:

In the first place, even a low standard of instruction will, to some extent safeguard them against becoming victims of fraud and oppression and teach them to make the most of their opportunities. In the second, their instruction, carried a little further may add materially to the intelligence and progress of the Country. [48]

Reviewing the public instruction report for 1890-91, in 1891

the government also observed that the proportion of these classes under instruction was so small that this large section of the community may be said to be practically unrepresented, and that while progress must inevitably be extremely slow in their case, every effort should be made to ameliorate their educational condition. With this object it felt that it may be necessary to open a large number of special schools for low-caste Hindus alone, and desired the opinion of the DPI on the subject.[49] With statistics collected for the first time, the DPI also showed their very low proportion under instruction (4.5% boys and 0.8% girls against the Presidency averages of 22.5% and 3.6% respectively), and dwelt on the need for their 'redemption from absolute ignorance and consequent degradation'(PIR, 1891-92).

The efforts of missionaries in the educational, social and moral elevation of these classes were seen by the government as the main hope for any large extension of their education in the near future. These efforts call for a detailed examination in the context of the Raj-Church nexus as revealed by the differential roles of the Church in system maintenance and system change. This again is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice to say that in keeping with the governmental expectations from these efforts, on receipt of the government's directive the DPI invited the suggestions of the missionaries as to the best means of educating these classes. TB Pandian, an 'Indian Christian' Baptist Missionary and author of "The Slaves of the Soil in Southern India", urged the government for amelioration of the condition of the Paraiyas of southern India, deplored their 'intellectual darkness' and practical incapacity to own land, and stressed that

they could be emancipated from slavery only through education and land ownership. He suggested the establishment of one or more industrial schools in each district for teaching them the ordinary trades of the country, of a number of elementary schools for teaching them rudiments of vernacular education, and of model or normal schools in certain centres for training Paraiya teachers, inspectors, etc., and positive encouragement for Paraiyas becoming land owners. He stressed that caste Hindus should have as little as possible with the administration of these schools. Among the other important suggestions offered by the missionaries were the appointment of a special inspecting staff for the examination and improvement of Paraiya schools, the establishment of training schools for Paraiya teachers, and opening of special schools from public funds.[50]

Following these suggestions and the DPI's proposals, in February 1893 the government issued a GO, considered by some of the missionary and philanthropic bodies specially interested in the amelioration of the depressed classes as the 'Magna Carta' of Panchama education. In this GO the government sanctioned the following proposals of the DPI:

- 1) Payment of additional stipend of Rs 2 per mensem to Paraiya students in training schools under public management;
- 2) payment of higher rates of stipendiary grants provided for in the Grant-in-aid Code to Paraiya students in training schools under private management;
- 3) opening of special schools for Paraiyas by local bodies in all large Paraiya villages and suburbs not having such

schools;

- 4) free grant of poromboke lands as sites for Paraiya schools;
- 5) payment of results stipends at the maximum rates for Paraiya students attending salary results schools;
- 6) special development and encouragement of the night school system for the education of Paraiya and other labouring classes;
- 7) payment of results grants for Paraiya pupils in results schools at 50 per cent higher than the standard rates; and
- 8) cancellation of the refund of building grants in case of the use of the buildings for school purposes for a period of six years.

The DPI also uniformly advised the Local Boards to close schools at places where aided schools had sprung up, and to utilise the savings in the establishment of Paraiya schools in localities where they were much needed and where schools under private management were not at work.[51]

Promising though these measures were the progress was very slow. The reasons for this were the extreme poverty and apathy of the Panchamas, want of adequate funds to start schools at once in all their villages, and jealous and interested opposition of their employers and of village officials and others. The DPI pondered over the difficulty experienced in obtaining school sites despite the orders of government and despite the availability of land for the purpose:

And if obstacles are placed in the way of Europeans when trying to obtain a site for a village school, it may be inferred that greater obstacles are laid on the path of the Paraiya who seeks to acquire a small bit of land for

cultivation or in some other way to better his condition (PIR, 1894-5).

Of the obstacles the most formidable was caste itself. Of this, a report against the Local Fund Mission School at Kaverippakkam in Walaja taluk, in the Madras newspaper Pariyan, of 8 December 1894:

While the school is open for all classes of people, the school authorities do not allow Pariya boys, however anxious they may be to read, even to step into the school premises. Why not the local fund authorities pay heed to this? O! Congress! Where is the appropriateness of the term "national" as applied to thee? If Pariya boys are not allowed to read in ordinary schools at present when will they qualify themselves for the Indian Civil Service? Why not the Pariyas study for and pass the Civil Service examination? O! Congresswallas! Cast away your jealousy and ambition and do no unjust acts even though Government may be blind to them.

Another report against Brahmin inspectors in the same newspaper, of 15 December 1894:

[W]hen the sub-assistant inspector of schools for the Radhapuram circle, came to examine the Pariya school at Mathurappuram, a village in the said circle, he, being a Brahman stood at a distance under the shade of a tree, examined one or two boys without even touching their slates, and returned home immediately... [W]hile the same gentleman came to examine the Pariya school at Perunkannankulam in the said circle, he examined the boys while he was seated in his carriage... [I]f the sub-assistant inspector of schools had been one of their own class, the conduct of the examination would have been more satisfactory and the diffusion of education among Pariyas would have been really practical.

A third report against the hatred of caste-Hindus in the Pariyan of 18 December 1894:

[A]s Brahmans, Vellalas, [and] Maravars living in the villages of Sattankulam, Nallur and so forth in Tenkarai taluk, have an intense hatred for the Pariyas, they are extremely anxious to adopt measures to have the Pariya schools abolished and have also expressed their desire to Mr Krishna Rao, fourth range sub-assistant inspector, Tuticorin... [F]or some reason or other many of these schools have been abolished.[52]

About a decade later PSD Muthuswamy Pillai, an 'Indian Christian' missionary from St Thomas Mount, Madras, petitioned the government thus:

Believe me, sir, it not seldom happens that the sub-Assistant Inspector declines to enter the Panchama village, calls up the school to the shade of a tamarind tree well beyond the village, examines the answers on slates from a position not closer than ten feet and is done with the bother as soon as he possibly can.

Stressing that the inspecting officers who were to ascertain the merit and progress of the school should be in thorough sympathy with the aims of the managers and teachers and the needs and difficulties of the pupils, he deplored that this was impossible with the existing staff, and that the Brahmin or other high caste inspector as in most cases he was, could never as a rule bring himself to do justice much less to treat with sympathy the pupils who were untouchable outcastes. Therefore, he urged the government for the appointment of Eurasians, 'Native Christians' or Panchamas as special inspectors of the elementary schools for the 'lower and backward orders of the people'. [53]

In 1909 the government discussed the political and social desirability of giving Panchamas more than a primary education. But its decision was against encouraging the advance of Panchama education beyond the primary stage. [54]

As part of the continuing governmental efforts for primary education among Panchamas in 1915 the DPI examined the question of starting morning or evening classes for Panchamas in Hindu schools. He found it unfeasible because of the strong caste prejudices of the Hindus which, according to him, though reprehensible, could not be ignored. [55] Meanwhile, following

representations to the government on the exclusion of Panchamas and other depressed classes from schools attended by caste Hindus in different parts of the Presidency, in 1918 the government asked local bodies and the DPI to investigate and report on the matter. The replies received disclosed that Panchamas and allied castes were totally excluded from all but 609 of a total of 8157 schools under public management in the Presidency. Foremost among the reasons reported for such exclusion were caste prejudices:

- 1) Prejudice of higher castes resulting in the withdrawal of their children or in the threats to do so on admission of Panchamas;
- 2) location of schools in agraharams, chavadis, or temples, or in high caste quarters which excluded Panchamas;
- 3) objections to the admission of Panchamas raised by the owners of rented buildings housing the schools;
- 4) unsympathetic attitude of landlords towards Panchama education; and
- 5) inherited and ingrained reluctance of Panchamas themselves to assert their claims.

Hoping that with the help of local bodies and of the enlightened sections of the community these prejudices could be gradually overcome, the government laid down certain instructions for the guidance of local bodies and of the officers of the Education Department:

- 1) Where a school under public management is situated in an agraharam, chavadi, or temple or other area from which Panchamas are excluded, steps should be taken to transfer the

school to some locality to which all classes of the population have access;

- 2) in cases where the private owner of a rented school building objects to Panchamas being admitted into it, steps should be taken to secure for the same school some other building in respect of which this objection could not be raised; and
- 3) no school building should hereafter be constructed out of public funds unless it is certified that it is in a locality accessible to all classes including Panchamas.

The government also directed the DPI, the Presidents of District Boards and the Chairmen of Municipal Councils to submit to it by 15 June each year reports detailing the nature of the steps taken in the previous official year to carry out these instructions.[56]

Despite these steps, for a long time to come caste continued to be an insurmountable obstacle in the education of the Panchamas. What is, however, more relevant to note here is that from this time right upto the present Panchamas have figured prominently in the backward classes categories and in the reservation policy.

Depressed Classes

As the backward classes list continued to grow rapidly, threatened by getting swamped by the multitude of castes in such an ever-expanding list, from the second decade of this century the Panchamas clamoured for treatment as a separate category of 'depressed classes'. [57] Thus, at its 6th session held at Madras on 16 December 1917 the South Indian Depressed Classes Conference

passed a resolution requesting the government for separating Panchamas from the backward classes in educational matters.[58] From then on the Panchamas persistently put forth their claim for separate treatment. Meanwhile there were also complaints that converts to Christianity from backward classes were denied on their conversion the half-fee concession to which they were eligible prior to conversion and that this practice entailed hardship on such of the converts as originally belonged to the depressed classes. In the light of these, in 1925 the government split the backward classes list into two: 1) 'Depressed Classes', with 85 communities comprising the Panchamas and the tribals; and 2) 'Castes other than Depressed Classes', with 87 communities. The government also directed that the half-fee concession to which poor pupils of the depressed classes were otherwise eligible should not be denied to them merely because of their conversion.[59]

Scheduled Castes

In 1935, following the Government of India Act, the first list was replaced by the Scheduled Castes list and the few groups which did not meet the requirement of untouchability for being in the list were shifted into the second list.[60]

Scheduled Tribes

When the Constitution of India came into being, consequent on the publication of the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, and the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, for extending the concessions granted to the Scheduled Castes to the Scheduled Tribes also, in March 1951 the second list was also split into two: 1) Scheduled Tribes; and 2) Backward Classes.[61]

Most Backward Classes

The first Backward Classes Commission, appointed in 1953 by the Government of India (Kaka Kalelkar Commission) suggested that in the grant of educational concessions, etc., the 'most backward' communities of its classification be given preference over other communities in the Backward Classes list. By this time the Madras Government had also concluded that some of these communities were almost as backward as the Scheduled Castes though not classified so as they did not meet the requirement of untouchability for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes. Accordingly, in February 1957 it split the Backward Classes list into two: 1) Backward Classes; and 2) Most Backward Classes, comprising 58 communities.[62]

Conclusion

The foregoing account of the evolution of backward classes lists in Tamil Nadu clearly shows that far from being a creation of the Indian Constitution these have been created by the British administration, supported and sustained by the missionary educationists, and the numerous bottom groups craving for their social advancement under the new dispensation. Understanding the emergence and growth of these lists is crucial for rationalising the present backward classes categories. For, it is these lists and not any other arrived at after proper enumeration, which have been used to fill the three backward classes categories envisaged by the Constitution:

All the entries in the Scheduled Castes list and bulk of those in the 'Castes other than Scheduled Castes' list

respectively as they existed in 1950 filled the constitutional categories of Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes, while the few remaining groups in the second list filled the Scheduled Tribes category. As the first two lists were prepared on an ad hoc basis in the course of the preceding eight decades for mere educational concessions, their limitations still persist. More importantly, their adoption for dispensation of the far reaching special treatment provisions of the Constitution has in effect reduced the perception and practice of these provisions to a mere concessionist policy. But equally important for rationalising the present backward classes categories is a close look at the emergence and growth of reservations since the second half of the nineteenth century. That will be the scope of a subsequent paper.

Growth and diversification of backward classes in Tamil Nadu, 1883-1988

SN	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933	1943	1953	1963	1973	1983	1988
	Backward races	Backward and indigent classes	Backward classes									
			1 Depressed Classes					1 Scheduled Castes				
1	Badaga	Badaga	Badaga	Aganudaiyan	Aganudaiyan	Annadan	Adi-Andhra	Adi-Andhra	Adi-Andhra	Adi-Andhra	Adi-Andhra	Adi-Andhra
2	Irula	Billava	Billava	Agasa	Agasa	Badaga	Adi-Dravida	Adi-Dravida	Adi-Dravida	Adi-Dravida	Adi-Dravida	Adi-Dravida
3	Kader	Chaklar	Chenchu	Ambalakaran	Ambalakaran	Bagala	Adi-Marnataka	Adi-Marnataka	Adi-Marnataka	Adi-Marnataka	Adi-Marnataka	Adi-Marnataka
4	Khond	Chenchu	Cheruna	Ambattan	Ambattan	Baira	Ajila	Ajila	Ajila	Ajila	Ajila	Ajila
5	Korava	Cheruna	Chuckler	Are Mahrati	Are Mahrati	Bakuda	Aranadan	Arunthathiyar	Arunthathiyar	Arunthathiyar	Arunthathiyar	Arunthathiyar
6	Kota	Dandasi	Dandasi	Atagara	Atagara	Bavuri	Arunthathiyar	Baira	Ayyanavar	Ayyanavar	Ayyanavar	Ayyanavar
7	Kurumba	Enadi	Enadi	Badaga	Atchukallavandu	Bellara	Baira	Bakuda	Baira	Baira	Baira	Baira
8	Malayali	Holaya	Ganiga	Balolika	Badaga	Boya	Bakuda	Bandi	Bakuda	Bakuda	Bakuda	Bakuda
9	Malseyer	Irula	Holaya	Bandi	Balolika	Chalavadi	Bandi	Bariki	Bandi	Bandi	Bandi	Bandi
10	Savara	Izhuvan	Irula	Bavuri	Bandi	Chenchu	Bariki	Bavuri	Bellara	Bellara	Bellara	Bellara
11	Toda	Kada	Izhuvan	Bestha	Bavuri	Cheruna	Battada	Bellara	Bharatar	Bharatar	Bharatar	Bharatar
12	Kaikolar	Kada	Bhandari	Bestha	Chuckler	Bavuri	Byagari	Chakkiliyan	Chakkiliyan	Chakkiliyan	Chakkiliyan	Chakkiliyan
13	Nannadiyar	Kaikolar	Billava	Bhandari	Dandasi	Bellara	Chachali	Chalavadi	Chalavadi	Chalavadi	Chalavadi	Chalavadi
14	Khond	Kallar	Bondili	Billava	Dasari	Byagari	Chakkiliyan	Chamar	Chamar	Chamar	Chamar	Chamar
15	Korava	Kannadiar	Boya	Bondili	Domba	Chachali	Chalavadi	Chandala	Chandala	Chandala	Chandala	Chandala
16	Kota	Khond	Chaptegar	Boya	Dombara	Chakkiliyan	Chamar	Cheruman	Cheruman	Cheruman	Cheruman	Cheruman
17	Koya	Korava	Chenchu	Chaptegar	Enadi	Chalavadi	Chandala	Devendrakulathan	Devendrakulathan	Devendrakulathan	Devendrakulathan	Devendrakulathan
18	Kuruba	Kota	Cheruna	Chenchu	Godaba	Chamar	Cheruman	Don	Don	Don	Don	Don
19	Kuruma	Kotayar	Chuckler	Cheruna	Godda	Chandala	Dandasi	Domban	Domban	Domban	Domban	Domban
20	Lambadi	Koya	Dandasi	Chuckler	Gond	Cheruman	Devendrakulathan	Godagali	Godagali	Godagali	Godagali	Godagali
21	Madiga	Kurichiya	Dasari	Dandasi	Haddi	Dandasi	Don	Godda	Godda	Godda	Godda	Godda
22	Mala	Kuruba	Devadiga	Dasari	Holeya	Devendrakulathan	Ghasi	Gosangi	Gosangi	Gosangi	Gosangi	Gosangi
23	Malayali	Kuruma	Devanga	Devadiga	Idiga	Domban	Godagali	Holeya	Holeya	Holeya	Holeya	Holeya
24	Malsa	Lambadi	Dombara	Devalkar	Irula	Ghasi	Godari	Jaggali	Jaggali	Jaggali	Jaggali	Jaggali
25	Mogar	Madiga	Dudekula	Devanga	Kada	Godagali	Godda	Jambuvulu	Jambuvulu	Jambuvulu	Jambuvulu	Jambuvulu
26	Muduva	Mala	Enadi	Dombara	Kallan	Godari	Gosangi	Kadaiyan	Kadaiyan	Kadaiyan	Kadaiyan	Kadaiyan
27	Nayadi	Malayali	Galada Konkani	Dudekula	Kani	Godda	Hasla	Kalladi	Kakkalan	Kakkalan	Kakkalan	Kakkalan
28	Oddar	Malsa	Gamalla	Enadi	Kapu	Gosangi	Holeya	Kakkalan	Kalladi	Kalladi	Kalladi	Kalladi
29	Palla	Maravar	Ganiga	Galada Konkani	Karumbalan	Haddi	Jaggali	Kanakkan	Kanakkan	Kanakkan	Kanakkan	Kanakkan
30	Palli	Mogar	Gavara	Gamalla	Kallunayakan	Hasla	Jambuvulu	Karimpalan	Karimpalan	Karimpalan	Karimpalan	Karimpalan
31	Panu	Muduva	Golla	Ganda	Konda Dora-AT	Holeya	Kadan	Kavara	Kavara	Kavara	Kavara	Kavara
32	Paraiya	Nayadi	Gudigara	Ganika	Konda Dora-CT	Jaggali	Kalladi	Kolliyan	Kolliyan	Kolliyan	Kolliyan	Kolliyan
33	Pattunulgar	Oddar	Holeya	Gatti	Kondh	Jambuvulu	Kanakkan	Koosa	Koosa	Koosa	Koosa	Koosa
34	Polaya	Palla	Idaiyan	Gavara	Koracha	Kadan	Karimpalan	Kootan	Kootan	Kootan	Kootan	Kootan
35	Saliyar	Palli	Idiga	Golla	Koraga	Kalladi	Kodalo	Kudumban	Kudumban	Kudumban	Kudumban	Kudumban
36	Savara	Paniya	Iluvan	Gudigara	Koravan	Kanakkan	Koosa	Kuravan	Kuravan	Kuravan	Kuravan	Kuravan
37	Toda	Panu	Irula	Holeya	Kota	Karumbala	Koraga	Madari	Madari	Madari	Madari	Madari
38	Toti	Paraiya	Jandra	Idaiyan	Koya	Kallunayakan	Kudubi	Madiga	Madiga	Madiga	Madiga	Madiga
39	Valluva	Pattunulgar	Jangam	Idiga	Kudubi	Kodalo	Kudumban	Maila	Maila	Maila	Maila	Maila
40		Polaya	Kada	Iluvan	Kurichan	Koosa	Kuravan	Mala	Mala	Mala	Mala	Mala
41		Saliyar	Kadaiyan	Irula	Kurumba	Koraga	Kurichchan	Mannan	Mannan	Mannan	Mannan	Mannan
42		Savara	Kaikolan	Jandra	Lambadi	Kudia	Madari	Mavilan	Mavilan	Mavilan	Mavilan	Mavilan
43		Thoriya	Kalal	Jangam	Madari	Kudubi	Madiga	Moger	Moger	Moger	Moger	Moger
44		Toda	Kallan	Jogi	Madiga	Kudumban	Maila	Mundala	Mundala	Mundala	Mundala	Mundala
45		Toti	Kamma	Kabbera	Madugar	Kuravan	Mala	Nalakeyava	Nalakeyava	Nalakeyava	Nalakeyava	Nalakeyava
46		Valluva	Kannavar	Kada	Maila	Kurichan	Mala Dasu	Nayadi	Nayadi	Nayadi	Nayadi	Nayadi
47			Kannadiyan	Kadaiyan	Mala	Kuruman	Malasar	Padannan	Padannan	Padannan	Padannan	Padannan

Growth and diversification of backward classes in Tamil Nadu, 1883-1988

SN	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933	1943	1953	1963	1973	1983	1988
48			Kelasi	Kaikolan	Malaiyali	Madari	Malangi		Pagadai	Pagadai	Pagadai	Pagadai
49			Kharvi	Kalal	Malisa	Madiga	Mavilan		Pallan	Pallan	Pallan	Pallan
50			Khattri	Kallan	Marali	Maila	Moger		Palluvan	Palluvan	Palluvan	Palluvan
51			Khodala	Kanna	Maravan	Mala	Muchi		Pambada	Pambada	Pambada	Pambada
52			Khond	Kannavar	Mavilan	Mala Dasu	Mundala		Panan	Panan	Panan	Panan
53			Koravan	Kannadiyan	Melakudi	Malasar	Nalakeyava		Panchama	Panchama	Panchama	Panchama
54			Kota	Kelasi	Moger	Malangi	Nayadi		Pannadi	Pannadi	Pannadi	Pannadi
55			Kotliya	Kharvi	Muduva	Mavilan	Pagadai		Panniandi	Panniandi	Panniandi	Panniandi
56			Koya	Khattri	Mundala	Moger	Painda		Paraiyan	Paraiyan	Paraiyan	Paraiyan
57			Kudubi	Khodala	Nakkale	Muchi	Paky		Paravan	Paravan	Paravan	Paravan
58			Kumbara	Khond	Nalkedaya	Mundala	Pallan		Pathiyan	Pathiyan	Pathiyan	Pathiyan
59			Kurichan	Koravan	Nayadi	Nalakayava	Pambada		Perumannan	Perumannan	Pulayan	Pulayan
60			Kuruba	Kota	Oddan	Nayadi	Pamidi		Pulayan	Pulayan	Puthirai Vannan	Puthirai Vannan
61			Kuruman	Kotliya	Padayachi	Pagadai	Panan		Puthirai Vannan	Puthirai Vannan	Raneyar	Raneyar
62			Kusavan	Koya	Paidi	Paidi	Panchama		Raneyar	Raneyar	Samagara	Samagara
63			Labbai	Kudubi	Pallan	Painda	Panniandi		Samagara	Samagara	Sanban	Sanban
64			Lambadi	Kumbara	Pambada	Paky	Paraiyan		Sanban	Sanban	Sapari	Sapari
65			Madiga	Kurichan	Pamula	Pallan	Paravan		Sapari	Sapari	Sennan	Sennan
66			Madivala	Kuruba	Panian	Pambada	Pulayan		Sennan	Sennan	Thandan	Thandan
67			Mala	Kuruman	Panu	Pamidi	Puthirai Vannan		Thandan	Thandan	Thiruvalluvar	Thiruvalluvar
68			Malayali	Kusavan	Paraiyan	Panchama	Raneyar		Thiruvalluvar	Thiruvalluvar	Tholi	Tholi
69			Male	Labbai	Paravan	Paniyan	Samagara		Thoti	Thoti	Vallon	Vallon
70			Malisa	Lambadi	Polaiyan	Panniandi	Sanban		Ulladan	Ulladan	Valluvan	Valluvan
71			Mangala	Madiga	Poraya	Pano	Sapari		Uruly	Uruly	Vannar	Vannar
72			Mappilla	Madivala	Raneyar	Paraiyan	Sennan		Vallon	Vallon	Vathiriyen	Vathiriyen
73			Maravan	Mala	Relli	Paravan	Thoti		Valluvan	Valluvan	Velan	Velan
74			Moger	Malayali	Savara	Polayan	Tiruvalluvar		Vannan	Vannan	Velan	Vellan
75			Molli	Male	Seebadavan	Puthirai Vannan	Valluvan		Vannan	Vannan	Vethirian	Vethirian
76			Mondi Banda	Malisa	Sennan	Raneyar	Valmiki		Vetan	Vedan	Vettuvan	Vettuvan
											2 Scheduled Tribes	
77			Muduva	Mangala	Sholagar	Relli		Vettuvan	Vettiyan	Velan	Adiyan	Vettiyan
								2 Scheduled Tribes				
78			Mukkuvan	Mappilla	Talapu	Samagara	Aranadan	Vettuvan	Vettiyan	Vetan	Aranadan	Vettuvan
								2 Scheduled Tribes				2 Scheduled Tribes
79			Mutracha	Maravan	Toda	Sanban	Bagala	Adiyan		Vettuvan	Eravallan	Adiyan
										2 Scheduled Tribes		
80			Muttiriyen	Modi Banda	Toti	Sapari	Bhottada	Aranadan		Adiyan	Irular	Aranadan
81			Nayadi	Moger	Uruli Goundan	Sennan	Bhumia	Eravallan		Aranadan	Kadar	Eravallan
82			Oddan	Molli	Valaiyan	Thoti	Chenchu	Hill Pulaya		Eravallan	Kannara	Irular
83			Odde	Muchi	Valluvan	Tiruvalluvar	Gadaba	Irular		Hill Pulaya	Kanikaran	Kadar
84			Odiya	Muduva	Vettuvan	Valluvan	Gondi	Kadar		Irular	Kaniyan	Kannara
85			Oriya	Mukkuvan	Yerukala	Valmiki	Goudus Balu	Kannara		Kadar	Kattunayakan	Kanikaran
						2 Other Castes						
86			Padaiyachi	Mutracha	Agamudaiyan	Vettuvan	Holva	Kanikaran		Kannara	Kochu Velan	Kaniyan
						2 Backward Classes						
87			Pallan	Muttiriyen	Agasa	Agamudaiyan	Islanders	Kaniyan		Kanikaran	Konda Kapu	Kattunayakan

Growth and diversification of backward classes in Tamil Nadu, 1883-1988

SN	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933	1943	1953	1963	1973	1983	1988
88				Palli	Nakkala	Ambalakaran	Agasa	Jadapu	Kattumayakan	Kaniyan	Konda Reddi	Kochu Velan
89				Pangadikara	Nayadi	Ambattan	Ambalakaran	Jalapu	Kochu Velan	Kattumayakan	Koraga	Konda Kapu
90				Paniyan	Oddan	Are Mahrati	Anmadan	Kamara	Konda Kapu	Kochu Velan	Kola	Konda Reddi
91				Panu	Odde	Atagara	Are Mahrati	Kattumayakan	Konda Reddi	Konda Kapu	Kudiya	Koraga
92				Paraiyan	Odiya	Atchukatlavandu	Arya	Khatti	Koraga	Konda Reddi	Kurichchan	Kola
93				Paravan	Driva	Balolika	Atagara	Kodu	Kola	Koraga	Kuruman	Kudiya
94				Pattunulkaran	Padaiyachi	Bandi	Atchukatlavandu	Kommar	Kudiya	Kola	Kurumba	Kurichchan
95				Pattanavan	Pallan	Bestha	Badaga	Konda Dhora	Kurichchan	Kudiya	Maha Malasar	Kuruman
96				Perike	Palli	Bhandari	Bagala	Konda Kapu	Kuruman	Kurichchan	Malai Arayan	Kurumba
97				Polaiyan	Pangadikara	Billava	Balolika	Konda Reddi	Kurumba	Kuruman	Malai Pandaram	Maha Malasar
98				Pusla	Paniyan	Bondili	Bestha	Kondh	Maha Malasar	Kurumba	Malai Vedan	Malai Arayan
99				Rajpuri	Panu	Chaplegara	Bhandari	Kosalya	Malai Arayan	Maha Malasar	Malakkuravan	Malai Pandaram
100				Saliyan	Paraiyan	Devadiga	Billava	Kola	Malai Pandaram	Malai Arayan	Malasar	Malai Vedan
101				Samagara	Paravan	Devalkar	Bondili	Kolia	Malai Vedan	Malai Pandaram	Malayali	Malakkuravan
102				Saurashtra	Pattanavan	Devanga	Boya	Koya	Malakkuravan	Malai Vedan	Malayekandi	Malasar
103				Savara	Patnulkaran	Dudekula	Chaplegara	Kudiya	Malasar	Malakuravan	Mannan	Malayekandi
104				Sedan	Perike	Galada Konkani	Chattadi	Kuruman	Malayali	Malasar	Mudugar	Malayekandi
105				Sembadavan	Picchigunta	Gamalla	Chenchu	Magatha Gouda	Malayan	Malayali	Muthuvan	Mannan
106				Sugali	Polaiyan	Ganika	Chenveris	Maune	Malayarayar	Malayan	Palleyan	Mudugar
107				Telaga	Pusala	Gatti	Dasari	Monna Dhora	Malayekandi	Malayarayar	Palliyar	Muthuvan
108				Thoriyan	Rajapuri	Gavara	Devadiga	Mukha Dhora	Mannan	Malayekandi	Palliyar	Palliyar
109				Tigala	Saliyan	Gudigara	Devalkar	Muria	Mudugar	Mannan	Paniyan	Palliyar
110				Toda	Samagara	Illuvan	Devanga	Paigarapu	Muthuvan	Mudugar	Sholaga	Palliyar
111				Togala	Savara	Jandara	Domara	Palasi	Palleyan	Muthuvan	Toda	Paniyan
112				Tondaman	Sedan	Jangam	Dudekula	Paniyan	Palliyar	Palliyar	Uraly	Sholaga
											3 Backward Classes	
113				Toti	Sembadavan	Jogi	Enadi	Porja	Palliyar	Palliyar	Agamudayar	Toda
114				Tsakala	Sourashtra	Kabbera	Galada Konkani	Reddi Dhora	Paniyan	Palliyar	Alwar	Uraly
												3 Backward Classes
115				Uppara	Sugali	Kadaiyan	Gandla	Savara	Pulayan	Paniyan	Arayar	Agamudayar
116				Uriya	Telaga	Kaduppattan	Ganika	Sholaga	Sholaga	Pulayan	Archakari Vellala	Agaram Vellan Chettiar
117				Vaduvan	Thoriyan	Kaikolan	Gatti	Toda	Toda	Sholaga	Aryavathi	Alwar
								3 Backward Classes				
118				Valaiyan	Tigala	Kalal	Gavara	Agamudaiyan	Ulladan	Toda	Badagar	Ansar
119				Valluvan	Toda	Kalavanthula	Godaba	Agasa	Uraly	Ulladan	Billava	Arayar
120				Vannan	Togala	Kalingi	Gondo	Ambalakaran	Vishavan	Uraly	Bondil	Archakari Vellala
								3 Backward Classes				
121				Vettuvan	Tondaman	Kanna	Gowda	Anmadan	Agamudayan	Vishavan	Chavalakkarakar	Aryavathi
										3 Backward Classes		
122				Yerukala	Toti	Kannalan	Gudigara	Are Mahrati	Anmadan	Agamudayar	Chettu	Attur Kilnad Koravar
123					Tsakala	Kannavar	Hegde	Arya	Are Mahrati	Alwar	Converts	Attur Melnad Koravar
124					Uppara	Kannadiyan	Idiga	Atagara	Arya	Arayan	CSI/SIUC	Ayira Vaisiyar
125					Vaduvan	Kelasi	Illuvan	Atchukatlavandu	Atagara	Archakari Vellala	Dekkani Muslims	Badagar
126					Valaiyan	Kharvi	Irula	Balolika	Atchukatlavandu	Aryavathi	Devangar	Battu Turka
127					Valluvan	Khatti	Isai Vellalar	Bestha	Badaga	Badagar	Dudekula	Billava
128					Vannan	Khodala	Jakkula	Bhandari	Balolika	Billava	Enadi	Bondil
129					Velama	Koteyar	Jandara	Billava	Billava	Bondil	Ezhavathy	Chakkala

Growth and diversification of backward classes in Tamil Nadu, 1883-1988

SN	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933	1943	1953	1963	1973	1983	1988
130					Vettuvan	Kottiya	Jangam	Bissoy	Bissoy	Chavalakkaran	Ezhuthachar	Changayampudi Koravar
131					Verukala	Kumbura	Jatapu	Bondil	Bondil	Chettu	Ezhuva	Chavalakkar
134						Kuruba	Jhetty	Boya	Chaplegara	Converts	Gangavar	Chettu
135						Kuruman	Jogi	Chaplegara	Devadiga	CSI/SIUC	Gavara	Chowdry
136						Kusavan	Kabbera	Chaladi	Devalkar	Devangar	Gowda	CK Koravar
137						Labbai	Kadaiyan	Dasari	Devanga	Dudekula	Hegde	CSI/SIUC
138						Lingayat	Kaduppattan	Devadiga	Dhakada	Enadi	Idiga	Dabi Koravar
139						Madivala	Kaikolan	Devalkar	Dudekula	Ezhava	Illathu Pillaimar	Dekkani Muslims
140						Mahratta	Kalavanthula	Devanga	Gandla	Ezhavathy	Jhetty	Devagudi Talayari
141						Male	Kalingi	Dhakada	Gangavar	Ezhuthachan	Kabbera	Devangar
142						Mangala	Kallan	Domara	Ganika	Gangavar	Kaikolar	Dhobba Koravar
143						Mappilla	Kammalan	Dudekula	Gatti	Gavarai	Kalari Kurup	Dobai Koracha
144						Modi Banda	Kani	Galada Konkani	Gavara	Gowda	Kalingi	Donga Ur Koracha
145						Moili	Kannadiyan	Gandla	Godaba	Hegde	Kallari	Dudekula
146						Muchi	Kavuthiyan	Gangavar	Gondo	Idiga	Kalveli Gounder	Enadi
147						Mukkuvan	Kelasi	Ganika	Gowda	Illathu Pillaimar	Kambar	Ezhavathy
148						Mutracha	Kharvi	Gatti	Hegde	Jhetty	Kammalar	Ezhuthachar
149						Mutthiriyar	Khatiri	Gavara	Idiga	Kabbera	Kani	Ezhuva
150						Nagarani	Rhodala	Godaba	Illuvan	Kaduppattan	Kannada Saineeagar	Gandarvakottai Koravar
151						Nandev Mahratta	Kolary	Gonde	Jakkula	Kaikolar	Karuneeagar	Gangavar
152						Odde	Konda Dora AT	Gowda	Jhetty	Kalari Kurup	Katesar	Gavara
153						Odiya	Konda Dora CT	Gudigara	Kabbera	Kalingi	Kavuthiyan	Gounder
154						Oriya	Konda Kapu	Hegde	Kadaiyan	Kallar	Kerala Mudali	Gowda
155						Pangadikara	Kondh	Idiga	Kaduppattan	Kalveli Gounder	Kharvi	Hegde
156						Patnulkaran	Koppala Velama	Illuvan	Kaikolan	Kambar	Khatiri	Idiga
157						Pattavan	Koracha	Isai Vellalar	Kalavanthula	Kammalan	Kongu Vellalar	Illathu Pillaimar
158						Perike	Kota	Jakkula	Kalingi	Kani	Koppala Velama	Inji Koravar
159						Picchigunta	Koteyar	Jandara	Kallan	Kannada Saineeagar	Koteyar	Jhetty
160						Pulluvan	Kottiya	Jangam	Kammalan	Katesan	Krishnan Vaka	Kabbera
161						Pusala	Koya	Jhetty	Kanis	Kavuthiyan	Kudumbi	Kaikolar
162						Rajapuri	Kulala	Jogi	Kannadiyan	Kerala Mudali	Kunchidigar	Kala Koravar
163						Reddi	Kuruba	Kabbera	Kalasan	Kharvi	Labbai	Kaladi
164						Saliyan	Kurumba	Kadaiyan	Kavuthiyan	Khatiri	Lambadi	Kalari Kurup
165						Samagara	Kusavan	Kaduppattan	Kelasi	Koppala Velama	Latin Catholics	Kalingi
166						Sedan	Labbai	Kaikolan	Kerala Mudali	Koteyar	Mahratta	Kalinji Dabikoravar
167						Senaitthalaiyar	Lambadi	Kalavanthula	Kharvi	Krishnanvaaka	Malayar	Kallar
168						Sourashtra	Madivala	Kalingi	Khatiri	Kudumbi	Male	Kallar Kula Thondaman
169						Sugali	Madugar	Kallan	Rhodala	Kunchidigar	Mappilla	Kalveli Gounder
170						Telaga	Mahratta	Kammalan	Kolari	Labbai	Maravar	Kambar
171						Thoriyan	Malayali	Kanis	Koppala Velama	Lambadi	Moniagar	Kammalar
172						Tigala	Malayan	Kannadiyan	Koteyar	Latin Catholics	Mukkuvur	Kani
173						Topala	Male	Kavuthiyan	Labbai	Mahratta	Muthuraja	Kaniyala Vellalar
174						Tondaman	Mangala	Kelasi	Lambadi	Malayan	Nadar	Kannada Saineeagar
175						Tsakala	Mappilla	Kharvi	Mahratta	Male	Nagarani	Kannadiya Naidu
176						Uppara	Marali	Khatiri	Malayan	Mappilla	Naikkar	Karpoora Chettiar
177						Vada Balija	Maravan	Rhodala	Male	Maravar	Nangudi Vellalar	Karuneeagar
178						Vaduvan	Maruthuvur	Kolary	Manna Dora	Moniagar	Nanjil Mudali	Kasikkara Chettiar
179						Vannan	Melakudi	Koppala Velama	Mappilla	Mukkuvan	Odai	Katesar
180						Vanniyar	Modi Banda	Koracha	Maravar	Muthuraja	Odiya	Kavuthiyan
181						Velama	Moili	Koteyar	Melakudi	Nadar	Ovachar	Kepmaris
182						Yadava	Muduva	Kulala	Mogaveera	Nagarani	Pamulu	Kerala Mudali
183							Mukhari	Kuruba	Moili	Naikkan	Panar	Kharvi

Growth and diversification of backward classes in Tamil Nadu, 1883-1988

SN	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933	1943	1953	1963	1973	1983	1988
184						Mukkuvan	Kurumba	Moniagar	Odan	Pannayar	Khalri	
185						Mutracha	Labbai	Muduva	Odiya	Pannirandam Chettiar	Kongu Vaishnava	
186						Muttiriyar	Lambadi	Mukkuvan	Ovachar	Parkavakulam	Kongu Vellalar	
187						Nagaram	Madivala	Mutracha	Panulu	Perike	Koppala Velama	
188						Nakkale	Madugar	Muttirian	Panan	Perunkollar	Koravar	
189						Nalkedaya	Mahendra	Nadar	Pannayar	Poraya	Koleyar	
190						Nandev Mahratta	Mahratta	Nagaram	Pannirandam Chettiar	Pulluvur	Krishnavaka	
191						Oddan	Malayan	Nakkale	Parkavakulam	Pusala	Kudikara Vellalar	
192						Odde	Male	Nalkedaya	Perike	Reddy	Kudumbi	
193						Odiya	Mangala	Nandev Mahratta	Perunkollan	Sadhu Chetty	Kuga Vellalar	
194						Oriya	Mappilla	Oddan	Poraya	Sakkaravar	Kunchidigar	
195						Padayachi	Maravar	Odiya	Pulluvan	Salivagana	Labbai	
196						Panula	Maruthuvar	Odiya	Pusala	Saliyar	Lambadi	
197						Panan	Melakudi	Onamaito	Rajapuri	Savalakkarar	Latin Catholics	
198						Pangadikara	Modi Banda	Oria	Reddy	Senaitthalaivar	Lingayat	
199						Paniya	Mogaveera	Palli	Sadhu Chetty	Sourashtra	Mahratta	
200						Panniar	Moili	Panulu	Sakkaravar	Sozhia Vellalar	Malayar	
201						Parkavakulam	Moniagar	Pangadikara	Salivagana	Srisayar	Male	
202						Patnulkaran	Muduva	Panniyar	Saliyar	Tholkollar	Maniagar	
203						Pattanavan	Mukhari	Parivar	Savalakkarar	Tholuvu Naicker	Mappilla	
204						Perike	Mukkuvan	Parkavakulam	Senaitthalaivar	Thoriyar	Maravar	
205						Peruvannan	Mutracha	Patnulkaran	Sourashtra	Togata	MM 84 Ur Sozhia Vellalar	
206						Picchigunta	Muttiriyar	Pattanavan	Srisayana	Uppara	Monda Koravar	
207						Poraya	Nagaram	Pentia	Thiyya	Urali Gounder	Mooppa	
208						Pulluvan	Nakkale	Perike	Tholkollan	Vallamber	Mukkuvar	
209						Pusala	Nalkedaya	Perike Balija	Tholuvu Naicker	Valmiki	Muthuraja	
210						Rajapuri	Nandev Mahratta	Peruvannan	Thoriyan	Vaniyar	Nadar	
211						Reddi	Odda	Poraya	Togata	Vedar	Nagaram	
212						Sadhu Chetty	Oddan	Pulluvan	Uppara	Veerasaiva	Naikkar	
213						Saliyan	Odiya	Puragiri Kshatriya	Urali Gounder	Vellan Chettiar	Nangudi Vellalar	
214						Savara	Odiya	Pusala	Vallamber	Veluthedathu Nair	Nanjil Mudali	
215						Sedan	Onamaito	Rajapuri	Valmiki	Virakodi Vellala	Odai	
216						Sembadavan	Oriya	Reddy	Vaniyar	Vokkaligar	Odiya	
217						Senaitthalaivar	Padayachi	Rena	Vedan	Wynad Chetty	Oniruvalanattu Vellalar	
218						Sholagar	Palli	Sadhu Chetty	Veerasaiva	Yadava	OPS Vellalar	
219						Siviar	Panula	Saliyan	Vellan Chettiar	Yavane	Ovachar	
220						Sourashtra	Pangadikara	Sedan	Veluthedathu Nair	Yerukula	Paiyur Kotta Vellalar	
										4 NBCs		
221						Sri Sayana	Panniyar	Senaitthalaivar	Virakodi Vellalar	Amalakarar	Panulu	
222						Sugali	Parkavakulam	Setti Balija	Vokkaligar	Andipandaram	Panar	
223						Tatapu	Parvatharajakulam	Sourashtra	Wynad Chetty	Bestha	Panisaivan	
224						Telikula	Patnulkaran	Srisayana	Yadava	Bhatraju	Pannayar	
225						Tholuvu Naicker	Pattanavan	Sugali	Yavana	Boyar	Pannirandam Chettiar	
226						Thoriyan	Pentia	Tatapu	Yerukula	Dasari	Parkavakulam	
										4 NBCs		
227						Tigala	Perike	Telikula	Amalakarar	Domara	Perike	
228						Toda	Perike Balija	Thiyya	Andipandaram	Eravallar	Perunkollar	
229						Togata	Peruvannan	Tholuvu Naicker	Bestha	Isai Vellalar	Podikara Vellalar	
230						Tondaman	Picchigunta	Thoriyan	Bhatraju	Jambuvanodai	Ponnai Koravar	
231						Tsakala	Poraya	Tigala	Boyar	Jangan	Pooluva Gounder	

Growth and diversification of backward classes in Tamil Nadu, 1883-1988

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232							Uppara	Pulluvan	Togala	Dasari	Jogi	Poraya
233							Uruli Goundan	Puragiri Kshatriya	Uppara	Dombara	Kongu Chettiar	Pulavar
234							Vada Balija	Pusala	Uruli Goundan	Eravallar	Koracha	Pulluvar
235							Vaduvan	Rajaka	Vada Balija	Isai Vellalar	Kulala	Pusala
236							Vakkaliga	Rajapur	Vaduvan	Jambuvanodai	Kunnuvar Mannadi	Reddy
237							Valaiyan	Reddi	Vakkaliga	Jangan	Kurubini Chetty	Sadhu Chetty
238							Vanian	Rona	Valmiki	Jogi	Kurumba	Sakkaraithamodai Koravar
239							Vannan	Sadhu Chetty	Vanar	Kongu Chettiar	Mahendra	Sakkaravar
240							Vanniyar	Saliyan	Virakodi Vellalar	Koracha	Maruthuvar	Salem Melnad Koravar
241							Velakatalavan	Sedan	Yadava	Kulala	Meenavar	Salem Uppu Koravar
242							Veluthedan	Senaitthalaivar	Yerukula	Kunnuvar Mannadi	Mond Golla	Salivagana
									4 MBCs			
243							Virakodi Vellalar	Setti Balija	Ambalakaran	Kurubini Chetty	Moundadan Chetty	Saliyar
244							Yadava	Siviar	Ambika	Kurumba	Mutlakampatti	Saranga Palli Koravar
245							Yerukula	Sourashtra	Andipandaram	Mahendra	Narikoravar	Savalakkarar
246								Srisayana	Beshta	Maruthuvar	Nokkar	SC Converts
247								Sugali	Bhandari	Meenavar	Paravar	Senaitthalaivar
248								Talapu	Bhatraju	Mond Golla	Punnavettuva Gounder	Sheik
249								Telikula	Boya	Moundadan Chetty	Sozhia Chetty	Sourashtra
250								Thiyya	Chaladi	Mutlakampatti	Srivaishnava	Sozhia Vellalar
251								Tholuva Naicker	Dasari	Narikoravan	Telugupatty Chetty	Srisayar
252								Thoriyan	Dombara	Nokkar	Thondamar	Sundaram Chetty
253								Thurpu Kapu	Eravallar	Paravan	Thottiya Naicker	Syed
254								Tigala	Galada Konkani	Punnavettuva Gounder	Valaiyar	Thalli Koravar
255								Togala	Gudigara	Sozhia Chetty	Vannar	Thogamalai Koravar
256								Tondaman	Isai Vellalar	Srivaishnava	Vanniyar	Thokkollar
257								Uppara	Jambuvanodai	Telugupatty Chetty	Vettaikarar	Tholuva Naicker
258								Ural Goundan	Jandara	Thondaman	Velluva Gounder	Thoraiyar
259								Vada Balija	Jogi	Thottiya Naicker	Yogeeswarar	Thoriyar
260								Vaduvan	Kongu Chettiar	Valaiyar		Togala
261								Vakkaliga	Koracha	Vannan		Ukkirakula Kshatriya Naicker
262								Valaiyan	Kulala	Vanniyar		Uppara
263								Vanar	Kunnuvar Mannadi	Vettaikaran		Uppu Koravar
264								Vannan	Kuruba	Velluva Gounder		Uruli Gounder
265								Vanniyar	Kurubini Chetty	Yogeeswarar		Urikkaru Nayakkar
266								Vathi	Kurumba			Vaduvarpatti Koravar
267								Velakatalavan	Kusaran			Vallamban
268								Veluthedan	Mahendra			Valmiki
269								Virakodi Vellalar	Mangala			Vanniyar
270								Yadava	Maruthuvar			Varaganeri Koravar
271									Modi Banda			Vayalpad Koracha
272									Mond Golla			Veduvur
273									Muduvar			Veerasaiva
274									Mukkhari			Velar
275									Mutlakampatti			Vellan Chettiar
276									Narikoravan			Veluthedathu Nair
277									Navudian			Vetta Koravar
278									Nokkar			Vakkaligar
279									Oddar			Wynad Chetty
280									Padayachi			Yadava
281									Paravan			Yavana

[1] Spellings used are as in the original sources. [2] The following entries for the years specified are abbreviated in the appendix:

1 Converts	- Converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes (SCs): 1943, Christian pupils whose parents or grandparents on both the paternal and maternal sides were members of any of the SCs and who belong to families that continue to live under conditions similar to those of the SCs concerned; 1973, only persons who are themselves converts (for reservation purposes) and converts to Christianity (for scholarships and fee concessions); 1983-88, converts to Christianity irrespective of the generation of conversion.	5 MBCs	- 1983-88, Most Backward Classes.
2 Islanders	- 1953, inhabitants of Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, who and both of whose parents were born in these islands.	6 MN 84 Ur Sozhia Vellalar	- 1988, Moondrumandai Enbathu Malu (84) Ur Sozhia Vellalar.
3 Konda Dora, AT	- 1933-43, Konda Dora, Aboriginal Tribe.	7 Other Castes	- 1933, Castes other than Depressed Classes.
4 Konda Dora, CT	- 1933-43, Konda Dora, Criminal Tribe.	8 Srivaishnava	- 1973-88, Sathatha Srivaishnava, including Sathani.
		9 Thogata	- 1943-88, Thogata Veerakshatriya
		10 Vanniyar	- 1933-53, Vanniyakula Kshatriya (in Tamil dts); Agnikula Kshatriya (in Telugu dts) 1963-83, Vanniyakula Kshatriya (including Gounder, Kander, Vannia Gounder (other than Vellala Gounder), Vanniar, Vanniya; Agnikula Kshatriya); 1973-88, also Padayachi and Palli.

[3] The appendix contains only the principal entries. For certain years the original sources also contain cognate names included under some of the principal entries and the specific area of some others:

1 Adiyar	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	137 Maha Malasar	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
2 Adi-Andhra	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	138 Mahendra	- 1933-88, Medara.
3 Adi-Dravida	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	139 Mahrala	- 1933-63, Non-Brahman; 1973-88, Namdev Mahrala.
4 Adi-Karnataka	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	140 Maila	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
5 Agamudaiyan	- 1953-63, Thuluvu Vellala; 1973-83, Agamudayar of southern (Mukkulathor) and northern Tamil dts; and Thozhu or Thuluvu Vellala; 1988, Thozhu or Thuluvu Vellala.	141 Mala	- 1953, Agency Mala; 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
6 Ajila	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	142 Malai Arayan	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
7 Alvar	- 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; 1983-88, also, Alavar, Azhavar.	143 Malai Pandaram	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
8 Ambalakarar	- 1988, Servai.	144 Malai Vedan	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
9 Andipandaram	- 1963, Jangam.	145 Malakuravan	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
10 Aranadan	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	146 Malayali	- 1893-1903, Tamil dt; 1963, North Arcot, Salem, and Tiruchirappalli dts; 1973-88, Dharmapuri, North Arcot, Pudukkottai, South Arcot, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
11 Arayan	- 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; also Mulyan.	147 Malayan (BC)	- 1943-63, Malabar.
12 Arunthathiyar	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	148 Malayan (ST)	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
13 Arya	- 1943-63, South Kanara.	149 Malayarayar	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
14 Aryavathi	- 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	150 Malayekandi	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
15 Alagara	- 1913, Malagara.	151 Malsa/Malasar	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
16 Attur Kilnad Koravar	- 1988, Kamarajar, Pasumpon Muthuramalingam, Ramanathapuram, Salem, and South Arcot dts.	152 Mannan	- 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
17 Attur Melnad Koravar	- 1988, Salem dt.	153 Marati	- 1933-43, South Kanara dt, hill tribe.
18 Ayyanavar	- 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	154 Maravar	- 1903, Madura and Timmevelly; 1988, Appanad Kondayankottai Maravar, Karumaravar, and Sembanad Maravar.
19 Baira	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	155 Maruthuvar	- 1963, Navithan; 1973-88, also Mangala, Pronopakari, Velakalala Nair, Velakattalavan.
20 Bakuda	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	156 Mavilan	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
21 Bandi	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	157 Meenavar	- 1973, Parvatharajakulam, Pattanam, Sembadavan; 1983-88, also converts Christianity.
22 Bellara	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	158 Melakudi	- 1933-63, Kudiyar.
23 Bestha	- 1973-83, Siviari.	159 Moger	- 1933, Mara, Kaipulla; 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt.
24 Bharalar	- 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	160 Muchi	- 1923-53, Chitari.
25 Bhalraju	- 1973-88, Other than Kshatriya Raju.	161 Mudugar	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; 1963-88, also Muduvan.
26 Bhattada	- 1953, Bodo Bhattada, Muria Bhattada, Sano Bhattada.	162 Mukha Dhora	- 1953, Nooka Dora.
27 Bhunia	- 1953, Bhuri-Bhunia, Bodo Bhunia.	163 Mukkuvan	- 1943, Mukayan, Mogayan; 1953, also Bovi; 1963, also Arayan including Bovi, Malabar; 1973, Mukayan; 1983-88, Mukayan including converts to Christianity.
28 Boyar	- 1973-83, Oddar; 1988, Boya, Donga Boya, Gorrela Doda Boya, Halvethila Boya, Kal Oddar, Nellorepet Oddar, Pedda Boya, Sooramari Oddar.	164 Mundala	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
29 Chalavadi	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	165 Muthuraja	- 1973, Muthuracha, Multiriyar, Muthiriyar; 1983-88, also Mutharaiyar.
30 Chanar	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; Muchi.	166 Muthuvan	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
31 Chandala	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.		
32 Changayampudi Koravar	- 1988, North Arcot dt.		
33 Chattadi	- 1943, Salani, Chattada Vaishnava; 1953-88, Chattada Srivaishnava.		

- 34 Chavalakkaran - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 35 Cheruman - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 36 Chettu/Chetty - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; Elur Chetty, Kottar Chetty, Pathira Chetty, Pudukkottai Chetty, and Valayal Chetty.
- 37 Chuckler - 1903-23, Chakkili/Chekili.
- 38 CK Koravar - 1988, South Arcot dt.
- 39 CSI/SILC - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 40 Dabi Koravar - 1988, North Arcot, Pudukkottai, Thanjavur, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 41 Dasari - 1988, Donga Dasari, Gudu Dasari.
- 42 Devangar - 1973-88, Sedar.
- 43 Devendrakulathan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 44 Dobba Koravar - 1988, Salem dt.
- 45 Dobbai Koracha - 1988, Pudukkottai and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 46 Dom - 1953-88, Dombara, Paidi, Pano.
- 47 Domban - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 48 Dommar - 1988, Domb, Dommar.
- 49 Eravallar (ST) - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 50 Eravallar (MBC) - 1983, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 51 Ezhavathy - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 52 Ezhuthachan - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 53 Ezhava/Ezhuva - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 54 Gadaba - 1953, Doda Gadaba, Cerilan Gadaba, Franji Gadaba, Jodia Gadaba, Olaro Gadaba, Pani Gadaba, Pranga Gadaba.
- 55 Ganda - 1923, Tulu/Kanarese.
- 56 Gandarvakottai Koravar - 1988, Pudukkottai, South Arcot, Thanjavur, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 57 Ganiga/Ganika - 1903, South Canara; 1953-63: Nagavasanam.
- 58 Gavara/Gavarai - 1973-88, Kavarai, Vadugan (Vaduvan) other than Balija, Kamma, Kappu, Reddi.
- 59 Ghasi - 1953, Maddi, Relli Sachandi.
- 60 Gondagali - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 61 Godda - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 62 Gonda - 1953, Moda Gonda, Rajo Gonda.
- 63 Gosangi - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 64 Goudus Balo - 1953, Bhiritiya Duddhokouria, Hale, Jalaka, Joria.
- 65 Gowda - 1943-73, Ganalla, Kalali; 1983-88, also Anuppa Gounder.
- 66 Hill Pulaya - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 67 Holey - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 68 Idiga - 1933-63, Setti Balija.
- 69 Illathu Pillamar - 1988, Ezhuvur, Illathar, Illuvur.
- 70 Inji Koravar - 1988, Pudukkottai, Thanjavur, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 71 Isai Vellalar - 1943-73, Melakkarar.
- 72 Izhuvar/Illuvan - 1893-1903, Chogun, Chogan, Ezhuvan.
- 73 Jaggali - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 74 Jakkula - 1943-1963, Guntur dt.
- 75 Jambuvulu - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 76 Kada - 1913-33, Kadan.
- 77 Kadaiyan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 78 Kaduppattan - 1933-73, Malabar.
- 79 Kaikolan - 1943-88, Sengunthar.
- 80 Kakkalan - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 81 Kala Koravar - 1988, Pudukkottai, Thanjavur, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 82 Kalal - 1913-33, Kalali.
- 83 Kalari Kurup - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; also Kalari Panicker.
- 84 Kalinji Koravar - 1988, Pudukkottai and Thanjavur dts.
- 85 Kalladi - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 86 Kallar - 1903, Madura and Tinnevely; 1963, Esanattu Kallar; 1988, Esanattu Kallar,
- 167 Nadar - 1963-83, Gramani, Shanan; 1988, including converts to Christianity.
- 168 Naikkan - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 169 Nalakeyava - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 170 Nanji Mudali - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 171 Ddan - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 172 Odda - 1953-63, Vaddai, Vadde, Vodde.
- 173 Oddan - 1943-63, Donga.
- 174 Padannan - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 175 Padayachi - 1933-63, Villayan Kuppan.
- 176 Pagadai - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 177 Pallan - 1963, Vathirian.
- 178 Palleyan - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 179 Palli - 1893-1903, Nellore.
- 180 Palliyan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 181 Palliyar - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 182 Palluvan - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 183 Pambada - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 184 Panan (SC) - 1943, Malabar; 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 185 Panar (BC) - 1983-88, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 186 Panchama - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 187 Panisaivan - 1988, Virakodi Vellalar.
- 188 Paniya - 1903, Wymad tk; 1943, Ponnani tk.
- 189 Pannadi - 1963, Coimbatore and Salem dts.
- 190 Panniandi - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 191 Panniar/Pannayar - 1963-88, also Kathikarar in Kanyakumari dt.
- 192 Pannirandan Cheltiar - 1973-88, Uthama Cheltiar.
- 193 Panyan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 194 Paraiyan/Parayan - 1933, Adi-Dravida of Tamil, and Adi-Andhra of Telugu dts; 1963-88, Sambavan.
- 195 Paravar - 1933, Bharatha; 1963-73, also Paravan Christians; 1983-88, except in Nan dt and Shencottah tk.
- 196 Paravar (SC) - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 197 Parivar - 1963, Bunt of South Kanara.
- 198 Parkavakulam - 1943-73, Malayanan, Moopannar, Nainar, Nathaman, Surithiman; 1983-88, Malayanan, Nathaman, Surithiman.
- 199 Parvatharajakulam - 1963, Pattanavan, Sembadavan.
- 200 Pathiyan - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 201 Pattunulgar - 1903, Saurashtra.
- 202 Perike - 1988, Perike Balija.
- 203 Perummanan - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 204 Perunkollar - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 205 Ponnai Koravar - 1988, North Arcot dt.
- 206 Porja - 1953, Bodo, Bonda, Darua, Didua, Jodia, Mundili, Pengu, Pydi, Saliya.
- 207 Pulavar - 1988, Coimbatore and Periyar dts.
- 208 Pulayan/Cheramar (SC) - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 209 Pulayan/Cheramar (ST) - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 210 Pulluvur - 1988, Pooluvur.
- 211 Pusla/Pusala - 1913-63, Puslavadu.
- 212 Puthirai Vannan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 213 Rajapuri - 1963-73, South Kanara.
- 214 Raneyar - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 215 Reddi/Reddy - 1923-88, Ganjam.
- 216 Sadhu Chetty - 1953-63, Telugu Chetty, 24 Manai Telugu Chetty; 1973-88, also Telugupally Chetty.
- 217 Sakkaraitnamadai Koravar - 1988, North Arcot dt.

- Gandavakottai Kallar, Kootappal Kallar, Periasooriyar Kallar, Piranalai Kallar.
- 87 Kannalan - 1933-43, Kamsala, Viswabrahmay; 1953-63, also Visvakarma; 1973-88, also Visvakarmala (including Kalthacher, Kannar, Karumar, Parkollar, Thacher and Thattar).
- 88 Kannara - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 89 Kanakkan - 1963-88, Padanna, Nilgiri dt.
- 90 Kani/Kanisu - 1933, Kaniyan; 1943-88, also Kaniyar Panikkar.
- 91 Kanikaran - 1963-88, Kanikkar, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 92 Kaniyan - 1963, Kanyan, Coimbatore and Tirumelveli (except in Shencottah tk) dts.
- 93 Kannada Saineeagar - 1973, Kannadiyar; 1983-88, Dasapananjika in Coimbatore, Nilgiri, and Periyar dts.
- 94 Kannadiyar/Kannadiar - 1893-1903, Tanjore.
- 95 Karimpalan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 96 Karuneegar - 1963-88, Kaikatti karuneegar, Mathuvazhi Kanakkar, Sarattu Karuneegar, Seer Karuneegar, Sozhi Kanakkar, Srikaruneegar, and Sunnambu Kruneegar.
- 97 Katasan/Kalesar - 1963-88, Pattankatti.
- 98 Kattunayakan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 99 Kavara - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 100 Keparis - 1988, Chengalpattu, Pudukottai, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 101 Khatlis - 1953, Khatli, Konnerao, Lohara.
- 102 Kochu Velan - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 103 Kolary - 1943-63, Muniyani.
- 104 Koliyan - 1963, Thanjavur dt.
- 105 Konda Kapu - 1943, Many Kapu, aboriginal tribe; 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 106 Konda Reddi - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 107 Kondh - 1953, Desaya Kondh, Dongria Kondh, Mulliya Kondh, Tikiria Kondh, Yeniy Kondh.
- 108 Kongu Chettiar - 1963-73, Coimbatore dt; 1983-88, also Periyar dt.
- 109 Kongu Vellalar - 1963-88, Anupa Vellala Gounder, Chendalai Gounder, Krumba Gounder, Narumukatti Gounder, Natlu Gounder, Padaithala Gounder, Pala Gounder, Pala Vellala Gounder, Pavalankatti Vellala Gounder, Poosari Gounder, Rathinagiri Gounder, Sanku Vellala Gounder, Thondu Vellalar, Tirumudi Vellalar, Vellala Gounder.
- 110 Koosa - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 111 Kootan/Koodan - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 112 Koraga - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 113 Koravar - 1988, Chengalpattu, Kamarajar, Madras, Madurai, Nilgiris, Pasumpon Muthuramalingam, Pudukottai, Ramanathapuram, Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, and Tirumelveli dts.
- 114 Kosalya - 1953, Bosothoriya Goudus, Chitti Goudus, Dangayath Goudus, Dodu Kamraiya, Dodu Kamarao, Goudus, Ladiya Goudus, Pullosoriya Goudus.
- 115 Kota - 1963-88, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 116 Kotayar/Koteyar - 1903, South Canara; 1933-63, Sheragara, Kshatriya, South Kanara.
- 117 Kolia - 1953, Bartika, Bertho Oriya, Dhulia, Dulia, Holva Paiko, Putiya, Sanrona, Sidho Paiko.
- 118 Koya - 1953, Goud, Kottu Koya, Lingadhari Koya (ordinary), Raja Koya, Rasha Koya.
- 119 Krishnan Vaka - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 120 Kudiya - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; 1973-88, Melakudi.
- 121 Kudumban - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 122 Kudumbi - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 123 Kulala - 1973-88, Kuyavar, Kumbavar.
- 124 Kummara - 1983-88, excluding Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 125 Kuravan - 1963-88, Sidhanar.
- 218 Sakkaravar - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk; also Kavalhi.
- 219 Salem Melnad Koravar - 1988, Coimbatore, Madurai, North Arcot, Periyar, Pudukottai, Salem, and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 220 Salem Uppu Koravar - 1988, Salem dt.
- 221 Saliyan - 1953, Marikalabhaklulu, Karnabhaklulu Senapathulu, Padamasali, Pattusali, Sale, Sali, Thogala; 1963-88, Adhaviyar, Padamasaliyar, Pattariyar, Pattusaliyar.
- 222 Samagara - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 223 Samban - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 224 Sapari - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 225 Savara - 1953, Kapu Savara, Khutto Savara, Moliya Savara.
- 226 Semnan - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 227 Senaithalaivar - 1933-63, Senaikudayan; 1973-88, also Illaivanian.
- 228 Setti Balija - 1953-63, East Godavari, Krishna, Visakhapatnam and West Godavari dts.
- 229 Sholagar - 1933-43, Pani; 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 230 Siviya - 1963, Coimbatore.
- 231 Sourashtra - 1973-88, Palnukkarar.
- 232 Sozhia Vellalar - 1963-88, Keerakarar, Kodikalkarar, Sozha Vellalar, and Vettilaikarar.
- 233 Sugali - 1913-43, Sukali.
- 234 Thalli Koravar - 1988, Salem dt.
- 235 Thandan - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 236 Thiruvalluvar - 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 237 Thiyya - 1963-73, Ernad, Palghat, Ponnani, and Walluvanad tks.
- 238 Thogamalai Koravar - 1988, Keparis; Pudukottai and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 239 Tholkollan - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 240 Tholuva Naicker - 1943-88, Vellalakara Naicker.
- 241 Thoriya - 1903, Kollegal tk.
- 242 Thottiya Naicker - 1973-88, Gollavar, Rajakambalam, Sillavar, Thockalavar, Tholuva Naicker.
- 243 Tigala - 1913-63, Tigla.
- 244 Toda - 1963-88, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 245 Toti/Tholi - 1913-33, Totiyan; 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 246 Ulladan(SC/ST) - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 247 Uppara - 1953-63, Sagarar; 1988, also Uppilia.
- 248 Uppu Koravar - 1988, Settipalli Koravar, Madurai, North Arcot, Pudukottai, and Thanjavur dts.
- 249 Urali Gounder - 1963-73, Throughout the state; Orudaya Gounder in Coimbatore, Madurai, and Tiruchirappalli dts; 1983-88, also in Periyar and Salem dts.
- 250 Uraly (SC/ST) - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 251 Vada Balija - 1953-63, Ganjam and Visakhapatnam dts.
- 252 Vaduvan - 1913-63, Vadugan.
- 253 Vaduvarpalli Koravar - 1988, Kamarajar, Madurai, Pasumpon Muthuramalingam, Pudukottai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli, and Tirumelveli dts.
- 254 Valaiyar - 1988, Chellinad Valaiyar.
- 255 Vallon - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 256 Valluvan - 1943, Kanihapulavar.
- 257 Vaniyar - 1973, Chekkalar, Gandia, Telikula, Vania Chettiar; 1983-88, also Ganika.
- 258 Vannan (SC) - 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 259 Vannan (MBC) - 1963, Agasa, Ekari, Madivala, Rajaka, Rajakula, Veluthedan; 1973-88, also Salavai Thozhilalar; except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 260 Vaganeri Koravar - 1988, Pudukottai and Tiruchirappalli dts.
- 261 Vayalpad Koracha - 1988, Nawalpeta Koracha.
- 262 Vedar/Veduvor (BC) - 1983-88, Vettaikarar; except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 263 Vedar (SC) - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 264 Veerasaiva - 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
- 265 Velan - 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.

126 Kurichan	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	266 Veluthedathu Nair	- 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
127 Kurichiya	- 1903, Wymad tk.	267 Vella Koravar	- 1988, Salem dt.
128 Kuruman	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	268 Velliyan	- 1963, Thanjavur dt.
129 Kurumba	- 1963, Kurubar; 1963-88, Nilgiri dt.	269 Velluva Gounder	- 1988, Pungan Velluva Gounder.
130 Labhai	- 1988, Marakayar, Rowthar.	270 Vettuvan	- 1963-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
131 Latin Catholics	- 1973-88, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	271 Virakodi Vellala	- 1973, excluding Panisaivan or Panisavan.
132 Lingayat	- 1988, Jangama.	272 Vishavan	- 1963, Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.
133 Madari	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	273 Vokkaligar	- 1973-88, Gouda Okkaliya Gounder, Kappiliya, Kappiliyar, Okkaligar, Okkal Gouda, Vakkaligar.
134 Madiga	- 1963, except in Kanyakumari dt and Shencottah tk.	274 Wymad Chetty	- 1973-88, Nilgiri dt.
135 Madugar	- 1933-53, Medavar; 1963, also Volhakkara, Salem dt.	275 Yadava	- 1973-88, Asthanthra Golla, Golla, Mond Golla, Idaiyar, Vaduga Ayan,
136 Magatha Goudus	- 1953, Bernia, Bondo Magatha, Dongayatta Goudo, Gouduladya Goudo Ponna, Magatha, Sana Magatha.		

Source: EO, GOs 524 of 9 August 1883, 663 of 11 September 1893, 852 of 20 November 1893, 160 of 29 January 1940, PSD, GO 1835 of 5 July 1943; SMO, GOs 437, of 15 May 1972, 1556 of 30 July 1985; Grant-in-aid Code of 1903-4, 1914; Madras Educational Rules for 1924, 1933; GOM, Administration Reports of the Harijan Welfare Department, 1953-54, 1963-64; and Administration Report of the Department of Backward Classes, 1973-74.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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Abbreviations

DPI	- Director of Public Instruction
ED	- Education Department
EPH	- Education and Public Health
GO	- Government Order
GOI, REC	- Government of India, Report of the Education Commission
GOM	- Government of Madras
HED	- Home (Education) Department
ILC	- Industries, Labour and Cooperation
LED	- Law (Education) Department
LGD	- Law (General) Department
PIR	- Public Instruction Report
PSD	- Public (Service) Department
RAMP	- Report of the Administration of Madras Presidency
RD	- Revenue Department
SWD	- Social Welfare Department

[Unless specified otherwise, the proceedings, government orders, reports and other publications cited below are of the GOM.]

[1] This, known as the Despatch of 1854, laid down the general principles of the later British educational policy in India. For a brief discussion of it and its implementation in Madras Presidency, see GOI, REC, 1883, 1: chapter 1; also RAMP, 1858-59.

[2] For a discussion of these debates see RAMP, 1858-59.

[3] For the correspondence on Muslim education and employment in the public service, see ED, Proceeding nos. 248 of 21 August 1871; 3-5 (GO 289) of 3 October 1871; 25 (GO 288) of 7 October 1872; 19-21 (GO 317) of 25 November 1872; and 16 of 12 February 1873; also Selections from the records of the GOI, Home Department no. CCV, Home Department Serial no. 2, Correspondence on the subject of the education of the Muhammadan community in British India and their employment in the public service, 1886.

[4] See ED, GO 507 of 14 August 1885.

[5] ED, GOs 288 of 7 October 1872, and 507 of 14 August 1885; also GOI, REC, 1883, 1: 484-5; GOI, 1886, Op Cit.; and S Sathianadhan, History of education in the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1894: 119-122.

[6] ED, Proceeding nos. 17-18 (GO 83) of 14 March 1873.

[7] Out of the total 10294 Matriculates/450 BA graduates during

1864-1880, Brahmins, Christians, Europeans-Eurasians, Other Hindus, and Muslims were 6171/287, 764/55, 764/35, 2439/72, and 156/1 respectively. The percentages of Matriculates and BA graduates are as tabulated from the PIRs of 1864 to 1880. Those of the population are as tabulated from the 1881 Census. See, Imperial Census of 1881, Operations and Results in the Presidency of Madras, Vol.1, Report, 1883.

- [8] The Education Commission was appointed in February 1882 for "enquiring into the working of the existing system of Public Instruction, and to the further extension of that system on a popular basis". The reasons for its appointment are contained in the resolution of the Governor-General in Council dated 3 February 1882. See GOI, REC, 1883, 1: 623-628; also ED, GO 44 of 15 February 1882; S Sathianadhan, Op Cit., 151-2.
- [9] For a discussion of the caste-discriminations in indigenous Indian education, see P Radhakrishnan, 'Caste discriminations in indigenous Indian education 1: Nature and extent of education in the nineteenth century British India', MIDS Working Paper no. 63, 1986.
- [10] The classes described by the PIRs were Europeans-Eurasians, 'Muhammadans', and 'Aboriginal and Backward Classes' during 1885-1891; and the first two plus Mappilas, Paraiyas and Kindred Classes alias Panchamas, and Aboriginal and Hill Tribes from 1892 onwards.
- [11] Upto 1890 the general classification of the population under instruction was into Europeans-Eurasians, 'Native Christians', Hindus, 'Muhammadans', and 'Others'. From 1891 onwards a new category of 'Aborigines' was introduced. The sub-classification of Hindus was into Brahmins, Vysyas, Sudras, and Other Hindus from 1883 to 1890; and Brahmins, Non-Brahmin Hindus (Vysyas and Sudras), and Paraiyas and Kindred Classes from 1891 onwards.
- [12] The Grant-in-aid system in Madras Presidency was adopted in 1855. This was following the Despatch of 1854 which laid great stress on it as the most economical, and in many respects the most effectual means of extending education, and placing it on a sound basis. Under it grants in aid of private schools and other educational institutions were to be made with the object of extending and improving secular education, and given impartially and without reference to religious instruction to all schools imparting sound secular instruction, subject to the conditions of the Grant-in-aid Codes. Upto 1899 grants were given mainly under the salary, results, and the combined systems. The results system was considered as chiefly adapted for the promotion of education in backward areas and among the 'ruder' classes where the advantages of a less mercenary and purer method of state aid was not expected to meet with appreciation. The salary system was considered as the most suitable where public

opinion was active and where confidence placed in teachers was expected to meet with response. The combined system was expected to be relied upon for all intermediate acts of circumstances. In exceptional cases lump grants and special grants were also given. In 1899 the fixed grant system was introduced. Under it a specific amount of aid was fixed for three years to all primary and lower secondary schools which were in the permanent section of the general school list, that is, which fulfilled all conditions of recognition. The fixed grant system was intended to encourage managers to improve the efficiency of their schools, and to relieve them from the anxiety and worry of an annual grant examination of individual pupils which had a tendency to make teaching in result schools superficial and mechanical. See RAMP, 1858-59 and 1875-76; also PIR, 1898-99.

[13] See ED, GOs 663 of 11 September 1893; 844 of 24 October 1895; 57 of 4 February 1901; also 649 of 17 October 1902; and 484 of 5 October 1903.

[14] ED, GOs 51 of 2 February 1884; 64 of 1 February 1886; and 15-16 of 13 January 1890.

[15] ED, GOs 211 of 8 April 1886; and 55-55A of 24 January 1888. Among other scholarships two were of Rs 20 established by the Zamindar of Parlekimedi, tenable for two years in the Rajahmundry college, open to students of the Berhampur College, preferably to Muslims and Oriyas. When the Mappilas of Ernad-Valluvanad taluks were treated as a backward class after the Mappila outbreak of March-April 1894 in these taluks, following the DPI's recommendations the government instituted 160 scholarships of Re 1 per mensem tenable in the third standard and 60 of Rs 1-8-0 per mensem for the fourth standard, restricted to these two taluks. See ED, GOs 15-16 of 13 January 1890; 286 of 13 April 1895; and 363 of 20 June 1898.

[16] ED, GO 525 of 21 July 1894.

[17] ED, GO 214 of 30 June 1881.

[18] The groups listed were Badaga, Irula, Kader, Khond, Korava, Kota, Kurumba, Malayali, Malseyer, Savara, and Toda. See ED, GO 524 of 9 August 1883.

[19] ED, GO 524 of 9 August 1883.

[20] ED, GOs 51 of 2 February 1884; also 64 of 1 February 1886; and 165 of 22 March 1902.

[21] These rules, first promulgated in 1891, introduced a system of recognition by the education department of all schools preparing pupils for public examinations. See ED, GOs 723 of 17 September 1891; and 337 of 6 June 1896.

- [22] See for instance, ED, GOs 506 of 22 August 1884; 211 of 8 April 1886; and 111 of 15 February 1888.
- [23] ED, GO 326 of 1 June 1888.
- [24] ED, GO 589 of 10 August 1892, as printed in Fort St. George Gazette, Part 1, no. 30 of 16 August 1892.
- [25] The Board of Muhammadan Education was formed in 1893 with Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras Presidency as patron, the Prince of Arcot as vice-patron, and Rs 2 lakhs as capital raised through shares of Rs 2 each and donations from Rajahs, Nabobs, and Hindu and Christian gentlemen. To begin with its object was to maintain a boarding house attached to the Madrasa-i-Azam, for secular and religious education of at least 200 Muslim boarders at a time. See ED, GO 480 of 7 July 1893.
- [26] ED, GOs 632 of 8 October 1896; 286 of 13 April 1895; and 421 of 30 May 1908. The DPI's recommendation was to extend the concession to Muslims in all professional colleges except the Law College. But not finding sufficient reason for exempting this college alone the government extended the concession to all professional colleges.
- [27] ED, GOs 198 of 4 April 1901; and 290 of 29 May 1901.
- [28] ED, GO 421 of 30 May 1908.
- [29] One notable exception to this scramble was a letter from the St. Peter's Primary School, Tellichery. It first requested the DPI to recognise the Kollakkars as a backward class. On enquiry the Malabar Collector and the DPI found that the Kollakkars were converts to Roman Catholicism from the fishermen caste living along the coast of Travancore, similar in educational and social ranking to the Mukkuvas of the Malabar coast. However, later, the Correspondent of the school informed the DPI that the Kollakkars were quite averse to the proposal of being reckoned among the backward classes on the ground that they would thus be put on a level with the people of a lower caste. See, ED, GO 511 of 7 August 1907.
- [30] See ED, GOs 256 of 3 May 1897 on Koteyars; 165 of 22 March 1902 on Ganigas; 615 of 17 September 1907 on Bondilis; 737 of 4 November 1907 on Kumbaras, Arya Mahrattas, and Gollas; 556 of 21 September 1910 on Galada Konkkanis; 569 of 28 June 1912 on Tondamans; 610 of 9 July 1912 on Muthiriyas/Muthurajas and Ambalakkars; 1070 of 4 December 1912 on Devadigas; 1327 of 24 November 1914 on Devalkars; 2252 of 25 November 1940 on Sadhu Chetties; 1030 of 3 July 1941 on Aryas; and 175 of 3 February 1943 on Isai Vellalar or Melakkarar.
- [31] See ED, GOs 363 of 20 June 1898 on Mappilas; 55 of 4

February 1899 on Kurichiyas, Paniyas, and Thoreyas; 573 of 19 September 1902 on Kallars and Maravars; 306 of 24 June 1903 on Pattanavars; 446 of 22 July 1904 on Mondi-Bandas; 643 of 2 October 1906 on Khodaas/Bhavuris; 695 of 14 October 1907 on Idigas and Gamallas; 787 of 23 November 1907 on Pattapuvandlus; 629 of 3 September 1908 on Agamudaiyans, Padayachis, Pattans, Sedans, Seniyans, and Valaiyans; 873 of 30 September 1912 on Tiglars and Vadubar (Vadugans); 849 of 13 September 1913 on Kammavar/Kammavar Nayakar; 1695 of 2 September 1940 on Siviari; and 2377 of 14 December 1940 on Veluthedans.

[32] See ED, GOs 72 of 9 February 1889, and 573 of 19 September 1902.

[33] See ED, GOs 53 of 4 February 1903 on goldsmiths of Berhampur; 112 of 11 March 1903 on Acharis of Tinnevely; and 336 of 1 June 1911 on Viswa Brahmins of Northern Circars; HED, GO 277 of 24 February 1921 for printed memorial from the Viswa Brahmin Associations in Bezvada; and LED, GO 753 of 10 May 1921 from Malabar Kammala Association.

[34] See LED, GO 70 of 15 January 1926.

[35] ED, GO 715 of 5 August 1913.

[36] ED, GO 715 of 5 August 1913. From the time of the issue of ED, GO 2116 of 23 October 1935 on the first list of Scheduled Castes, inclusion of communities in the list of backward classes could be done only with the specific orders of government. See EPH, GO 1231 of 19 August 1944.

[37] ED, GO 1139 of 11 August 1942.

[38] ED, GOs 75 of 30 January 1912; 842 of 17 September 1912; 96 of 5 November 1912; 394 of 1 May 1913; 113 of 26 January 1914; 288 of 18 March 1914; 644 of 29 May 1914; 1371 of 3 December 1914; 438 of 20 April 1916; and 337 of 18 March 1919; LED, GOs 944 of 21 June 1921; and 1405 of 26 September 1921.

[39] ED, GO 271 of 21 May 1910.

[40] HED, GOs 759 of 1 July 1920; and 1422 of 4 December 1920; LED, GOs 81 of 18 January 1921; and 239 of 1 March 1922.

[41] This resolution was in keeping with the educational policy of the Government of India as enunciated by the King Emperor in replying to the address of the Calcutta University on 6 January 1912: "It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour

sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart". ED, GO 394 of 1 May 1913.

[42] ED, GO 264 of 27 March 1913.

[43] PSD, GO 1853 of 5 July 1943.

[44] The communities removed were Agamudaiyans, Kaikolans, Kmmas, Kammalas, Kammavar, Lingayat, Telaga, and Velama. See ED, GO 160 of 29 January 1940.

[45] The several classes known in the different districts of Madras Presidency as Chachadi (Tsachadi), Chakkili, Chamar, Chandala, Godari, Holaya, Madiga, Mala, Mochi, Paidi, Palla, Palli (Nellore), Panu, Paraiya, Polaya, Relli, Toti, and Valluva were reported as almost akin to each other and accordingly treated in the departmental returns as constituting one general class under the name Paraiyas and kindred classes. See ED, GO 68 of 1 February 1893.

[46] The term 'Panchama', literally meaning the fifth class, was brought into use by 1892 not only for the sake of brevity, but also for replacing the terms Paraiyas, outcastes, etc. with all of which some idea of special degradation had for long been associated.

[47] In 1922, following a resolution moved by the Depressed Classes leader MC Rajah in the Legislative Council, and passed by it, Panchamas, Paraiyas and cognate castes in all government records were substituted by Adi-Dravidas in the case of the Tamils and Adi-Andhras in the case of the Telugus. See, LGD, GO 817 of 25 March 1922; and LED, GO 583 of 12 March 1922.

[48] H Tremenheere, Note on the Pariahs of Chingleput, Chingleput Collectorate Press, 1891: 31-33,

[49] ED, GOs 32-33 of 12 January 1892.

[50] ED, GO 70 of 1 February 1893 as recorded with RD, GO 1010 of 30 September 1892.

[51] ED, GO 68 of 1 February 1893; also 456 of 5 August 1909.

[52] ED, GO 78 of 30 January 1895.

[53] ED, GO 763 of 22 November 1905.

[54] ED, GO 456 of 5 August 1909.

[55] ED, GO 401 of 8 April 1916.

- [56] HED, GO 329 of 17 March 1919.
- [57] The depressed classes leader MC Rajah had clarified that the term "Depressed Classes" should not be confused with the term "Backward Classes", inasmuch as "Backward Classes are those communities that are only educationally backward but are really high up in the social, economic and religious scale", whereas "communities that are called "Untouchable Classes" and are educationally, economically, and socially backward come under the term "Depressed Classes". See, MC Rajah, "The Oppressed Hindus", 1925: 4-5.
- [58] HED, GO 693 of 1 June 1918.
- [59] LED, GOs 758 of 19 June 1922; and 855 of 19 May 1925.
- [60] LED, GO 2116 of 23 October 1935,
- [61] PSD, GO 527 of 9 March 1951.
- [62] ILC, GO 353 of 31 January 1957.
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