Analysing the Impact and Outcomes of Reservation Policy in Central Universities in India

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

GEOGRAPHY

By

Anupam Yadav

(Reg. No. PHDGEOG201701)

Under the Guidance of

Prof. Ali Raza Moosvi

Professor and Head, Department of Geography
Dean, School of Earth Sciences
Central University of Karnataka

CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF KARNATAKA

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
SCHOOL OF EARTH SCIENCES
CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF KARNATAKA
KADAGANCHI, KALABURAGI, KARNATAKA, INDIA

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April 2022

“Dedicated

to

My Parents

&

Anupriya

Anamika

Aditya

Anurag”

कर्नाटक केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಕೇಂದ್ರೀಯ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ
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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, "Analysing the Impact and Outcomes of Reservation Policy in Central Universities in India" *submitted by* **Mr Anupam Yadav**, *to the Central University of Karnataka, Kalaburagi, for the award of degree of* **Doctor of Philosophy** *in Geography is a record of bona fide research work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance. He has fulfilled the requirements for submission of the thesis, which to the best of my knowledge has reached the requisite standard.*

The material contained in the thesis has not been submitted in part or full to any other University or Institute for the award of any degree or diploma.

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Abbreviations

AA	Affirmative Action
AISHE	All India Survey on Higher Education
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
CFRII	Composite Faculty Reservation Implementation Index
CDI	Caste Denial Index
CDS	Caste Denial Score
CoI	Constitution of India
CPI	Caste Prejudice Index
CPS	Caste Prejudice Score
CRII	Composite Reservation Implementation Index
CUCET	Central Universities Common Entrance Test
CUK	Central University of Karnataka
DRC	Doctoral Research Committee
DU	University of Delhi
EWS	Economically Weaker Sections
FRII	Faculty Reservation Implementation Index
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GoI	Government of India
HCU	Hyderabad Central University
HE	Higher Education
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions

ICS	Indian Civil Services
IHDS	India Human Development Survey
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
NAAC	National Assessment and Accreditation Council
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NFS	Not Found Suitable
NIRF	National Institutional Ranking Framework
NSSO	National Sample Survey Office
OBC	Other Backward Classes
PG	Post – Graduate
PwD	Persons with Disability
QR Code	Quick Response Code
RII	Reservation Implementation Index
RTC	Round Table Conference
SC	Scheduled Castes
SD	Standard Deviation
SEBCs	Socially and Educationally Backward Classes
ST	Scheduled Tribes
UG	Under – Graduate
UGC	University Grants Commission
UoA	University of Allahabad
US	United States
USA	United States of America

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Abstract

The Indian State came up with the policy of reservations in higher education and government jobs to eliminate the secular inequalities among the various caste groups. Since then, the policy has been heavily debated, ranging from policymakers, academicians, intellectuals and students to the common public. However, much of the debate around reservations in public discourse is about emotions that emanate from one's social location rather than based on underlying philosophies, informed opinions, evidence and evidence-based assessment of the policy. The present thesis, in this context, aims to fill some critical knowledge and information gaps related to the reservation policy in terms of its operationalisation, impacts, outcomes and how it is instrumental in shaping the socio-economic environment of the higher education campuses. The primary data has been collected for the quantitative analysis from four Central Universities (viz. Banaras Hindu University, University of Allahabad, Jawaharlal Nehru University and the Central University of Karnataka). Secondary data has also been collected from various sources. Some data has also been obtained through RTI (Right to Information). A set of descriptive and inferential statistics have been used for the analysis purposes. The study found that reservations have played an important role in enabling access to Higher Education Institutions for the reserved category students. However, the implementation of the reservations has not been strictly in accordance with the spirit of the policy, and this is more true in the case of the faculty reservations. This study also found that as the reserved category students stay longer in Higher Education, their academic performance (in terms of marks achieved)

becomes at par with the non-reserved category students. An attempt has also been made to study the students' perceptions about current socio-economic realities, which have been found to be varying significantly across the students of different-different social categories. This thesis also found that the students' cultural capital significantly impacts their academic achievements. The policy implications of the study's findings have been explored, and policy recommendations have been provided accordingly.

Chapter - 1

1. Introduction

1.1 - Introduction and Conceptual Background

The origin of the State has been debated among the scholars and philosophers for long, but there has been some sort of agreement on the purpose that the State seeks to achieve, barring a few schools of thoughts like anarchism which seriously doubts that betterment of humanity is possible through the instrumentality of the State (Ward 2004). It has been commonly believed that the State should be a vehicle to provide freedom, security and opportunity for the development of every human being and promote a just society (Barber 2018; Endicott 2021). The Indian State has explicitly stated its purpose to aim for *"justice (social, economic and political), liberty (of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship), equality (of status and of opportunity) and fraternity (with assuring the dignity of the individual)"* in its constitution[1].

However, Indian society is inherently unequal in socio-economic terms due to the Caste system. This system, a pan-Indian feature, groups people as higher or lower social status and accords a ritual status based on their birth, leaving almost no scope for social mobility for a member of the caste group. This system is generally preserved and maintained through endogamous marriages among each and every caste group, upper and lower castes alike. Historically and even presently, the secular power/strength of a caste group (in terms of educational status, economic status, control over political power and

[1] Preamble, Constitution of India

institutions, etc.) largely corresponds to the social and ritual status of a caste group. It would not be wrong to say that it is a socially acceptable system!

In this scenario, the Indian State came up with the scheme of reservation in higher education and government jobs to eliminate the secular inequalities among the various caste groups. Since then, the policy has been heavily debated, ranging from policymakers, academicians, intellectuals and students to the common public. However, much of the debate around reservations in public discourse is about emotions that emanate from one's social location rather than based on underlying philosophies, informed opinions, evidence and evidence-based assessment of the policy.

In this context, this Study aims to fill some critical knowledge and information gaps related to the reservation policy in terms of its operationalisation, impacts, outcomes and how it is instrumental in shaping the socio-economic environment specifically in the context of the higher education campuses.

In the light of little social relevance of the geographical research, Martin (2001) urges for the 'policy turn' in the geographical studies in order to shape the policy debate. Wellens et al. (2006) consider *Geography* a discipline that has the potential to enshrine social change, and they make a plea to *Geography Departments* across the world to commit to the same. Merret (2007) argues that *"geographers are particularly well suited to study and teach concepts related to social justice because social injustice is caused by and expressed in such intrinsically geographical ways as ghettos, borders, margins, peripheries and regions at different scales."* In the light of these observations, the Study has been conceptualised.

A *university campus* is a '*space of distinct character*' (Apoorvanand 2018) than its immediate surroundings and the outside world and owes its distinction to the very idea of the 'University' and its envisaged role. It is not only the site of the birth, development and cross-fertilisation of ideas by also plays a critical role in reproducing and shaping society and social development. In this context, university campuses have emerged as contested spaces, caught in the tug of war between forces that want to maintain the social status quo and forces that see it as critical spaces for social change. After the 2nd world war and the subsequent wave of decolonisation and civil rights movement in the USA, a general consensus has developed across the world regarding representing the national social diversity in the university campus.

Relph (1996) remarks that to understand the complexity of a place, it is essential to understand how real people experience and fashion it. Reservation policy in India largely determines the composition of the university campuses and thus, plays a vital role in shaping the perceptual understanding of the campus in the eyes of its members and towards each other. It transforms campuses into a unique heterogeneous space and adds variety in the experience to its members who might not likely be in intimate exposure to such a diverse populace outside the campus. In such a context, a geographer's interest is to investigate various aspects of reservation policy like how far it changes the campus composition, what perceptions about university campuses emanate due to reservation policies, how the various constituent sections of the campus perceive each other, what opinions they have about each other and do one's longer exposure to academic campuses led to change in views. The

researcher's engagement is thus not only a place (i.e., the campus) but also the perceptual space that the place encloses.

Shaban (2017) states that *"any argument on space in geographical enquiry has mainly focused on (i) space being a "container" of phenomena; (ii) space as "instrumental"—a facilitator or inhibitor of phenomena; and (iii) space as "causal," which acts through dialectical processes, similar to economic forces understood in a Marxian framework."* A University Campus, in this context, makes an ideal space for geographical enquiry. University Campus not only acts as a *container* of heterogeneous social groups (reservation policies has a significant role in facilitating the same, which again warrants the examination of its role in doing so) but it also is envisaged to *facilitate* engagement among various social groups and ideas and thus act as a *casual force* not only in shaping its constituent social groups by mutual interaction but also getting shaped in turn.

1.2 - Objectives of the Study

The Study aims to explore the following objectives:

- **I.** To find out by as to what extent the reservation policy has granted access to higher education institutions to reserved category students?
- **II.** To find out what is the level of mismatch, if any, in terms of academic achievements between the reserved category and non-reserved category students?
- **III.** To find out what is the perception of different socio-economic background students about current socio-economic realities in higher education institution campuses?

IV. To find out which elements of the cultural capital of students impacts their academic achievements and to what extent?

1.3 - Research Questions

Following research questions and sub-questions have been framed associated with each of above four objectives:

I. How far has the reservation policy been successful in granting access to reserved category students in higher education institutions?

II. Does there exist any mismatch in terms of academic achievements between the reserved category and non-reserved category students?

i. Is there a significant difference in the marks scored by Reserved and Unreserved Category Students at the Under-graduate Level?

ii. Is there a significant difference in the marks scored by Reserved and Unreserved Category Students at the Post-graduate Level?

III. Does the implementation and operation of the Government of India policy on reservation help or hinder in achieving the spirit of reservation policy in terms of social integration among diverse socio-economic background students in higher education institutions campuses?

i. Does the Caste Prejudice Level vary significantly between male and female students across the entire sample?

ii. Does the Caste Prejudice Level vary significantly between Reserved Category and Unreserved Category students?

iii. Does the Caste Prejudice Level vary between the students of different discipline streams?

iv. Does Caste Prejudice Level vary significantly across different levels of Study?

v. Does curiosity to know other people's Caste/Category vary significantly across students of different categories?

IV. Does the cultural capital of the students impact their academic achievements?

i. Do student's marks vary significantly with Father's Education Level?

ii. Do student's marks vary significantly with Family Income Level?

iii. Do student's marks (grade) in Higher Education vary with Father's ability to read and understand English?

iv. Does the student's medium of instruction at High School (10th) impact student's marks(grade) significantly in Higher Education?

v. Does ownership of a Laptop by Student impacts student's marks in Higher Education?

1.4 - Research Methods

Study Area

The Study deals with the various aspects of reservation policy in Central Universities (CUs). For the assessment of the implementation of reservations in CUs, all the CUs that follow the standard reservation policy of India and whose data regarding the same is available in the public domain has been made part of the investigation under Study. The list of all these CUs have been attached the Annexure – I.

Primary data for the Study has also been collected from four CUs. These four universities are: Banaras Hindu University (BHU), University of Allahabad (UoA), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and Central University of Karnataka (CUK). This selection was based on the researcher's familiarity with these universities and his fluency of the local language.

Data Collection

A questionnaire has been prepared by the researcher for the primary data collection which was administered to respondents via Google Forms. The questionnaire was presented in front of the Doctoral Research Committee (DRC) on October 1, 2019, for assessment and approval. The questionnaire is attached in Annexure – II. The primary data has been collected from 4 CUs viz. BHU, UoA, JNU and CUK.

An attempt has also been made to collect academic data (related to student's marks) from above 4 CUs (viz. BHU, UoA, JNU and CUK). Such data could only be obtained from the School of Earth Sciences, CUK.

The period of fieldwork for data collection has been January 31, 2020, to February 13, 2020, for Banaras Hindu University; February 17, 2020, to March 2, 2020, for the University of Allahabad. Due to the imposition of a nation-wide lockdown in the last week of March of 2020, the dissemination of the questionnaire to the students of JNU and CUK was done through WhatsApp in the last week of March and the First week of April of 2020.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

For a reasonably large population, a sample size for ±5% *Precession Levels (sampling error)* and 95% *Confidence Interval* with 0.5 as *Degree of Variability,*

a sample of 400 is appropriate (Israel 1992). A sample size of 100 is enough to find out characteristics of a population with ±10% *Precession Levels (sampling error)* and 90% *Confidence Interval* with 0.5 as *Degree of Variability* (Ibid).

Table 1.1

Snapshot of Total Samples Collected (University-Wise)

University ↓	**Social Category →**		**General**	**OBC**	**SC**	**ST**	**Total**
BHU	**Sample Size**	**No. of Students**	250	166	63	27	**506**
		% No. of Students	49.41	32.81	12.45	5.34	100
	Total Population	**% No. of Students**	51.01	31.55	12.36	5.08	100
UoA	**Sample Size**	**No. of Students**	199	261	78	11	**549**
		% No. of Students	36.25	47.54	14.21	2.00	100
	Total Population	**% No. of Students**	32.3	45.16	20.47	2.07	100
JNU	**Sample Size**	**No. of Students**	40	48	20	7	**115**
		% No. of Students	34.78	41.74	17.39	6.09	100
	Total Population	**% No. of Students**	46.29	31.8	14.46	7.45	100
CUK	**Sample Size**	**No. of Students**	43	32	21	9	**105**
		% No. of Students	40.95	30.48	20.00	8.57	100
	Total Population	**% No. of Students**	41.63	33.44	18.81	6.12	100
Total Samples		**No. of Students**	532	507	182	54	**1275**
		% No. of Students	41.73	39.76	14.27	4.24	100

An attempt has been made to collect more than 400 samples from each campus under Study. This has been successfully done in Banaras Hindu University and

the University of Allahabad. Due to the imposition of the nation-wide lockdown due to Covid-19 and consequent evacuation of campuses in March 2020, the sample size for the remaining two universities (Jawaharlal Nehru University and Central University of Karnataka) was collected to meet a relaxed criteria of ±10% *Precession Levels (sampling error)* and 90% *Confidence Interval* with 0.5 as *Degree of Variability*.

Table 1.1 presents a snapshot of the total samples collected. The data for the total population and category-wise (General, OBC, SC and ST) composition for the three universities (viz. BHU. UoA and JNU) has been taken from Annual Reports for session 2019-20 for each respective university. For CUK, this figure has been taken from Annual Report for the year 2017-18 (latest Annual Report available on the CUK website).

The Non-Probability sampling method was used for the collection of the samples. However, Table 1.1 shows that samples collected closely mimic the Population/Universe from which they are drawn.

In the case of BHU and UoA, the author visited both the campuses and disseminated the questionnaire google form link and QR code for the same to students in departments, libraries, hostels, cafeteria, parks/lawns etc. on the campus. For both the universities, i.e., BHU and UoA, the link was distributed to around 2500 students with a request to fill the questionnaire and thus help in data collection for research purposes. A total of 506 responses were obtained from BHU and 549 from UoA; this makes the response rate to be roughly around 20%.

In the case of JNU and CUK, the questionnaire link was disseminated among students with the help of friends and acquaintances through WhatsApp, and each respondent was also requested to circulate among their friend circle in respective university; as due to lockdown and evacuation of campuses in the view of Covid-19, physically going to these campuses was not feasible.

Statistical Techniques Used

For the analysis of the data collected from various sources, a set of descriptive and inferential statistics were used. *Microsoft Excel* and *Stata 16* (a statistical software) were used for statistical calculations.

According to the available variables for the analysis, the tests used for the analysis in the Study are summarised in Table 1.2. All the formulas and methods of conducting tests have been adopted from the book titled "*An Introduction to Statistics and Data Analysis Using Stata*®" authored by *Lisa Daniels* and *Nicholas Minot*.

Table 1.2
Summary of Tests used in Analysis

S. No.	Purpose	Types of Variables	Test Used	The test used for Verification of Equality of Variances	Effect Size Test Used	Interpretation of Effect Size
1	Comparing Sample Means	I. Two Categorical Variables II. One Continuous Variable	Two independent sample t-test	Levene's test for equal variances	Cohen's *d*	If *d* = 0.2 (Small Effect Size) If *d* = 0.5 (Medium Effect Size) If *d* = 0.8 (Large Effect Size)
2	Comparing Sample Means	I. More than two Categorical Variables II. One Continuous Variable	One way ANOVA	Bartlett's test for equal variances	Eta-square (*η2*)	----------
3	Relationship between two variables	I. Two or more than two Categorical (Nominal) Variables II. Two or more than two Categorical (Nominal) Variables	Chi-Square Test	----------	Cramer's *V*	If *V* < 0.1 (Small Effect Size) If *V* < 0.3 (Medium Effect Size) If *V* < 0.5 (Large Effect Size)

1.5 - Schedule of Chapters

The thesis is divided into a total of six chapters. *Chapter 1* is introductory in nature consisting of the context and the conceptual background of the Study, objectives of the Study, research questions and research methods of the Study, along with literature review and limitations of the Study.

Chapter 2 is entitled "*Privilege and Deprivation: Understanding the Caste System in India*", deals with the Caste System in India and how it caused historical inequality between different social groups and is instrumental in maintaining and perpetuating the same.

Chapter 3 is entitled "*Understanding 'Reservation' and 'Affirmative Action' as strategies for Social Inclusion*", deals with the philosophical aspect of affirmative actions and reservations, and how/why these were necessitated to tackle the historical and contemporary inequalities and disabilities caused by the caste system. This chapter summarises the principal arguments around the quota (reservations) debate used for and against it.

Chapter 4 is titled "*Historical Development of Reservation Policy in India*." This chapter summarises the historical evolution of the reservation policy in India from colonial times to the present. It also navigates through the chief judicial developments related to reservation policy post-independence.

Chapter 5 deals with the *Data and Results*. This chapter provides the data analysis and lists the inferences drawn from it in accordance with the objectives of the Study.

Chapter 6 deals with *Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations*. This chapter summarises the findings of the Study and offers recommendations

based on the Study for policymakers, policy advocates, researchers and other stakeholders of the society.

The Bibliography and Annexures are provided at the end.

1.6 - Limitations of the Study

Due to some external factors beyond the control of the researcher, the Study has the following limitations:

1. Due to the imposition of the national lockdown in March 2020, the author was forced to scale down the sample size for two universities under the Study (viz. JNU and CUK).
2. For JNU and CUK, the samples were collected through the dissemination of questionnaire link through WhatsApp and respondents were requested to circulate the questionnaire among their friends and acquaintances circles in the university. So, the comparative representative outreach across these two universities may be less compared to researchers physical data collection in BHU and UoA.
3. Due to the denial of data related to student's academic marks by universities and non-reply of RTIs requests, the author has relied on data from only one university related to Objective 2 of the Study.

1.7 - Literature Review

Reservation policies have been the subject of debate since their inception. The debate particularly intensified during the 1990s (after the introduction of OBCs reservations in the jobs) and was again reinvigorated during 2006 and afterwards (after the introduction of OBCs reservations in higher education). A brief survey of the relevant literature is provided below.

Debating Reservations Policy

Rao and Rao (1992) centre the debate about the reservation policy around the principle of merit. The policy is supported in the light of Indian societal specificities and opposed on the ground that it would perpetuate what it seeks to eliminate, and on the other hand lowering the standards will also impact the efficiency. They argue that due to the plural nature of Indian society, the theoretical debate of reservations v/s efficiency will likely continue in the future.

In the light of polarising debate around reservation policy, Suri (1994) calls for developing a national consensus based on objective analysis of the experience of the past four decades of operation of reservation policy. He believes the policy has produced mixed results. There has been a significant increase in the representation of SCs and STs in education, government jobs and political representation as well. However, he also highlights that the tardy implementation and deliberate violation of the mandated of the policy has inhibited the overall impact of the reservations in the process of amelioration of the conditions of the reserved categories up to the desired level. Reservations have increased the competition among reserved categories, which has overall resulted in the capacity building of the society; as a result, many of reserved category students are able to qualify under general merit. He also highlights the duality of the 'merit' argument citing the example that most Indians in America, most of whom are upper-caste Hindus and enjoy a status of the preferred group there, are critical of reservations in India. He further observes that while reservations, on the one hand, have increased access to education and jobs to the persons of reserved category, on the other hand, they have created inequality among the caste groups as benefits have been mainly appropriated

by the relatively creamy layer of the community. Thus, he concludes that reservations can be expected to reduce the inequality between the caste groups and not among the caste group. For evolving a consensus, he further maintains that *"a consensus can be evolved if the issues involved in and the experiences borne out reservation policy are subjected to examination by competing group 'objectively' as possible. For reservation policy to retain legitimacy, the State has to evolve institutional mechanisms for establishing rational criteria of 'backwardness' and 'forwardness' in a fair manner. In such an event, it becomes easier to build consensus on various issues involved in reservation policy."*

Upadhyay (1995) doubts whether reservations are the best way to redress historical disabilities. He states that there is little data about the socio-economic conditions of the various Castes, and it is also not ascertained if the benefits those reservations will accrue will be greater than the inefficiency that it causes. He finds reservation policy unjustified from "*an economic or management angl*e."

Corbridge (2000) makes an empirical study of Scheduled Tribe reservations in the State of Bihar. Contrary to popular belief, he argues that there are stratifications among tribal societies. He has observed that "*the reservations system in tribal Bihar has worked more successfully than some commentators have deemed likely*." He notices that where no elite sections of tribals have been able to access formal education are making a significant chunk of the beneficiary of the reservations.

Das (2002) states that abundant literature and public debate is available on the subject of reservations since Mandal Commission was sought to be implemented. He observes that despite a vast literature on the reservations, "*there has been very little discussion by the beneficiaries of reservations*" about the reservations in "*books, articles or national press*". He remarks that most of the literature available on reservations argues against the reservations for the backward classes, which are produced mainly by the dominant groups who "*have been enjoying the benefits of, if not a monopoly over, education, wealth, land and public services*." He has discussed the crucial moments that shaped the evolution of reservations in India. He emphasises that there is a need for democratisation of bureaucracy, and apart from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes, provisions should be made to ensure representations of Muslims, Christians and Women in the public services. He writes, "*As in the days of old when some people raised the various cries, 'religion in danger', 'dhamma is in danger' or 'Islam is in danger', nowadays a new slogan is being raised: "abolish reservations because merit and efficiency are in danger". Those who have been opposing reservations in public services and educational institutions do so because their personal interests are in jeopard*y."

Chattopadhyay and Duflo (2004) study the impact of women leadership that emerges in India due to the political reservations to the women at the Panchayat level (Village Council). After the empirical study of the 265 village panchayats in Rajasthan and West Bengal, the authors found that "*the reservation of a council seat affects the types of public goods provided.*

Specifically, leaders invest more in infrastructure that is directly relevant to the needs of their own genders."

Weisskopf (2004) concludes that reservations have enabled a significant number of SCs and STs to access the higher education institutions they would not have been able to in its absence. He further found that SC and ST students from relatively better-off families from the SC and ST communities are more likely to benefit from the reservation. However, he further states that the "*available evidence also suggests that the average socio-economic status of SC and ST students is significantly below that of other students*." Thus, he concludes that SC and ST students who displace other category students due to reservations, it is doubtful that they displace relatively on average socio-economically less-well-off candidates.

Believing that the Caste criterion is inappropriate in public policy, Chaudhury (2004) argues that caste-based reservations were introduced "*to absorb privileged sections of the lower castes into the ruling class*." She further argues that the caste-based reservations and the politics emerging from them are detracting attention from "*the real economic issues of the poor*" and detrimental in forming class consciousness among the poor and keeping them divided and weak.

Bhambhri (2005) believes that reservations have led to increased caste consciousness. This has "*hurt the development of progressive social consciousness among the oppressed and exploited millions of the labouring classes because caste ideology has made workers casteists and not fighters*

for secular anti-poverty programmes." He makes a plea for "*centering poor while policy making irrespective of caste, religion, gender or language labels"*.

While making a case for political reservations, Duflo (2005) concludes that "*Reservation significantly increases the access of disadvantaged groups to political decision making*." She further acknowledges that reservations may lead to relatively unexperienced and less-educated candidates to the power circles. However, she emphasises that "*there is no evidence that this comes at the expense of the quality of decision making*." She recognises reservations as a "*powerful redistribution tool*."

Gosh (2006) makes a case for caste-based quotas in higher education on the premise that *"the roots of caste-based discrimination in India go so deep that social and economic disparities are deeply intertwined, and the reservations are needed for different groups in higher education, not because they are the perfect instruments to rectify long-standing discrimination, but because they are the most workable method to move in this direction"*. Various arguments posed against reservation policy are confronted in the article, though the particular focus has been on the "Efficiency and Merit" arguments. These two arguments have been countered by citing empirical evidence. The Vellore Medical College in Tamil Nadu state and St. Stephens College of University of Delhi in Delhi had reserved their significant chunk of seats for certain sections for a long time, but they are still one of the best learning institutions in the country. The graduates from these institutions are considered highly respectable and capable. It has been argued that the less effectiveness of reservation policy is not because of its inherent weakness but rather the inefficient implementation of the policy, for

which the reason cited is the lack of enough legal and institutional mechanism to ensure the proper implementation of the policy.

With acknowledging the fact that the debate around reservation policy has become a debate more about the character of democracy than we recognise, Mehta (2006) calls for a diversity of institutions having a diverse set of affirmative action policies rather than single quota-based policies for all institutions. He also makes a convincing case for change in the methods of pedagogy in relating with the needs of students and putting emphasis on 'output merit' rather than 'input merit'.

In the context of uproar after the introduction of OBC reservations in Higher Education, Morris (2006) argues that the "other backward classes" didn't face as worst a discrimination as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and also, they are somewhat represented in the higher education institutions. Hence, he considers the turmoil caused by the OBC Reservations in Higher Education are not worthy as they try to solve a non-existent problem. On the other hand, he believes that this step will lead to further deterioration of the quality of the institutions.

In the light of the scarcity of systematic empirical literature linking 'reservations to the decline of the quality of the educational institutions, this Study aims to modestly address this critical area by testing if the learning outcomes of the reserved category students are at par with the unreserved category students or not.

Illahaia (2006) believes that Reservations and nation-building are not antagonistic and argues that the participation of SCs, STs and OBCs in

education and jobs will lead to inclusive and faster development. He attributes the relatively higher development of South India compared to North India in part to Reservations as it is more implemented in South India than North India. This attribution is not empirically established in the paper, instead this is an intuitive argument of author and is not empirically substantiated in the paper under review.

Deshpande (2006) tries to analyse the question of questions of merit, caste and discrimination in Indian higher education through the framework of "exclusive inequalities." Citing the NSSO Data from the year 1999-2000, he tries to highlight the glaring inequalities that exist in Higher Education which is seen in the exclusion of marginalised communities from the disciplines of Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine and other Professional Subjects in higher Education. Even though the long adoption of the constitution in general, and the principle of equality in particular, before half a century, the continued exclusion of lower castes to higher education illustrates the point clearly that "*there is something in the gate-keeping mechanism which regulates entry into higher education that makes it discriminate in favour of the upper and against the lower castes*". Highlighting the specificities of higher education as a resource that cannot be universalised, he argues that as a result of this, the principled discrimination[2] is bound to happen in higher education. And, it is the justness of this principled discrimination that gives legitimacy to higher education. In Indian Higher Education, 'Merit' is considered as an ideological framework to ensure

[2] The *higher education*, due to its specific characteristics, cannot be accessed by everyone (i.e., it cannot be universalised), or everyone is not equally fitted for higher education. Some persons have more aptitude for it whereas others have less. As a result, certain specific criteria must be developed so that the best-suited candidates can be selected/admitted for higher education. This practical necessity of excluding people from higher education due to the impossibility of its universalisation is called Principled Discrimination by the author.

principled exclusion to legitimise the current higher education regime. By citing Marc Galanter, he opines that "*three broad kinds of resources are necessary to produce the results in competitive exams that qualify as indicators of merit: (a) economic resources (for prior education, training, materials, freedom from work, etc.); (b) social and cultural resources (networks of contacts, confidence, guidance and advice, information, etc.); (c) intrinsic ability and hard work*". It is some combination of these that allow people to "acquire merit".

Acknowledging the limited availability of the data Deshpande (2006) argues that there exists compelling evidence to state that "there exists a clear disparity between OBC castes and others in terms of educational attainment, occupational success and standard of living", which illustrates that "the mechanisms for perpetuating inter-caste inequality are still strong and alive in contemporary India." Based on the 'Caste Development Index' prepared by the author based on NFHS data, she claims that there is no indication of reversal of relative economic position between OBCs and upper castes. She further argues that on the refinement of the dataset, more glaring inequalities will emerge. Nepal, despite having a similar social structure like India, has shown no social mobility for the Dalits, which highlights the importance of affirmative action policies. But in the context of social heterogeneity and complexities, she states, this affirmative action should not start and end with quota-based reservations.

Thorat and Attewell (2007) examine "*the prevalence of discrimination in the job application process of private sector enterprises in India. The Study is based on a field experiment where authors replied to job advertisements in major English dailies, sending three applications to each call - as an upper-caste*

Hindu applicant, as a Dalit and as a Muslim. Using statistical analysis, they assess the data and find that discriminatory processes operate even at the first stage of the application process." The Study noted that significant statistical discrimination exists at the application scrutiny stage for Dalit and Muslim named candidates when all other qualifications were the same.

The greatest challenge for any democracy is accepting and taking pride in its constituent diversity. In this light, Hurtado (2007) lays out "*the practical, theoretical, and empirical rationale for linking diversity with the central educational and civic mission of higher education*." The 'practical rationale' for affirmative action demands that since higher education is responsible for social progress, such progress constitutes the element of the education of citizens and the next generation of officeholders. Here underlying assumption is that democracy envisages that all constituent social groups have the inherent legitimate right to be part of the government. The theory of diversity provides 'theoretical rationale' for affirmative action policies. According to the theory of diversity, "*the diversity in the student body provides the kind of experience base and discontinuity needed to evince more active thinking processes among students, moving them from their embedded worldviews to consider those of another*". The author's study titled "Preparing College Students for a Diverse Democracy" revealed that "*informal interactions with diverse peers had higher scores on measures of more complex thinking about people and their behaviour, cultural and social awareness, and perspective-taking skills*", which provides Empirical Rationale for the affirmative action policies.

In the light of Indian Higher Education Institutions failing to make on the list of the world's top institutions, Joshi (2008) argues that reservations are bringing

down the quality of the Indian Higher Education Institutions. However, no empirical/clear evidence has been cited or provided to support the argument. It is merely based on the conjecture of the author. He calls for looking at other forms of affirmative action, which is in consonance with quality and excellence. He offers a strategy to initially build the capacity of deprived section - SC, ST, OBC and minorities belonging to poor areas students before they enter the higher education institutions and concurrently to improve the capacity of already existing deprived section students in higher education through remedial classes and other measures.

Reservations and Access to Universities Campuses

Suri (1994) believes that reservations benefits are appropriated mainly by the more affluent sections of the beneficiaries of the reservations. This observation of him is more of intuitive reasoning rather than being backed by empirical data.

Xaxa (2002) has taken the University of Delhi as a case study to evaluate how reservations for SC and ST are implemented. The author has noted that initially, the University was reluctant to implement the SC/ST reservations, especially at teaching posts. Implementation started after 1966 after intervention by UGC. The reservation policy exists for all the three sections of Higher Education viz. Students, Non-Teaching Staff and Teaching Staff. After examining the available data, the author has found that at all three levels, there have been serious intentional discrepancies in the implementation of the policy. Various means are adopted to circumvent its implementation, such as making ad hoc appointments etc. The reservation is given in proportion to the population, but the share of ST is almost negligible, especially in teaching posts.

After the three years since the introduction and implementation of OBC reservations, Hany Babu M.T. (2010) has noted that university administrations are intentionally manipulating or misinterpreting the laws related to OBC reservations to deny admissions to eligible candidates. Hence OBC seats remain vacant. These remaining vacant seats are then converted to General seats. The cut-offs fixed for admission to OBC students are done arbitrarily to circumvent the implementation of the OBC reservations and this involves violation of rules meant for deciding the cut-off as well as of the Supreme Court order on granting relaxation to OBC category students. This has been observed in JNU and the University of Delhi alike. As a result, the author calls for a comprehensive evolution of the implementation of the policy along with deciding a standard criterion to implement it so that loopholes could be plugged.

Howell (2010) has tried to assess the impact of elimination of affirmative action on the representation of Black community students and minorities in the United States. The results indicate that "*black and Hispanic representation at all 4-year colleges is predicted to decline modestly—by 2%—if race-neutral college admissions policies are mandated nation-wide. However, race-neutral admissions are predicted to decrease minority representation at the most selective 4-year institutions by 10%."* Despite being subject to intense academic debate and scrutiny, such studies have not been conceptualised in the Indian context.

This Study attempts to address to this gap, along with making the contemporary assessment of the implementation of the reservations in the central universities. It tries to visualise as to what could be the social group-wise composition of the higher education institutions in India if reservations did not exist. This will also

help to make an estimate of how much contributions reservations have made in enabling various social groups access to higher education institutions.

Perceptions, Prejudices and Reservation Policy

Bharati (2001) noted that of all the SC students she surveyed, two-thirds think that reservation would be appropriate if it is based on the economic criteria rather than caste. And those SC students who favour caste-based were more economically and socially deprived. The majority of SC students opined that reservations among SC should reach to poor SCs. The reason for favouring economic-based reservation has been attributed by the author to the fact that reservations based on caste lead to the revealing of caste hence creating barriers.

Malish and Ilavarasana (2015) find out that the experience of Schedule Caste students in Higher Education varies from institution to institution, which is primarily determined by the culture of the institution, which in turn is shaped by the constituent elements of the institution, viz. students, teachers/faculties and non-teaching staff. Drawing upon the ethnographic experiences of Schedule Caste students from two engineering colleges located in Kerala state, the authors found that the institutions which have high institutional receptivity in terms of more accommodative and responsive engagement for the students of underrepresented communities are able to provide better experiences for students of marginalised communities than those institutions where institutional receptivity is low.

On an ethnographic Study of 28 African-American students, Sanders (1997) found that student's experiences with respect to racial discrimination in

educational institutions could be categorised into three distinct categories, *first,* those who deny or minimalise racism and barriers, *second* those who have moderate awareness to racism and racial barriers and *third* those who have a high awareness of racism and racial barriers. The author found that high awareness to racism and racial discrimination is associated with higher achievement in academics as well, this result was opposite to earlier studies which concluded that heightened awareness of racial discrimination and racial barriers lead to mental withdrawal among some African-American adolescents. Higher awareness has rather led to the promotion of academic effort on the part of these students. The students who are high performing in academics and have high racial awareness are also found to have positive racial socialisation, i.e., having the "*positive attitude toward one's racial (or ethnic) group of membership, and that promotes a healthy racial identity as well as an awareness of and constructive responses to racism without promoting hatred or discrimination toward members of other racial or ethnic groups*."

In the times when the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled out in favour of Affirmative Action, Niemann and Maruyama (2005) sum up the debate on Affirmative Action policy as "*a battle between those who support colour-blindness versus colour-consciousness and those who focus on current privilege versus historical privilege*." But on surveying the available literature on how race matters in today's time authors conclude that "*at least at this stage of our human cognitive and social development, colour-blindness is impossible*."

In the Indian context, there is an acute dearth of literature on the student's perception of caste consciousness and caste denials and an absence of literature related to measuring the social perception and prejudices of the

students. This Study aims to address to this critical gap. The Study tried to measure the prevalent prejudice levels among students of different-different social groups, how does it affect their view about reservation policy, and how does it change among students at different-different levels of higher education.

Cultural Capital and Academic Achievements

Pierre Bourdieu (1973) theorised the role of cultural capital in the reproduction of society by means of wielding significant influence over one's interest and pursuit of higher education and academic achievement. Since his initial theorisation, a number of empirical studies have been conducted across different-different cultural contexts.

Acharya and Joshi (2009) found that parents' educational levels impact students' motivation for education and the marks they achieve at the intermediate level (Class 12th). However, this Study was conducted on smaller sample size. Authors conclude that "*educated parents transfer the value of education to their children which in turn affect the aspiration level and achievement of the child*."

Pishghadam and Zabihi (2011) have found that parents' education and cultural capital was significantly impacted the grades that students of the foreign language (English language) achieve in their academic pursuit among students in Iran. Authors found that the mother's education of students was a more consistent predictor of students' academic achievements.

Cheng and Kaplowitz (2016) conducted a large sample study in Taiwan to assess the role of economic and cultural capital on the academic achievements of the students. Authors found that despite lower levels of educational inequities

in Taiwan due to the influence of Confucian values, data indicates that "*parental cultural capital is strongly associated with parent's economic status and has a strong effect on student's cultural capital, and their academic achievement*."

Tan, Peng and Lyu (2019) make an important observation related to the widely held belief that the cultural and economic capital of students impacts their academic achievements. Authors have found that some forms of cultural capital impact students learning outcomes of all the students, whereas there as some forms of cultural capital whose effects varies according to different-different educational stages.

There is a conspicuous absence of literature on the impacts of the cultural and economic capital of students in the Indian context, and more so specifically in the case of higher education. This Study attempts to contribute to filling this gap and examine if the cultural capital of students impacts students' academic achievements in the Indian context and, if yes, to what extent and till which levels of studies.

Affirmative Action, Reservations and Mismatch Hypothesis

The Mismatch Hypothesis argues that, due to affirmative actions, the students with low academic preparation are admitted to the universities. It creates a mismatch between the skillsets that students admitted through affirmative action have and the skillset that universities require to complete the course successfully. This led to the poor academic performance of the students admitted due to the affirmative actions in the universities, and this also results in their higher dropout rates due to their inability to cope-up with the academic rigour that universities require.

Fischer and Massey (2007) argue that minorities students have benefitted from affirmative actions and are not harmed as the critics of Affirmative Actions theorise in the Mismatch Hypothesis. However, they find evidence of negative stereotype threat (i.e., the stigma around affirmative action creates negative views among whites regarding black students, and this also impacts black students as to how do they see themselves; this negatively impacts their self-esteem, and so have chances to impacts negatively their academic performance).

Charles, Fisher and Mooney (2009) found that "other things being equal, individual affirmative-action beneficiaries earn the same grades as other students." However, the authors also conclude that the stigmatised environment against Black and Latino students creates a "*subjective performance burden*", and it negatively impacts them. The authors argue for the formulation of affirmative policies so that stigmatisation around affirmative action policies could be eliminated.

Bowen, Chingos and McPherson (2009) find that contrary to the Mismatch proposition, Black students' graduation rates were higher if they attended higher quality instructions than Black students with similar grades attending relatively lower quality institutions. Authors suggest that "*the way to improve graduation rates and other outcomes for black men is not to discourage them from enrolling in academically strong programs that choose to admit them. On the contrary, more presumptively well-qualified black men should be encouraged to "aim high" when deciding whether and where to pursue educational opportunities beyond high school.*"

In their study**,** Sander and Taylor (2012) found that Mismatch exists at the Law Schools. There exists enormous data secrecy, and universities are not ready to share data for research purposes.

Frisancho and Krishna (2016) found in their study to engineering colleges in India that reservations successfully target reserved category students to enable access to higher education institutions, though significant evidence exists to support the mismatch hypothesis.

Whitt (2018) found that "*there is no evidence for the Mismatch Hypothesis and only a limited amount of evidence for Stereotype Threat*." However, the author believes that merely grades at high school are not an indicator of academic success.

There is a conspicuous absence of literature investigating the mismatch phenomenon in the Indian context. This study modestly attempts to study if the mismatch hypothesis exists in the case of Central Universities, and if yes, to what extent.

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Chapter - 2

2. Understanding the Caste System in terms of Privilege and Deprivation in India

> "….turn in any direction you like, Caste is the monster that crosses your path. You cannot have political reform, you cannot have economic reform, unless you kill this monster." (Ambedkar 2014, 47)
>
> "You cannot build anything on the foundations of caste. You cannot build up a nation, you cannot build up a morality. Anything that you will build on the foundations of caste will crack and will never be a whole." (Ibid, 66)

Except for early simple societies (e.g., Hunter and Gatherer societies, various tribal societies etc.), stratified and unequal social systems are the permanent characteristics of the complex human organisations and societies irrespective of space and time. Expression of this stratification and inequality has been highly variable from one place and society to other. Inequality arising from income and wealth is the most common, widespread and noticeable example, which could be prima facie attributed to the legal (Pistor, 2019) and economic systems and modes of inheritance as exists in the societies.

Nevertheless, a more in-depth investigation into this widespread and omnipresent inequality reveals that very often (almost as a rule) there exists an underlying system of social stratification characterised by privilege and deprivation to the selected set of groups of individuals as a whole—for instance, the existence of the Class and Nobility systems in the societies. The racial system of the United States and Europe, apartheid in South Africa, the Caste System of India, the marginalised minorities in various countries, Burakumins in Japan etc. are the examples of systematic social hierarchies in various

societies. The chief function these social hierarchies play is the cross-generation replication of system of privilege and deprivation and thus replication of similar sets of visible and invisible inequalities.

Amid the wide variety of stratified and unequal social systems, the caste system of India is "*widely perceived as the quintessential example of cultural petrification*"(Kuran 1997, 128). Caste is so deeply ingrained in the Indian social system that even relatively egalitarian religions like Islam and Christianity are not immune from it (ibid). "*Caste is no doubt primarily the breath of the Hindus. But the Hindus have fouled the air all over, and everybody is infected—Sikh, Muslim and Christian*" (Ambedkar 2014, 80). It is a truly all-India feature of Indian society. To understand the Indian society, a working understanding of the Indian caste system is indispensable. In this light, a brief description of the Caste System in India is provided below.

2.1 Understanding 'Caste'

> "In India, casteism touches 1.35 billion people. It affects 1 billion people. It affects 800 million people badly. It enslaves the human dignity of 500 million people. It is a measure of destruction, pillage, drudgery, servitude, bondage, unaccounted rape, massacre, arson, incarceration, police brutality and loss of moral virtuosity for 300 million Indian Untouchables"(Yengde 2019, 9–10).

Caste can be placed among the group of oldest surviving systems. It is older than several largest religions of the world. It has been of great interest since long for academicians across disciplines. A host of literature exists on the subject of Caste. However, no single definition that connotes Caste in totality is agreed upon. Nor is there one agreed position about its origin, mechanisms

and evolution. The chief reason for this has been the sheer diversity of the Caste system, which exists through the length and breadth of India.

Despite the very diversity of the Caste System through space and time both, there exist some essential and peculiar features which in assemblage makes Caste, *not only a distinct social system but also a distinctive socio-religious and cultural system (emphasis mine)* compared to others. Various scholars have tried to list its features in order to capture the nuances of it.

Wilkerson (2020) has identified eight pillars of Caste, which by sums up the embodiment of the Caste very eloquently:

i. **Divine will and Laws of Nature:** The Caste system is the very integral part of the Hindu religion. Every Hindu belongs to some Caste with birth. There is no conception of Hinduism without Caste. Unlike other religions which were started by some person or prophet, Hindu religion does not have any such founder. It is considered a direct will and creation of God by its believers. All Hindu scriptures, directly or indirectly, mention the reference to Caste and Varna and prescribe following one's Caste and Varna duties in order to attain Moksha (salvation).

   From Rigveda to various Smritis (e.g., Manu Smriti, Gautama Smriti, Yagyavalya Smriti etc.) and Geeta, there are mentions about the divinity of Caste and Varna. This divinity is not only scriptural but widely believed and practised by masses.

ii. **Heritability:** If one born into a particular Caste then one remains into that Caste for lifelong and so his descendants, irrespective of high status or stigma, i.e., there does not exist mobility or liberation in a Caste

society. There is no mechanism to change one's Caste; it is received and transferred only through heritability. This feature makes the Caste system distinct from the Class system where one has some chances of socio-economic mobility with the attainment of education, income or wealth.

iii. **Endogamy and Control of Marriage and Mating:** Restricting the marriages within the same group of people is the most essential feature which makes Caste permanent. Till endogamy is not violated, Caste will remain intact.

iv. **Purity versus Pollution:** Unlike other stratified social systems, Caste is erected upon a very rigid and elaborate system of purity and pollution. The mere presence, touch or shadow of a 'lowly caste' person is polluting to the 'higher caste' individual. This is one of the reasons India very often do not witness mixed caste settlements in traditional villages, and even to an extent, in modern metropolitan cities (Bharathi, Malghan and Rahman, 2018). This purity and pollution are not attributed to a person's occupation or lifestyle and living conditions, but to the Caste the person is born with. The purity of water is most important. A mere touch of water bodies by the Shudra and untouchable castes makes them polluting for higher castes.

v. **Occupational Hierarchy:** One of the fundamental features of Caste is that all occupations are not equally valued. Some are more respectable and purer than others. There exists not the only hierarchy of occupations but also the hierarchy of persons who employ these occupations. Every

Caste is attached to some occupational category as well. Thus, *there is not only division of labour but of labourers too* (Ambedkar 2014, 47).

vi. **Dehumanisation and Stigma:** This is another significant feature that gives oppressive power to the Caste. Dehumanisation and Stigma in Caste operate at the group level. Entire Caste groups as a whole are dehumanised, stereotyped and stigmatised. This makes Caste a group think, i.e., society does not need to stigmatise a single person individually. If one is part of any stigmatised group, then he/she is already perceived as same. Not only this, there also exists identifiable markers for privileged group or stigmatised group which include from clothing to wearable marks (e.g., tilak, ponytail, sacred thread), derogatory sounding names[3] and surnames etc. These markers ensure people rightly communicate their Caste in case of movement from one place to other.

vii. **Terror as Enforcement and Cruelty as a Means of Control:** This is the mechanism to ensure that the Caste system as a whole remains in place, and there is no violation of it. Strict and gruesome measures are often taken to ensure that Caste code is followed in spirit. For example, the cases of honour killing resorted against who defy the practice of endogamy and the social excommunication, severing all relations with such couple by their families and community is widespread. Physical

[3] Manusmriti Verse 2.31: "The name of the Brāhmaṇa should be *auspicious*, that of the Kṣatriya connected with *power*, that of the Vaiśya associated with *wealth*; while that of the Śūdra *contemptible*" (Jha, 2016).

Manusmriti Verse 2.32: "The name of the Brāhmaṇa should be expressive of *peace*, that of the Kṣatriya, of *protection*; that of the Vaiśya, of *prosperity*, and that of the Śūdra, of *submissiveness*" (Jha, 2016).

torture, rape, ostracisation, mutilations etc. are employed to terrorise people and tame them to ensure no one dares to challenge the status quo.

viii. **Inherent Superiority versus Inherent Inferiority:** This is a very integral feature of the caste system. For example, higher Castes wear *Janeu* (sacred thread) as a mark of their superior status, whereas untouchables are very often killed for keeping moustache. Historically the lower caste persons were not allowed to eat particular food such as Ghee and wear specific clothing. Lower caste women were not allowed to clothing and jewellery that upper castes women. Untouchables and Shudra Castes were prohibited from making use of public water bodies. So, they were forced to look filthy as a marker of their inferior status. This inferiority and superiority are not only manifested physically but divinely ordained and well described in religious scriptures.

Thus, 'Caste' is a highly elaborate and nuanced social system. Caste is an institution of systematic social deprivation and privilege based on ascription, maintained by endogamous marriages characterised by the unequal socio-religious and economic relationship among people who are hierarchically arranged by the principle of purity and pollution. And this system has an 'in-situ' level of mental and social acceptance which persists till today.

The Castes in India have astounding diversity, as more than 6000 castes exist in India. Every region and part of the country have its own set of Castes. Castes have geographic expressions, i.e., a majority of Castes are limited to a particular place or geographic region. Nevertheless, amid this vast diversity and

variation, all the Castes are grouped under the overarching structure of 'Varna System'. Varna system has all India character. Every caste falls under one or other Varna. Varna is the major deciding factor in determining the place of Caste in the caste hierarchy.

According to Hindu scriptures, there are four categories of Varna viz. the Brahmins (the highest Varna), the Kshatriya (second in the ranking after Brahmins), the Vaishyas (third in hierarchy after Brahmins and Kshatriyas) and the Shudras (last in four Varna system). Each Varna has been prescribed particular religious duties and occupational categories which they are prescribed to follow. Every Varna has its own set of Castes. In practice, there exists another set of groups of Castes, which are distinct from the above four Varnas, called Untouchables. The Untouchables are lowest in the caste hierarchy, so lower that they are not part of the Varna system. They are considered untouchable by above four Varnas and their mere presence or touch is considered polluting to them. *Such a system is unparalleled in the world and unique to Hinduism in India (emphasis mine).*

All the Castes and Caste groups can be thus divided into two groups based on the criterion of touchability viz. *Savarnas* (i.e. touchable Castes) and *Avarnas* (untouchable Castes). Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra are touchable Castes and part of the Varna system; as a result, they are called Savarnas. Untouchable castes are not part of the Varna system, and their presence and touch are considered polluting by touchable Castes, are called Avarnas. The tribal population of India is also outside the Varna system, and they are also Avarnas. Among Avarnas, 'the indigenous and tribal people' are legally and as

per the Constitution of India known as *Scheduled Tribes (STs),* and 'the Untouchable Castes' are known as *Scheduled Castes (SCs)* in the constitutional and legal term. Whereas, among Savarnas, the majority of 'the Shudra Caste groups' are known as *Other Backward Classes (OBCs) or Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBCs)* in constitutional and legal terms.

On the ground of ritual hierarchy (in terms of Upanayana Sanskara[4], the Castes are divided into Dwija and Non-Dwija Castes[5]. Only the Dwija Castes are rightfully allowed to perform Upanayana Sanskara and wear *Janeu* (sacred thread). Wearing of the Janeu is considered as a marker of higher Caste status. Only Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya Castes are allowed to wear Janeu, so these are called Dwija Castes and synonymous with the colloquial term *'Higher Castes'*. Whereas the Shudra and the Untouchables castes could not rightfully wear Janeu, hence they are non-Dwija Castes. The Shudra and the Untouchable Castes are synonymous with the colloquial term *'Lower Castes'.*

Furthermore, it is solely the prerogative of Brahmin Castes to decide as who is rightfully eligible for the Upanayana Sanskara and wearing of Janeu (sacred thread), and only Brahmins can rightfully conduct this ceremony as well (Ambedkar 2014, 177). Thus, it is the Brahmins, placed at the apex of this System, who have the sole and absolute power to decide the place of any caste

[4] *Sanskara* in Hindu religion are ritual sacraments conducted in one's life from conception and birth to death and funeral. All *Varnas* are not entitled to perform all *Sanskaras*. For example, the *Upanayana Sanskara* (ceremony performed for initiation of wearing of *Janeu* i.e., sacred thread) can be performed only by the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Shudras are prohibited to conduct *Upanayana Sanskara.*

[5] The initiation *Upanayana Sansakara* symbolises the second spiritual birth of the individual. Thus, a person who undergoes *Upanayana Sanskara* is supposed to be born twice, first physically and second spiritually. 'Dwija' in Sanskrit means 'two'.

in the caste hierarchy. By conducting the Upanayana Sanskara, they could virtually raise any Caste status, and by denying the performance of this ritual for any Caste, they could lower the status of any Caste. Among others, this function itself gives Brahmins immense socio-religious power. Apart from this, even among the touchable Shudra Castes, the Caste hierarchy is decided in relation to Brahmins. Even the kind of food (cooked food or uncooked food, edible oil etc.) Brahmins could accept from Shudra Castes determines the ritual purity of a Caste group and their place in the caste hierarchy.

Apart from the above mainstream and traditional understanding of Caste division, grouping and hierarchies, a new *Subaltern Discourse* is also developing. This discourse is from the eyes of the Shudra and Untouchable Castes who are attempting to understand the Caste system from the Vantage point of *Justice and Equality.* Kancha Illaiha (1996, 2009, 2019) has categorised Castes into *Productive* and *Non-Productive Castes.* According to Illaiha, the Shudras Castes, the Untouchables Castes, and the Adivasis (tribals) are the *Productive Castes.* It is these Castes which are involved in various agrarian to livestock and artisan activities. To Illaiha, “the productive castes live ‘a life of labour’, whereas the non-productive Castes viz. Brahmins and Baniyas live the ‘lives of leisure’.” They (non-productive Castes) derive their leisure from the Caste system which transfers the fruits of labours of productive Castes to them without any equitable arrangements of quid pro quo.

Caste is one of the oldest surviving and persisting systems of systematic oppression. In every system of oppression, there is an oppressor and an oppressed. The powerful is the oppressor group, and the relatively weaker

group is the oppressed group. The Caste system is no exception to this. In Caste system also, caste groups can be divided into oppressor and oppressed groups. Higher Castes, i.e. the Dwija Castes, are the power-wielding Castes. They have been historically in charge of State power, had ownership of land, wealth and capital apart from sole control over socio-religious power. This gives them immense oppressive power to them under the elaborate scheme of the Caste system. This enabled them to devise, maintain and sustain the mechanisms (viz. Jajmani[6], Begari[7], payment of meagre wages, the impossibility of any socio-economic mobility etc.) to appropriate the fruits of the labour productive Castes (Shudra and Untouchables) and control their labour employment itself according to their own needs and choices. The Lower Castes, i.e., Non-Dwija Castes or the Untouchables and the Shudras Castes were the oppressed caste groups. They have been the victim of the Caste system. They were perpetually cursed to serve the Higher/Dwija Castes. They were not allowed to keep any property or wealth[8] even if they were capable of. They were denied their humanity and treated as sub-humans. They could even not enjoy the fruits of their labour as they were religiously ordained to serve the higher castes. Socially and Culturally, they were denied all means through which they can bring any change to their conditions and fate. Caste system for

[6] Jajmani System connotes the typical relational arrangements akin to Indian villages, among productive and non-productive castes. In Jajmani, the Caste Hindus employs the Service Castes (i.e., Shudra Castes) to serve them in lieu of some annual payment, mostly not in cash but in kind (e.g., share in agricultural production). Every *Serving Caste* household is tied to some Jajman (to whom they will serve). The nature of relations between served household and serving household normally remains unchanged from generation to generation. The next generation of serving caste households keep serving the next generation of their *Jajman*.

[7] *Begari* means forced labour without any payment of wages.

[8] Manusmriti Verse 8.417: “The Brāhmaṇa may confidently have recourse to seizing the goods of the Śūdra; as the latter has no property, and his property is meant to be seized by the master.” (Jha, 2016)

them is the condition of servitude from which there is no escape. Among the oppressed Shudra and untouchables, the untouchables were the worst victim of Caste. The Shudras, being a Savarna, were in a position to oppress the untouchables, despite themselves being oppressed by the Dwija Castes. Thus, the untouchables were the most oppressed sections of the Caste-based society.

2.2 Caste as 'Experience' and 'Practice'

> "Yes, there is a caste system and it is so rigid that cannot be imagined. I am from Dhuniya Biradari. And I can tell you that Caste is being practiced by these so called upper Caste Muslims. It can be seen that one Dhuniya is richer than Sheikh [Upper Caste], but these Sheikh Community will never allow to get married. Why? Because they say their sheikh will not be accepting as an Original Sheikh. This can be seen in Shaadi time (Marriage time). If you ask Sheikh Community that are all Muslims equal? They can interpret you that "YES". But never invite any other caste to be the part of their marriage ceremony or on the occasions of any festivals. It is hard to believe that we all offer Namaz in the same mosque altogether, but the moment once get out from the stairs of the mosque they keep saying and used slangs for the lower caste people which cannot be tolerated" (Alam 2015).

> "When someone says 'I am a Jat', his chest expands. But when we say 'Chamar', we contract to nothing" (Quoted in Jodhka 2012, 68).

Caste is a religiously ordained, socio-religious, cultural and economic system that touches almost every Indian/people in Indian subcontinent very directly or remotely, reverently or despisingly. The experience of the Caste for any individual is defined by one's location in the caste hierarchy and also informed by one's material living conditions.

Caste is originally a Hindu construct but not essentially limited to Hindus. It is practiced and observed and experienced all over India, by all types of people, cutting across region and religion. It has acquired the status that can be called a genuinely Indian. Even the relatively egalitarian religions like Islam and Christianity in India, when introduced to India, also get 'casteised'.

Caste for most of the masses is less of the theory and more 'Practice'. It is 'Practice' that gives meaning and power to the Caste. Here the Practice and experience of the Caste have been examined in brief along the lines of eight important pillar of Caste as identified by Wilkerson, which connotes the very essence of the Caste System.

Caste and Varna system are rooted in religious scriptures. However, the Caste as divine will and established social norm is not only limited to the scriptures but also widely believed and practiced and experienced all over India. One can safely assume that more Indians have a copy of Ramayana (Ramcharitamans) and Geeta that Constitution of India[9]. It can be argued that the majority of the masses does not read religious literature. So, it can be mistakenly assumed that one's practice of Caste is not necessarily informed by religion.

However, by understanding the role of the constitution behind a nation's organisation of polity and governance mechanism, one can see the role of the invisible hand of religion behind the observance of Caste norms. Constitution of India provides basic framework about how the State of India has to be

[9] https://www.gitapress.org/an-introduction/ (accessed on 27/10/2020, 10:30 AM)
"Gita Press is one of largest publisher of Hindu scriptures. It claims to have published of total '68 Crores 28 Lakhs' of books on Hindu scriptures which include 1413 Lakhs copies of Geeta and 1078 lakhs copies of Ramacharitamanas and other Tulsi literature."

organised and administered. It is the constitution that informs the distribution of power and framework and laws for governing Institutions and Offices. Hardly a fraction of population has well read the constitution (even lesser than those who read religious scriptures); still, there is no denying fact that country's polity is based on frameworks provided by the constitution. Masses need not to know every nuance of constitution and law to uphold and abide them, this is known to them by practice and convention. As a person grows, he/she also learns the grammar of the society. Similarly, as a person grow up, he/she learns the grammar of the Caste.

The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, which is applicable not only for the Hindus but also to the Jains, the Buddhist, the Sikhs and any other developments from Hinduism (e.g., Lingayats, Veershaivas, Arya Samaj etc.), grants individuals liberty to marry according to their choice irrespective of Caste and Religion. The Act mandates that no marriage shall be declared void, performed prior or after this Act, merely on the ground that, of two individuals involved in nuptial arrangement belonging to different caste, sub-caste, religion or same gotra. The Act prohibits only the Sapinda[10] marriages i.e., prohibition of marriage in near blood relatives. Irrespective of the above legal provisions, religious scriptures and social customs prohibit same gotra and inter-caste marriages. These socio-religious prohibitions are widely practiced in India and their violations are met by extreme reactions from the society, many a times resulting

[10] 'Sapinda' is someone who have a common ancestor for *FIVE* or more generations on father's side of ancestry OR have a common ancestor for *THREE* or more generations on mother's side of ancestry.

into social ostracization of involved individuals/families or killing of the married couple/individuals.

Both *the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955* and *Hindu Scriptures and Hindu social customs* prohibits *Sapinda Marriages.* Traditionally also, Sapinda marriages (i.e., marriages among near blood relatives) has been avoided in the Indian society. Apart from this prohibition, Hindu customs also prohibit, same *Gotra* marriages. All these prohibitions make Hindu society to appear as exogamous society, as they can't marry within the family clan. However, having said these exclusions, among Hindus, there exist socio-religiously mandated C*aste-criteria* which shall not be violated in marriages. In simple words, individuals were not allowed to marry within very near family circles (i.e., no endogamy) but also at the same time prohibited to marry outside one's Caste (i.e., no exogamy). This has led Ambedkar (2014, 9) to conclude that it is "the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of caste". Most of Indians avoid Sapinda marriages and follow Caste-criteria. Goli, Singh, and Sekher (2013) have found that approximately 95% of marriages in India are same Caste marriages. This makes Caste, a heritable institution. One's caste is only attained by birth, consequences of which are not merely limited to the acquisition of caste but also inheriting privilege or deprivation, dignity or despise, honour or contempt, wealth or poverty.

Scavenging and cleaning jobs done by untouchables (Tripathi 2012) and dominance of the Dwija Castes in Higher education and knowledge creation is nothing but a living example of heritability of Caste and restricted mobility. According to the data released by UGC, the overwhelming fraction of faculties in Indian Higher Education belongs to Dwija Castes (Yadav, 2021). Around 95%

of the Professors and 92% of Associate Professors in Central Universities belong to Unreserved Categories (ibid). Thomas (2020) says that Indian Science has got Brahminical identity due to the domination by Brahmin castes. The deep reflection of the model Caste system in the practice of Science in India mediated by structural means of exclusion obfuscated by alleged merit and passion for doing Science (ibid).

The author himself has analysed the *Occupational Structure of Rural Uttar Pradesh across Caste-Category* in an unpublished paper using IHDS-II (India Human Development Survey-II, 2011-12) data. Traditionally, village economy has been revolving around Caste-based hereditary occupations (Anderson 2011). IHDS-II data reveals that in rural Uttar Pradesh, only 1.38% of Brahmin households depends on manual agricultural labour work as their principal source of income and for Forward Castes (other higher castes except Brahmins), the same figure is 3.69%. Whereas, 60.43% of total Scheduled Castes households and 81.21% of Scheduled tribe households depend on manual agriculture labour works as their principal source of income. On the contrary, the traditionally respected occupations are dominated by Dwija Castes. For instance, of all the Physicians and Surgeons, 73.6% belong to Brahmins, 4.9% from Forward Castes (except Brahmins) and 21.5% from Other Backward Classes. Traditional Caste occupations like barber, weaver etc. were almost exclusively by particular castes only.

The analysis reveals that the essence of the Caste system that some jobs are clean and pure and some are unclean and polluting is maintained in rural Uttar Pradesh setup. The fluidity in choice or occupations have come due to

reservations and constitutional rights for ‘lower castes’ but ‘higher castes’ has not chosen to work in occupations that they traditionally consider menial, degrading, polluting and impure. In a nutshell, there has been no occupational mobility in the sense that hierarchical status of the occupations has been broken. Here breaking of hierarchical status of occupations means adoption of all occupations by all the castes/communities.

The practice of Caste cuts across religions. Untouchability is equally followed among any other religion as in Hinduism (Ambedkar 2014; Thorat and Joshi 2015; Trivedi, Goli and Kumar 2016; Gouraha 2019). Thorat and Joshi (2015) have found that 27% of households admit to practicing untouchability in India, with the caveat of higher under-reporting of cases. Bharathi, Malghan, and Rahman (2018) has tried to measure the Caste-based spatial segregation of 5 major Indian cities (Bengaluru, Chennai, Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai) using ward-level data and have found that urban localities in these cities are as segregated as Indian villages. In the case of Kolkata, in 60% of urban localities, not a single resident is a Dalit (ibid). In the case of land ownership, Schedule Castes are 16.63% of Indian population owns only 8.60% of total operational land holdings (Yadav 2019).

A two-years long wealth survey conducted together by three premier institutions[11] found that Upper Caste Hindus, who constitute 22.5% of India’s population, own 41% of the country’s wealth (Marar 2019). All these details give a slight glimpse of Caste-based cleavages and persistence of Caste in India.

[11] Savitribai Phule Pune University, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Indian Institute of Dalit Studies.

These caste-based socio-cultural, religious and spatial materialities informs and dictates one's experience with Caste. This massive inequality in terms of material resources and wealth between 'higher castes' and 'lower castes' is the outcome of centuries old prohibition of acquisition and accumulation of wealth by the Shudra[12] and Untouchable Castes. Even after independence, the measures taken to reduce the wealth inequality such as land reforms etc were not properly implemented. One of the obvious reasons for lackadaisical implementation of policies which tends to achieve equality is that implementation of such policies is in the hand of those people who will lose their privileges if they will implement them. Upper Caste dominated bureaucracy never implemented such policies seriously. Article 38 and 39 of Indian constitution, which talks about reduction of inequalities, prohibition of concentration of wealth and promotion of just social order is one of most relevant Articles but paid least attention.

Any attempt to violate the status caste quo is met with extreme resistance and violence. Terror and cruelty are used as a means to control any challenge that can emerge to the Caste. The honour killings, Caste-based atrocities and violence, continued harassment etc. are prime tools for the purpose. There are instances when people are killed just because they talk about justice and equality and oppose Caste and Hindu orthodoxy. These measures have a crucial role in the maintenance of Caste and deter any change and challenge to the existing system.

[12] Manusmriti Verse 10.129: "A servant [Shudra] should not amass wealth, even if he has the ability, for a servant who has amassed wealth annoys priests [Brahmin]". (Doniger 1991)

Life in the present Caste status quo is full of dehumanisation and stigma for the lower castes. Devoid of power to make any change in their lives, it makes one feel utterly helpless. Humiliation for the lower Castes is both in life and in death. Caste oppression and horrors are not only limited to the villages but have also been practised and witnessed into higher education campuses as well. For instances, the suicide of Rohit Vemula (belonging to Mala Caste which is listed as Scheduled Caste)[13] or Dr Payal Tadvi (belongs to Muslim Bhil tribe)[14] or Dr Bhagwat Devangan (belongs to an OBC caste)[15] are few examples which underscore extremities of the Caste practices in the spaces of education and learning as reported in the media.

Apart from its social, religious, cultural and material expression, Caste is psychological. “Caste is a state of mind; it is a notion” (Ambedkar 2014, 68). The real triumph of Caste lies in not only establishing and upholding the supremacy of Brahmin and Higher Castes but also conditioning the minds of lower castes persistently in a systematic way over centuries in accepting their own inferior status in the ritual, cultural and social hierarchy (Para 4.5, Mandal Commission Report). The centuries-old inter-generational caste taming of the oppressed castes has resulted in internalisation of oppression among them very profoundly. This internalised oppression is expressed in the form of their fatalistic attitude towards their own conditions, absence of any hope to escape this system and rationalisation of their own existing conditions. This is perhaps

[13] https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/andhra-pradesh/It%E2%80%99s-official.-Rohith-Vemula-was-Dalit/article14424041.ece

[14] https://indianexpress.com/article/india/payal-tadvi-suicide-case-caste-discrimination-5760544/

[15] https://thewire.in/rights/jabalpur-medical-student-bhagwat-devangan-caste-discrimination#:~:text=Devangan%2C%20who%20belonged%20to%20the,category%E2%80%9D%2C%20without%20availing%20reservation.

an important reason how and why the notion and adherence to caste persists and endures even in the changing winds of modernism and intellectual growth throughout the world and the country.

On the contrary, the oppressor castes have internalised the dominance in themselves. This internalised dominance is very often visible in day-to-day microaggressions[16] exhibited towards lower castes and contempt they often have for them. Due to the internalised dominance, they are very much comfortable with the unequal and oppressive social order of which they are not only an integral part and beneficiary but a significant force for its continuance. It is internalised dominance upon which their sense of privilege, entitlement, superiority and merit rests on. The systematic control of Dwija Castes over Deep State, wealth and resources, knowledge and discourse, religion and socio-cultural customs are means through which the internal dominance is cultivated, maintained and replicated across generations. Any attempt to challenge the status quo is met with the extreme reactions even to the extent of violence and massacres.

2.3 Caste as a System of Privilege and Oppression

> "Consider a birdcage. If you look very closely at just one wire, you cannot see the other wires. If your conception of what is before you is determined by this myopic focus, you could look at that one wire, up and down the length of it, and be unable to see why a bird would not just fly around the wire. It is only when you step back, stop looking at the wires one by one, microscopically, and take a macroscopic view of the whole cage, that you can see why the bird does not go anywhere; and

[16] "Microaggressions are brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to certain individuals because of their group membership [Race, Women, Caste, LGBTQs]." (Sue 2010)

> then you will see it in a moment. It is perfectly obvious that the bird is surrounded by a network of systematically related barriers, no one of which would be the least hindrance to its flight, but which, by their relations to each other, are as confining as the solid walls of a dungeon" (Frye 1983).

Privilege is the direct result of Oppression and Marginalization. The is no privilege without oppression and marginalization and vice-versa. Privilege and oppression are two sides of the same wall. Dominant sections are on the privilege facing side, and marginalized ones are on the oppression facing side of the wall. How privilege and oppression impact one's life can be understood through the analogy of swimming in the river. Privilege is like swimming with a life jacket and in the direction of the river-flow, whereas oppression is like struggling to swim without any life jacket in a water swirl, against the flow of water. A person who has never entered in the water without a life jacket and never attempted to swim against the direction of the stream will never not only realize his/her own privilege but also could not understand and acknowledge the difficulties and hardships of others who are flowing against the stream without any supporting equipment.

The caste system is a very elaborate system of oppression and privileges. It impacts a person's life from cradle-to-grave. In the sense of power as Foucault outlines, Caste is the power that disciplines one personal, familial and social life at all the time and all the places. Individuals learn the grammar of Caste through the means of socialization, which in turns informs one's practice.

As Frye illustrates, oppression is like a birdcage made of a web of wires, Caste is similarly an oppressive system for persons of 'lower castes' which imprisons

their life in a closely-knit web of disabilities and deprivations, which in turn makes the whole system oppressive. On the other hand, for the persons of 'higher castes' Caste is a system of privilege as swimming in the direction of river with life-saving support. Joan Olsson has compared such privileges as,

> "having a very user-friendly word-processing program with the font, margins, page length, type-point size, spacing, and footnotes style are set in commonly accepted style format form me. I do not have to do anything: this preset style is default mode…The structured invisibility of the word processing program ensures that the flawless professional presentation of my documents will be attributed to my own talents and individual merits, rather than to my software…Either I can choose to be aware of these default positions or I can ignore them and decides to experiments with new fonts, margins, or document styles. If I become unhappy or frustrated with these new modes, I can always go back to the default positions." (Quoted from Bailey 1988)

Caste system is one of the oldest existing systems of systematic social privilege and oppression. The non-Dwija Castes (Shudra and Untouchables), also synonymous as lower Castes were the perpetual victim of oppression and Dwija Castes (Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishyas), also synonymous as higher castes were the direct beneficiaries of Caste privilege resulting from the oppression of lower castes.

Dilip Mandal has presented his thesis on 'Brahmin privilege', which accrues to Brahmins solely because of their belongingness to Brahmin Caste (and could also be said true for other higher Castes). Some of the privileges, Mandal lists include: "*All public places will be open for my Brahmin caste fellows; People will treat me with respect and add 'Ji' while calling out; I will easily be able to get*

accommodation in any place (no denial in the name of Caste, religion or food preferences); an assured sense of entitlement when I reveal of my Caste, people will not look down or hate me for my Caste; I will invariably find a member of my Caste in an interviewing board in case I have to attend an interview; the national culture, national history and national icons are members of my caste; I am very likely to find diaspora of my Caste if I travel abroad; If I go for academic publishing, my caste members are in the editorial board; in judiciary the judge hearing my case belongs to my Caste; if something heinous or boorish I do or say, it will not be attributed to my Caste; the television news and discussions I watch will be over represented by the members of my Caste. These privileges are not accidental but systematic; not for individuals but persons born into a particular group of privileged castes viz. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas."

As caste is a system of privilege and entitlement for higher castes, it is on the other hand a system of oppression for lower castes. The elaborate scheme of deprivations and prohibitions for lower castes creates a monopoly for higher castes and becomes a systematic privilege for higher castes and systematic oppression for lower Castes. For example, the Shudra and untouchables were not allowed to get education and accumulation of property was also prohibited, even if they were capable. Phule (1883) has summarized as how lack of education has impacted lower castes as:

> "Without education wisdom was lost; without wisdom morals were lost; without morals development was lost; without development wealth was lost; without wealth the Shudras were ruined; so much has happened through lack of education."

The historical denial of access to education a wealth has not only stunted the growth and development of lower castes but also degraded their life to the lowest rung of the society. This has resulted in not only the drudgery of day-to-day struggle for material needs of life, but also the loss of a sense of purpose and meaning of life. This state had continued so long that they consider this as their 'Niyati' (destiny). Thus, caste is not only deprived of material needs, social respect but conditions a person psychologically to cause mental slavery. This makes the Caste bond inescapable.

Caste privilege for higher castes and oppression for higher castes thus has multiple dimensions viz. historical, ideological, institutional and socio-cultural. The Caste norms are being followed since centuries, backed by comprehensive religious ideologies. Caste is so integral to Hindu religion that there is no conception of Hindu religion without caste. Thus, caste has virtually turned into socio-religious and day to day culture. Due to being it cultural and with a high level of social and political acceptance, it is not possible to eradicate or ban it by law or any other legal means. For example, constitutionally and legally, the practice of untouchability is banned in India but still widely practiced in society.

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Chapter - 3

3. Understanding ‘Reservation’ and ‘Affirmative Action’ as strategies for Social Inclusion

The word ‘Reservation’, according to the Oxford Dictionary, originated from the Latin word *reservare* and *reservatio,* which means ‘keep back’, ‘save up’, ‘preserve’. During the 14th century term ‘reservation’ directly came into late middle English from old French.

The earliest socio-political memory of the term ‘reservation’ has been associated with the ‘tracts of the land’ set aside for exclusive usage of the native Americans. These reservations were the outcome of the treaty between colonisers (White European Settlers) and Native Americans. The native Americans were called *Red Indian,* and ‘tracts of land’ set aside for them were known as *Indian Reservations.*

The term *Reservation* in its literal connotation and etymology also sounds like a benevolent concession for some intended beneficiary. For instance, the reservations for native Americans were for long seen as special provisions, concessions and exclusive rights of usage as per their customs, granted to aboriginals in mainstream American discourse. Reservations are benevolence that the White American State granted to the native Americans. This understanding of Reservations reflects the patronising attitude of the American State and Public discourse for aboriginals, whose foundations lie in the supposed inferiority of the natives by white colonial settlers.

Whereas on the other side, it is a well-established fact that before the arrival of white settlers, most of the American land was under the possession and exclusive usage of aboriginal tribes. The westward expansion of the white

colonisers on the American continent is the result of sheer violence and the use of brute force against natives. The Reservations was used as a device to reach a compromise between the colonial settlers and aboriginals, and in such a settlement, the aboriginals were on the receiving end after having lost the majority of the land to white colonisers, which once used to be under their control. In those reserved tracts of lands, natives were allowed to govern as per their traditions and customs, and the US Federal Law was not applicable.

Thus, a seemingly benevolent policy has a history of violence and illegitimate appropriation by brute force. Reservations are not concessions and benevolent action to aboriginal Americans, but the minimum possible guarantee to their rights and is not even the nominal compensation to the wrongs meted out to them. This argument can be posited in the larger context of the approach to understanding history as the continuous conquest, subjugation and control of the weak by the strong.

In India, reservation has found its echoes in terms of socio-political and legal discourse since British times. At various points, Britishers reserved seats for Indian members in the legislature and executive wings of the government of British India. Later it also evolved as part of affirmative action for disadvantaged sections in British India and continued as such after independence as well. In India, also, representation by means of reserved seats can be seen both as a benevolent action, and also as a necessary strategy to lend verisimilitude and legitimacy to the claims of initiating a democratic setup. In this sense, it is also the patina on the woodwork of influence and justification.

The term ‘Reservation’ stands for the ‘act of reserving’. In the Indian context, a system of ‘Reservation’ could be defined as reserving important or ceremonial positions in the society, organisation or State-office for some specific person or the persons having some specific characteristics or belonging to a particular community. In this sense, *the history of Indian society is the history of reservations*. The most striking and peculiar feature of Indian society that sets it apart from all other societies across the world is the ‘Indian Caste and Varna Systems’. Indian Caste and Varna System, which is the system of the birth-based ascription and determination of social status, choice of occupation and rules of day to negotiation and interaction, is the most comprehensive reservation system ever to have existed contineously in any part of the world. Caste and Varna system, in its historical and operational sense, reserved the key positions of the society (priest, kings and rulers, administrators, jury, teaching, reading and writing and eligibility to consume specific material and luxury goods including food items, accumulation of land and property etc.) to certain varnas and castes only and others were prohibited and systematically excluded from the same. This system fossilised the Indian society, and its rigidity prohibited socio-economic mobility. Every caste and related sub-castes were assigned certain occupations, and they were not allowed to change them even if they were not willing to perform those tasks. This system of extreme reservations crystallised the inequality in the society for the perpetuity, whose consequences modern India is grappling with and has yet not been able to shed. The urban island of a metropolitan and modern nature mask this and indeed shown new ‘avatars’ of how the Caste system operated even here, as have been briefly discussed in the earlier chapters.

Since the British times in India, the very context of reservations started to change, and the initiation of usage of the term reservations in the modern sense as means to provide representation in a political context came into being.

In this context, the author has developed a system of classification of the reservations, which is presented below.

3.1 TYPOLOGY OF RESERVATIONS

A survey of the reservation systems of human societies reveals that broadly the system of reservations can be categorised into broadly three categories:

a) Ascriptive Reservations
b) Neutral Reservations
c) Corrective/Compensatory Reservations

Ascriptive Reservations

The reservations which are hereditary, based on birth and one's place in social strata, could be categorised under ascriptive reservations. Customary morality, arbitrariness and divine sanctions are the chief characteristics of the ascriptive reservations. They are maintained by the use of force or threat of use of force if they are violated. Ascriptive reservations are status quoist in nature both at the individual as well at the social levels.

For example, Caste-based forced occupational choice is the most striking example of ascriptive reservations. For instance, historically, only Brahmin castes were could occupy the profession of acquiring and distributing knowledge or officiate as a priest. In contrast, unclean and menial jobs were exclusively for 'lowly born' Shudra and Untouchable Castes. In the United

States, the system of racialised slavery and Jim Crow laws of segregation are examples of ascriptive reservations. In India, for coveted President's guards, only persons from three particular castes (Rajputs, Jat Sikhs, Jat Hindus) are eligible. No other army or paramilitary personal howsoever equally or more capable can be inducted into to President's Guards. This makes it part of ascriptive reservations as Caste is not a secular criterion that can be attained by anyone.

A most distinctive feature of ascriptive reservations is that it is primarily negative in character. Ascriptive reservations have an underlying ideology of inequality as a norm for their justification and continuance. Ascriptive Reservations are the primary means through which a stratified and unequal society continues to reproduce itself over-time and thus preserve the privileges of the beneficiaries of the existing social order.

Neutral Reservations

Those reservations in which any position is open for a particular group of people but others are not contenders for the same are examples of neutral reservations. For examples, the position of a priest in any of the religion or religious denominations is held by the person belonging to that community and others, i.e., those who are not part of the same religious community or denomination, do not have claim over the same. For example, only Sikhs, Muslims or Christians can only be the priest in their religious institutions or denominations. However, within the same community, if any position is open for a particular section of that community or sets some eligibility that cannot be achieved by all members of the community, then such positions become part

of ascriptive reservations. For example, Only Hindus can be eligible for the priesthood in the Hindu religion, but this priesthood is not open for all Varna/Castes of the Hindu religion but only Brahmins. It becomes part of ascriptive reservations, as Brahmin status can be achieved only through birth and not through any other pursuit.

Similarly, a particular position in the government or private sector can prescribe some minimum criteria to eligible and such criteria is open to be any person who desires, so can also be placed under the category of neutral reservations. For example, the Government of India for various gazetted posts required minimum and maximum age (say 21 to 30 years) and some minimum educational requirement (say Graduation). These criteria are equal for everyone and attainable by everyone. Such reservations could be called neutral reservations.

Neutral reservations are mostly non-contentious. They are part of the standard order of affairs.

Corrective/Compensatory Reservations

The reservations which aim for correcting the social biases and their impact on some particular sections of the society or aims to compensate for the historical or current disadvantages or injustices meted out to a particular group of people/section of society are corrective or compensatory reservations. Such reservations are mostly part of the *Affirmative Action* policies. The reservation policy of India falls under corrective (as it aims to reduce the impact of present biases in the society in the process of admission to educational institutions and recruitment to jobs) and compensatory (as it also aims to compensate for the

historical injustices meted out to certain group castes and indigenous people) reservation.

Compensatory and corrective reservations are mostly of recent origin as compared to the other two types of reservations. Such reservation policy in India traces its origin as early as the very start of the 20th Century.

3.2 Reservations as an Affirmative Action

Affirmative Actions are the conscious policies and steps taken by the State (governments), institutions and organisations as a systemic measure to ensure the inclusion and representation of hitherto excluded and unrepresented groups due to their historical marginalisation, inbuilt biases in the system, systematically imposed disabilities and deprivation and thus consequent oppression. Affirmative Action as a systematic corrective measure is of recent origin. In India, its origin can be traced back to the early years of the 20th Century, which become more systematic after the independence of India. The framework for such policies were included in the Constitution of India. The earliest origin of affirmative action policies in the United States can be traced back to Reconstruction Era (1866-1877), but it got more emphasis and currency during and after the Civil Rights Movement (the 1960s).

Affirmative Action is an umbrella term that includes a wide variety of provisions such as monetary grants to disadvantaged communities to build of their capacity, waiver of application fees, provision of scholarships, preferential treatment in case of equal qualification, designated quotas and seats for marginalised (reservations), capacity building and bridges programmes etc.

In India, affirmative action policies and programmes exist for upliftment, inclusion, and mainstreaming of various disadvantaged sections such as female gender, minorities, Shudra and Untouchable Castes (OBCs and SCs), tribal people (STs), residents of hill areas, Kashmiri migrants, Poor individuals of Forward Castes also known as Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) etc.

Reservation Policies of India are the most important aspect of Affirmative Action programmes in India. These reservations are part of corrective and compensatory reservations. The reservation policy of India is one of the first such policies in the world, aims for the inclusion of various sets of people viz. SCs, STs, OBCs, PwD, EWS etc.

3.3 Analysing the Rationale – Arguing for and against the Reservation Policy

The Indian State came with the scheme of reservation in higher education and government jobs to eliminate the *secular inequalities*[17] among the various caste groups. Since then, the policy has been heavily debated in the country ranging from policymakers, academicians, intellectuals and students to the common public. Various sets of arguments are given for and against the policy by its supporters and opponents.

The arguments given in support of the reservation policy broadly fall into three categories (Sandel 2011):

First, reservation is aimed to compensate for the different socio-economic disadvantages the lower caste groups face in comparison to upper caste

[17] The word 'secular inequalities' has been used here to reflect the socio- economic inequalities. It does not include ritual and religious inequalities which has been ordained by religious scriptures and customs, also and valued and practiced by society as well.

groups like poor economic status, inability to access quality school education, lack of proper guidance/help due to being mostly first- or second-generation learners etc.

Second, it is an attempt to compensate for the historical wrongs committed against ‘lower caste groups’ by ‘upper caste groups’.

And *third*, reservations are an attempt to ensure that the diversity of the society is reflected in the education and the administration of the country. It is based on the premise that the persons of the different socio-economic background bring diverse perspectives to enrich the existing system of education and administration, and it is to perpetuate inequality for eternity if unequal are equated i.e., if two unequally situated persons (say one is better off and the other is worse off) are given similar treatment, the better off situated person will always have an advantage. The worse off person will always lag due to the situation they are caught in. And thus, the inequality between the two will not disappear on its own without any intervention.

The opponents of reservations counter these arguments by stating that the benefit of reservations is taken by mostly wealthy and elite group of lower castes who actually face really no economic or accessibility (to school) disadvantages as compared to fellow members of their own caste groups. So the intended benefit of reservations does not reach the real beneficiary. Thus, the policy fails to achieve its indented objective to compensate for disadvantages.

Secondly, the upper caste groups believe that it is unfair to punish the current generation of upper caste groups for the wrongs committed by their ancestors in the past.

Thirdly, it undermines the idea of meritocracy and compromises with the quality and efficiency of education and administration.

Apparently, the arguments of both sides seem equally powerful and persuasive. But both sides of the arguments are actually based on different premises, a different understanding of the Indian society *and different intentions* to either maintain status-quo or change the current condition. By examining those premises, intentions and the functioning of the Indian society and its reproduction, it is possible to have a holistic picture.

The first set of arguments is that reservation is basically a compensatory instrument for the disadvantaged groups, and counter-arguments given against it is that it doesn't reach the real disadvantage. The difference here in the nature of arguments lies in the presumption of the intended nature of the reservation polices. The pro reservation policy argument is based on the premise that reservation is an instrument for helping 'people of particular disadvantaged groups' and not disadvantaged individuals. So, there is no point of contention till the benefit is reaching to the people of that particular disadvantaged group. The argument against reservation policy as being compensatory in nature is based on the premise that reservation policy aims to compensate the 'disadvantaged individuals' and not a person from a disadvantaged group.

A close perusal of the reservation policy in India reveals that it is actually intended to benefit 'people of a particular disadvantaged group' and not

‘disadvantaged individuals’ in particular. Thus, the argument against reservation policy that it fails to compensate the real beneficiary is essentially not an argument against reservation policy *per se* but could be seen as a critique of how the policy is implemented. The sub-categorisation of caste groups among SCs and OBCs in various states and the new proposal at the centre to do the same for the OBCs in actually in response to such critiques. The introduction of the creamy layer for the OBCs can also be seen as a response to such critiques.

The second set of arguments for reservation policy is based on the proposition that it aims to correct the historical wrongs committed against the people of certain groups, and it is opposed on the premise that instead of correcting historical wrongs, it actually punishes people from certain groups who actually had not committed those wrongs. The fundamental disagreement here between the two camps is based on what answer is given to the following question (Sandel 2011):

1. Should the privileged caste groups people be held responsible for historical wrongs committed by their ancestors against certain caste groups’ people?
2. Is reservation essentially a punishment (a negative instrument) for privileged caste groups or a positive instrument for the promotion of disadvantaged caste groups?

If we take the answer ‘NO’ to the first question, the logical conclusion for the second question is that the policy of reservation is the negative instrument to punish the people of privileged caste groups. But if the question is reframed

keeping the mind in present dynamics as ‘Does the systemic social privilege and deprivation of past for different caste groups have a bearing on today’s social structure and do such groups still have an important role in wielding social status, power, culture and wealth?’

A brief survey of Indian society could reveal that Caste and its identity is the biggest fault line of Indian society even today. The signs of *Dwija Castes Supremacy* are clearly evident in all the spheres of the Indian public sphere. Approximately 95% of Indian marriages are endogamous marriages confirming traditional caste norms (Goli, Singh and Sekher 2013). This highlights how deeply embedded Caste is in Indian society. The past’s systematic social deprivation along the caste lines is still, by and large, the defining feature of the Indian society with some metamorphism in the form with time. So, caste-based reservations, instead of being a negative instrument to punish privileged castes, is a positive instrument to uplift the secular position of the disadvantaged caste groups systematically.

The third sets of arguments for the reservation policy are based on modern liberal-intellectual principles. Reservation brings diversity in the educational institutions and administration and helps in their democratisation, and ensures the representation of the diverse sections of the society hence promotes inclusion. Thus, it enriches the institutions with new perspectives. It is in line with the principles of self-government and ensures every section of the society is contributing to society. The counter-argument against these arguments against the policy of the reservation are that it favours mediocrity over meritocracy. Hence, it promotes inefficiency in administration and cause a decline in the quality of academic output. The fundamental difference between

the two opposing sets of arguments is because of having belief in ideologies of caste blindness, Individualism and meritocracy by *status quoist* privileged caste groups and rejection of these ideologies by pro changers disadvantaged caste groups.

According to the ideology of *Individualism*, every individual can determine their place in society with their hard work and effort without affected by where they are born, which group and neighbourhood they belong or in what conditions they live (DiAngelo 2018). The idea of *meritocracy* believes that every individual gets what they deserve, based on their hard work, merits and skills (Sensoy and DiAngelo 2017). This implies that if a person from lower castes is not represented in the institutions, it is their personal problem, as either they do not work hard or they are not capable enough. The natural consequences of these ideologies are that there is no need for any examination of whether if any systematic hurdles exist in the society for unrepresented groups of people. Thus, the combined effect of the two ideologies is the denial of the existence of any trace of casteism, as everyone is where they deserve.

But the reality of Indian society is not so. India swims in the caste waters. And claiming someone to be free of the force of Caste is actually denying the impact of the forces of socialisation. Assuming that a person is not affected by the social environment around him is not realistic. Everybody is prone to pick up the biases and stereotypes when they grow up through the process of socialisation to which there exposed through the home environment, family and friends talks, neighbourhood, newspaper and media narratives, literature, TV and cinema etc. This is especially true in Indian society, where the system of power, entitlements and privileges centralise around Caste and elevates some

people as a group and stands not only as an obstacle but also suppresses some people as a group. The idea of Individualism and meritocracy does not seem like a liberating force but a highly sophisticated device to maintain *status quo*.

Any institution in any country is very much prone to reflect the same biases of the people it is composed of (Page 2010). Diversity can act against this not only as a hedge but could positively contribute as well (Kaplan and Donovan 2016, Page 2019). On this yardstick, the policy of reservation, which increases diversity, is a progressive and desirable step. But the next real question is, how does it impact the efficiency of the functioning of the administration and quality of the output?

This question is often raised while arguing against the reservation policy, but not much empirical work has been done to test the credibility of the argument. Deshpande and Weisskopf (2014) had studied the impact of reservation in Indian Railways covering the period from 1980 to 2002 for 8 of 9 railway zones existing at that point in time. The study found “no evidence to support the argument that reservation can adversely impact productivity or productivity growth”. On the contrary, some results had shown that “the proportion of SC and ST employees in the upper job categories (Group A and Group B jobs) was associated with productivity and productivity growth” (Deshpande and Weisskopf 2014).

In a nutshell, relying on the above arguments, it could be said that Reservations have strong justification in a society that is inherently unequal, and there exists a structure of systematic social deprivation and privileges for different-different

groups of people. The caste system is as such a structure in Indian society. The pattern of socio-economic inequities to cultural hegemonies, all could be seen to be conforming to caste lines in almost every field in India, be it education (Thorat and Neuman 2012, Jeffrey, Jeffrey and Jeffrey 2005), politics (Jaffrelot 2010), media (Mandal 2013), cinema (Rukmini and Naig 2015), sports (Sohi 1981), occupation and employments (Iyer and Khanna and Varshney 2013, Thorat and Neuman 2012, Dayanandan, Donker and Saxena 2012) or any other field. Indian society is inherently unequal in socio-economic terms due to its very defining characteristics of Caste. This vindicates a very strong case for the caste-based reservations in India. Indian State, following the constitutional mandate, came with such policy. In the journey of 70 years of the Indian democratic republic, reservations have been one of the important policies to bring social change and to achieve Social Justice.

3.4 Is there a religious basis for reservations?

The essence of democracy is the active participation of all the sections of the society in the affairs of the State. To give this principle substance, it is not enough to merely make this declaration but also to create conducive conditions in which every section of the society is enabled to participate in the affairs of the State. This involves not only granting equal voting rights but enabling every community to participate in all the spheres of public life, including administration, economy, education, scholarship and knowledge production.

Religion in India forms a very prominent social group and identity. The Constitution of India recognise religion as a basis for the identification of

minorities and include provisions for the protection of the cultures and religions of the minorities in the constitution itself.

Indian Council Act 1909, also known as Morley-Minto Reforms, introduced for the first time a religion based separate electorate in British India. Under this Act, certain seats in the legislature were reserved for the Muslim representatives who shall be elected only by the Muslim electors. This provision continued in the Government of India Act 1919 and Government of India Act 1935. The election of the constituent assembly in 1946 was also conducted following the separate electorate with all the seats divided into three communities viz. Muslims, Sikhs and General.

After the partition of the country in 1947, religion as criteria for reservations was done away with, as indicated by paragraph 3 of The Constitution Scheduled Caste Order of August 10, 1950[18]. This order reads that "no person who profess a religion different from Hinduism shall be deemed to be a member of Scheduled Caste", with an exception to Ramdasi, Kabirpanthi and Mazhabi of specific areas. Later on, in 1990, this order was amended, and certain sections of Buddhist[19] were added to the Scheduled Castes (this was promised on the floor of the constituent assembly, which was fulfilled later). Second Backward Classes Commission (also known as Mandal Commission), in its report, added certain communities of the Muslims and Christians part of the backward classes.

[18]https://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/CONSTITUTION%20(SC)%20ORDER%201950%20dated%2010081950.pdf
[19]https://socialjustice.nic.in/writereaddata/UploadFile/CONSTITUTION%20(SC)%20ORDER%20(AMENDMENT)%20ACT%201990.pdf

So, the present condition is that religion is not considered as a basis for reservations in India. However, under the provision of the National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992[20], the government provides a sub-quota of 4.5% to the religious minorities within 27% quota of Other Backward Classes. Socially and educationally backward castes of all the religions are included in the OBC list and avail designated reservations. Similarly, the tribals of all the religions are included in the Scheduled Tribes list under Article 342 of the Constitution of India and avail designated reservation. Scheduled Caste list under Article 341 of the Constitution of India, on the other hand, is not religion-neutral and includes communities from Hindu, Buddhist and Sikh religions only.

In its report in 2006, Sachar Committee recognised the entrenchment of the Caste System among Muslims in India and accepted their three-fold categorisation viz. Ahsraf, Ajlaf and Arzal. Committee found that socio-economic conditions Ajlaf are similar to Hindu – OBCs, and hence they should be given similar attention as Hindu – OBCs. Whereas it recommended that Arzals, whose occupational structure was similar to Hindu SCs, may be designated as *Most Backward Classes* and need not only reservations but other multiple protections as they are 'cumulatively oppressed.'

Rangnath Mishra Commission in 2007 recommended the amendment in the Constitution Scheduled Caste Order, 1950 to make it religion-neutral, i.e., including most backward sections of all the religions in the Scheduled Caste list. No progress has been on this front so far. Though recently, some news

[20]https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=132836#:~:text=Reservation%20For%20Minorities&text=At%20present%2C%20there%20is%20no,Commission%20for%20Minorities%20Act%2C%201992

outlets have been reporting[21] that Union Government is considering including Muslims and Christians in the SC list.

Thus, it can be said that religion is not used as the basis for providing reservations in jobs and educational institutions or the legislature. However, the backward sections of all the religions are provided reservations under different-different categories. There is a need to suitably adjusting the backward sections of the minority religions according to the recommendations of the Sachar Committee and the Rangnath Mishra Commission in the relevant categories to ensure that backward sections of all the religions could be equally represented and empowered.

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[21] https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/india/centre-mulls-panel-to-explore-scheduled-caste-benefits-for-muslim-christian-dalits/articleshow/89104198.cms

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Chapter - 4

4. Historical Development of Reservation Policy in India

1757 marked the beginning of the political ambitions of the *East India Company* and the subsequent formation empire of the British in India (Vasudevan 2019, 13). The victory in the *Battle of Plassey* established the political supremacy of the British in India (Bandyopadhyay 2020, 76). Since then, the British Empire expanded its territories continuously in the country and a century later, they were directly or indirectly ruling and controlling most of India (ibid., 82). On the other hand, the dissatisfaction with the foreign rules among natives was also increasing over time, culminating in the form of the Rebellion of 1857 (Ahir 2016, 138).

This rebellion brought a paradigm shift in the British policy towards India, consequently, in the administration of their Indian territories. British India's administration came under direct responsibly of the British Crown, i.e., under the Sovereign of Great Britain (ibid., 155). Now India was to be governed by the Acts passed by the British Parliament. A series of Acts were thus passed for the purpose of governance of India from time to time; the first being the Government of India Act of 1858. This Act transferred all the territories governed by the East India Company to Brtish Crown, along with powers of collection revenues and administration. The Office of *the Governor-General of India* was replaced by the Office of *the Viceroy of India*, who was now the direct representative of the British Sovereign in India. Back in London, a new Office of *the Secretary of State for India* was established under this Act. The Secretary of State for India was to the member of British Cabinet and responsible to British Parliament.

India Council Act of 1861 and 1892

After the 1857 rebellion, the British sought the cooperation of Indians in the administration of India, and for this purpose, a number of acts were enacted. The India Council Act of 1861 was an important landmark in such an attempt. This Act marked the first formal beginning of the association of the Indian member the administration of India under British Rule and the evolution of *the representative institutions* in British India (Laxmikanth, 2013, 1.5). In 1862, under the provisions of the Act, the then Viceroy Lord Canning nominated three Indians to his legislative council.

Though the legislative council formed under the Indian Council Act of 1861 had limited power, this Act had glimpses of *the element of representation* in its underlying philosophy. The principle of representation was ingrained in the Act in the form that few members of the governed individuals will be part of the law-making body. Thus, this was the first legal provision under the British Indian administration where, a glimpse of the principle of *corrective reservations* is noticed. This was an attempt to correct the anomaly of the exclusion of Indians in the process of their own governance. With subsequent Acts brought by the brought by British Parliament, this principle got emphasis furthermore.

In the Indian Council Act of 1892, the number of additional members, i.e., non-official Indian members, further increased in both Central Legislative Council and Provincial Legislative Council, but the official majority remained intact. This Act made the provision for the nomination of Indian members by means of recommendation. In Central Legislative Council, the members were nominated by the recommendations of Provincial Legislative Councils and Bengal

Chamber of Commerce. The members of Provincial Legislative Councils were nominated on the recommendations based on district boards, municipalities, chambers, Zamindars, universities and trade associations. Thus, this Act introduced the elements of the indirect election though not using the term election directly.

Phule's Statement for Information of Education Commission, 1882

After the British Crown took over the affairs of India, the British Government appointed the Hunter Commission (1882-83) to review the progress of education in India since Wood's Dispatch of 1854. Jyotirao Phule made a representation to the Hunter Education Commission to inform about the state of affairs of education from his experiences arising out of his work in the field of education in Poona and surrounding villages. He stated that the educational system and practices in India are governed by Hindu religious systems. Reach of education was mostly limited to Brahmins and other upper castes. In such a scenario, the Government's expenditure on higher education was reaching only to already privileged sections and leaving the masses "*wallowing in ignorance and poverty*". The natural consequence of pursuance of such a policy, he further states, is "*the virtual monopoly of all the higher offices under them by Brahmins*", and in the present system, there is no representation of lower Caste in the offices and administration is possible. He further opined that with the sprinkling of other Castes in the administration, the hosts of the abuses in the society towards lower castes could be checked.

He further maintained in his submission to commission that "*there exists a lack of primary schools in rural areas. The schools that exist in towns are mostly*

attended by the Brahmins, Purbhoos, trading classes and other hereditary classes who were customarily earning their livelihood by the occupation of the pen. Cultivating castes could not avail facilities in these school due to poverty, and untouchables were not allowed to sit with others due to caste prejudices. Muhammadans also kept away from these schools—they had little inclination to read Marathi or English. There were very few primary schools where their own language was taught. The indigenous schools that exist in villages were mostly run and attended by the Brahmins Castes, were characterised by poor pedagogy and have little utility. Higher education has been the monopoly of a few privileged Castes" (Phule, 106).

He proposed the solution as the opening of schools in the Shudra[22] villages and training teachers from peasants' castes for those schools. As teachers from these castes will be able to mix with students belonging to the lower Castes, and thus, they can better motivate and engage them. There is a need to create awareness of education among lower castes as they have been kept away from education and have little awareness and inclination for the same due to past conditionalities. He emphasised the need for various types of incentives and special provisions till there is an inclination for education and development in these communities.

For the success of such an educational endeavour, he advocates not only the State-funded primary education to all by the communities and trained teachers

[22] Shudra is the fourth Varna in the Hindu religion, other three being, Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. The main duty of the Shudras according to religious scriptures is the *Service of First three Varnas (i.e. Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas).* The Castes that are mostly engaged in manual labour, traditional skilled and astisan works (e.g., Carpentery, Pottery, Metal Craft, Barber etc), agrifulture and cattle rearing, fishery etc are considered as Shudras. Today, most of the Shudra Castes are grouped under Other Backward Classes (OBCs) by governments.

but also to increase the utility of the education by overhauling the syllabus and pedagogy along with the provision of scholarships, incentives and prizes.

Phule was the first person who officially put forth the demand for mass primary education and separate schools for poor and depressed class, and for having trained teachers from depressed communities. His statement also included an appeal with emphasis for special care to be given to female primary education.

Thus, Phule's statement made to the education commission was one of the earliest propositions based on the principle of social inclusion and social justice. His arguments for the massification of primary education and enabling access to higher education for depressed castes was not only derived from the poor material conditions of such Castes due to lack of education but also their conspicuous absence in the government jobs and offices, which makes the system to maintain and replicate the existing oppressive social system. The education will not only kindle the awareness but also make them employable to Government which will put a check on the systemic repression.

Hunter commission paid due attention to his Statement. In its recommendation, it put emphasis on the need for the State's special care to improve and extend primary education. The need for education for women was duly considered and found a place in the list of recommendations.

Demand for Representation in the Travancore State

In the latter half of the 19th century, the discontent among the *Malyali* speaking Nair Caste was brewing against the non-native Brahmins in the Travancore State as the latter hold the majority of positions in the Travancore State administration (Shaji 2018). Nairs were the equally educated community as

Brahmins but not represented enough in the offices of the State. They accused the Dewan of the State for the unfair recruitment policy and discrimination. They roped some other communities, viz. Syrian Christians, Ezhavas etc., in their support and demanded representation for educated natives in the State offices. On the 1st of January 1891, they submitted *Malyali Memorial* to the Maharaja of the Travancore. This memorial was signed by more than ten thousand persons of various Caste and occupations. The memorial was submitted on behalf of Malyali Sabha, which was the organisation of *Malyali* speaking natives but chiefly consisting of persons of Nair Caste. The memorialists demanded corrective action from the Maharaja to ensure that educated and capable natives are well represented in the State offices.

The member of Travancore Ezhava Sabha submitted a Memorial to Maharaja of Travancore on the 3rd of September 1896, which was signed by more than thirteen thousand people (Nair 1979). This memorial is also known as the Ezhava memorial. Ezhavas demanded the jobs for Ezhavas in the State services, opening of new schools for them and permission to attend existing schools. This memorial also demanded the treatment of Ezhavas at par with their brethren, who converted to Christianity.

Ezhavas also submitted another memorial to Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, in 1900, demanding the steps to be taken for the welfare of the community.

These were one of the earliest demand for representation and social justice at the community level in the State.

Reservation for Backward Castes in Kolhapur State

Rajarshi Shahu of Kohlapur State introduced reservations for the backward classes on the 26th of July, 1902. This was the first instance of the implementation of legal quota-based reservations in not only Kolhapur State but the whole of India. The administrative order passed to introduced reservations published in Kolhapur State Gazette reads:

> "His Highness is pleased to direct that from the date of this order, 50% of the vacancies that may occur shall be fixed by recruits from among the backward classes. In all offices in which the proportion of backward classes is at present less than 50%, the next appointment shall be given to a member of those classes."
>
> (Karveer Government Gazette ,Part 1, Dated 26th July 1902)[23]

Except for Brahmins, Shenvis, Prabhu and Parsis, all other Castes and classes were considered backward classes; they were not adequately represented in the services of the State. When Shahu ascended to the throne of Kolhapur (1894), he found that in the State administrative department, 67 were Brahmins out of 71 posts (94.37%). Similarly, in the ruler's private administration, 46 were Brahmins out of 53 posts i.e., 87.79% (Ghadyalpatil 2018). This led him to introduce a 50% reservation to ensure balance in the administration in terms of the representation of all sections.

Apart from reservations, he took a host of other affirmative actions for the welfare and upliftment of the depressed and backwards sections of his State. He introduced the system of Free and Compulsory primary education for all,

[23] Pawar 2018, 31-33.

thus breaking the dominance of few Castes. For higher education, a number of scholarships were introduced for backward classes. Under his aegis, various new schools and separate hostels were opened for backward classes, including Muslims, Christians and Jains (Tamhane and Kunte 1979, v).

Shahu not only introduced reservations but followed them in letter and spirit. By the end of his tenure in 1922, the share of Backward classes in general administration rose to 62.11% from the 1894 level of 5.63% (Ghadyalpatil 2018). Similarly, in private administrative staff, it rose to 71.71%, which was merely 13.21% in 1894 (ibid.).

Shahu assisted Ambedkar in his endeavours. His actions impacted and inspired Ambedkar's thoughts and actions. The initial articulation and implementation of the reservation and affirmative action policies for the advancement of the backwards classes by Shahu were later further developed and advocated by Ambedkar, which led to the introduction of these in the Constitution of free India.

Government of India Act of 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms)

The Government of India Act of 1909, which is also known as the Morley-Minto Reforms (after the name of Lord Morley, who was the then *Secretary of the State* for India and Lord Minto, who was the then *Viceroy of India*), was the first Act of British Parliament for the governance of India which introduced the provision of representation of diverse sections of India (in a limited manner) in both Central and Provincial legislative councils. This Act imbibed the principle of reservations in the process of ensuring the representation of the Indians in the law-making bodies.

The provision of the *separate electorate* was first time introduced in this Act. It was granted to the Muslims of India. Apart from separate electorates for Muslims and General electorates, this Act provided a Class electorate that had provisions for the representation of presidency corporations, universities, zamindars and chamber of commerce.

This Act also contained the provision of association of Indian members to the Executive Councils of Governors and Viceroy. Thus, Indians were, for the first time, part of the executive under British India. Now Indians were part of both executive a legislative wing of the Government. *Satyendra Nath Sinha* was the first Indian who became a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

After the introduction of sperate electorates for Muslims in 1909 reforms, in the Lucknow Pact of 1916, Congress also formally accepted the Muslim League demand for the separate electorate for Muslims.

On the 20th of August 1917, the British Government issued a Statement declaring its policy towards the Governance of India. The statement thus reads:

> "The policy of His Majesty's government with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". (Danzig 1968)

The then Secretary of State for India, Edwin Samuel Montagu, visited India in November 1917 and discussed the issues related to constitutional reforms in India with prominent Indian leaders and various stakeholders, based on which he produced a report on Indian Constitutional Reform. This report became the

basis for the next Act of the British Parliament, which further expanded the provisions of the separate electorate in India.

Government of India Act of 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms)

Following the August 2017 statement, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1919 to further its agenda of Constitutional reforms. The scheme of separate electorate introduced in 1909 act was further expanded under 1919 reforms. Now, apart from Muslims, the separate electorate was also extended to Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans. Apart from expanding the communal representation, the 1919 Act also introduced the limited Franchise on the basis of property, tax or education.

This Act also contained the provisions in itself to evaluate the working of the Act after ten years and appointment of a statutory commission for the same. Simon Commission was appointed later in 1927 under the provisions of this Act which produced its report in 1930. The Simon Commission report became the basis for deliberations in three roundtable conferences held in London in the years 1930-32. Based on the deliberations of three roundtable conferences, the "White Paper on Constitutional Reforms" was prepared and submitted to the Select Committee of British Parliament. This White Paper and the recommendations of the Select Committee majorly influenced the next critical Act for the governance of India, i.e., the Government of India Act of 1935.

Ambedkar's Statement to the Southborough Committee on Franchise

Southborough committee on Franchise was appointed in January 1919, tasked by the British to decide on the matters of election constituencies and Franchise for British India, keeping in mind upcoming Montagu- Chelmsford reforms.

Ambedkar made a representation to the Committee putting forth his demands of adequate and proportionate representation for untouchables in legislative councils. In his memorandum submitted to Committee, he maintained that "*popular Government only made of representation of views but also it must ensure personal representation*" (i.e., for a government to be called people's government, it must fulfil two criteria; *firstly*, the views of the different sections of the people must be represented, and *secondly* this representation of the views of the different sections shall be represented by persons of that section). He further says, "*the significant fact about the Hindus is that before they are Hindus, they are members of some caste* (Ambedkar 2014, 249)." And, "*the social distance and divisions between touchable and untouchable Hindus are stark and unmistakably significant (Ibid).*" He says untouchables have faced and are suffering great social tyranny. They must have their men in councils to represent and secure their interest, and their interest can not be secured by representation through touchable or Brahmins. He argues for separate electorates for untouchables and "*low-pitched franchise*"[24] than others. Keeping similar property, income and educational qualifications for Franchise to untouchables and denying opportunities for accumulation of material wealth and education is "*adding insult to injury*". He saw communal representation as "a device to ward off the evil effects of the divisions." He proposes for communal

[24] The Right to Vote and Stand in Elections was not universal but qualified in previous Act (viz. Governemt of India Act 1909), i.e, franchise was limited. Not all the residents/subjects/citizens of British India had Right to Vote. The person eligible to be included in electoral roll and to have Right to Stand in Elections and Right to Vote must have to fullfill certin property ownership, tax paying or educational criteria. Since instances of property ownership, tax paying and education among untouchable communities were very less, he demaded "*Low Pitched Franchise"* for untouchables i.e., for untouchable communities the criterion for possession of property, land, tax paying and education shall be lower in comnpared to other communities. *Low Pithced Franchise* will ensure that more and more persons from Untouchable community shall be eligible to have Right to Vote.

electorates for untouchables as far as their lives are governed by Hindu social divisions. He stated, “if caste is an attitude and it is nothing else, it must be said to be dissolved when that particular attitude symbolising the caste is dissolved (ibid. 267).” Communal representation will bring the representative of diverse castes which were separated and isolated, having no social endosmosis, will work together in councils, and thus will be thrown into active participation and associated life. “An active participation in an associated life, in its turn, will not leave unaffected the dispositions and attitudes of those who participate (ibid. 266)”.

Ambedkar’s demands were not accepted by the British, but his examination by the Southborough committee was formal acceptance of Ambedkar’s stature in Indian politics. This established him as an authoritative representative voice of untouchables/depressed sections of India. Later on, it was his activities and efforts that were instrumental in shaping the evolution of Indian reservation policy.

Legislative Council Resolutions and Government Orders of Madras State

Under the provisions of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms (Government of India Act,1919), provincial elections were held in provinces of British India. In the Madras State, the Justice Party won the majority of seats and formed Government. Justice Party ideology chiefly revolved around Tamil-Pride and anti-Brahminism. Rajaraman (1988) writes that this was the rare and first instance in the Madras State when lower castes “*have asserted themselves against the intellectual oligarchy of the upper caste and have seized political*

power in their own hands". Social Justice was one of the top priority agenda for the Justice Party.

The Madras State government introduced *the communal representation resolution* in the Legislative Council. The resolution was passed after the debate; 59 votes were in its favour and 29 against it (Selvamani 2018). This was the first instance in the history of India that a legislative body had passed legislation in favour of reservations.

The State government passed a series of *Government Orders (G.O.* hereafter*)* in order to put into effect the above-mentioned communal representation resolution. First of such G.O. was the Government Order number 613, issued on the 16th of September, 1921. This government order made the first enforceable provision made by any elected government in India about providing reservation to various communities. This G.O. no. 613 reads as "*In order to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by Non-Brahmins, the Government direct that the principle prescribed for the Revenue Department in Board's Standing Order No 128 (2), on the subject of the distribution of the appointments among various castes and communities, should be extended to appointments of all grades in the several departments of the Government*" (Dhanabal 2015). Under this order, the seats were to be distributed among six communities viz. Brahmins, non-Brahmin Hindus, Indian Christians, Muslims, Europeans, Anglo- Indians and others (Selvamani 2018).

Second communal G.O. no. 658 was passed by Madras Government on the 15th of August 1922, which further widened the provisions for the Backward Castes representation in the various government offices of all kinds of posts.

And finally, the third communal G.O. was issued in 1927 for the purposes of increasing representation of various communities. After the third communal G.O., the reservation was provisioned for various communities into five categories. Out of every 12 seats, five seats were reserved for Non-Brahmin Hindus (42%), two seats for Brahmins (17%), two seats for Muslims (17%), two seats for Anglo Indians and Christians (17%) and one seat for others including the depressed classes (7%) (Chandran 2011). This scheme of division of seats continued in Tamil Nadu till 1947. In 1947, another communal G.O. was passed, which separated the Non-Brahmin Backward Hindus from Non-Brahmin Hindus on the basis of educational backwardness.

Simon Commission and Nehru Committee Report

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms (Government of India Act, 1919) contained the provisions of the assessment of the working of the Act after ten years of this Act being in force. For this purpose, in November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a seven-member *Indian Statutory Commission* under the chairmanship of *Sir John Simon* to review and assess the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and suggest the outline for future constitutional reforms. This Commission is popularly known as *Simon Commission* after the name of its chairman. Simon Commission constituted of all-white British Members. This created a lot of discontents and irked Indian leaders, as the composition of this Commission implies that Indians were not allowed to decide their fate by themselves. Earlier to this, in 1925, Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India, also challenged in House of Lords that "…*let them [Indians] produce a constitution which carries behind it a*

fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India... (Singh 1941)."

So, in response to Lord Birkenhead challenge and protest against the all-white Simon Commission, an All-Party Conference in February 1928, which met at Madras, appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to draft the Constitution of India. The British response to this development was that since Simon Commission was a purely Parliamentary Commission (so only members of the British Parliament could be its members); Indians could not be included. Once this Commission submits its findings and recommendations, a Round Table Conference would be organised in London, which would include the representative Indians to deliberate and discuss the Commission's report and future constitutional reforms.

The Nehru Committee produced its report in August 1928. The draft constitution produced by Nehru Committee rejected the idea of the separate electorate in toto, proposed reserved seats with the joint electorate for Muslims both at the centre and in the provinces where they were in the minority. Regarding depressed classes (untouchables) representation, the Committee said, "*In our suggestions for the Constitution, we have not made any special provision for the representation of the 'Depressed' Classes in the legislatures. This (representation of Depressed Classes) could only be done by way of special electorates or by nomination*[25]." But the Committee found the above two suggested methods for representation of untouchables (through nomination or special electorates) *harmful and unsound,* thus they were not recommended

[25] All Parties Conference Report, 1928, 59-60.

for use either. The Nehru Committee was of the opinion that Depressed Classes do not need any special provisions, as the bill of rights (the fundamental rights proposed in the report) will act as a panacea for all their issues and problems. Nehru committee met all kinds of organisations before finalising its report, including Muslim, Parsi, Christian, Sikh, Anglo-Indian organisations. But it neither invited Ambedkar or any other organisation run by any other depressed classes members organisations which then around formed one-fifth of the total Indian population. Interestingly, in 1916, the Southborough committee has already interviewed Ambedkar on the matters of Franchise.

On the other hand, eighteen Depressed Classes Organisations submitted their memorandum to the Simon Commission. Ambedkar submitted his memorandum to Commission on behalf of *Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha*. Sixteen out of eighteen depressed class organisations demanded the *Separate Electorate* for the untouchables (depressed classes), whereas Ambedkar put forward the conditional demand for Joint Electorates with Reservation of Seats for Depressed Classes.

As Simon Commission was entrusted to look into the workings of the *Government of India Act 1919*, Ambedkar, in his memorandum to Simon Commission, highlighted the injustice that has been meted out to Depressed Classes in the 1919 Act. He pointed out that Montagu-Chelmsford Report recognised with respect to the issues pertaining to the Depressed Classes and remarked that, "*a feature of Indian Society which is out of harmony with the ideas on which elsewhere in the world representative institutions rest*

(Ambedkar 2014, 430)[26]". The report also suggests that these peculiarities of Indian society "*have to be taken into account and they must lead us to adjust the forms of popular Government familiar elsewhere to the special conditions of Indian life (ibid., 430)"*. Based on these premises, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report concludes that *the best arrangements for the representation of the Depressed Classes should be made,* and the British should be helping hand to them if their interests suffer in the general progress. Ambedkar points out that all these promises "*were thrown to the wind*", and no adequate provisions were made to ensure the representation of the Depressed Classes and to safeguard their interests in the 1919 Act.

Ambedkar put forward the demand of representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislature through the means of election, in the joint electorate with the system of reservation of seats for depressed classes provided there is provision for universal adult suffrage. And in case of non-availability of universal adult suffrage, he demanded separate electorates for the depressed classes. Regarding mode of representation in the Assembly, he was categorically in opposition to the extension of the system of nomination for the Depressed Classes and argued that *"Election is not only correct in principle from the standpoint of responsible Government, but is also necessary in practice from the standpoint of political education (ibid., 439)"* for the people. He further maintains that "*no community is more in need of such education than Depressed Classes.*" Another reason he insists upon election is that *"under responsible Government nominated members must continue to be ineligible for*

[26] "STATEMENT submitted by *Dr. Bhimrao R. Ambedkar* on behalf of the *Bahishkrita Hitakarini Sabha* to the *Indian Statutory Commission*, 29th May 1928 (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 2*, 430)."

office. A system of representation like that of nomination which deprives the Depressed classes of this right must stand self-condemned (ibid., 439)."

In the memorandum submitted to Simon Commission, Ambedkar enunciates the principles that should be taken into consideration while deciding the extent of representation for a minority community (number of representatives to be decided for any minority in the house). He maintained that *"population is a measure by which to evaluate the representation that is to be granted to any community (ibid., 435)"*, but "*It must, however, be recognised that the strength of the community cannot be taken as the sole factor in determining matters of this sort. The standing of a community is no less an important factor to be taken into account in determining its quota of representation (ibid., 437)."* By standing of the community, he meant *"power of a community to defend itself in the social struggle"*, and such power necessarily emanates from "*the educational and economic status of the community"*. Relying on the above principle, he concludes that *"the lower the standing of a community the greater is the electoral advantage it must get over the rest".* Ambedkar's demand to Simon Commission is summed up in his own words:

> The representation of a minority, if it is to protect the minority, must also be effective. If not, it would be a farce. To escape this reproach it must be recognised that *if a minority is to be protected then there must be enough representatives of the minority to save it from being entirely submerged*. To put the same thing in the form of a proposition, the effectiveness of a minority representation depends upon its being large enough to have the sense of not being entirely overwhelmed. In claiming this extra representation the Depressed classes, the Sabha thinks, are entitled to invoke this principle in their favour, in common with the rest of the minorities in the country (ibid., 438).

In addition to the representation in the Legislature, Ambedkar also demanded the constitutional guarantee of protection of Civil Rights (to be included as fundamental rights in the Constitution) of the Depressed Classes as a minority. For such a guarantee to be effective, he proposed certain prepositions to be accepted. The Government should make arrangements for the education of Depressed Classes. A just share of the fund should be allocated for the purpose. There should be no limitation based on Caste to be recruited in the Army, Navy or Police. Priority recruitment of Depressed Classes in all posts, including gazetted or non-gazetted in all Civil Services for 30 years, shall be recognised. Depressed Classes shall have the right to be represented in the local bodies. And, there also shall be a provision to appeal to the Central Government in case of violation of their rights by Provincial Governments.

Finally, in May 1930, the Simon Commission submitted its report. Despite Nehru Reports recommendation of the abolition of the separate electorate, the Commission recommended continuing separate electorates. The Commission was of the opinion that the Nehru Report was not an agreed proposal. Various sections were unhappy with the Nehru Report for one or other reasons, which not only included Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Sikhs, Depressed Classes but also some sections of Congress, including those led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Bose.

First Round Table Conference

British Government invited Indian leaders representing various sections of India to discuss the future constitutional reform at a Round Table Conference (RTC, henceforth) in London. The RTC consisted of 89 members, which included

representatives of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Indian States (the Princely States in India), Depressed Classes (Untouchables) and representatives of the British Government, among others. Congress Party did not participate in the First RTC owing to participation in the *Civil Disobedience Movement* under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. RTC was the historic moment for the Depressed Classes. It was the first time in the last two thousand years of the history of India; they were being consulted in the framing of the Constitution (sharing of power) at par with others.

On the 12th of November 1930, the Conference was inaugurated. Ramsay McDonald (the then Prime Minister of Britain) was unanimously chosen as the President of the Conference. The President in the inaugural speech said that British Government is determined to solve the Indian Problem, and this Conference is going to make new history. In the general session, which took place from 17th to 21th of November 1930, various eminent leaders made their speech, including Maharaja of Bikaner, Jayakar, Sapru, Jinnah, Moonje and Ambedkar, among others.

Ambedkar, the representative of Depressed Classes, at the outset of his speech, declared that he is representing the views of one-fifth of the Indian Population, which is approximately equal to the population of France or Britain. In unequivocal terms, he expressed his disaffection towards the British Government in India while stating the positions of untouchables:

> "When we compare our present position with the one which it was our lot to bear in Indian society of pre-British days, we find that, instead of marching on, we are marking time. Before the British, we were in the loathsome condition due to our Untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove it? Before

> the British, we could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured us the right to the well? Before the British, we could not enter the temple? Can we enter now? Before the British, we were denied entry into the Police Force. Does the British Government admit us into the force? Before the British. we were not allowed to serve in the Military. Is that career now open to us? To none of these questions can we give an affirmative answer. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away. (Ambedkar 2014, 75)[27]"

Based on the above premises, he emphatically remarked that the British Government is of no use for untouchables. Putting forward the demand of Untouchables, he states that no miracle can solve their problems and only the *Political Power* in their own hand can alleviate their sufferings. He argues for the Swaraj, in which untouchables are given their due share.

After the general discussions, the Conference appointed nine sub-committees to make detailed and effective deliberations. Minorities sub-committee, one of such committees, was to discuss the rights and claims of various minorities and communities in the future Constitution of India. Ramsay McDonald himself chaired this Committee. Ambedkar submitted a detailed memorandum to the minorities sub-committee titled "*A Scheme of Political Safeguards for the Protection of the Depressed Classes in the Future Constitution of a self-governing India*.[28]" In this scheme, Ambedkar put forwarded a total of *eight conditions*, on the acceptance of which only depressed classes will "*consent to place themselves under a majority rule in a self-governing India*."

[27] "Role of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Bringing the Untouchables on the Political Horizon of India And Laying a Foundation of Indian Democracy (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 17 Part 1*, 75)."
[28] In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 2*, 546-554

The *first condition* was EQUAL CITIZENSHIP at par with others. He mentioned this could be ensured by mentioning certain *fundamental rights* of equal civic rights available to all, including untouchables. The remedy to Untouchability shall not be left to anyone's will and shall be an accomplished fact before majority rule is established. The *second condition* was FREE ENJOYMENT OF EQUAL RIGHTS. He stated that the mere declaration of equal citizenship is not enough for untouchables to enjoy equal rights. They have to face orthodox society in their day-to-day engagements. Hence, for untouchables to enjoy equal rights, there should be adequate penalties if they are interfered in the exercise of their rights. This must include protection against the cruel system of *social boycott* (ostracisation). The *third condition* was PROTECTION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION in acquiring and disposing of property, attainment of education and employment, access to public facilities and accommodation, against the imposition of disability in matters of religion and faith, and in accessing the full and equal benefit of all laws.

The *fourth and fifth conditions* include ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATURE AND SERVICES. The representation in Legislature by means of separate electorate for initial ten years and reserved seats in joint electorate accompanied by adult suffrage thereafter. Due to prejudicial Hindu society, Officers in charge of Law and administration could not be expected to be impartial; he demanded breaking the Caste Hindu monopoly by making adequate provisions for the representation of untouchables in the Services of the State.

The *sixth and seventh condition* include the provisions for REDRESS AGAINST PREJUDICIAL ACTION OR NEGLECT OF INTERESTS and SPECIAL

DEPARTMENTAL CARE for the depressed classes. The *eighth condition* was about the ROLE OF DEPRESSED CLASSES IN CABINET. He stated that merely making laws and raising grievances in the Legislature is not enough. The depressed classes should be given a role in the Cabinet so that they can contribute to the general policy making of the Government of the day.

The first RTC was closed on the 19th of January, 1931, after discussing and recording the reports of each sub-committee. This was followed by the debate in the House of Commons of British Parliament. The grievances of depressed classes found sympathies of the house. From the perspective of the depressed classes, the first RTC was a huge success. First time in the history of the world, the insufferable conditions of the untouchable classes in India were exposed and discussed on a world stage. Media outlets in Europe and the United States highlighted their conditions. On the 30th of November, the *New York Times* covered a story on the screaming front page with the title '*Dr. Ambedkar Leads Fight to Free 43,000,000 in India from Ancient Fetters*' (Vundru 2017). The minority sub-committee and federal structure committee accepted the demands of depressed classes and passed them. Claims of untouchables found a due place in the proceedings of the Conference.

Second Round Table Conference

In the second week of July 1931, the names of delegates for the second round of RTC was announced. This times Gandhi too was participating in the deliberations of RTC as the sole representative of Congress Party. *Gandhi-Irwin Pact*, the result of talks between Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India and Mahatma Gandhi, ensured the suspension of the *Civil Disobedience Movement*

and participation of Congress in the 2nd round of RTC. The Conference was scheduled to open on the 7th of September, 1931. The second RTC has a total of 112 delegates. This session does not open with the full general Assembly, but sitting of various committees was held. This time the reports of the first session were to be re-examined and amplified. The minority sub-committee and federal structure committee were the most important of all, which has to deal with the communal questions, reservations, provincial autonomy and issues related to the federation.

Gandhi made his first speech in Conference in the meeting of the federal structure committee on the 15th of September 1931. He claimed that Congress represents all the Indian interests, including Muslims, Depressed Classes, Women and even Princes, and since he is the sole representative of Congress, he is the representative of the Indian nation. The next day in the same Committee, Gandhi opined that since the representatives were not elected for the Conference but were nominated by the British Government, they do not represent the Indian nation. Speaking against Ambedkar's proposal that the representatives of Indian States to federal Legislature shall be elected by people and not nominated by Maharaja or Princes, as the nomination is against the principle of responsible Government, Gandhi stated that the only Princely States could take a call on that "*Here we have no right, in my humble way, to say to the States what they should do and what they shall not do!*"

Gandhi, from the very outset, had adopted a non-cooperative attitude with the working of the Conference. He, rather than taking part in deliberation, acted as a shrewd politician to stall any consensus and attempted to reverse the gains of the first RTC made, especially in favour of Depressed Classes. He

questioned the claims of Ambedkar as the representatives of Untouchables or Depressed Classes vehemently. He made a case against any kind of separate representation of Untouchables. He maintained:

> "The Congress has reconciled itself to special treatment of the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh tangle. There are sound historical reasons for it, but the Congress will not extend that doctrine in any shape or form. I listened to the list of special interests. So far as the Untouchables are concerned, I have not yet quite grasped what Dr. Ambedkar has to say, but of course, the Congress will share the onus with Dr. Ambedkar of representing the interests of the Untouchables. The interests of the Untouchables are as dear to the Congress as the interests of any other body or of any other individual throughout the length and breadth of India. Therefore, I would most strongly resist any further special representation (Ambedkar 2014, 111)[29]."

This was a direct declaration of war by Gandhi and Congress against what Ambedkar was proposing and seeking to achieve for the Depressed Classes. To this, Ambedkar responded as with this declaration, "*Mr. Gandhi has made clear what he intends to do in the minorities sub-committee, which is the main forum to discuss this issue*".

Minorities sub-committee sat for the first time in the second session of RTC on the 28th of September, 1931. Gandhi asked for the adjournment as he wanted to discuss informally with Muslims and reach some consensus about the separate representation of Muslims. Referring to the adjournment motion, Ambedkar remarked that last time he had made clear about the claims of untouchables, and regarding them, the only issue that left to the discussion is

[29] "Role of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Bringing the Untouchables on the Political Horizon of India And Laying a Foundation of Indian Democracy (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 17 Part 1*, 111)."

the determination of quantum of representation in the different legislatures and concluded his speech with a warning, "*I want to say most emphatically that whoever claims weightage and whoever is willing to give that weightage he must not give it—he cannot give it—out of my share (ibid., 113)*."

The talks among Muslim leaders continued for almost a week. Gandhi secretly agreed (as the then newspapers reported) to the *fourteen point demands* of Muslims, but talks failed on Sikh-Muslim question. On the 8th of October, 1931, Gandhi informed the minorities sub-committee that he has failed to reach an agreed solution on the communal question through informal talks. He further stated that the reason for the failure has been that the delegated to the Conference are not the true representative of the communities that they purport to represent. Therefore, he demanded the adjournment of the discussions for *sine die.*

Gandhi's attitude irked many delegates present there but in particular Ambedkar. Ambedkar rose to respond to him and stated in unequivocal terms:

> "What disturbs me, after hearing Mr. Gandhi, is that instead of confining himself to his proposition, namely, that the Minorities Committee should be adjourned sine die, he started casting reflections upon the representatives of the different communities who are sitting round this Table. He said that the delegates were the nominees of Government, and that they did not represent the views of their respective communities for whom they stood, we cannot deny the allegation that we are nominees of the Government, but speaking for myself, I have not the slightest doubt that even if the Depressed Classes of India were given the chance of electing their representatives to this Conference, I would all the same, find a place here. I say therefore, that whether I am a nominee or not, I fully represent

> the claims of my community. Let no man be under any mistaken impression as regards that (ibid. 115)."

In a letter to *Times of India,* on 12th of October, 1931, Ambedkar revealed about these events that Mr. Gandhi has made a secret deal with Muslims that in lieu of his support to their *fourteen points demand* he expects them to oppose the claims of Depressed Classes and other smaller minorities for separate representation. He further observed that "*Gandhi's diabolical way of playing one community against another was now quite clear!*"

Interesting events were unfolding back home, in India, while all these deliberations were going on in London. Depressed Classes had launched the *temple entry movement* at Nasik and at Guruvayur, which were met strict opposition from orthodox Hindus. These events were reported in the *London Times.* The Nasik Satyagraha and its reportage in London added much timely weight to the views of the Ambedkar.

To the utter dislike of Gandhi, all the minorities viz. Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christens, Anglo-Indians and Europeans carved out a consensus among themselves and submitted a joint memorandum to the minorities sub-committee. This Pact demanded separate seats for Depressed Classes in Hindu constituencies and separate seats for Muslims, Depressed Classes, Indian Christens, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

Gandhi was very disappointed with these developments. He was very consistent in his position that he would not concede separate representation for any minority except Sikhs and Muslims. He stated that:

> "'I do not mind Untouchables, if they so desire, being converted to Islam or Christianity. I should tolerate that, but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages. Those who speak of the political right of Untouchables do not know their India, do not know how Indian Society is today constructed, and therefore *I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing I would resist it with my life*[30]."

Realising the impasse and the unlikelihood of further discussion on this subject, Ambedkar, along with his colleague Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan, submitted a supplementary memorandum in addition to the memorandum submitted last time to the minority sub-committee explaining the claims of Depressed Classes, outlining the principles that could be employed in determining the quantum of representation of untouchables in the various legislatures and services.

Sensing this hostile situation, Ramsay McDonald observed that consensus seems impossible to reach, and in such an eventuality, he suggested to all the parties that whatever solution he will propose to the communal question, all parties are requested to accept. All parties signed this requisition, including Gandhi. Ambedkar refused to agree to this and didn't sign and stated that he believes his demands are just. And thus, the 2nd RTC adjourned in a fiasco as far as Ambedkar was concerned on the 31st of December 1931.

[30] "Proceedings of the Federal Structure Committee and Minorities Committee, Vol. I, 1356-58 (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 2*, 663)."

Communal Award and Poona Pact

As decided at the end of the second RTC that if the mutually agreed solution of minorities issues is not reached, the British Government will decide a provisional solution, which shall be accepted by all parties. So due to the failure of talks at 2nd RTC, British President Ramsay McDonald took this task and, on the 17th of August 1932, announced his decision on the question of minorities representation. This is popularly known as *Communal Award.*

The Award considered Depressed Classes as a minority and granted Separate Electorate for them. Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans already had representation by means of the separate electorate in Montagu-Chelmsford reforms; and this situation was continued. Depressed Classes were granted certain seats to be elected by means of the separate electorate in the *Provincial Legislature*. Consideration of their representation in the Central Legislature was deferred. Depressed Classes were given *Double Vote.* They were qualified to vote in the General Constituency. So, in every Provincial Election, they were to cast one vote for the Candidate selected through the Separate Electorate and other Vote in the General Constituency also.

Most of the Hindu national leaders in their individual capacity vehemently opposed the Priemer's Award. Congress party, though, neither accepted nor rejected the Award (Rajiv and Kalpana 2016). Gandhi announced that as per his earlier stand, he would oppose the political separation of Untouchables from Hindus with his life. Gandhi refused to accept the Award, despite the fact that he was a signatory of the requisition that he will accept the decision of the British

Government if a mutually agreed solution is not achieved among different Indian communities.

On the 18th of August 1932, the next day to the announcement of the Communal Award, Gandhi wrote to the British Prime Minister from Yervada Central Prison and reiterated his stand of resisting this decision of British with his life. He stated that he is undertaking "a perpetual fast unto death" till the British do not withdraw or revise their decision or start the process of the same during the course of fast. He wrote:

> "It may be that my judgment is warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding Separate Electorates for the Depressed Classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so, I am not likely to be in the right with reference to other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case, my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from off these numberless men and women who have childlike faith in my wisdom. Whereas if my judgment is right, as I have little doubt it is, the contemplated step is but due to the fulfilment of the scheme of life which I have tried for more than a quarter of a century, apparently not without considerable success[31]."

He proposed that the said fast will come into operation from the afternoon of the 20th of September 1932, provided the Award is not withdrawn or revised in the given time.

On the 23rd of August 1932, Ambedkar issued his Statement on Communal Award from Bombay. He criticised the Award on the account that the number of seats allocated to depressed classes in the provincial legislatures has been scaled down to insignificant proportions. He found it shocking that in Punjab

[31] **"**Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches**, Vol. 9, 82-83."**

State, no seats were allocated to depressed classes where their situation is most precarious. Ambedkar wrote to Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State for India, regarding his grievances to the Communal Award and sought clarification to certain provisions of the Award.

When asked to his comment on Gandhi's proposed fast, Ambedkar replied his this Act against the rights of Depressed Classes is not justifiable. He declared:

> "This threat of Mr. Gandhi to starve himself to death is not a moral fight but only a political move. I can understand a person trying to negotiate with his political opponent on equal terms by giving him credit for honesty, but I will never be moved by these methods. My decision stands and if Mr. Gandhi wants to fight with his life for the interests of the Hindu Community the Depressed Classes also will be forced to fight with their lives to safeguard their interests[32]."

The adamant positions of Gandhi and Ambedkar had charged the political atmosphere of the country. Prominent national leaders were organising meetings and public outreach programmes to create public opinion against the Premier's Communal Award. The fast of Mahatma Gandhi was scheduled to start on the 20th of September 1932. Ambedkar wrote to the *Times of India* on the 18th of September in this regard to clarify his position. He wrote to the editors of Times of India where he informed that around eight public meetings against communal Award are being organised by the Emergency Committee in Bombay city and that this action is creating immense pressure on him and his party to launch a counter-campaign in favour of communal Award. On the possibility of any negotiation in such an environment, he wrote:

[32] "The Bombay Chronicle dated 11th September 1932. (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 17 Part 1*, 140)."

> "Those who have been carrying on negotiations with me cannot carry on their propaganda against me and at the same time hope for an amicable settlement as the result of the negotiations. It must be either negotiations or straight fight. Both cannot go together. If the other party insists on their right to carry on propaganda, they will have no right to blame me if my party also decided to carry on propaganda against them[33]."

On the 19th of September 1932, Hindu leader Madan Mohan Malviya along with others, organised a conference to discuss the amicable solution to the communal issue; Ambedkar consented to attend this Conference. On the eve of this Conference, Ambedkar issued a statement to the Press. He stated that:

> "So far as I am concerned, I am willing to consider everything, though I am not willing to allow the rights of the Depressed Classes to be curtailed in any way. It is no use holding a conference in a vacuum or discussing things without any specific data (Keer 2018, 206)."

On the same day, he issued another detailed statement to Press. He said, "*Mahatma's vows to starve himself till death if the British Government either revise or withdraw the communal Award are surprising in the context that Gandhi himself found it of comparatively small importance during RTC negotiations and now has chosen to self-immolate on the same issue*". He further stated it would have more justifiable if Gandhi has taken such an extreme step for the Independence of the country, the issue which he insisted on most through all RTC debates. It is a painful surprise, Ambedkar said, that Mahatma only singled out the separate electorate of Depressed Classes, whereas it is granted to many other communities. He pointed out the deplorable

[33] "The Times of India of 19th September 1932. (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 17 Part 1*, 142)."

conditions of Untouchables and conceded that they are the ones who need the most protection than any other community. He further continued and said this is not the first attempt, Mahatma trying to sabotage the rights of Depressed Classes; Earlier during RTC negotiations, in London, he tried to defeat the causes of Depressed Classes by making a deal with Muslims to oppose any special representation for Untouchables and in lieu of their support he offered to accept their fourteen points demand. Ambedkar credits Muslims delegates for their refusal to be part of such a black deal which otherwise could have been a calamity for Depressed Clauses due to joint force to Mr. Gandhi and Muslims.

In the same statement, Ambedkar further continues, it is not clear what Mahatma wants. Now it appears that he (Gandhi) is opposed to separate electorates for depressed classes but not Joint Electorate and Reserved Seats. But in London, he was vehemently opposed to any kind of special representation to the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar then revealed in the same statement the alternate proposal Gandhi has offered to him during an informal meeting. The proposal was such:

> "Depressed Class candidates might stand in the General Electorate as against other High-Caste Hindu candidates. If any Depressed Class candidate was defeated in the election he should file an election petition and obtain the verdict that he was defeated because he was an Untouchable. If such a decision was obtained, the Mahatma said he would undertake to induce some Hindu members to resign and thus create a vacancy. There would be then another election in which the defeated Depressed Class candidate or any other Depressed Class candidate might again try his luck as against the Hindu candidates. Should he be defeated

> again he should get similar verdict that he was defeated because he was an Untouchable and so on *adinfinitum*[34]."

Ambedkar said he could not accept the assurances of Mahatma Gandhi and leave the fate of the Depressed Classes to the conventions and goodwill of Congress Party and Higher Caste Hindus, which have no abiding force. He famously and unequivocally stated:

> "There have been many Mahatmas in India whose sole object was to remove Untouchability and to elevate and absorb the Depressed Classes; but every one of them has failed in his mission. Mahatmas have come and Mahatmas have gone. But the Untouchables have remained as Untouchables[35]."

He emphatically stated in the same statement:

> "I am bound to insist upon a Statutory Guarantee for the protection of my people. If Mr. Gandhi wishes to have the Communal Award altered, it is for him to put forth his proposals and to prove that they give a better guarantee than has been given to us under the Award[36]."

Ambedkar said he hopes that Gandhi will understand the concerns of Depressed Classes and desist from carrying out the extreme Act he has contemplated. He further observed that whether Gandhi knows or not, his Act will "result in nothing but terrorism by his followers against the Depressed Classes all over the country." In the concluding remarks of his statement, Ambedkar said:

> "I am entitled to say that I regard the matter as closed I am prepared to consider the proposals of the Mahatma. I however, trust the Mahatma will not drive me to

[34] "Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches**,** Vol. 9, 315."
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid. 316.

> the necessity of making a choice between his life and the rights of my people. For I can never consent to deliver my people bound hand and foot to the Caste Hindus for generations to come[37]."

As announced before, the Conference of Hindu leaders organised on the 19th of September 1932, a day before Mahatma Gandhi fast was scheduled to start. Madan Mohan Malviya chaired the Conference. Important leaders of the country were present there. Malviya stated that the purpose of the Conference is to find a solution acceptable to both sides so that the life of Mahatma Gandhi could be saved. Then Malviya requested Dr. Ambedkar to speak.

Ambedkar put forward his views in precise words. He said there is no need for such a Conference. Nevertheless, Mahatma Gandhi has started fast unto death in opposition to our demands. He further stated that he could consider having a look at Gandhi's alternate proposals and till any alternate proposal is not in front of him, he cannot give any opinion. Ambedkar said in straightforward words that he will consider only the proposals of Mahatma Gandhi and not of anybody else. He further put a condition that proposals of Gandhi shall be brought to him by a Higher Caste Hindu among you; he will not entertain an Untouchable leader taking on behalf of Gandhi. He also made it clear that he will not sacrifice the right of his people just to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi. The Conference was adjourned for a day after this.

On the 20th of September 1932, 12 O'clock noon, Mahatma Gandhi started his fast unto death for the revision/withdrawal of the Communal Award. A committee of High Caste Hindus consisting of Madan Mohan Malviya, Tej

[37] "Janata, dated 24th September 1932. (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 17 Part 1*, 150)."

Bahadur Sapru, Jaykar and Mathurdas Wasanji was constituted to negotiate with Ambedkar. It was ironical, as so far Congress and Gandhi were not ready to accept Dr. Ambedkar as representatives of Untouchable Classes, now merely his consent they were seeking as the consent of Depressed Classes for the revision or withdrawal of the Communal Award.

A day after the fast began, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was in Yeravda Jail. Patel was perplexed by Gandhi's insistence on the fast for such a trivial issue of Depressed Classes representation. Gandhi explained his position. He said he could deal with other communities but have no way to deal with *Harijans.* This conversation was recorded by Mahadev Desai. Gandhi said that the possible consequences of the separate electorate to Harijans fills him with horror. Referring to the fellow leaders who were confused about Gandhi's this extreme step, he said, *"They do not realise that the separate electorate will create division among Hindus so much that it will lead to bloodshed. Untouchable hooligans will make common cause with Muslim hooligans and kill caste-Hindus. Has the British Government no idea of all this? I do not think so (Desai 1968, 301)."*

On the 20th of September 1932, the All Hindu Conference met again. Sir Chunnilal put forward the proposals on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi. He stated that Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to the separate electorate for the untouchables, and he is not fully aggregable to Joint Electorate with reserved seats, but if Hindu Conference leaders agree for reserved seats to Untouchables in Joint Electorate, he may give his consent but not necessarily. To this proposal, Ambedkar responded:

> "I tell you I shall not deter from my pious duty, and betray the just and legitimate interests of my people even if you hang me on the nearest lamp-post in the street. The question faced today is not to be solved by succumbing to emotions, but by constitutional means as it involves the countless brethren have been suffering in the slavery for ages. Adherence only to conscience will not be of any help here[38]."

Ambedkar proposed that he needed time to think and consider the proposal, and the Conference should pass a resolution for the deferment of Mahatma's fast by 10-12 days. To this, Malviya replied, this is not possible in any circumstances. At this juncture, the Conference was adjourned till afternoon the next day.

Sensing the precarious situation, senior members of the Conference met at Birla House immediately after the Conference to carve out a solution. Regarding the Reserved Seats in Joint Electorate, Tej Bahadur Sapru proposed a system of Primary and Secondary Elections. His scheme was such: In primary elections on seats reserved for Depressed Classes, only Depressed Classes will vote and select a panel of three candidates; these three candidates will be voted by all voters of the constituency in the joint electorate in the secondary elections and person securing highest vote shall be elected.

In response to Sapru proposal, Ambedkar said he could accept this, provided certain more concessions are granted to Depressed Classes in lieu of loss due to giving up the separate electorate. Hindu leaders agreed to this and made a small committee to consider what Ambedkar was to suggest. After two hours, Ambedkar came with an elaborate scheme. This consisted of two parts. In part

[38] "Janata, dated 1st October 1932. (In *Dr. Babasaheb B. Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol: 17 Part 1*, 153)."

one, it was on the line of Sapru's proposal. He improvised over Sapru's scheme and demanded a panel of two candidates instead of three. He demanded significantly more seats to be reserved than originally proposed in the communal Award (80 seats were to be given to Depressed Classes, Ambedkar asked for 197), and also representation in the Central Legislature, which was not present in the Award. Further, he asked for *Universal Adult Franchise* for the Depressed Classes. The system of primary and secondary elections shall continue for ten years and reservation of seats for further next 15 years. After the expiry of the said period, whether this arrangement shall continue or abolished, shall have to be decided by *referendum* by Depressed Classes. In this system of Primary and Secondary elections, he demanded only for 80 seats as originally in the Award. In the second part of his proposal, he asked for the reservation for depressed classes in local bodies, municipalities, educational institutions, public services etc., in proportion to their population. Apart from this, a sum will be spent in every province for the education of depressed classes. He also demanded the right to make a representation to Governor or President by Depressed Classes, on the line of Section 93 of Canadian Constitution in case of neglect of their rights by the Provincial or Central Government.

Hindu leaders accepted his proposal. Now, this was to put Infront of Gandhi to seek approval. Jaykar, Rajagopalachari, Sapru, Birla and Rajendra Prasad left for Poona for Gandhi's approval. Ambedkar stayed back in Bombay.

On the 21st of September 1932, Sapru intimated the demands of Ambedkar to Gandhi. Gandhi wished to meet Ambedkar before making his final mind. Sapru

telephoned Ambedkar and asked him to visit Poona. Ambedkar agreed to this and decided to leave for Poona by night train.

Late in the evening of 22nd of September 1932, Ambedkar, along with Jaykar, Chunnilal Mehta, Rajagopalachari and Birla, went to Yervada Central Jail to meet Gandhi. It was a brief meeting. In his proposal, Ambedkar had sought the system of primary and secondary elections only on those seats which were part of the Premier's Award. For the additional seats he demanded, he sought only reserved seats in the joint electorate without the system of primary and secondary election. Gandhi suggested extending the panel system and primary and secondary elections to all the seats demanded by Ambedkar, to which Ambedkar readily agreed. Gandhi raised certain objections to part two of Ambedkar's proposal and asked Rajendra Prasad and Rajagopalachari to discuss it with the Committee and inform their decision to him (Vundru 2017). The meeting ended on this note and the leaders went for discussion of other proposals and to decide on technicalities.

On the 23rd of September, the discussions began at Malviya residence. The contentious points to be discussed and finalised were the number of seats to be allocated to depressed classes, time-frame for continuing primary elections, referendum etc. Ambedkar demanded 197 seats in Provincial Assemblies, whereas Hindu leaders offered him 126 seats. After long discussions the issue was referred to Mahatma Gandhi, who favoured Ambedkar's arguments. Ambedkar's demand for Primary elections for ten years, further continuation of reserved seats for the next 15 years and the decision of its termination by referendum was unsettling Hindu leaders. They argued, making it contingent on the wishes of Depressed Classes is to make it permanent. Hindu leaders

sought that such an arrangement that all such special provisions would terminate after some time automatically.

Around 04:00 PM, Gandhi's son Devdas entered the meeting room and announced, "*My father is sinking*" and requested Ambedkar not to press on the referendum to the point that it would stall any agreement. Finally, it was decided to leave this issue to be finalised by Gandhi. At night., around 09:00 PM, Ambedkar, along with few Hindu leaders, went to meet Gandhi in Jail. Gandhi approved the idea of the referendum but asked it be convened after five years. Gandhi was not doing well health-wise; the Jail doctors intervened and stopped the conversation.

Meanwhile, Ambedkar was continuously receiving death threats and that he would face the consequences in case anything happened to Gandhi. On the next morning, i.e., the 24th of September 1932, talks resumed under strenuous conditions. On the number of seats, it was decided to take the mid-point of what both sides was asking for. It was also decided that 10% of Hindu seats of Central Legislature from British India will be reserved for Depressed Classes. Regarding the panel of Depressed Classes candidate to be elected in Primary election, Sapru's proposal suggested *three*, Ambedkar demanded for *two*, whereas Gandhi proposed *five*. Finally, *four* was agreed as a compromise.

The issue of the referendum was most contentious. No party was ready to compromise. Ambedkar, along with Rajagopalachari and Dr. Solanki, again met Gandhi; Gandhi said to Ambedkar, "*your arguments are irrefutable*", but the issue cannot be merely solved by legal means and said in the tone of finality, "*Five years or my life* (Keer 2018, 213)*."*

All three came back to the discussion place. Ambedkar was not ready to yield to this demand and said, not less than ten years in any case. Finally, it was "*decided to make an agreement without any condition of referendum attached to it!" (ibid.)*. Rajagopalachari again went back to Gandhi and explained all agreed points, to which Gandhi said agreed and gave his final consent. He immediately returned to the place of discussion and informed that Gandhi had blessed the agreement. The environment turned jovial. Soon the final draft was prepared and signed around 05:00 PM, the 24th of September 1932.

This Pact is known as Poona-Pact in history. Ambedkar signed on behalf of Depressed Classes, and Madan Mohan Malviya signed on behalf of Higher Caste Hindus. All other dignitaries present there also appended their signature to the agreement.

The content of the Pact was cabled to the British Government in London, which the British Government accepted as the amendment to the Communal Award. These amendments were going to be part of upcoming constitutional reforms for India, which eventually came as the *Government of India Act, 1935.*

After Poona Pact, the third RTC was held in November 1932. Congress re-launched the Civil Disobedience Movement and boycotted the third RTC. Ambedkar attended the third RTC also.

Based on discussions that took place at RTCs, the Joint Select committee of the British Parliament prepared *White Paper on Constitutional Reforms,* which with certain amendments was incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935 (Laxmikanth 2013, 1.7).

Government of India Act, 1935

Government of India Act of 1935 was the most important legislation regarding constitutional reforms in the history of British Rule in India. This Act was a very elaborate document that changed the polity of India forever to come. The importance of this Act can be understood from the fact that a substantial portion of the *Constitution of Independent India* was based on the provisions of this Act. The Simon Commission Report, Round Table Conference Deliberations and Poona – Pact Negotiations have a major influence on the provisions of the Act.

This Act widened the provisions of special representations and was available to Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, the interest of Commerce and Industry, interest of Landholders, interests of Labourers and Women.

The system of Primary and Secondary elections for the Depressed Classes was extended to both Central and Provincial Legislatures, as agreed in the Poona-Pact and was made part of the Act. The word “Scheduled Castes” was used in place of Depressed Classes. The term ‘Scheduled Castes’ was defined in the Act as “such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes, being castes, races, tribes, parts or groups, which appear to His Majesty in Council to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as " the depressed classes", as His Majesty in Council may specify.”

Most importantly this act deepened the foundations of electoral democracy in India. Two General Elections were held in the year 1937 and 1945, under the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935.

Role of Ambedkar as 'Labour Member' to Viceroy's Executive Council

On the 20th of July 1942, Ambedkar joined the Viceroy's Executive Council. He was asked to take responsibility for the *Portfolio of Labour.* As a labour member, he worked for the welfare of the labour class.

On the 29th of October 1942, he submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy titled 'Grievances of Scheduled Castes' and suggested the measures that shall be taken for the redressal of these grievances. He categorised all grievances of the scheduled castes in three parts, viz. Political, Educational and Others. He also devoted a section of his memorandum about 'Duty of Government towards Distressed people'.

Under *Political Grievances,* he highlighted that there is an inadequate representation of Scheduled Castes in the Central Legislature and Central Executive. There is the total absence of Scheduled Castes in Public Services and no representation in the *Federal Public Service Commission.* He demanded an increase of Scheduled Caste representation in Central Legislature and Central Executive. For representation, he proposed to declare Scheduled Castes as a minority for the purpose of services [government services i.e. government jobs] like Muslims, Sikhs and Christians. *He proposed that in all Central Services, including ICS, 13.5% of the seats of all annual vacancies shall be mandatorily reserved for the Scheduled Castes.* He also demanded raising the age-limit for Scheduled Caste candidates and reducing the exam fee. He also proposed appointing a *Scheduled Caste Officer* to oversee the implementation of these provisions. He sought representation in *Federal Public Service Commission* (this body later become *Union Public*

Service Commission after Independence). He showed that Commission uses the term “Unsuitable” for Scheduled Caste Candidates, and so far, not a single Scheduled Caste candidate has been declared “Suitable” by the Commission, which necessitates the representation of Scheduled Caste member in Commission.

Under educational grievances, he highlighted the non-accessibility of Science and Engineering Educational and the almost impossibility of Advance Foreign Education for Scheduled Caste students. For the redressal of this, he demanded a scholarship for Scheduled Castes students of Rs. 2 Lakhs per annum for Science and Engineering education and Rs. 1 Lakh per annum for Advance Foreign Education in Universities of Europe and the United States of America. He proposed the representation of Scheduled Caste member in the *Central Advisory Board of Education* and sought apprentice facility for Scheduled Caste students in Indian Railway, and Government Printing Presses to increase the employability of students.

The Viceroy paid attention to Ambedkar’s demand and made the provision for reservation of 8.33% of all annual Vacancies for Scheduled Castes in Central Services in 1943. In 1944, the Education Department announced scholarships for Scheduled Castes Students. Further, in 1946, the quantum of reservations for Scheduled Castes was raised to 12.5% from 8.33% in Central Services.

Provisions in the Constitution of Independent India

Under the provisions of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the *Constituent Assembly of India* was constituted to draft the Constitution of India. The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on the 9th of December 1946. After the passing

of the *Independence of India Act, 1947*, it turned into a *fully sovereign body*, which has now the powers to draft its Constitution according to its will, could *repeal or alter* any law made by British Parliament in relation to India. After the Independence of the country, Constituent Assembly worked in two capacities, first as the constituent Assembly tasked to draft the Indian Constitution and second as the Parliament of India.

The Constituent Assembly had its final session on the 24th of January 1950. Adequate provisions were made in the Constitution to safeguard the rights of the Minorities, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Weaker Sections of India.

Article 14 of the Constitution of India (CoI hereafter) deals with *Equality before the Law*, which establishes the *Rule of Law* in India. *Article 15* of CoI prohibits discrimination based only on the grounds of Race, Religion, Caste, Sex and Place of Birth. Equality in the Indian Constitution connotes not only *Formal Equality* but widely imbibe the principles of *Substantive Equality*. This is reflected by the provision made in sub-clauses of Article 15 and 16. Article 15(3) and 15(4) of CoI clearly implies that any special provision made for the advancement of the Women, Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Socially and Educationally Backward Class of Citizens shall not be considered as measures to promote Equality and not a violation of the Right to Equality. *Article 16* of CoI grants Equality in the matters of public employment, whereas sub-clause 16(4) empowers the State to make special provisions for Backward Class of Citizens in appointment in matters of Employment if they are not adequately represented in the opinion of the State. *Article 17* declared the

Abolition of Untouchability in the country and made any disability arising out of Untouchability a punishable offence.

Part IV of the CoI deals with the *Directive Principles of the State Policy,* which spans from Article 36 to 51. *Article 46* reads as “The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”

CoI also had provision for the representation of SC and ST in the *Houses of People (Loksabha)* and Legislative Assemblies of the States (Vidhansabha). The provisions are mandated by *Article 330* and *Article 332*. Provisions for the representation of Anglo-Indian comminates is made in *Article 331* and *Article 333.* Article 339 deals with the administration of Scheduled Areas for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

Article 335 specially deals with the claims of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes to the Services and Posts.

Ministry of Home Affairs Resolution No. 42/21/49 NGS, dated the 13th of September, 1950

It was this resolution under which the Government of India decided to continue the system of reservation for Scheduled Castes in government services (jobs) that were exiting prior to the Independence of the country. Since 1951 census data was not published, this resolution continued the 12.5% reservation for Scheduled Castes in the services and made provision for 5% reservation to the Scheduled Tribes.

This resolution further got amended from time to time, and the reservation quantum has undergone change as new census data published over time. Currently, the quantum of reservation for Scheduled Castes is 15% and for Scheduled Tribes is 7.5% for the recruitment to be made through open competition.

Changes in the Reservation Policy Since Independence

Reservations, since Independence, have been enshrined in the CoI for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Schedule Tribes (ST), explicitly taking into account the damnation of Untouchability along with other systematic socio-religious and economic repression and deprivation they face. It was also a formal attempt on the part of the state to compensate for the historical wrongs meted out to them for centuries by Caste Hindus and others. Since its inception, the policies of reservations have been subjected to public, academic, judicial and legislative scrutiny, which has over time brought some changes in the basis of reservation policy (rationale for providing and continuing reservations). The Supreme Court, in its *State of Madras vs Champakam Dorairajan (1951)* case judgement, upheld the Madras High Court judgement of striking down the caste-based reservations in government jobs and college seats, stating that it is inconsistent with Art. 29(2)[39].

This Judgement was one of the important reasons, among others, for bringing the first constitutional amendment in the Parliament. The statement of objects and reasons for the First Constitutional amendment, among others, mentions

[39] **Art. 29(2) of the Constitution of India**: "No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them."

that, in order to fulfil the objective of Art. 46[40], the scope of Art. 15(3)[41] need to be suitably amplified. So, it inserted Art. 15(4)[42] in the Constitution to overcome the judiciary-imposed limitation in the implementation of caste-based reservations for the SC and ST in the country. Thus, the first amendment of the Constitution boldly highlighted the caste criterion relevance as a rationale for continuing reservations to SC and ST. This was explicit recognition and acknowledgement on the part of the State to the deprivation and disability faced by SC and ST in access to government jobs and higher education. This amendment had serious implications for the reservations to the SC and ST. Till now, reservation to the SC and ST is based on caste criterion only. There is no creamy layer or any economic criterion for reservations to SC and ST.

In a petition filed against Mysore State law for providing 68% reservation for backward classes out of which 18% and 3% separately reserved for SC and ST respectively as formerly, in *M. R. Balaji And Others vs State Of Mysore (1962)* case, the Supreme Court examined in detail, as to what constitutes backwardness. The Mysore State law was based on recommendations of the report made by the *Nagan Gowda Committee* appointed by the state. Dwelling upon caste hierarchies, the Committee recommended 'caste' as criteria to determine social backwardness. And if a particular community's representation

[40] **Art. 46 of the Constitution of India: "Promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections**. - The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

[41] **Art. 15(3) of the Constitution of India: "**Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children."

[42] **Art. 15(4) of the Constitution of India:** "Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

in high school falls below average state enrolment in high school of state, then it is considered educationally backward. The majority of committee members agreed to classify the whole of the Muslim community as socially backward. Supreme Court opined in this Judgement that backwardness should be both social and educational under Art. 15(4) and not only social or educational alone. Court held the view that backwardness only based on the Caste is not permissible under Art. 15(4).

Regarding educational backwardness, the court held the view that adopting state average as the cut-off to determine educational backwardness is not intelligible and suitable criterion as sate action will not be justified in excluding the community from the backward list if slightly above the state average or including if slightly below the state average. There will not be much difference in the educational status of communities just above or below the state average. But court refrained from making any hard and fast rule vis-a-vis same. Regarding raising reservation to 68%, the court found it a fraud on the Constitution and stated that "*speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50%; how much less than 50% would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case*." The court found that raising reservations to 68% could seem *prima facie* convincing for the advancement of backward sections, but it compromises with the interest of the whole society and "*plainly inconsistent with the concept of special provisions authorised by the Art. 15(4)*".

Following the reports of the 2nd Backwards Class Commission (also commonly known as Mandal Commission), the Central Government intended to provide separate 27% reservations for the Socio-Economic Backward Classes, also

commonly known as Other Backward Classes (OBC). Mandal Commission devised 11 indicators grouped broadly under three heads viz. social, educational and economic with the relative weight of 3, 2 and 1 respectively for each head. Assigning 2 points to each indicator, a 22 point index was prepared for each caste group. The castes obtaining a score of 11 or less were listed as Socially and Educationally Backward. Following the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, the Government of India announced reservations for the OBC, which was contested in the *Indra Sawhney vs. Union of India (1992)* case.

In its Judgement, the Supreme Court stated, “Identification of backward class by caste is against the Constitution” but “Identification of a group or collectivity by any criteria other than caste, such as occupation cum social cum educational cum economic criteria ending in caste may not be invalid”. Thus Supreme court, in effect, reiterated its earlier position as accepted in *C. A. Rajendran vs Union Of India & Ors (1967)* that “Caste is also a class of citizens, and if the class as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it was socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of Art. 15(4)”. Court also instructed that reservation should be confined to a minority of seats and should not exceed the 50% limit introduced the concept of the creamy layer based on income, property and status criteria. Thus, the introduction of the creamy layer concept in OBC reservations through judicial pronouncement has introduced the element of economic criteria in providing reservations. In the *Indra Sawhney vs. Union of India* judgement court also ruled that all kind of reservations shall apply only to the entry-level posts and not promotions.

In 1995, Parliament inserted a new clause (4A) in the Art. 16 of Constitution through Seventy-Seventh Constitutional Amendment Act (1995) in order to facilitate the reservations in promotions for SC and ST, which was prohibited due to judicial pronouncement in *Indra Sawhney vs. Union of India* case. This amendment (seventy-seventh) was brought as mentioned in the statement of objects and reasons of the Act that in the opinion of the State, SC and ST members are not adequately represented in the services of the State. Clause (4A) of Art. 16 was further amended in Eighty-Fifth Constitutional Amendment Act in order to ensure the continuance of reservation in promotion for SC and ST employees in government services which were again stopped due to Supreme Court judgement *in Union Of India And Ors. Etc vs Virpal Singh Chauhan (1995)* case and *Ajit Singh Januja & Ors vs State Of Punjab & Ors (1996)* case. Eighty-Fifth Amendment Act of 2001 made changes in Art. 16(4A)[43] of the Constitution effective from retrospective date i.e. from the date of its initial insertion, which was the 17th of June 1995.

This Constitutional Amendments (Eighty-Fifth) on the part of the Parliament to provide reservation in promotions to the persons belonging from the SC and ST in the services of the State were challenged in Supreme Court in *M.Nagaraj & Others vs Union Of India & Others (2006)* case. In this Judgement, Court said that reservation in promotion is merely an enabling provision, and it is the discretion of the State if it wants to implement reservation in promotions, but is not duty-bound to do so. But in every case, if reservation in promotions has to

[43] **Art 16(4A) of Constitution of India:** "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion, with consequential seniority, to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes which, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State."

be brought, State has to have compelling reasons to do so, backed up by quantifiable pieces of evidence proving backwardness and inadequacy of representation along with ensuring compliance to Art. 355[44]. In this Judgement, the Supreme Court reiterated that all kind of reservations has to conform to the ceiling limit of 50% and exclusion of creamy layer. Thus, in this Judgement, the element of the creamy layer was introduced for the SC and ST reservations as well, which was earlier existing for OBC reservations only. This stance of applying creamy layer criteria to SC and ST has been reiterated nine multiple times since 2006 but has still not been implemented by any subsequent government. In the recent *Jarnail Singh vs Lachhmi Narain Gupta* case on the 26th of September 2018, the court again reiterated the same stance and denied to send it to the higher bench for any review, thus setting the pitch clear for its implementation. Thus, like OBC reservations, SC and ST reservations are also likely to have creamy layer criteria if Parliament does not decide to come with a constitutional amendment to nullify this judicial pronouncement.

In January 2019, Parliament passed the 103rd Constitutional Amendment, inserting Art. 15(6) and Art. 16(6) in the Constitution, providing 10% reservation for the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), which do not fall under the purview of Art. 15(4), Art. 15(5) and Art. 16(4). This amendment has yet to pass judicial scrutiny. This amendment aims to extend reservation benefits to Socially and Educationally Forward Classes viz. Forward Caste Hindus (Non-SC, ST and OBC Caste Hindus) and Forward Classes of other religions.

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[44] **Art 335 of Constitution of India: "Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts. -** The claims of the members of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

Thus, there has been a significant change in the very basis and rationale for providing reservations. Initially, it was only based on Caste and social disability-based for SC and ST, then for OBC, caste cum social and educational backwardness criteria were used. But the insertion of creamy layer criteria in OBC reservations by the judiciary introduced an element of economic criteria in reservations. This criterion of creamy layer is likely to extend to SC and ST as of now if the judiciary further denies to review it or Parliament does not come with any Constitutional Amendment Act to overcome judicial pronouncement. And now reservations for the Socially and Educationally Forward Classes (also called as EWS category) is based on the economic criteria, but it is also *not exclusive of caste criteria* as Castes included in SC, ST, and OBC lists cloud not claim reservations under EWS category.

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Chapter - 5

5. Data and Results

This chapter deals with analysis of the data, inferences drawn out of analysis results and discussions. The chapter is divided into four sections (viz. 5.1, 5.2. 5.3 and 5.4), each section deals with one objective.

Section 5.1 deals with *Objective 1* i.e., to find out by what extent the reservation policy has granted access to higher education institutions to reserved category students?

Section 5.2 deals with *Objective 2* i.e., to find out what is the level of mismatch in terms of academic achievements, if any exist, between the reserved category and non-reserved category students?

Section 5.3 deals with *Objective 3* i.e., to find out what is the perception of different socio-economic background students about current socio-economic realities in higher education institution campuses?

Section 5.4 deals with *Objective 4* i.e., to find out which elements of the cultural capital of students impacts their academic achievements and to what extent?

5.1 Reservation Policy and Access to University Campuses

A ‘University Campus’ is a distinct socio-cultural space from its immediate surroundings. This distinction emanates from the very idea of the ‘University’ and its envisaged role. Emphasizing the critical role of the *Higher Education Institutions,* Hambolt (1970) stated, “*the idea of disciplined intellectual activity, embodied in [higher education] institutions is the most valuable element of the moral culture of the nation*”. And, the disciplined intellectual activity in the university is chiefly determined by the kind of persons it is composed of and

their experiences, aspirations and imaginations apart from a host of other factors.

Seamon and Sower (2008) state that it is difficult to understand about the place and sense of place without examining how the real people add to the complexity of the places. So, it is indispensable to investigate and understand the factors that are critical in determining the personnel composition in any university/higher education institution campus in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the institution's intellectual culture and ideological moorings, which are important elements in the moral culture of the nation.

In India, the personnel composition in universities/higher education institutions are categorized into three groups:

i. Students
ii. Faculties (Teaching and Non-Teaching)
iii. Management and Administrative Staff (including Clerical and housekeeping and security staff)

The current study attempts to assess and analyse the impact of reservation policy in terms of enabling access to the Universities in the first two categories, i.e., Students and Faculties with focus on the reserved category candidates (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes).

ACCESS TO STUDENTS ON UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

The Government of India (GoI) has mandated to reserve 27% of seats for OBC category students in the Central Higher Education institutions (HEIs), including Central Universities (CUs). This figure stands 15% for Scheduled Castes and

7.5% for the Scheduled Tribes. This quantum of reservations for different categories varies in a few universities and higher education institutions to accommodate regional variations in different sections of the population. For instance, certain universities in the North-Eastern States of India have provisions to reserve a higher proportion of seats for the Scheduled Tribes (STs); similarly, certain CUs have been are designated as minority institutions, and they have their own separate reservation policy for the purpose of student's admissions.

In June 2021, GoI released the "All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE) 2019-20" report. Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in Higher Education in India for the age group 18-23 years is given below in table 5.1.

Table 5.1
Gross Enrolment Ratio (Higher Education)

GER	AISHE 2019-20	AISHE 2018-19	AISHE 2017-18	AISHE 2011-12
Total Population	27.1%	26.3%	25.8%	20.8%
Male	26.9%	26.3%	26.3%	22.1%
Female	27.3%	26.4%	25.4%	19.4%
SC	23.4%	23%	21.8%	14.9%
ST	18.0%	17.2%	15.9%	11.0%
NEP* 2020 Target = 50% by year 2035				

Data Source: AISHE 2019-20, AISHE 18-19, AISHE 17-18 and AISHE 2011-12
**NEP – National Education Policy*

The above table shows that increase in GER for SC and ST has been higher than that of the total population in terms of increase in percentage points for the period 2011-12 to 2019-20. GER for the total population (national average) increased by 6.3 percentage points for the said period, whereas it was 8.5 percentage points for SC and 9 percentage points for ST. However, GER for

SC and ST is far below the national average and lags behind by 3.7 and 9.1 percentage points, respectively, in the year 2019-20.

AISHE provides data about the category-wise composition of the students, teaching and non-teaching staff across Higher Education (HE) campuses. The table below shows the composition of students (social category wise) in the higher education institutions in India, which includes universities, their affiliated colleges and stand-alone institutions of higher education.

Table 5.2
Category-wise Composition of Students

Category	AISHE 2019-20	AISHE 2018-19	AISHE 2017-18	AISHE 2011-12
OBC	37.0%	36.83%	35%	30.1%
SC	14.7%	14.89%	14.4%	12.2%
ST	5.6%	5.53%	5.2%	4.5%
Others (General)	42.7%	42.75%	45.4%	52.5%
Muslim Minority	5.5%	5.23%	5%	3.9%
Other Minorities	2.3%	2.32%	2%	1.9%

Data Source: AISHE 2019-20, AISHE 18-19, AISHE 17-18 and AISHE 2011-12

Table 5.2 illustrates that for the year 2011-12, 47.5% of students in Higher Education (HE) belongs to the reversed categories (OBC, SC and ST). This figure rose to 57.3% in 2019-20. However, the proportion of SC and ST students in HE campuses is not equal to their designated quota of 15% and 7.5%, respectively. This fall short of 2.8 percentage points in 2011-12 and 0.3 percentage points in 2019-20 for SC, whereas for ST gap is even higher, which was 3 percentage points in 2011-12 and 1.9 percentage points in 2019-20. It appears that from the year 2011-12 to 2019-20, the gap between the designated quota for SC and ST and the proportion of students from the said category is closing. However, one has to keep in mind that the quantum of quota for SC and ST, which is 15% and 7.5%, was decided based on the proportion

of SC and ST population in the 1961 census figures on the 25th of March 1970. SC and ST population has increased to 16.63% and 8.61% according to the 2011 Census, and this must have increased further by 2019-20. On the one hand, the quota for SC and ST not increased with their increasing proportion in population, on the other even designated quota seats are not completely being filled. So, the actual gap between the proportion of SC and ST population in the country and their proportion in higher education is likely to be more than said above.

According to the Census of India 2011, the literacy rate among SC and ST populations is 66.1% and 58.90%, whereas the data for the same for Muslims is not yet released. In the 2001 census, the literacy rate for SC, ST and Muslims was 54.7%, 47.1% and 59.1%, respectively. In table 5.2, it is given that the share of the Muslim minority in higher education campuses is only 5.5% in 2019-20, whereas Muslims comprise 14.2% of India's population according to the 2011 census. Thus, the gap for Muslims in the share of higher education campus populations as compared to their share in population (8.7 percentage points) is higher than that of Scheduled Castes (1.93 percentage points) and Scheduled Tribes (3.01 percentage points). This was the case when literacy among Muslims was higher than SC and ST, according to 2001 census data. Sachar Committee has also concluded that the level of disparity increases between Muslims and Other Socio-Religious Communities as the level of education increases. This discussion highlights two important implications, *first,* reservations for the SCs and STs is playing crucial role in their access to HEIs, and *second,* Muslims could not adequately benefit from current regime of the reservation policy. The reason being for this is, according to Sachar Committee,

all the socio-economically backward Muslims are clubbed collectively into OBC category. *Arzal community* of Muslims (who are socio-economically equivalent to Hindu – SC) are denied SC quota, and in OBC quota they are not able to complete with relatively socially and educationally advance OBCs. Whereas *Ajlaf community* of Muslims (who are socially-culturally equivalent to Hindu – OBCs) also find it difficult to complete against Hindu OBCs as latter are relatively educationally and economically more advance than former.

Thus, based on the above data and discussion, it can be inferred that Reservations of seats for SCs and STs play a critical role in enabling access to the HEIs campuses. The same can be concluded for the OBCs also. The share of OBC in HEIs campuses was 30.1% and 37% for 2011-12 and 2019-20, respectively, as shown in Table 5.2. Though the share of OBCs in HEIs campuses exceeds the designated quota of 27%, it is lesser than the estimated population of OBCs in the country. There is no reliable data about OBCs share of the population in the public domain. Based on the 1932 Census, Mandal Commission estimated the OBC population was equal to 52%. This figure of 52% is likely to rise over time due to various factors, such as the inclusion of many castes in the OBC list since the Mandal Commission estimation.

Social Category wise Composition of the Central Universities

Annexure-I contains the social composition (SC, ST, OBC and Gen.) of 40 Central Universities from 2015 to 2019. Out of 40 central universities in Annexure-I, twenty-nine universities reserved 15%, 7.5%, and 27% seats of the total offered intake each year for SC, ST, and OBC. Eight universities in the North-Eastern States of India (from S. No. 23-40 in Annexure-I), two universities

having minority status (Aligarh Muslim University and Jamia Milia Islamia) and Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University have their separate reservation policy. The remaining 29 Central Universities follow the standard reservation policy of GoI.

Out of 29 CUs that follow standard 15%, 7.5% and 27% reservations for SC, ST, and OBC; it is the only Hyderabad Central University (HCU) that has an enrolment of SC, ST and OBC students equal to or more than their reserved seats for the year 2015 to 2019. Rest all 28 universities have less enrolment than the designated seats for at least one of more reserved categories for at least one year or more for 2015-2019.

Table 5.3
Number of Central Universities that were unable to fill designated quota for respective categories (Out of 29* CUs)

Reference Date	Number of Central Universities that were unable to fill designated quota for respective categories (Out of 29* CUs)		
	SC	**ST**	**OBC**
01.04.2015**	14	16	11
01.04.2016**	16	17	11
01.04.2017	17	17	11
01.04.2018	16	19	9
01.04.2019	14	18	8

Data Source: Reply to part (b) of Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 553 for 06.02.2020 asked by Shri Elamaram Kareem, Hon'ble Member of Parliament, regarding reservation in central educational institutes.

*29 CUs that follow standard 15%, 7.5% and 27% reservations for SC, ST, and OBC.

**Out of 28 CUs (as Mahatma Gandhi Central University admission started in 2017 only)

It is evident from Table 5.3 that more than half of the CUs are unable to enrol the adequate number of students from SC and ST communities, and nearly one-third of CUs are unable to enrol the adequate number of OBC students against designated quota for respective categories.

After HCU, which fulfilled all category quotas for the year 2015-2019, Guru Ghasidas University was the second university that enrolled the required number of candidates for each category in aggregate against the designated quota for the year 2015-2019 except 0.08 percentage point shortfall for SC category in the year 2016. The Central University of Kashmir has been unable to enrol adequate students from all the reserved categories (SC, ST and OBC) against designated quota for respective category in all the years from 2015 to 2019, whereas Delhi University failed to fulfil designated seats for all reserved social categories (SC, ST and OBC) for all years from 2015 to 2019 except for the SC quota in 2015.

Reservation Implementation Index (RII) for Central Universities (CUs)

A *Reservation Implementation Index (RII)* has been prepared by the author to assess how well/poorly reservations have been implemented across that CUs. Data used for the preparation of the RII is attached in Annexure-III. The method of calculation of RII has been given in Fig. 5.1.

RII is calculated by taking the geometric mean of three indicator values viz. SC indicator value, ST indicator value and OBC indicator value. Each indicator value is calculated by dividing the percentage of the enrolled students of a category in university in a particular year by the percentage of seats reserved for that category in that year. For example, to calculate the OBC indicator value for 2015, the percentage of OBC students of the total enrolled students in 2015 shall be divided by the percentage of OBC seats reserved in 2015. Fig 5.1 shows the flowchart of the calculation of the Reservation Implementation Index (RII). Geometric mean is chosen over arithmetic mean in the preparation of the

RII, as one indicator value does not linearly compensate the other indicator value in geometric mean; thus, the geometric mean captures the intrinsic performance of each indicator more appropriately than the arithmetic mean[45].

Interpretation of Reservation Implementation Index (RII)

If the RII value is 1, it means all the quota of all the categories viz. SC, ST and OBC are entirely filled, i.e., the same number of students admitted in each reserved category as many seats reserved for each category. If the RII value is 0, no student has been admitted in any of the reserved categories. In other

Fig. 5.1: Calculating Reservation Implementation Index (RII) — Graphical Presentation

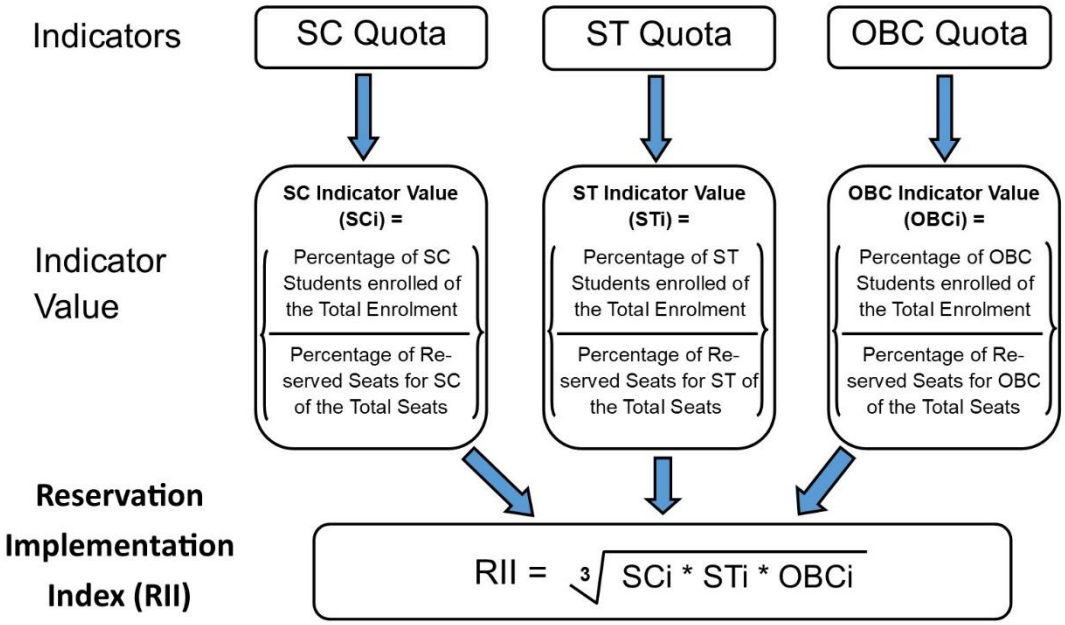


Fig 5.1: The calculation of the Reservation Implementation Index (RII)

[45] http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/why-geometric-mean-used-hdi-rather-arithmetic-mean#:~:text=The%20geometric%20mean%20reduces%20the,the%20education%20or%20income%20index.

words, all reserved category seats remain vacant. If RII is more than 1, a higher number of reserved category students have been admitted than seats reserved for them. For example, if the value of RII is 1.2 for a university, 20% more students of the total reserved seats have been admitted than the total seat reserved. This 20% of students are admitted on the “Unreserved Seats” or Open Seats. If the RII value is less than 1 for a university, some reserved seats have not been completely filled and thus remain vacant. For example, if the RII value is 0.75 for a university in a particular year, it means that only 75% of total reserved seats have been filled, and 25% of the total reserved seats remain vacant.

A ***Composite Reservation Implementation Index (CRII)*** has been calculated by taking the geometric mean of RII of five academic years (2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019) for CUs. CRII sums up the assessment of the implementation of reservations in CUs in one index value. Interpretation of CRII is similar to that of RII.

Central Universities and Implementation of Reservations

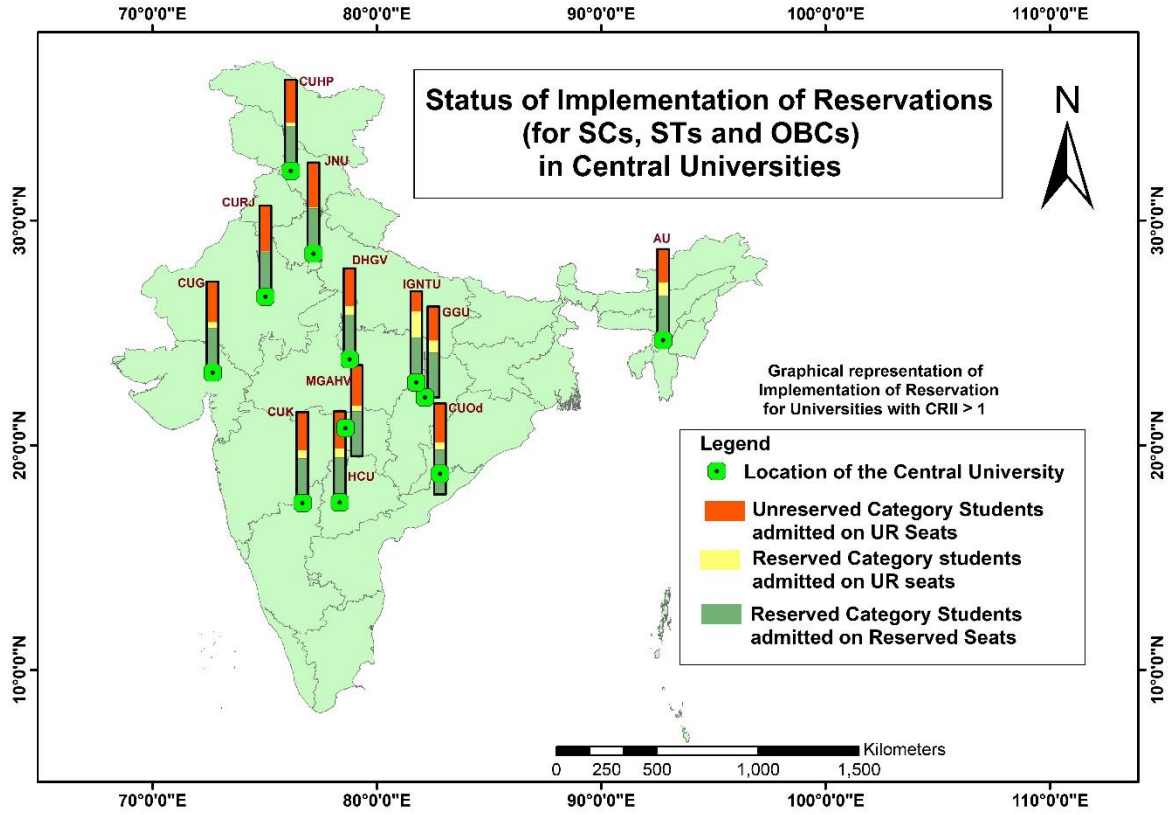
Table 5.4 contains the RII for 2015 to 2019 and CRII for 29 CUs following standard quota policy (27% for OBCs, 15% for SCs and 7.5% for STs). It is evident from the CRII that out of 29 CUs, 17 universities have failed to completely enrol reserved category (SC, ST, OBC) students against reserved seats for the said categories on average in the last five years (2015-19), whereas, 12 universities have been successful in completely fulfilling the reserved quota.

Table 5.4
RII for five years (2015 to 2019) and CRII for CUs

Name of the Central University	RII_2015	RII_2016	RII_2017	RII_2018	RII_2019	CRII
Central University of Kashmir (CUKm)	0.202	0.260	0.335	0.236	0.227	**0.248**
Maulana Azad National Urdu University (MANUU)	0.263	0.234	0.267	0.305	0.393	**0.288**
H.N.B. Garhwal University (HNBGU)	0.405	0.427	0.416	0.497	0.496	**0.446**
Central University of South Bihar (CUSB)	0.430	0.467	0.449	0.554	0.683	**0.509**
Central University of Tamil Nadu (CUTN)	0.271	0.387	0.573	0.919	1.001	**0.561**
University of Delhi (DU)	0.660	0.510	0.824	0.832	0.894	**0.729**
Central University of Punjab (CUP)	0.549	0.746	0.826	0.843	0.891	**0.760**
Allahabad University (UoA)	0.681	0.789	0.870	0.857	0.857	**0.807**
Central University of Jammu (CUJam)	0.817	0.806	0.745	0.849	0.857	**0.814**
Central University of Kerala (CUKer)	0.614	0.903	0.929	0.925	0.901	**0.844**
Central University of Jharkhand (CUJh)	0.826	0.814	0.863	0.903	0.904	**0.861**
Banaras Hindu University (BHU)	0.867	0.847	0.863	0.869	0.867	**0.863**
Central University of Haryana (CUHr)	0.915	0.958	0.895	0.908	0.922	**0.919**
Tezpur University (TezU)	0.940	0.938	0.931	0.919	0.937	**0.933**
Visva Bharati (VB)	0.922	0.990	1.000	0.899	1.003	**0.962**
The English & Foreign Languages University (EFLU)	1.037	1.065	0.947	0.925	0.886	**0.970**
Pondicherry University (PU)	0.997	0.968	1.041	0.971	0.972	**0.989**
Central University of Rajasthan (CURJ)	0.937	1.007	1.054	1.009	1.017	**1.004**
Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU)	1.026	1.020	1.034	1.041	1.041	**1.032**
Central University of Himachal Pradesh (CUHP)	1.026	1.034	1.053	1.101	1.120	**1.066**
Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya (MGAHV)	1.037	1.033	1.349	1.082	1.122	**1.119**
Central University of Gujarat (CUJ)	1.126	1.199	1.154	1.052	1.077	**1.120**
Central University of Orissa (CUOd)	1.190	1.156	1.145	1.152	1.108	**1.150**
Central University of Karnataka (CUK)	1.256	1.208	1.166	1.165	1.082	**1.174**
Dr. Harisingh Gour Vishwavidyalaya (DHGV)	1.218	1.158	1.188	1.188	1.188	**1.188**
Hyderabad Central University (HCU)	1.205	1.221	1.211	1.203	1.190	**1.206**
Guru Ghasidas University (GGU)	1.239	1.190	1.262	1.309	1.330	**1.265**
Assam University (AU)	1.236	1.249	1.329	1.302	1.306	**1.284**
The Indira Gandhi National Tribal University (IGNTU)	1.608	1.563	1.559	1.574	1.561	**1.573**
Total	**0.791**	**0.826**	**0.876**	**0.887**	**0.908**	**0.857**

Data Source: Reply to part (b) of Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 553 for 06.02.2020 asked by Shri Elamaram Kareem, Hon'ble Member of Parliament, regarding reservation in central educational institutes.

Fig. 5.2
Graphical representation of Status of Implementation of Reservations for Universities with CRII > 1



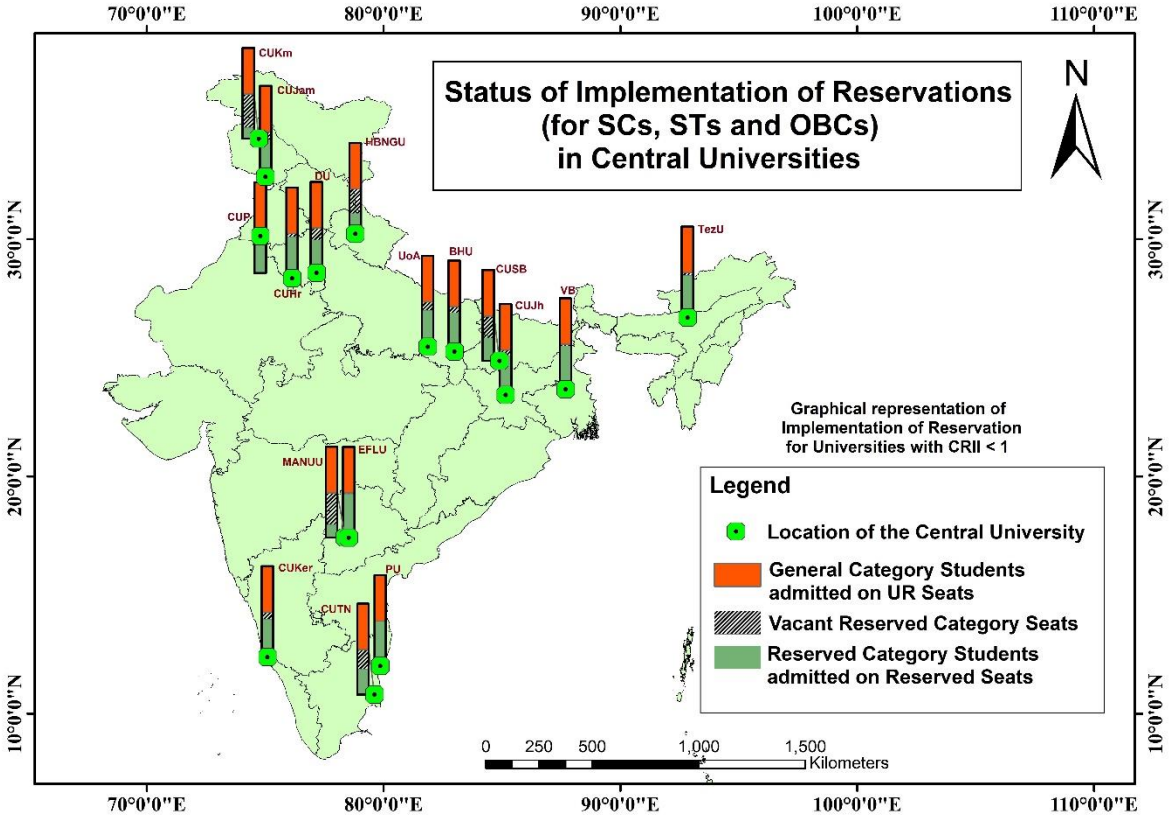
Data Source: Reply to part (b) of Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 553 for 06.02.2020.
**Full forms of the university name acronyms are given in Table 5.4.*

From Table 5.4, it can be evidently concluded by analyzing CRII values for 29 CUs, that on average, 17 CUs were unable to enrol the required number of students to fill the reserved seats completely, whereas 12 CUs enrolled more reserved category students than seats reserved for them. RII for overall 29 CUs was 0.791 in 2015 and 0.908 in 2019. Over the last five years, i.e., from 2015 to 2019, RII has been continuously increasing, which implies that the implementation of reservations has been improving over time in the said period. In 2015, 20.9% of total reserved seats were vacant, which got reduced to 8% in 2019. The CRII for all 29 CUs under consideration for the period of five years (2015-19) is **0.857**, which implies that in the said period, on an average, 85.7%

of the reserved seats for the SC, ST and OBC categories were occupied and 14.3% remained vacant. Fig. 5.2 and 5.3 respectively show the universes that were able to enrol the adequate number of reserved categories students against respective reserved seats (i.e., CRII >1) and universities that fall short of enrolling the adequate number of students against respective reserved category seats (i.e., CRII<1).

Fig. 5.3

Graphical representation of Status of Implementation of Reservations for Universities with CRII < 1



Data Source: Reply to part (b) of Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 553 for 06.02.2020.
**Full forms of the university name acronyms are given in Table 5.4.*

Table 5.5
Reserved Category (SC, ST, OBC) Students admitted on Unreserved Category Seats
(A case study of Hyderabad Central University)

PG Courses					M.Tech. Courses		
Admission Session	**Total Intake Offered (A)**	**Reserved Category Candidates admitted on the Unreserved Seats (B)**	**% (B to A)**		**Total Intake Offered (A)**	**Reserved Category Candidates admitted on the Unreserved Seats (B)**	**% (B to A)**
2008-09	960	168	17.50		121	18	14.88
2009-10	1161	258	22.22		183	15	8.20
2010-11	1149	232	20.19		223	34	15.25
2011-12	1046	176	16.83		212	33	15.57
2012-13	984	193	19.61		201	39	19.40
2013-14	1130	168	14.87		229	26	11.35
2014-15	1166	162	13.89		232	39	16.81
2015-16	1113	214	19.23		236	46	19.49
2016-17	973	150	15.42		109	11	10.09
2017-18	1056	174	16.48		157	33	21.02
2018-19	1102	152	13.79		74	8	10.81
Total	**11840**	**2047**	**17.29**		**1977**	**302**	**15.28**

MPhil Courses					PhD Courses		
Admission Session	**Total Intake Offered (A)**	**Reserved Category Candidates admitted on the Unreserved Seats (B)**	**% (B to A)**		**Total Intake Offered (A)**	**Reserved Category Candidates admitted on the Unreserved Seats (B)**	**% (B to A)**
2008-09	192	38	19.79		270	45	16.67
2009-10	221	40	18.10		323	55	17.03
2010-11	173	9	5.20		308	40	12.99
2011-12	170	16	9.41		232	43	18.53
2012-13	158	18	11.39		247	33	13.36
2013-14	143	12	8.39		257	49	19.07
2014-15	149	17	11.41		300	49	16.33
2015-16	160	18	11.25		326	68	20.86
2016-17	166	32	19.28		275	55	20.00
2017-18	125	10	8.00		287	65	22.65
2018-19	144	15	10.42		205	43	20.98
Total	**1801**	**225**	**12.49**		**3030**	**545**	**17.99**

Data Source: RTI filed by the Author

Implementation of Reservations: A Case Study of Hyderabad Central University

Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and Hyderabad Central University (HCU) are among reputed universities in the country that consistently score higher grades under NAAC evaluation and are also ranked among top HEIs under the NIRF ranking of universities. CRII of both is more than one. CRII of the HCU (1.206) is one of the best among the 29 CUs under analysis, as the average CRII for 29 CUs is 0.857. CRII of 1.206 means that HCU has not only fulfilled the total reserved seats, but also approximately 20% of unreserved seats were occupied by reserved category (SC, ST and OBC) students under open merit.

Table 5.5 has data about admissions to HCU for eleven academic sessions (2008-09 to 2018-19). In all the past eleven years, whose admission data is displayed in Table 5.5, not only all the reserved seats have been completely filled but also reserved category students were admitted on the unreserved seats through open merit, at all levels of studies viz., Post-Graduation Level (PG Courses), MPhil Level, MTech Level and PhD Level.

From Table 5.5, it is concluded that for the past eleven years (2008-09 to 2018-19), in HCU, on average, of the total intake offered, apart from enrolling on 49.5% of the reserved seats, reserved category students were also able to secure admissions on unreserved seats under open merit, thus making a total of 66.22% (49.5%[46] + 16.72%[47]) of the total admissions.

[46] Admissions on the total reserved seats.
[47] Admission of reserved category students on unreserved seats (figure of 16.72% is obtained by taking the average of admissions in the all four levels of study i.e., PG Courses, MTech Courses, MPhil Courses and PhD Courses).

Table 5.4 informs that CRII for HCU is 1.206, which means that for the previous five years (2015-2019), on average, not only total reserved seats were filled, but around 20.6% of students of the total reserved seats belonging to the reserved category were admitted on the unreserved seats. Thus, the total number of reserved category students on the campus for the past five years (2015-19) shall be approximately 60%[48].

From Table 5.5, if we calculate the average proportion reserved category students of the total students for the previous five years (2014-15 to 2018-19), it is approximately 65%. Thus, there is a difference of approximately 5% between the proportions of reserved category students of the total students derived from Table 5.4 and Table 5.5. This difference exists because the data of the two tables are obtained from two different time periods of the years.

Data for Table 5.5 is collected at the time of the admission cycle of the session. For example, for the session 2014-15, the data is immediately after the completion of the admission procedure, i.e., July- August 2014. Whereas, for Table 5.4, the campus composition data for the session 2014-15 is of the reference date 1st of April 2015. Thus, a time gap of around 6 months exists between the two sets of data sources. During this gap of six months, the proportion of reserved category students reduced from nearly 65% to approximately 60%. This could be possibly because of the higher dropout rate of reserved category students than unreserved category students, apart from discounting the study at the current institution and joining other institutions. This phenomenon requires deeper investigations.

[48] How approximately 60%? (49.5% admission under reserved seats + 20.6% of 49.5%, which is equal to 10.2%)

Admissions to University of Delhi and Impact of Reservations: A Hypothetical Case

The above analysis enables us to conclude that reservations have played a significant role in enabling reserved category students to the university campuses. However, this analysis will not clearly bring out what will be the social category wise composition of the HEIs campuses in the absence of the reservations. If it can be figured out what will be the social category wise composition of the HEIs without reservations and with reservations, it could be easily inferred that the quantum of difference reservations is bringing in the access to HEIs by the reserved category students. This is precisely what has been attempted in this section.

To understand the exact difference reservations are making in the access to HEIs by reserved category students, a case study of the University of Delhi (DU) has been taken. Using the DU's entrance examinations result data for master's level (post-graduate) courses, two hypothetical admission lists have been prepared against the offered intake for each subject whose entrance data is available. *The first* list is 'the admissions with existing reservation' policy, and the *Second* list 'the admissions without any reservations to any category.'

The data used to prepare the hypothetical admissions list is the DU entrance examinations results for session 2018-19, for 47 subjects. The entrance results for all the candidates who appeared in the master's entrance examinations have been downloaded from the DU website (https://www.du.ac.in/result.html). The number of seats available for admissions through the entrance (offered

intake) for each subject has been collected from the DU Admissions Prospectus.

Procedure for Preparation of Hypothetical Admission Lists

The admission list without any reservation to any category has been prepared based on the candidate's rank in the entrance examinations. The obtained marks of the candidates in the entrance examinations have been arranged in descending order to prepare the rank list. Then top-ranking students have been made part of the admission list according to the available vacancies. For example, if in the MA/MSc Geography course 1350 candidates appeared in the entrance examinations against 50 vacancies, then top fifty scoring candidates, i.e., Rank 1 to 50, shall be made part of the admission list without any reservations to any category. In case of a tie for a seat (two or more than two candidates having exactly the same marks but only one seat available), their name has been arranged in alphabetical order, and those have been selected, which comes first.

The admission list with the existing reservation policy (i.e., in 2018, 27% seats for OBC, 15% seats for SC and 7.5% seats for ST) has also been prepared. For this list, firstly, unreserved seats have been fulfilled according to the consolidated rank list of all candidates. Then a separate category-wise rank list (for OBC, SC and ST) has been prepared (excluding those reserved category candidates who have already been admitted to the unreserved seat) for the admissions to reserved seats. Then each reserved seat has been fulfilled according to the respective category wise rank list. Alphabetical order of the names has been used to break the tie as in the above case.

Table 5.6
Hypothetical Admissions to DU Master's Courses based on 2018-19 Entrance Examination Results

47 Subjects[49] – All Streams[50]					
Session 2018-19	Total	General	OBC	SC	ST
Total Applicants	55,075	32,088	12,811	7,356	2,820
% Total Applicants	100%	58.26%	23.26%	13.36%	5.12%
Rank wise Admission	2,752	2,063	495	130	64
% Rank wise Admission	100%	74.96%	17.99%	4.72%	2.33%
Admissions with Reservation Policy	2,703	1,051	985	442	225
% Admissions with Reservation Policy	100%	38.88%	36.44%	16.35%	8.32%

Data Source: https://www.du.ac.in/result.html

One assumption that has been made in the preparation of the list is that all the candidates who appeared in the entrance examinations are interested in taking admissions to DU and will certainly take admission if their name is placed in the merit/admission list. Due to this assumption, the hypothetical admission list prepared will not be exactly similar to the actual admission list but will serve our purpose to find out the potential quantum of difference reservations are making in the access to DU in the master's course for the reserved category students. The summary of both admission lists is compiled in Table 5.6.

It is evident from Table 5.6 that more than half of the applicants for the master's level courses in DU, who appeared in the entrance exams, belongs to the Unreserved (General) category, whereas reserved category students only

[49] **List of 47 Subjects under analysis:** English, Hindi, Linguistic, Urdu, Tamil, Bengali, Comparative Indian Literature, French Studies, German Studies, Hispanic Studies, Italian Studies, Japanese, Persian, Punjabi, Russian Studies, Hindustani Music- Vocal/Instrumental, Percussion Music - Tabla/Pakhawaj, Karnatic Music - Vocal/Instrumental, Lifelong Learning & Extension, History, Political Science, Sociology, Applied Psychology, Economics, Geography, Psychology, Social Work, Buddhist Studies, Philosophy, East Asian Studies, Mathematics, MCA, Mcom, Zoology, Chemistry, Forensic Sciences, Computer Sciences, Genetics, Microbiology, Biochemistry, Food Nutrition, Plant Molecular Biology & Biotechnology, Electronics, Fabric & Apparel Science, Anthropology, Resource Management & Design Application, Physics

[50] Arts, Humanities, Languages and Literature, Social Sciences, Sciences etc

make 41.74%. In the absence of category wise reservations, i.e., admissions only based on rank obtained in the entrance exams, reserved category (SC, ST, and OBC) students will be able to enrol only on the 25.04% of the total intake offer by the university to be filled by entrance examinations. Whereas in case of admissions with the existing reservation policy, i.e., 27% seats reserved for OBC, 15% seats reserved for SC and 7.7% seats reserved for ST, reserved category students will be able to enrol on 61.12% of the total intake offer by the university to be filled by entrance examinations. Thus, reservations for SC, ST and OBC enables them to increase their presence at the campus more than two times of what it would have been in the absence of reservations.

From table 5.6, it could be inferred that due to the reservation, the percentage of OBC students on the admission list with reservations is two times more than rank wise admission. Due to reservations OBC percentage increased from 17.99% to 36.44%. For SC, it increased from 4.72% to 16.35% (more than three times), whereas it increased from 2.33% to 8.32% (three and half times).

Thus, it could be evidently inferred that reservations play a significant role in enabling reserved category students to access the HEIs. In its absence, the representation of marginalized groups of the society could be reduced to a minuscule number.

A. SOCIAL CATEGORY WISE COMPOSITION AT FACULTY POSITIONS IN CENTRAL UNIVERSITIES

The above section deals at length with the access to CUs by reserved category students. Though not implemented in letter and spirit (as evident from Table 5.4, RII being less than 1 consistently for more than half of the CUs under analysis), reservations have played a critical role in enabling access to HEIs for

the social groups historically prohibited from educational pursuits. Table 5.2 summarises the silent revolution that is happening in higher education in India. In less than a decade, social groups historically not allowed in education (SCs, STs and OBCs) are now making the majority of the population in HEIs. It was the decade of 2011-2020 when this change took place.

When HEIs campus demography has changed significantly in terms of social composition, it will be interesting examining the composition of the faculty positions in the HEIs. Table 5.7 summarises the composition of the faculty positions across the country in HEIs.

Table 5.7
Category-wise Composition of Faculty Positions

Category	AISHE 2019-20	AISHE 2018-19	AISHE 2017-18	AISHE 2011-12
OBC	32.1%	32.1%	32.3%	22.0%
SC	9.0%	8.8%	8.6%	6.9%
ST	2.4%	2.36%	2.27%	2.0%
Others (General)	56.5%	56.7%	56.8%	69.1%
Muslim Minority	5.6%	5.4%	5.3%	2.9%
Other Minorities	9.0%	9.2%	9.4%	3.01%

Data Source: AISHE 2019-20, AISHE 2018-19, AISHE 2017-18 and AISHE 2011-12

A significant change in faculty positions in HEIs has also taken place in terms of social composition. Still at the aggregate level in all HEIs in the country, in faculty positions, Unreserved category (General) majority of the positions in contrast to students' compositions. It is evident from the reading together the Table 5.2 and 5.7 that the share of SC, ST and OBC in faculty positions in HEIs, is significantly lower than that of their share at the student level. This indicates that reservations at the student levels are implemented better than that of faculty positions. In the case of the Muslim minority, the share at faculty positions and student-level are similar (5.5% each) but significantly less than their population share in the country.

Table 5.8 shows the status of implementation of reservations the faculty positions in the 42 Central Universities in aggregate**.**

Table 5.8
Social Category Wise Composition at Faculty Positions in Central Universities

University	Position		Total	Category Wise Faculty Posts					
				GEN	EWS	OBC	SC	ST	PwD
42 Central Universities (01.01.2021)	Professor	Total Sanctioned Posts	2,507	1,505	122	378	295	137	70
		Sanctioned %	100	60.03	4.87	15.08	11.77	5.46	2.79
		Total Vacant Posts	1,445	543	120	361	232	128	61
		Vacant to Sanctioned %	57.64	36.08	98.36	95.50	78.64	93.43	87.14
	Associate Professor	Total Sanctioned Posts	5,024	2,980	243	770	603	295	133
		Sanctioned %	100	59.32	4.84	15.33	12.00	5.87	2.65
		Total Vacant Posts	2,346	578	237	708	449	254	120
		Vacant to Sanctioned %	46.70	19.40	97.53	91.95	74.46	86.10	90.23
	Assistant Professor	Total Sanctioned Posts	10,877	5,751	524	2,206	1,369	709	318
		Sanctioned %	100	52.87	4.82	20.28	12.59	6.52	2.92
		Total Vacant Posts	2,283	359	464	790	310	207	153
		Vacant to Sanctioned %	20.99	6.24	88.55	35.81	22.64	29.20	48.11

Data Source: Reply to part (a) and (b) of Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 2996 for 15.03.2021.

Table 5.8 displays the social category wise composition of filled and vacant posts for the 42 Central Universities (CUs) in aggregate. Following the methodology in Fig. 5.1 and using data given in Table 5.8, *Faculty level Reservation Implementation Index (FRII)*[51] has been prepared for *Professor level, Associate Professor Level and Assistant Professor Level*. By taking out the geometric mean of FRII at three levels viz. Professor level, Associate Professor Level and Assistant Professor Level, *Composite Faculty level Reservation Implementation Index (CFRII)* has been calculated. CFRII sums up the level of implementation of reservations at faculty levels for all the levels in 42 CUs in one single indicator digit. The interpretation of FRII and CFRII is similar to that of RII and CRII. The summary of FRII and CFRII is tabulated in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9
FRII and CFRII for 42 Central Universities

	Indicator Value			
Faculty Level	**OBC**	**SC**	**ST**	**FRII**
Professor	0.045	0.214	0.066	0.086
Associate Professor	0.081	0.255	0.139	0.142
Assistant Professor	0.642	0.774	0.708	0.706
CFRII				0.205

Data Source: Reply to part (a) and (b) of Lok Sabha Unstarred Question No. 2996 for 15.03.2021.

Table 5.9 informs that CFRII for the CUs is 0.205, which means of all the seats reserved for the SC, ST and OBC in CUs at Professor, Associate Professor and Assistant Professor level, only 20.5% seats are filled are 79.5% are remaining vacant. The CFRII[52] of 0.205 is abysmally low compared to the CRII[53] of 0.857. This highlights the more apathy towards the implementation of the reservations

[51] For SC, ST and OBC categories only
[52] Calculated for 42 CUs
[53] Calculated for 29 CUs

at the faculty level in comparison to the reservations at the students' levels. FRII decreases with the higher faculty levels. FRII for Assistant Professor level is 0.706, whereas at Professor level is 0.086.

The reason why reservations at the students' level are implemented better than the faculty levels is the absence of discretion at the implementation of the reservations at the student level. The only scope where discretion exists in admissions at the students' level is the admissions to research-level courses, i.e., MPhil and PhD admissions. At the faculty levels, the massive scope for discretion exists, and various flimsy reasons such as *Not Found Suitable (NFS)* are used not to recruit candidates from the reserved categories.

5.2 Does the "Mismatch Hypothesis" hold true?

Whitt (2018) has defined Mismatch Hypothesis as "The mismatch hypothesis refers primarily to the notion that, by promoting and giving advantage to relatively less-qualified applicants, they will be allowed to enrol in colleges for which they are not necessarily prepared. This will create a kind of mismatch in skill set and ability between the student and the institution, ultimately causing longer-term academic strain and social harm."

Mismatch Hypothesis is very often cited as one of the reasons behind the higher dropout rate of the students who are beneficiaries of Affirmative Actions (AA) than those of non-beneficiaries of AA. According to the mismatch hypothesis, there exists a mismatch between the academic rigour/understanding that HEIs requires for the successful completion of the course and the academic preparation level of the candidates who are admitted through the AA/reservations; as a result, students admitted on relaxed criteria due to AA

face difficulty in completion of the course and are forced to drop out or achieves lower grades/marks than that of their peers who are admitted to the same course without any AA.

Despite the intense debate on the reservations and affirmative actions in India, there is a conspicuous absence of empirical research/literature evaluating the mismatch hypothesis. In this section, an attempt has been made to test if the mismatch hypothesis holds true in India.

Data and Methodology

Data for evaluating the mismatch hypothesis has been taken from the Department of Geography and Department of Geology, School of Earth Sciences, Central University of Karnataka. Data belongs to two levels of studies, i.e., UG Level (B.Sc.) and PG Level (M.Sc.).

The marks that students have scored for the various courses they have opted for during their study period are used for the analysis. At the UG level, 98 student's marks data is available who have been assessed on either 4 or 5 or 6 papers (courses) during a given semester, thus making a total of 495 unique assessment mark points. All the students have been taught in the same classroom, and the courses have been taught and evaluated by the same teacher to each student. Out of 495 assessment marks points available at UG Level, 230 belongs to General Category, 144 belongs to OBC Category, 97 belongs to SC category and 24 to ST category. These four groups of categories have been re-grouped into two categories viz. Unreserved Category and Reserved Category. The unreserved category contains only General Category students, and the Reserved Category contains OBC, SC and ST students

combined. Thus, out of Out of 495 assessment marks points available at UG Level, 230 belongs to the Unreserved Category, and 265 belongs to the reserved category. All the 495 assessment marks points available at UG Level are divided into two parts viz. Internal Assessment Marks and End Semester Marks and a total of Internal Assessment and End Semester. CUCET[54] score for all 98 students has been collected as a marker of their initial academic preparation before enrolling at the University.

At PG level, 31 student's marks data is available who have been assessed on 7 papers (courses) during a given semester, thus making a total of 217 unique assessment mark points. All the students have been taught in the same classroom, and the courses have been taught and evaluated by the same teacher to each student. Out of 217 assessment marks points available at PG Level, 119 belongs to General Category, 63 belongs to OBC Category, 21 belongs to SC category and 14 to ST category. These four groups of categories have been re-grouped into two categories viz. Unreserved Category and Reserved Category. Unreserved category contains only General Category students, and Reserved Category contains OBC, SC and ST students combined. Thus, out of 217 assessment marks points available at PG Level, 119 belongs to the Unreserved Category and 98 belongs to the reserved category. All the 217 assessment marks points available at PG Level are divided into two parts viz. Internal Assessment Marks and End Semester Marks and a total of Internal Assessment and End Semester. CUCET score for all 31 students has been collected as a marker of their initial academic preparation before enrolling at the University.

[54] CUCET is the common entrance exam for the CUs for the purpose of admissions to CUs.

The summary of data used in this analysis (which is described above) is presented in *Data Table No. 1.*

Data Table No. 1
Total Unique assessment points at UG and PG Levels

Study Level	No. of Students	Number of Papers Students were assessed	Total Unique Assessment Points
PG	31	7	**217**
UG	23	4	92
	16	5	80
	31	5	155
	28	6	168
Total UG			**495**

The *two independent sample t-test* has been conducted to test if a significant difference exists between the marks attained by the unreserved category students and reserved category students (admitted due to reservations). This test has been conducted at both UG, and PG levels for Internal Assessment marks, End Semester Marks and Total marks. To examine the Effect Size, i.e., the magnitude of the difference between the two groups, Cohen's *d* has been calculated. *Levene's test* has been used to verify the equality of variances of both reserved and unreserved category marks.

The *one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA)* has been conducted to find out if a significant difference exists among the marks obtained by any of all four Category (General, OBC, SC and ST) students. To calculate the Effect Size in the case of ANOVA, eta-square (η2) is calculated. The *Bonferroni test* has been conducted to find out which Category students marks differ significantly with

respect to all other categories. *Bartlett's test for equal variances* has been conducted to verify the equality of the variances.

All the hypothesis testing result related to mismatch phenomena are shown in Table 5.10 to Table 5.13. Fig. 5.4 and Fig. 5.5 graphically presents evidences of the Catch-Up.

Table 5.10
Testing if there is any Mismatch between marks achieved by the Reserved and Unreserved Category Students at UG Level?

Undergraduate Level (UG Level)	**End Semester**	**Research Question**	Is there a significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the End Semester Examinations at the UG Level?
		Null Hypothesis	There is no significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the End Semester Examinations at the UG Level.
		Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students in End Semester Examinations **Categorical Variable** – Category (Reserved Category Students and Unreserved Category Students)
		Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, Reserved Category Students archive 76.905% of marks in the End Semester Exams (*SD=10.445*), compared with the Unreserved Category Students, who obtain 79.200% of marks (*SD=9.671*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was -2.294%. This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (493) = -2.52, p = 0.0120*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is near to small (*d = -0.227*).

	Internal Assessment	**Research Question**	Is there a significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Internal Assessment at the UG Level?
		Null Hypothesis	There is no significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Internal Assessment at the UG Level.
		Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students in the Internal Assessment **Categorical Variable** – Category (Reserved Category Students and Unreserved Category Students)
		Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that on average, Reserved Category Students archive 77.814% of marks in the Internal Assessment (*SD=10.741*), compared with the Unreserved Category Students, who obtain 81.054% of marks (*SD=10.097*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was -3.239%. This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (493) = -3.490, p = 0.0005*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is between small to medium (*d = -0.314*).
	Total Marks	**Research Question**	Is there a significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Total Marks they achieve at the UG Level?
		Null Hypothesis	There is no significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Total Marks they achieve at the UG Level.
		Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Total Marks (End Semester Examinations Marks + Internal Assessment Marks) achieved by students **Categorical Variable** – Category (Reserved Category Students and Unreserved Category Students)
		Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that on average, Reserved Category Students archive 77.269% of marks in the Total Marks (*SD=9.553*),

			compared with the Unreserved Category Students, who obtain 79.942% of marks (*SD=9.035*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was -2.672%. This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (493) = -3.183, p = 0.0015*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. The magnitude of the difference as revealed by Cohen's *d* is near to small (*d = -0.286*).

Table 5.11
Testing if Total Marks among different categories varies at UG Level?

Total Marks- Undergraduate Level (UG Level)	**Research Question**	Do total marks achieved by different-different category students differ from each other at UG Level?
	Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in the total marks achieved by the different-different category students at the UG Level.
	Alternate Hypothesis	At least one category group mean marks is not the same as others.
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Total Marks (End Semester Examinations Marks + Internal Assessment Marks) achieved by students **Categorical Variable** – Category (General, OBC, SC, ST)
	One-way ANOVA Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained; *F (491) = 4.51, p = 0.0026*. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected and alternate hypothesis is accepted, i.e., at least one category mean of the total marks obtained is significantly different from others. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the category explains only 2.853% of the variation in total marks achieved.
	Bonferroni Test	(Bonferroni) Row Mean-Col Mean | General | OBC | SC OBC | -3.7499, 0.001 | SC | -1.35784, 1.000 | 2.39206, 0.304 | ST | -1.52536, 1.000 | 2.22454, 1.000 | -.167526, 1.000

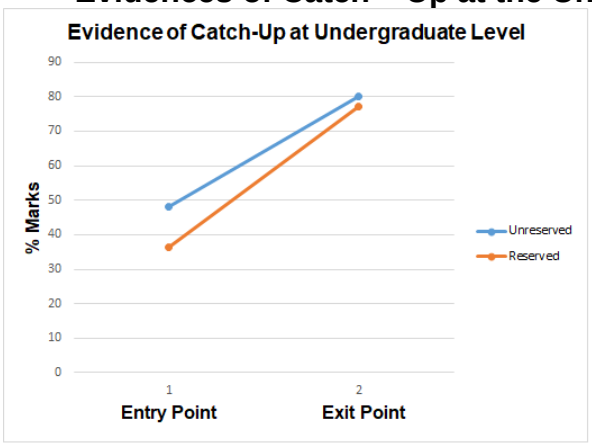
	Bonferroni Test Result Interpretation	Bonferroni test results indicate that only the mean of total marks of OBC category is significantly different from General Category at 0.05 significance level (*p=0.001; which is less than alpha level of 0.05*).

Table 5.12
Testing if there is any Mismatch between marks achieved by the Reserved and Unreserved Category Students at PG Level?

Post-Graduate Level (PG Level)	**End Semester**	**Research Question**	Is there a significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the End Semester Examinations at the PG Level?
		Null Hypothesis	There is no significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the End Semester Examinations at the PG Level.
		Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students in End Semester Examinations **Categorical Variable** – Category (Reserved Category Students and Unreserved Category Students)
		Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, Reserved Category Students archive 73.990% of marks in the End Semester Exams (*SD=8.731*), compared with the Unreserved Category Students, who obtain 75.700% of marks (*SD=11.927*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was -1.709%. This difference is statistically not significant at 0.05 level (*t (212) = -1.216, p = 0.2250*). Thus, the null hypothesis is accepted.
	Internal Assessment	**Research Question**	Is there a significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Internal Assessment at the PG Level?
		Null Hypothesis	There is no significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Internal Assessment at the PG Level.
		Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students in the Internal Assessment **Categorical Variable** – Category (Reserved Category Students and Unreserved Category Students)

		Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that on average, Reserved Category Students archive 79.804% of marks in the Internal Assessment (*SD=8.484*), compared with the Unreserved Category Students, who obtain 81.148% of marks (*SD=10.335*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was -1.344%. This difference is statistically not significant at 0.05 level (*t (215) = -1.032, p = 0.3031*). Thus, the null hypothesis is accepted.
	Total Marks	**Research Question**	Is there a significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Total Marks they achieve at the PG Level?
		Null Hypothesis	There is no significant difference between the marks of Reserved and Unreserved Category Students in the Total Marks they achieve at the PG Level.
		Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Total Marks (End Semester Examinations Marks + Internal Assessment Marks) achieved by students **Categorical Variable** – Category (Reserved Category Students and Unreserved Category Students)
		Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that on average, Reserved Category Students archive 76.316% of marks in the Total Marks (*SD=7.638*), compared with the Unreserved Category Students, who obtain 77.879% of marks (*SD=10.478*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was -1.563%. This difference is statistically not significant at 0.05 level (*t (212) = -1.268, p = 0.2059*). Thus, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Fig. 5.4
Evidences of Catch – Up at the Undergraduate Level (UG Level)



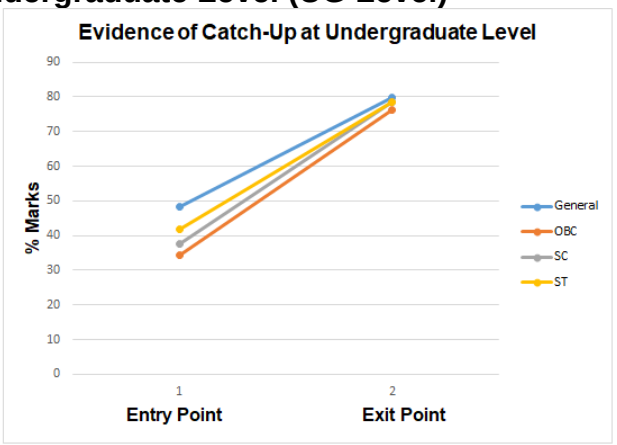
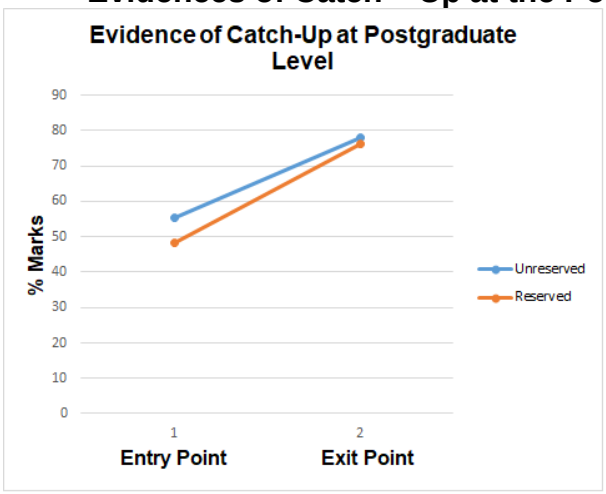


Fig. 5.5
Evidences of Catch – Up at the Postgraduate Level (PG Level)



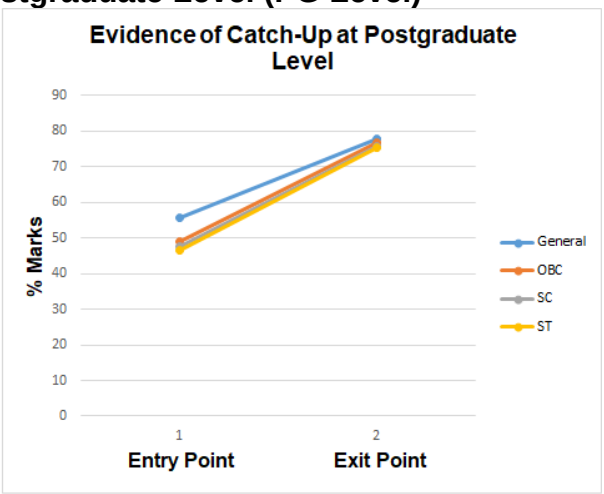


Table 5.13
Testing if Total Marks among different categories varies at PG Level?

Total Marks- Post-Graduate Level (PG Level)	**Research Question**	Do total marks achieved by different-different category students differ from each other at PG Level?
	Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in the total marks achieved by the different-different category students at the PG Level.
	Alternate Hypothesis	At least one category group mean marks is not the same as others.
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Total Marks (End Semester Examinations Marks + Internal Assessment Marks) achieved by students **Categorical Variable** – Category (General, OBC, SC, ST)
	One-way ANOVA Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate no statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained by students from different-different categories at PG level; *F (213) = 0.62, p = 0.6007*. This means that the null hypothesis is accepted, i.e., there is no statistically significant difference in the total marks achieved by the different-different category students at the PG Level.

Discussion

Table 5.10 reveals that

1. there is a statistically significant difference between the total marks achieved by the reserved category students and unreserved category students at the UG level. The effect size (magnitude of difference) is near to small as per Cohen's *d* (*d = -0.286*).
2. The difference in the obtained marks is statically significant in the case of End Semester marks Internal Assessment marks both. However, the magnitude of the difference is less in the case of End Semester (d = -0.227) than the Internal Assessment (*d = -3.124*).

3. Table 5.11 informs that a significant difference exists between the total marks achieved by the General category students and OBC category students at UG Level. There is no significant difference between the marks of General Category students and either SC or ST category students. Even there does not exist any significant difference between OBC students and either SC or ST students. This hints that the magnitude of significant difference between the General category students and OBC category students is likely to be small. This is confirmed by the eta-square (η2) effect size that only 2.853% of the marks difference is explainable by the category.

In contrast to the UG level, Table 5.12 reveals that, at PG level, there is no significant difference between the marks achieved by the reserved and unreserved category students in the case of Total Marks or End Semester Marks or Internal Assessment Marks. Table 5.13 also informs that there is no significant difference between the marks achieved by any category of the students in comparison to each other.

Fig 5.4 and Fig 5.5 shows the evidence of the Catch-Up at both UG and PG level, respectively. The Entry point is the students' average CUCET score (Entrance Examination Score), whereas the Exit Point is the average of students' marks in various courses after admission to the University. Both Fig 5.4 and Fig 5.5 shows that the gap between the reserved and unreserved categories are closing during UG and the PG courses. Reading the two figures together, it could be noticed that the gap at the entry point at the PG level is smaller than that of the UG level, highlighting the Catch-Up that happened at the UG level by the reserved category students.

It can be concluded from the above discussion that a small magnitude of mismatch between the marks achieved by the reserved category students exists at the UG level, and this also got eliminated at the PG level, i.e., there is no mismatch between reserved and unreserved category students at the PG level. On the contrary, there is evidence for Catch-Up at the UG and PG level by the reserved category students.

5.3 Caste, Reservations and Student's Perception

This section deals with the third objective of the study, i.e., "to find out what is the perception of different socio-economic background students about current socio-economic realities in higher education institution campuses?".

The Study has been conducted across four Central Universities (CUs) viz. Banaras Hindu University (BHU), University of Allahabad (UoA), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and Central University of Karnataka (CUK).

Data and Methods

A total of 1275 samples has been collected from four CUs, out of which 506 belongs to BHU, 549 to UoA, 115 to JNU and 105 to CUK. The attributes of the data have been summarised in Table 5.14 to Table 5.18.

Table 5.14
University wise total collected Samples and their Social Category

University ↓	Social Category →		General	OBC	SC	ST	Total
BHU	Sample Size	No. of Students	250	166	63	27	506
		% No. of Students	49.41	32.81	12.45	5.34	100
UoA	Sample Size	No. of Students	199	261	78	11	549
		% No. of Students	36.25	47.54	14.21	2.00	100
JNU	Sample Size	No. of Students	40	48	20	7	115
		% No. of Students	34.78	41.74	17.39	6.09	100
CUK	Sample Size	No. of Students	43	32	21	9	105
		% No. of Students	40.95	30.48	20.00	8.57	100

Table 5.15
Students who are the beneficiary of Reservations in the Samples

If the beneficiary of Reservations?	Sample Size	
	No. of Students	% No. of Students
Unreserved Category	532	41.73%
Reserved Category	743	58.27%
Total	**1275**	**100%**

Table 5.16
Stream-wise distribution of the Samples

Current Stream	No. of Students	% No. of Students
Humanities and Social Sciences	617	48.39
Sciences	332	26.04
Commerce	88	6.90
Engineering/Technology	31	2.43
Management	33	2.59
Medicine	6	0.47
Others	168	13.18
Total	**1275**	**100**

Table 5.17
Programme of the Study wise distribution of Students in the Sample

Name of the University ↓	Programme of the Study				Total
	Bachelors	Masters	MPhil	PhD	
BHU	232	204	0	70	**506**
UoA	285	203	2	59	**549**
JNU	7	41	22	45	**115**
CUK	23	31	0	51	**105**
Total	**547**	**479**	**24**	**225**	**1275**

Table 5.18
Gender wise distribution of Total Students in the Sample

Name of the University ↓	Gender		Total
	Female	Male	
BHU	49	457	**506**
UoA	66	483	**549**
JNU	50	65	**115**
CUK	39	66	**105**
Total	**204**	**1071**	**1275**

Two indices viz. *Caste Prejudice Index (CPI)* and *Caste Denial Index (CDI)* has been prepared by the author based on the data collected in the fieldwork. CPI aims to measure the inherent prejudices in the students, which they learn through primary and secondary socialisation. CDI measures the lack of awareness about the current social realities about the Caste and the role that Caste Capital plays in society.

Methods of Preparation of Indices

Four different-different statements and the responses to those four statements on the 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree) have been collected during the fieldwork are used in the preparation of each Index viz. *Caste Prejudice Index (CPI)* and *Caste Denial Index (CDI)*.

With respect to all the four statements in the case of both indices, i.e., CPI and CDI, the responses have been given a score in the following manner:

(+2) for Strongly Disagree, (+1) for Disagree, (0) for Neutral, (-1) for Agree and (-2) for Strongly Agree.

Scores of all the four statements have been added to find Caste Prejudice Score (CPS) and Caste Denial Score (CDS).

The *Caste Prejudice Index (CPI)* and *Caste Denial Index (CDI)* have been calculated for each respondent by putting their Caste Prejudice Score (CPS) and Caste Denial Score (CDS) in the following formulae:

$$Index\ Value\ =\ \frac{Actual\ Value - Maximum\ Value}{Minimum\ Value - Maximum\ Value}$$

where,

Actual Value = CPS or CDS of each respondent.

Maximum Value = Maximum possible value of CPS or CDS, i.e., (+8)[55].

Minimum Value = Minimum possible value of CPS or CDS, i.e., (-8)[56].

For each Index, i.e., CPI and CDI, all the values range between 0 and 1 for all the respondents. If CPI or CDI is equal to 1, it means the highest level of Caste Prejudice or highest level of Caste Denial, respectively. If CPI or CDI is equal to 0, it means there is the absence of any Caste Prejudice and Caste Denial,

[55] Maximum score for one question is (+2), there are a total of four question. Thus, maximum possible score = (2) + (2) + (2) + (2) = (8).

[56] Minimum score for one question is (-2), there are a total of four question. Thus, minimum possible score = (-2) + (-2) + (-2) + (-2) = (-8).

respectively. Lower the Index Value, lower the Caste Prejudice Level / lower the Caste Denial Level and vice-versa.

The CPI and CDI have been categorised into three categories viz. Low, Medium and High, which is tabulated in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19
Levels of Caste Prejudice and Caste Denial

CPI Value	Levels of Caste Prejudice		CDI Value	Level of Caste Denial
Minimum to 0.3000	Low Caste Prejudice Level		Minimum to 0.3000	Low Caste Denial Level
0.3001 to 0.6000	Medium Caste Prejudice Level		0.3001 to 0.6000	Medium Caste Denial Level
0.6001 to Maximum	High Caste Prejudice Level		0.6001 to Maximum	High Caste Denial Level

Validity of the Indices

Validity refers to the "degree to which a particular indicator measures what it is supposed to measure rather than reflecting some other phenomenon (Carmines and Zeller, 1979)." Table 5.20 deals with the theoretical validity of the statements used to prepare the Caste Prejudice Index (CPI), and Table 5.21 elucidates the theoretical validity of the statements used to prepare the Caste Denial Index (CDI).

Table 5.20
Theoretical Validity of the Questions used to Prepare *Caste Prejudice Index (CPI)*

Statements	Theoretical Validity
General Category Students are more hardworking than reserved category Students.	Characteristics like hardworking are could not merely be ascribed based on one's birth. In Section 5.2, we have seen evidence of catch-up and disappearance of mismatch in academic marks that reserved category students achieve. So attributing such characteristics based on birth is prejudicial.

Do you think upper-caste students are more intelligent than reserved category students?	Intelligence cannot be attributed to race or Caste (Gilman 2008, Saini 2019). So attributing intelligence based on Caste is the display of prejudice.
Reserved category people have got more benefits due to reservation than they deserve.	Agreeing to this statement is the display of prejudice. Chapter 2 have recorded the evidence of inequality in various spheres of life. In Section 5.1, we have seen that not all reserved seats are completely filled, despite reservations not being even in proportion to the population.
Reserved Category students do not need to study hard to progress in life.	Agreement with this statement again displays prejudice. In every competition, reserved category students compete with similarly situated candidates (i.e., they have to compete with other reserved category students).

Table 5.21
Theoretical Validity of the Questions used to Prepare *Caste Denial Index (CDI)*

Statements	Theoretical Validity
Caste is the thing of the Past. It is alive due to the reservations.	Chapter 2 deals in detail with how Caste is alive and kicking. So, thinking that Caste is a thing of the Past is ignorance or lack of awareness. Moreover, reservations exist because of Caste and not the other way around. Saying Caste is alive due to reservations is as absurd as saying one has got fever because of having paracetamol. Thus, agreeing to the statement in the left column is implies denying the caste dynamics and their impacts.
Discrimination today in India is only about Class (Rich and Poor) and not about Caste.	Chapter 2 has documented evidence of Caste-based discrimination. If one believes that there is no Caste discrimination in India, it is only possible when the person is highly unaware of present socio-economic dynamics. Thus, believing that discrimination is only about the class is denying the influence of Caste over the lives of large sections of society.
Caste discrimination exists because of reservations.	Caste discrimination had existed for centuries, long before reservations were introduced. Thus, attributing caste discrimination to reservations is inverting the logic and denying the continuity of the Caste in terms of its oppressive nature since the historical Past.
If everyone stops writing their caste	Caste is not merely in surnames/titles; Caste is connoted in historical privilege, social, cultural and economic capital, and the opposite

titles/surnames, Caste will end.	marginalisations of millions over centuries. Thus, assuming that Caste will end merely by removing surnames and titles is denying the pervasiveness of Caste and its deep rootedness.

Reliability of the Indices

Reliability refers to "the degree to which results are consistent across repeated measurements (Carmines and Zeller, 1979)." The reliability of the indices depends upon the reliability of the responses based on which indices have been prepared. The internal Consistency Method has been used to assess the reliability of the responses to the questions. *Cronbach's Alpha (α)* has been calculated to find out reliability, which can be calculated using formulae given below:

$$\alpha = \frac{N}{(N-1)}\left\{1 - \frac{\sum \sigma^2(Y_i)}{\sigma_x^2}\right\}$$

where,

N = No. of items/respondents,

$\sum \sigma^2(Y_i)$ = Sum of Item Variances,

σ_x^2 = the Variance of the total composite.

According to Carmines and Zeller (1979), as a general rule, *Cronbach's Alpha (α)* shall be more than 0.80 for a widely used questionnaire.

Scale Reliability Coefficient or *Cronbach's Alpha (α)* for the questions used to prepare the indices is equal to ***0.8397***. Thus, it can be said that a reasonable degree of reliability is ensured.

Analysis, Results and Discussions

Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) measures the caste prejudices that a person has imbibed, whereas Caste Denial Index measures the lack of awareness about the role caste plays in social dynamics and deciding one's accidental privileges and deprivations. Thus, CDI measures the likelihood of denial of the role that Caste as a social institution has in deciding one's social-economic conditions in current times, which emanates from the lack of awareness about the role that Caste plays in society. Table 5.22 contains the details of CPI and CDI across four central universities campus under the Study.

Table 5.22
University wise Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) and Caste Denial Index (CDI)

University wise CPI			**University wise CDI**	
Name of the University	**CPI**		**Name of the University**	**CDI**
BHU	0.434		BHU	0.487
UoA	0.367		UoA	0.461
JNU	0.198		JNU	0.236
CUK	0.373		CUK	0.443
Total	**0.379**		**Total**	**0.450**
Pearson's Correlation Coefficient (r) between CPI and CDI = 0.6362				

Data Source: Author's Field Work

Table 5.22 reveals that BHU is the most caste prejudiced campus, and JNU is the least Caste prejudiced out of four CUs under Study. This stands the same for the caste denial also. Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) was calculated to find out if there is any correlation between CPI and CDI. The correlation coefficient (r) value between CPI and CDI is **0.6362**. This means that there exists a strong/large correlation[57] between CPI and CDI. This implies that campuses with higher caste denial levels are more likely to be prejudiced, and

[57] According to Cohen (1988), "if correlation coefficient (r) value ranges between 0.1 to 0.3, the strength of association is small; if (r) value ranges between 0.3 and 0.5, it is medium/moderate correlation; if (r) value is greater than 0.5, the strength of association is large/strong".

the campuses that show more awareness about the caste dynamics and are less likely to deny the caste role is likely to be less prejudiced.

A *one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA)* has been conducted to find out if a significant difference exists among the prejudice level (which is indicated by CPI value) across the campuses. The results have been tabulated in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23
Does Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly across universities?

Research Question	Does Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly across universities?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in the caste prejudice level across the different-different universities.
Alternate Hypothesis	At least one of the university campus's prejudice levels is different from others.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) **Categorical Variable** – University (BHU, UoA, JNU, CUK)
One-way ANOVA Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level with respect to prejudice level (CPI) among different university campuses; $F\ (1271) = 27.85,\ p < 0.001$. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected, i.e., there exists a statistically significant difference with respect to prejudice level (CPI) among different university campuses.

Table 5.23 reveals that a statically significant difference exists with respect to prejudice level across different CUs under Study. This difference could be attributed to the varying levels of socio-political activities, nature of the intellectual debate, academic pursuit, and ideological leanings across campus. Socio-Political activities give diverse sections of the campus to voice their perspectives and concerns, which plays a crucial role in educating the campus

population regarding socio-economic realities, which are hardly part of the curriculum for most of the courses taught in classrooms. JNU is the most socio-politically active campus and has the lowest level of prejudice (CPI value for JNU = 0.198); in contrast, BHU has the highest prejudice level among four CUs under Study (CPI value for BHU = 0.434). UoA is situated in a similar region as BHU shows a lower level of caste prejudice than BHU (CPI value for UoA = 0.367).

Table 5.24 summarises the Category-wise and Gender-wise levels of Caste Prejudice (CPI) and Caste Denial (CDI).

Table 5.24
Category and Gender wise Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) and Caste Denial Index (CDI)

Caste Prejudice Index			**Caste Denial Index**	
Category	**CPI**		**Category**	**CDI**
General	0.550		General	0.565
OBC	0.285		OBC	0.402
SC	0.193		SC	0.278
ST	0.213		ST	0.337
Gender	**CPI**		**Gender**	**CDI**
Female	0.401		Female	0.478
Male	0.375		Male	0.444

Table 5.24 informs that General category students have the highest CPI and CDI scores. This means that General students have the highest level of Caste prejudice among all the categories of respondents. SC and ST students have relatively lower Caste prejudice and Caste denial levels, i.e., SC and ST students are more likely to be aware of the present social realities and less likely to have Caste prejudices.

If the differences between Caste Prejudice Level between the different-different social and gender categories are statistically significant or not has been tested, and results have been summarised in Table 5.25, Table 5.26 and Table 5.27. If streams of the Study have a significant impact on the prejudice level or not have also been tested, and the results are summarised in Table 5.28. The impact of Levels of Study on Prejudice Level (CPI) has been tested and summarised in table 5.29.

Table 5.25

Does the Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly between male and female students?

Research Question	Does the Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly between male and female students?
Null Hypothesis	Both Male and Female Students are equally Prejudiced.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) **Categorical Variable** – Gender Categories (Male and Female)
Test Results Interpretation	Two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that the average CPI for Females have been 0.401 (*SD = 0.259*), and the average CPI for Males have been 0.375 (*SD = 0.261*). The average difference between the CPI value of Female and Male students was 0.026 points only. This was statistically not significant difference at 0.05 level (*t (1273) =1.30, p = 0.1923*). Thus, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Table 5.26

Does the Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly between Reserved Category and Unreserved Category students?

Research Question	Does the Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly between Reserved Category and Unreserved Category students?
Null Hypothesis	Both Reserved Category and Unreserved Category Students are equally Prejudiced.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) **Categorical Variable** – Reserved Categories and Unreserved Categories (Reserved Category contains SC, ST and OBC categories students together, Unreserved Category contains General Category Students only).

Test Results Interpretation	Two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that the average CPI for Reserved Categories have been 0.256 (*SD = 0.199*), and the average CPI for Unreserved Category have been 0.549 (*SD = 0.240*). The average difference between the CPI value of Reserved Category and Unreserved Category Students was 0.293 points. This was statistically significant difference at 0.05 level (*t (1008) = 22.97, p < 0.001*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Cohen's *d* is calculated to find the magnitude of the difference. Cohen's *d* reveal that a very large difference exists between the prejudice level of reserved and unreserved category students (*d = 1.345*).

Table 5.27
Does Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly across different-different social category students?

Research Question	Does Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly across different-different social category students?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in the caste prejudice level across different-different social category students.
Alternate Hypothesis	At least one of the social category student's prejudice levels is different from others.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) **Categorical Variable** – Social Categories (General, OBC, SC, ST)
One-way ANOVA Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level with respect to prejudice level (CPI) among different-different social category students; *F (1271) = 199.38, p < 0.001*. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected, i.e., there exists a statistically significant difference with respect to prejudice level (CPI) among different-different social category students. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the social category explains 47.06% of the variations in Prejudice Levels (CPI).

Bonferroni Test	Comparison of CPI by Category (Bonferroni) Row Mean-Col Mean | General / OBC / SC OBC: -.265413, 0.000 SC: -.356935, 0.000 / -.091522, 0.000 ST: -.336967, 0.000 / -.071554, 0.124 / .019968, 1.000
Bonferroni Test Results Interpretation	The statistically significant difference exists in Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) between students of the General category and OBC/SC/ST categories and also between OBC and SC category. There is no significant difference in caste prejudice level (CPI) between SC and ST category and ST and OBC Category.

Table 5.28
Does the Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary between the students of different-different streams?

Research Question	Does the Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary between the students of different-different streams?
Null Hypothesis	Both Science stream and Humanities stream students are equally Prejudiced.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Caste Prejudice Index (CPI) **Categorical Variable** – Stream of Study (Science and Humanities)
Test Results Interpretation	Two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that the average CPI for Science stream students have been 0.456 (*SD = 0.244*), and the average CPI for Humanities stream students have been 0.335 (*SD = 0.259*). The average difference between the CPI value of the science stream and Humanities stream Students was 0.121 points. This was statistically significant difference at 0.05 level (*t (947) = -7.009, p < 0.001*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. Cohen's *d* is calculated to find the magnitude of the difference. Cohen's *d* reveal that a medium level of difference exists between the prejudice level of science stream and Humanities stream students (*d = -0.477*).

Table 5.29
Does Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly across different-different levels of Study?

<table>
<tr><td>Research Question</td><td>Does Caste Prejudice Level (CPI) vary significantly across different-different levels of Study?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Null Hypothesis</td><td>There is no difference in the caste prejudice level across different-different levels of Study.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Alternate Hypothesis</td><td>The prejudice level of students of at least one study level is different from others.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Variables</td><td>Continuous Variable – Caste Prejudice Index (CPI)
Categorical Variable – Levels of Study (Bachelors, Masters, MPhil, PhD)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Levels of Study and Prejudice Level (CPI)</td><td>
<table>
<tr><th>Levels of Study</th><th>CPI</th><th>SD</th></tr>
<tr><td>Bachelors</td><td>0.419</td><td>0.261</td></tr>
<tr><td>Masters</td><td>0.386</td><td>0.262</td></tr>
<tr><td>MPhil</td><td>0.151</td><td>0.135</td></tr>
<tr><td>PhD</td><td>0.290</td><td>0.238</td></tr>
</table>
</td></tr>
<tr><td>One-way ANOVA Test Results Interpretation</td><td>A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that there is a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level with respect to prejudice level (CPI) among students at different-different levels of Study; F (1271) = 20.02, p < 0.001. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected, i.e., there exists a statistically significant difference with respect to prejudice level (CPI) among students at different-different levels of Study. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the level of Study explains only 1.06% of the variations in Prejudice Levels (CPI).</td></tr>
</table>

Following observations can be made from the above tables (Table 5.24 to 5.29):

1. Table 5.25 informs that Caste prejudice level does not get influenced by gender, i.e., simply belonging to male or female gender does not make any person more prejudiced or less prejudiced.
2. Table 5.26 reveals that the level of caste prejudice is higher in unreserved category students than reserved category students. This difference in prejudice level between unreserved and reserved category

students is very large. This implies that caste/category and socialisation play a highly significant role in determining one's caste prejudice level.

3. Table 5.24 and 5.27 shows the significant inter-category variations in the caste prejudice levels. General category students display the highest level of caste prejudice, followed by OBC category students. SC category students are the least prejudiced. This again underscores the crucial role caste plays in one's primary and secondary socialisation and consequent imbibing of the caste prejudices.
4. Table 5.28 establishes that Humanities stream students are less likely to have caste prejudices as compared to science stream students. This is likely to be because training in humanities directly or indirectly makes students more aware of the social realities and hence helps them unlearn the biases that they might have learned through primary socialisation.
5. Table 5.29 reveals that as students go up to the higher levels in studies, their caste prejudice level reduces. For example, MPhil and PhD students are likely to have lower levels of caste prejudice than bachelor and masters' students.

If students' caste prejudice levels (CPI) and caste denial levels (CDI) impact their views on existing caste-category-based reservation policy, have been tested, and results have been summarised in Table 5.30 and Table 5.31. The results related to curiosity to know others Caste/Category and how often different category people are enquired about their Caste is tabulated in Table 5.32 and Table 5.33.

Table 5.30
Does a significant difference exist regarding views about reservation policy with respect to the students with different-different levels of Caste Prejudice?

Caste Prejudice Levels	Do you think that Caste-Category based reservation policy is discriminatory?				
	Strongly Disagree	**Disagree**	**Neutral**	**Agree**	**Strongly Agree**
Low Prejudice Level	34.59%	36.86%	11.15%	12.85%	4.54%
Medium Prejudice Level	5.23%	20.04%	21.13%	37.91%	15.69%
High Prejudice Level	0.35%	2.44%	3.83%	29.27%	64.11%

Research Question	Does a significant difference exist regarding views about reservation policy with respect to the students with different-different levels of Caste Prejudice?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in views related to reservation policy among the students with different-different prejudice levels.
Variables	**Categorical Variable** – Prejudice Levels (Low Prejudice Level, Medium Prejudice Level, High Prejudice Level) **Categorical Variable** – Views regarding reservation policy (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree)
Test Result Interpretation	A chi-square test of independence was conducted, and results reveal a statistically significant difference regarding views related to reservation policy among the students with different-different levels of caste prejudice: $\chi 2(8, n = 1,275) = 705.03, p = 0.00$, *Cramer's V = 0.5258*. Of the total students with high levels of caste prejudice, 93.38% (Strongly Agree+ Agree) of them believes that reservation policy is discriminatory, in contrast to that of the total students with the low level of caste prejudice, 71.45% (Strongly Disagree + Disagree) believes that reservation policy is not discriminatory.

Table 5.31
Does a significant difference exist regarding views about Reservations based on Economic Criteria with respect to the students with different-different levels of Caste Denial?

Caste Prejudice Levels	Reservations should solely be based on economic criteria.				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Low Caste Denial Level	44.86%	27.84%	5.41%	12.43%	9.46%
Medium Caste Denial Level	8.48%	16.38%	13.49%	30.25%	31.41%
High Caste Denial Level	2.07%	4.66%	8.81%	20.98%	63.47%

Research Question	Does a significant difference exist regarding views about Reservations based on Economic Criteria with respect to the students with different-different levels of Caste Denial?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in views related to reservations based on economic criteria among the students with different-different caste denial levels.
Variables	**Categorical Variable** – Caste Denial Levels (Low Caste Denial Level, Medium Caste Denial Level, High Caste Denial Level) **Categorical Variable** – Views regarding Reservations based on Economic Criteria (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree)
Test Result Interpretation	A chi-square test of independence was conducted, and results reveal that there is a statistically significant difference regarding views related to Reservations based on Economic Criteria among the students with different-different levels of Caste Denial: $\chi 2(8, n = 1,275) = 510.80, p = 0.00$, *Cramer's V = 0.4476*. Of the total students with high levels of caste denial, 84.45% (Strongly Agree+ Agree) of them are in favour of economic criteria-based reservations, in contrast to that of the total students with the low level of caste denial, 72.7% (Strongly Disagree + Disagree) are against the economic criteria-based reservations.

Table 5.32
Does curiosity to know other people's Caste/Category vary significantly across students of different-different categories?

Category	Did you ever try to know about someone's caste/category on the campus?		
	Yes	**No**	**Can't Say**
General	19.36	74.06	6.58
OBC	21.89	69.63	8.48
SC	20.88	71.43	7.69
ST	14.81	79.63	5.56
Total	20.39	72.16	7.45

Research Question	Does curiosity to know other people's Caste/Category vary significantly across students of different-different categories?
Null Hypothesis	There is no variation in curiosity to know other people's Caste/Category across students of different-different categories.
Variables	**Categorical Variable** – Category (General, OBC, SC, ST) **Categorical Variable** – If tried to know someone's Caste at the campus (Yes, No, Can't Say)
Test Result Interpretation	A chi-square test of independence was conducted, and results reveal that there is no statistically significant difference regarding curiosity to know other person's Caste/Category among students of different-different categories: $\chi 2(6, n = 1,275) = 4.3714, p = 0.627.$ This means that there is no difference in the level of curiosity to know other people's Caste/Category among students of different-different categories.

Table 5.33
Does enquiry about one's Caste/Category vary significantly across students of different-different categories?

Category	I was enquired about my Caste-Category on the campus by friends/teachers.		
	Yes	**No**	**Can't Say**
General	33.83	55.83	10.34
OBC	41.22	51.08	7.69
SC	50.00	35.16	14.84
ST	40.74	50.00	9.26
Total	39.37	50.75	9.88

Research Question	Does enquiry about one's Caste/Category vary significantly across students of different-different categories?
Null Hypothesis	There is no variation in enquiry about one's Caste/Category among the students of different-different categories.
Variables	**Categorical Variable** – Category (General, OBC, SC, ST)

	Categorical Variable – If ever enquired about your Caste at the campus (Yes, No, Can't Say)
Test Result Interpretation	A chi-square test of independence was conducted and results reveal that there is statistically significant difference regarding enquiry about one's Caste/Category among the students of different-different categories: *χ2(6, n = 1,275) = 28.3740, p = 0.00, Cramer's V = 0.1055*. 50% of SC category students, 40.74% of ST students and 41.22% of OBC category students were asked about their Caste/Category on the campus, whereas this data stands 33.83% for General Category Students.

Following observations can be made from the above tables (Table 5.30 to 5.33):

1. Table 5.30 informs that as the caste prejudice level increases, it is more likely that students will believe that caste-category based reservation policy is discriminatory; in contrast with the lower caste prejudice levels, the students are more likely to believe that caste-category based reservation policy is not discriminatory. Thus, one's caste prejudice level influences one's views about reservation policy.
2. Table 5.31 reveals that students with higher caste denial levels (i.e., less aware of the current caste realities) are more likely to favour economic criteria-based reservation. In contrast, students with relatively higher awareness about current caste realities, i.e., students with lower levels of caste denial, are more likely to reject the economic criteria-based reservations.
3. Table 5.32 and Table 5.33 shows that every category of students has similar levels of curiosity to know about other person's caste category. However, reserved category student's (SC, ST and OBC students) are more likely to be enquired about their caste/category than general category students on the campuses.

5.4 Cultural Capital and Academic Achievements

The concept of *Cultural Capital* was introduced by *Pierre Bourdieu* in his seminal work '*Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction'* in 1977, in which he attempted to explain the role of education in ensuring the inter-generation reproduction of the social and cultural privileges in the society. Cultural Capital can be defined as "a form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills and awards. Within the field of education, for example, an academic degree constitutes cultural capital (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002)."

Bourdieu distinguished three forms of cultural capital (viz. Embodied, Objectified and Institutionalised) in his work '*The forms of Capital*' in 1986. Bourdieu describes cultural capital in the *embodied* state as "in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body." Embodied capital required inculcation by the individual. Mannerism, language skills, accent etc., are examples of embodied capital. The cultural capital in the *objectified* state is "in the form of cultural goods" that indicate a *Social Class*. For example, the ownership of books and libraries, iPhone, BMW car etc., can be called cultural capital in the objectified state. In the *institutionalised* state, "cultural capital takes the form of a certificate of cultural competence, e.g., a formalised academic qualification (diploma/degree) that is socially sanctioned by an institution (the way society measures social capital)."

This section deals with the third objective of the study, i.e., "to find out which elements of the cultural capital of students impacts their academic achievements and to what extent?" The impacts of the cultural factors like

*educational qualifications of the parents and parents' ability to read and understand English language, Income levels of family, ownership of Laptop on the student's academic achievem*ents have been analysed.

The data for the purpose have been collected across four Central Universities (CUs) viz. Banaras Hindu University (BHU), University of Allahabad (UoA), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and Central University of Karnataka (CUK).

Data and Methods

The questionnaire used for the data collection is attached in Annexure – II. A total of 1275 samples has been collected from four CUs, out of which 506 belongs to BHU, 549 to UoA, 115 to JNU and 105 to CUK. The socio-cultural attributes of the data collected have been summarised in Table 5.34 to Table 5.37.

Table 5.34
Social Category wise Level of Father's Education of Students

Category	Father's Education				
	Higher Education	Secondary and Senior Secondary	Primary and Upper Primary	No Formal Education/Illiterate	Total
General	72.56%	22.18%	3.20%	2.07%	100%
OBC	47.73%	34.52%	10.65%	7.10%	100%
SC	42.86%	31.32%	15.38%	10.44%	100%
ST	22.22%	37.04%	20.37%	20.37%	100%

Table 5.35
University wise Level of Father's Education of Students

Name of the University →	BHU			UoA	
Father's Education ↓	Frequency	Percentage		Frequency	Percentage
Higher Education	276	54.55%		322	58.65%
Secondary and Senior Secondary	160	31.62%		152	27.69%
Primary and Upper Primary	46	9.09%		38	6.92%
No Formal Education/Illiterate	24	4.74%		37	6.74%
Total	**506**	100%		**549**	100%
Name of the University →	**JNU**			**CUK**	
Father's Education ↓	**Frequency**	**Percentage**		**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Higher Education	64	55.65%		56	53.33%
Secondary and Senior Secondary	35	30.43%		23	21.90%
Primary and Upper Primary	11	9.57%		15	14.29%
No Formal Education/Illiterate	5	4.35%		11	10.48%
Total	**115**	100%		**105**	100%

Table 5.36
Social Category wise Level of Mother's Education of Students

Category	Mother's Education				
	Higher Education	Secondary and Senior Secondary	Primary and Upper Primary	No Formal Education/Illiterate	Total
General	44.55%	33.08%	15.79%	6.58%	100%
OBC	18.34%	27.81%	23.08%	30.77%	100%
SC	12.09%	28.57%	19.23%	40.11%	100%
ST	9.26%	22.22%	18.52%	50.00%	100%

Table 5.37
Social Category wise Level of Family Income of Students

Category	Monthly Income of Family				Total
	Up to 20,000	20,000 to 40,000	40,000 to 80,000	More than 80,000	
General	37.26%	25.67%	22.43%	14.64%	100%
OBC	52.79%	23.31%	17.53%	6.37%	100%
SC	57.63%	20.34%	9.60%	12.43%	100%
ST	46.50%	24.24%	18.52%	10.73%	100%

The data for Father's and Mother's education is collected using Q. No. (14 and 16) from the questionnaire (attached in Annexure – II). A total of 11 options (see Q. No. 14 and 16 in the Annexure – II) were given to respondents for answering questions related to Father's and Mother's Education. These 11 options were regrouped (clubbed together) into the following four categories for ease of analysis.

Level of Father's/Mother's Education:

1. Higher Education (PhD, MPhil, Masters, Bachelors)
2. Secondary and Senior Secondary (10^{th} and 12^{th})
3. Primary and Upper Primary (Up to 5^{th} and 8^{th} Standard)
4. No Formal Education/Illiterate (Read and Write – No Education, Read-Only – No Education, Illiterate)

The data related to the student's marks have been collected using the questionnaire attached in Annexure – II). Since marks data is collected in different class intervals (see Q. No. 21, 24, 26 and 27 in the Annexure – II). The midpoint of the class interval has been used for analysis purposes.

Observations, Analysis, Results and Discussions

Table 5.34 presents interesting information about the socio-cultural background of the students in higher education. Fathers of 72.56% of students of the General category have degrees in Higher Education, and fathers of 94.74% of students from General category have educational qualifications either equal to High School (10^{th}) or above. In the case of ST students, merely 22.22% of students' fathers have education degrees of Higher Education. In contrast, 44.74% of fathers of ST students are either educated up to 8^{th} standard or

below. 22.37% of ST students fathers are Illiterate or have no formal education; this figure stands 10.44% for SC students and 7.10% for OBC students.

Table 5.36 gives information about the mother's education of the students in Higher Education. A comparison of Table 5.34 and 5.36 reveals that mothers of students relatively have lower levels of education as compared to fathers across categories. For instance, mothers of 44.55% of General category students have degrees in higher education (this data is 72.56% for fathers of general category students). In the case of SC, ST and OBC, only mothers of 12.09%, 9.26% and 18.34%, respectively, have degrees in higher education. In contrast, 50%, 40.11% and 30.77% mothers of ST, SC and OBC category students are either illiterate or have no formal education. This figure is merely 6.58% for the mothers of General category students.

Thus, a collective reading Table 5.34 and 5.36 highlights the cultural capital differences among different-different categories of students. On the other hand, both tables also unearth important information about the targeting of the reservations[58]. A close perusal of both tables reveals that the kids of less educated and illiterate parents are able to access the campuses of higher education in significant numbers. Thus, the long-held opinion that reservation policy benefits mostly are appropriated by the elites/rich classes of the reserved category stands on shaky foundations.

Table 5.35 informs that the numbers of students whose Father is either illiterate or have no formal education is double in terms of share of all the students in

[58] The phrase "targeting of the reservations" is used in the sense of identifying "who" are the beneficiaries of the reservation policies. Here "who" means different classes (rich and poor, highly educated and less educated/illiterate) among the reserved category itself.

the university in the case of CUK than that of BHU, JNU and UoA. Students whose Father is either illiterate or have no formal education comprise 10.48% of the total students in CUK. This figure stands to be 4.74%, 6.74% and 4.35%, respectively, for BHU, UoA and JNU. The proportion of students whose Father is educated only up to primary and upper primary level is also higher in CUK than BHU, UoA and JNU. This implies that CUK, owing to its location in a relatively backward area, is fulfilling its purpose of increasing the penetration of Higher education in backward areas of the country.

Table 5.38 test the hypothesis if the Father's education level impacts students' marks/grades at various levels of education. Table 5.39 examines the impact of family income on students' performance at different-different levels of study. Table 5.40 investigates if students' academic performance at various levels of study varies with the Father's ability to read and understand the English language. Table 5.41 tests if students schooling in Hindi or English Medium at High School impacts their performance in Higher education. Table 5.42 attempts to find out if ownership of a Laptop influences the students' academic performance in Higher Education.

Table 5.38
Do student's marks vary significantly with Father's Education Level?

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">High School Level (10th)</td><td>Research Question</td><td>Does student's marks at High School Level (10th) vary significantly with Father's Education Level?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Null Hypothesis</td><td>There is no difference in marks achieved by students at High School Level (10th) among the students with different-different levels of Father's Education.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Variables</td><td>Continuous Variable – Marks achieved by students at High School (10th)
Categorical Variable – Father's Education Levels</td></tr>
<tr><td>Average Marks achieved by students at High School (10th) by</td><td>
<table>
<tr><th>Father's Education</th><th>Mean Marks (10th)</th><th>Standard Deviation (SD)</th><th>Frequency</th></tr>
<tr><td>Higher Education</td><td>81.02%</td><td>12.020</td><td>718</td></tr>
</table>
</td></tr>
</table>

	Father's Education	Secondary and Senior Secondary	78.70%	12.754	370
		Primary and Upper Primary	73%	12.100	110
		No Formal Education/Illiterate	75.26%	13.762	77
		Total	**79.31%**	**12.587**	**1275**
	Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at the high school level; *F (1271) = 17.19, p < 0.001*. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Father's Education Levels explains only 3.899% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at the High School Level.			
Intermediate Level (12th)	**Research Question**	Do student's marks at Intermediate Level (12th) vary significantly with Father's Education Level?			
	Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in marks achieved by students at Intermediate Level (12th) among the students with different-different levels of Father's Education.			
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Intermediate Level (12th) **Categorical Variable** – Father's Education Levels			
	Average Marks achieved by students at Intermediate Level (12th) by Father's Education	**Father's Education**	**Mean Marks (12th)**	**Standard Deviation (SD)**	**Frequency**
		Higher Education	76.82%	10.920	718
		Secondary and Senior Secondary	74.54%	11.407	370
		Primary and Upper Primary	72.27%	10.571	110
		No Formal Education/Illiterate	72.79%	12.207	77
		Total	**75.53%**	**11.219**	**1275**
	Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at intermediate level; *F (1271) = 8.93, p < 0.001*. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Father's Education Levels explains only 2.064% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at the intermediate level.			

Bachelors Level

Research Question	Do student's marks at Bachelors Level vary significantly with Father's Education Level?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level among the students with different-different levels of Father's Education.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by Student's Bachelors Level **Categorical Variable** – Father's Education Levels

Average Marks achieved by Student's Bachelors Level by Father's Education

Father's Education	Mean Marks	Standard Deviation (SD)	Frequency
Higher Education	67.64%	9.181	550
Secondary and Senior Secondary	65.84%	9.428	299
Primary and Upper Primary	65%	9.893	95
No Formal Education/Illiterate	64.83%	8.807	59
Total	**66.68%**	**9.353**	**1003**

Test Results Interpretation

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at Bachelors level; $F(999) = 4.57, p = 0.0035$. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Father's Education Levels explains only 1.371% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level.

Masters Level

Research Question	Do student's marks at Masters Level vary significantly with Father's Education Level?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in marks achieved by students at Masters Level among the students with different-different levels of Father's Education.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Masters Level **Categorical Variable** – Father's Education Levels

Average Marks achieved by Student's Masters Level by Father's Education

Father's Education	Mean Marks	Standard Deviation (SD)	Frequency
Higher Education	71.29%	9.223	267
Secondary and Senior Secondary	68.38%	8.536	148
Primary and Upper Primary	69.73%	7.901	55
No Formal Education/Illiterate	68.33%	7.723	39
Total	**70.05%**	**8.865**	**509**

	Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at Masters Level; *F (505) = 4.09, p = 0.0070*. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Father's Education Levels explains only 2.367% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at Masters Level.

Table 5.39
Do student's marks vary significantly with Family Income Level?

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="5">High School Level (10th)</td><td>Research Question</td><td colspan="4">Does student's marks at High School Level (10th) vary significantly with different-different levels of Family Income?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Null Hypothesis</td><td colspan="4">There is no difference in marks achieved by students at High School Level (10th) among the students with different-different levels of Family Income.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Variables</td><td colspan="4">Continuous Variable – Marks achieved by students at High School (10th)
Categorical Variable – Family Income Levels</td></tr>
<tr><td>Average Marks achieved by students at High School (10th) by Family Income</td><td colspan="4"><table>
<tr><th>Family Income</th><th>Mean Marks (10th)</th><th>Standard Deviation (SD)</th><th>Frequency</th></tr>
<tr><td>Up to 20,000</td><td>78.11%</td><td>12.709</td><td>585</td></tr>
<tr><td>20,000 to 40,000</td><td>79.52%</td><td>12.428</td><td>305</td></tr>
<tr><td>40,000 to 80,000</td><td>80.62%</td><td>12.235</td><td>233</td></tr>
<tr><td>More than 80,000</td><td>83.15%</td><td>11.275</td><td>135</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>79.46%</td><td>12.496</td><td>1258</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Test Results Interpretation</td><td colspan="4">A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at the high school level; F (1254) = 6.96, p = 0.0001. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Family Income Levels explains only 1.639% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at the High School Level.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5"></td></tr>
</table>

Intermediate Level (12th)

Research Question	Do student's marks at Intermediate Level (12th) vary significantly with different-different levels of Family Income?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in marks achieved by students at Intermediate Level (12th) among the students with different-different levels of Family Income.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Intermediate Level (12th) **Categorical Variable** – Family Income Levels

Average Marks achieved by students at Intermediate Level (12th) by Family Income

Family Income	Mean Marks (12th)	Standard Deviation (SD)	Frequency
Up to 20,000	74.78%	11.155	585
20,000 to 40,000	75.98%	10.868	305
40,000 to 80,000	76.07%	11.678	233
More than 80,000	77.59%	10.856	135
Total	**75.61%**	**11.177**	**1258**

Test Results Interpretation	A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at intermediate level; $F(1254) = 2.76, p = 0.0413$. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Family Income Levels explains merely 0.655% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at the intermediate level.

Bachelors Level

Research Question	Do student's marks at Bachelors Level vary significantly with different-different levels of Family Income?
Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level among the students with different-different levels of Family Income.
Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by Student's Bachelors Level **Categorical Variable** – Family Income Levels

Average Marks achieved by Student's Bachelors Level by Family Income

Family Income	Mean Marks	Standard Deviation (SD)	Frequency
Up to 20,000	65.99%	9.545	456
20,000 to 40,000	67.80%	9.263	239
40,000 to 80,000	66.56%	8.959	186

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td><table>
<tr><td>More than 80,000</td><td>67.92%</td><td>9.151</td><td>106</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>66.74%</td><td>9.350</td><td>987</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Test Results Interpretation</td><td>A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate a statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at Bachelors level; F (983) = 2.62, p = 0.0496. This means that the null hypothesis is rejected. Eta-square (η2) is used to determine the effect size, which tells that the Family Income Levels explains merely 0.793% of the variation in total marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Masters Level</td><td>Research Question</td><td>Do student’s marks at Masters Level vary significantly with different-different levels of Family Income?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Null Hypothesis</td><td>There is no difference in marks achieved by students at Masters Level among the students with different-different levels of Family Income.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Variables</td><td>Continuous Variable – Marks achieved by students at Masters Level
Categorical Variable – Family Income Levels</td></tr>
<tr><td>Average Marks achieved by Student’s Masters Level by Family Income</td><td><table>
<tr><th>Family Income</th><th>Mean Marks</th><th>Standard Deviation (SD)</th><th>Frequency</th></tr>
<tr><td>Up to 20,000</td><td>69.85%</td><td>8.738</td><td>239</td></tr>
<tr><td>20,000 to 40,000</td><td>69.72%</td><td>8.737</td><td>122</td></tr>
<tr><td>40,000 to 80,000</td><td>70.59%</td><td>9.720</td><td>93</td></tr>
<tr><td>More than 80,000</td><td>70.43%</td><td>8.085</td><td>46</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>70%</td><td>8.852</td><td>500</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Test Results Interpretation</td><td>A one-way ANOVA was conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that there is no statistically significant difference at 0.05 significance level among the total marks obtained at Masters Level; F (496) = 0.25, p = 0.8600. This means that the null hypothesis is accepted, i.e., there is no difference in marks achieved by students at Masters Level among the students with different-different levels of Family Income</td></tr>
</table>

Table 5.40
Do student's marks (grade) in Higher Education vary with Father's ability to read and understand English?

Bachelors Level	**Research Question**	Does Father's ability to read and understand English impacts students' marks at Bachelors Level?
	Null Hypothesis	The student's marks at Bachelors Level do not vary with Father's ability to read and understand English.
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level **Categorical Variable** – Father's ability to read and understand English (Yes and No)
	Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, student's whose father **can** read and understand English archive 67.536% of marks at the Bachelors Level (*SD=9.253*), whereas the student's whose father **cannot** read and understand English obtain 65.508% of marks (*SD=9.372*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was 2.027%. This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (967) = 3.3544, p = 0.0008*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is Small (*d = 0.218*).
Masters Level	**Research Question**	Does Father's ability to read and understand English impacts students' marks at Masters Level?
	Null Hypothesis	The student's marks at Masters Level do not vary with Father's ability to read and understand English.
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Masters Level **Categorical Variable** – Father's ability to read and understand English (Yes and No)
	Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, student's whose father **can** read and understand English archive 71.208% of marks at the Masters Level (*SD=8.838*), whereas the student's whose father **cannot** read and understand English obtain 68.665% of marks (*SD=8.562*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was 2.543%. This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (488) = 3.2141, p = 0.0014*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is Small (*d = 0.292*).

Table 5.41
Does student's medium of instruction at High School (10th) impact student's marks(grade) significantly in Higher Education?

Bachelors Level	**Research Question**	Does the student's medium of instruction at 10th impact the student's marks at Bachelors Level?
	Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in the student's marks at Bachelors Level with the different-different medium of instruction at High School Level (10th).
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level **Categorical Variable** – Medium of instruction at High School (English and Hindi)
	Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, students with **Hindi** as the medium of instruction at High School archive 64.428% of marks at the Bachelors Level (*SD=8.952*), whereas the students with **English** as Medium of instruction at High School obtain 68.736% of marks (*SD=9.009*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was (-4.308%). This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (923) = -7.3015, p < 0.001*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is near to medium (*d = -0.4798*).
Masters Level	**Research Question**	Does the student's medium of instruction at 10th impact the student's marks at Masters Level?
	Null Hypothesis	There is no difference in the student's marks at Masters Level with the different-different medium of instruction at High School Level (10th).
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Masters Level **Categorical Variable** – Medium of instruction at High School (English and Hindi)
	Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, students with **Hindi** as the medium of instruction at High School archive 68.636% of marks at the Masters Level (*SD=8.701*), whereas the students with **English** as Medium of instruction at High School obtain 71.599% of marks (*SD=8.984*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was (-2.963%). This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (459) = -3.5665, p = 0.0004*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is between Small and Medium (*d = -0.3358*).

Table 5.42
Does ownership of a Laptop by Student impacts student's marks in Higher Education?

Bachelors Level	**Research Question**	Does ownership of a Laptop impact student's marks at the Bachelors Level?
	Null Hypothesis	Ownership of Laptop does not impact students marks at Bachelors Level.
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Bachelors Level **Categorical Variable** – Status of Ownership of Laptop (Yes and No)
	Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, students who own a laptop archive 67.665% of marks at the Bachelors Level (*SD=9.199*), whereas the students who do not own a laptop obtain 65.104% of marks (*SD=9.394*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was (2.561%). This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (1001) = 4.2517, p < 0.001*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is between Small and Medium (*d = 0.2761*).
Masters Level	**Research Question**	Does ownership of a Laptop impact student's marks at the Masters Level?
	Null Hypothesis	Ownership of Laptop does not impact students marks at Masters Level.
	Variables	**Continuous Variable** – Marks achieved by students at Masters Level **Categorical Variable** – Status of Ownership of Laptop (Yes and No)
	Test Results Interpretation	A two independent-samples t-test has been conducted to test the null hypothesis. The results indicate that, on average, students who own a laptop archive 70.615% of marks at the Masters Level (*SD=8.795*), whereas the students who do not own a laptop obtain 68.709% of marks (*SD=8.916*). The average difference between the marks of the two groups was (1.906%). This difference is statistically significant at 0.05 level (*t (507) = 2.2242, p = 0.0266*). Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected. As revealed by Cohen's d, the magnitude of the difference is Small (*d = 0.2158*).

Observations from the above Tables:

1. Table 5.38 informs that the level of Father's education makes a statistically significant difference in the students' academic achievements at all the levels of the studies (10^{th}, 12^{th}, Bachelors and Masters). The kids of the more educated Father are more likely to score higher marks than the kids of the less educated or illiterate Father. Father's education level makes more difference in students marks achieved in school level (10^{th} and 12^{th}) than college or university level (bachelors and masters).
2. Table 5.39 reveals that the student's family income makes a statistically significant difference in the marks that students achieve at 10^{th}, 12^{th} and Bachelor's level and not at Masters levels. The reading together the *Effect Size* statistics of Table No. 5.38 and 5.39 reveals the amount of impact that family income makes at student's marks is lower than the impact father's education level.
3. Table 5.40 establishes that Father's ability to read and understand the English language makes a statistically significant difference in the students' marks at college or university level (Bachelors and Masters).
4. Table 5.41 reveals that 'medium of instruction at 10^{th} level' significantly impacts students' achievements in higher education (bachelors and masters level). The students with English as their medium of instruction at 10^{th} score higher marks than the students who have completed their high school (10^{th}) in Hindi medium.
5. Table 5.42 informs that ownership of a Laptop makes a statistically significant difference in the marks achieved by students in higher

education (bachelors and master levels). The students owning a laptop are generally scoring higher marks than those who do not.

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Chapter - 6

6. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter summarises the study's findings and, based on the insights drawn from the study, recommends some policy measures for the better operationalisation of the reservation policies, making campuses more inclusive and formulation of inclusion-oriented policies.

Summary findings of Objective 1:

1. There exists a gap between the proportion of the population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and the Muslim minority in the country and in their proportion of representation in the Higher Education Institutions both at Students Levels and Faculty Levels.
2. Around half of the Central Universities could not completely fulfil the total reserved seats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.
3. Reservations have raised the proportion of reserved category students in higher education institutions around *two and half times* compared to a situation without reservations. This proportion is around *two times* for Other Backward Classes, *three times* for Scheduled Tribes and *three and half times* for Scheduled Tribes.
4. In Central Universities, the implementation of reservations has been better at Student Levels than Faculty Levels. In the last five years (2015-19), of all the seats offered for intake to reserved category students in 29 Central Universities (see Table 5.4), around 85% seats have been fulfilled; whereas in contrast to that, at Faculty levels, of all the seat

sanctions for the reserved category candidates, only 20% of seats have been filled, rest remain vacant.

5. At faculty levels, as seniority level increases (i.e., from Assistant Professor Level to Associate Professor Level or Professor Level), the proportion of reserved category teachers falls drastically.
6. Muslim community students have not been adequately benefitted from the current system of reservations despite a large chunk of the Muslim population included in Other Backward Classes.
7. A significant proportion of reserved category students score higher marks in entrance examinations and take admissions under unreserved categories (see Table 5.5).

Summary findings of Objective 2:

1. At the Undergraduate Level, unreserved category students score higher marks than reserved category students, and this difference is statistically significant, though the effect size informs that quantum of difference is small. At Postgraduate Level, there is no statistically significant difference in the marks achieved by reserved category and unreserved category students. Thus, at the Undergraduate Level small mismatch exits, which got eliminated at Postgraduate Level.
2. The gap between entry point (admission to the course) and exit point (completion of the course) reduces at Undergraduate Level, and at Postgraduate Level, the gap at entry point gets completely closed at the exit point. Thus, both at the Undergraduate and Postgraduate levels, the systematic evidence of Catch-Up is noticed.

Summary findings of Objective 3:

1. There exists a strong correlation between one's Caste Denial Level and Caste Prejudice Level, i.e., an individual who is more likely to be deny the existence of Caste and its ability to affect people's lives is more likely to be Caste Prejudiced and vice-versa.
2. Spatial variation is observed among the universities with respect to Caste Prejudice Level; all universities do not have similar caste prejudice levels. Universities with more liberal campus character are likely to be less Caste prejudiced than universities with dominant conservative and religious overtones.
3. The gender of a person does not significantly influence one's Caste Prejudice Levels. Both male and female gender individuals are equally likely to be more prejudiced or less prejudiced.
4. Caste prejudice is highest in General Category students followed by Other Backward Classes Category Students. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Students are the least Caste Prejudiced among all.
5. Humanities and Social Science stream Students are less likely to be Caste Prejudiced than Science stream students.
6. As the level of education increases, the student's Caste prejudice levels decreases. For example, Masters students are less Caste Prejudiced than Bachelors Level Students and PhD Level students are less Caste Prejudiced than Masters Levels students.
7. Students' views regarding reservations policy are affected by their Caste Prejudice Levels. Students with higher caste prejudice levels are more likely to believe that reservations are discriminatory. In contrast, students

with lower caste prejudice levels are less likely to believe that reservations are discriminatory.

8. Student's Caste Denial Levels also influences students' views regarding economic criteria-based reservations. Students with lower levels of caste denial are more like reject economic criteria-based reservations, whereas students with higher levels of caste denial are more likely to accept economic criteria-based reservations.
9. Every social category of students is equally interested in knowing other person's Caste/Category, but reserved category students (SC, ST and OBC) are more likely to be enquired about their caste/category at campuses than general category students.

Summary findings of Objective 4:

1. Fathers of General category students are more educated than fathers of reserved category students. A father of a large number of students from the reserved category are either illiterate or have lower levels of education. This pattern is also true in terms of mothers' education. Though, the level of mother mothers' education across all social categories is lower than the father's education.
2. The children of less educated and illiterate parents are able to access the campuses of higher education in significant numbers. Thus, the long-held opinion that reservation policy benefits mostly are appropriated by the elites/rich is not entirely true.
3. The level of Father's education makes a statistically significant difference in the students' academic achievements at all the levels of the

studies (10th, 12th, Bachelors and Masters). Kids of more educated fathers score higher marks.

4. The student's family income makes a statistically significant difference in the marks that students achieve at 10th, 12th and Bachelor's level and not at Masters levels.
5. Father's ability to read and understand the English language makes a statistically significant difference in the students' marks at college or university level (Bachelors and Masters). The children whose fathers can read and understand the English language perform better in higher education.
6. The medium of instruction at the 10th level significantly impacts students' achievements in higher education (bachelors and masters level). The students with English as their medium of instruction at 10th score higher marks than the students who have completed their high school (10th) in Hindi medium.
7. The ownership of a Laptop makes a statistically significant difference in the marks achieved by students in higher education (bachelors and master levels). The students owning a laptop are generally scoring higher marks than those who do not. (This would be a more so significant marker during the pandemic and post-pandemic times and the shift of traditional teaching-learning to virtual and online modes.)

Policy Recommendations

1. A *Statutory Body* could be constituted to oversee the implementation of the reservations at both Students Levels and Faculty Levels, at University level with the punitive/disciplinary powers in case of wilful discrepancies in the implementation.
2. The sections of people from minority communities whose socio-economic conditions are similar to Scheduled Castes could be included in the Scheduled Caste list. A provision of separate sub-quota for the sections of socio-economically and educationally backward minorities could be designated within the SC, ST and OBC quota.
3. Nation-wide Caste Census could be conducted along with Census of India for proper identification of socio-economically and educationally backward castes and communities across the religions and regions, and accordingly, the designated quota for each category could be varied with respect to population.
4. Pre-University Schooling (Intermediate Level, i.e., 11^{th} and 12^{th} Level) should be conducted in English medium only across the Educational Boards in India, in government schools also. At 9^{th} and 10^{th} standard, the schooling could be conducted in mixed medium (i.e., Regional language + English language), not only across the Educational Boards in India, but in government schools also. This will prepare students, especially students from low-income level and less education level families, for a smooth transition to English medium, and also prepare them to English dominated (in terms of quality and quantum of books

and reading material available and colleges/universities conducting higher education in English medium) higher education field.

5. Remedial classes with vernacular/regional language touch could be introduced in universities for students facing initial difficulty in the English language. Also, a comprehensive English language reading, comprehension and writing course should be conducted by universities for the interested candidates with different-different levels of command over the English language.
6. Awareness and sensitisation modules and programmes related to diversity, caste and class, religion and gender discriminations and harassments and also about available remedial measures should be conducted in the universities and pre-university schooling for teachers/faculties, students and staff.
7. A compulsory social science and humanities courses related to *critical thinking and social and ethical philosophies* could be designed and shall be introduced to all stream students, including sciences, engineering and medical streams to reinforce the humanistic themes which are larger than Caste or Religious identities.
8. The State shall endeavour to provide quality public-funded education (both at school level and university level) to close the gaps in cultural capital and home environment for conducive learning, as education is a great leveller tool available at our disposal.
9. A provision of adequate scholarship for students from low-income families should be made. Laptop rental services maintained by the university could be on nominal fees for the needy students. These

laptops could be given to students when they join the course and to be returned when they complete the course.

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Annexure – I

List of 40 Central Universities

S.No.	Name of the University	S.No.	Name of the University
1	Maulana Azad National Urdu University	**21**	Central University of Haryana
2	Hyderabad University	**22**	Central University of Himachal Pradesh
3	The English & Foreign Languages University	**23**	Central University of Jammu
4	Guru Ghasidas University	**24**	Central University of Kashmir
5	Delhi University	**25**	Central University of Jharkhand
6	Jamia Millia Islamia	**26**	Central University of Karnataka
7	Jawaharlal Nehru University	**27**	Central University of Kerala
8	Dr. Harisingh Gour Vish.	**28**	Central University of Orissa
9	The Indira Gandhi National Tribal University	**29**	Central University of Punjab
10	Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya	**30**	Central University of Rajasthan
11	Pondicherry University	**31**	Central University of Tamil Nadu
12	H.N.B. Garhwal University	**32**	Assam University
13	Aligarh Muslim University	**33**	Tezpur University
14	Banaras Hindu University	**34**	Rajiv Gandhi University
15	Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University	**35**	Manipur University
16	Allahabad University	**36**	North Eastern Hill University
17	Visva Bharati	**37**	Mizoram University
18	Central University of Bihar/ South Bihar	**38**	Nagaland University
19	Mahatma Gandhi Central University	**39**	Sikkim University
20	Central University of Gujarat	**40**	Tripura University

Annexure – II

Questionnaire

1. **Email address: ……**
2. **Name: ……**
3. **Sex:**

   Male [ ] Female [ ] Transgender [ ]

   Other…….

4. **Age:**

   Below 18 years [ ] 18 – 25 years [ ] 26 – 35 years [ ]

   More than 35 years [ ]

5. **Religion:**

   Hindu [ ] Muslim [ ] Sikh [ ] Christian [ ]

   Buddhism [ ]

   Prefer Not to Say [ ]

6. **Mobile Number (optional)…….**
7. **Name of University**:

   University of Allahabad [ ] Banaras Hindu University [ ]

   Jawaharlal Nehru University [ ] Central University of Karnataka [ ]

   Other ……

8. **Kindly provide details of the programme of your study:**

Bachelors [ ] *Skip to Question 9*

Masters [ ] *Skip to Question 10*

MPhil [ ] *Skip to Question 11*

PhD [ ] *Skip to Question 11*

9. In which stream are you enrolled at bachelors level:

Humanities – (Including Social Sciences, Law, etc.) [ ]

Commerce [ ]

Science (Including Agriculture, Computer Science, etc.) [ ]

Engineering/Technology [ ]

Medicine/Animal Husbandry & Vet. Science [ ]

Management [ ]

Others ……

10. In which stream are you enrolled at masters level:

Humanities – (Including Social Sciences, Law, etc.) [ ]

Commerce [ ]

Science (Including Agriculture, Computer Science, etc.) [ ]

Engineering/Technology [ ]

Medicine/Animal Husbandry & Vet. Science [ ]

Management [ ]

Others ……

11. In which stream are you enrolled at MPhil/PhD level:

Humanities – (Including Social Sciences, Law, etc.) [ ]

Commerce [ ]

Science (Including Agriculture, Computer Science, etc.) [ ]

Engineering/Technology [ ]

Medicine/Animal Husbandry & Vet. Science [ ]

Management [ ]

Others ……

12. Current Semester: …….

13. Category:

SC [ ] ST [ ] OBC [ ] EWS [ ] General [ ]

14. Father's Education:

PhD [ ] MPhil [ ] Masters [ ] Bachelors [ ]

Intermediate (12th) [ ] High School (10th) [ ]

Up to 8th Standard [ ] Up to 5th Standard [ ]

No formal Education (Knows reading and writing in any language) [ ]

No formal Education (Knows reading only any language) [ ]

Illiterate (Does not know reading or writing) [ ]

15. Can your father can read and understand English?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Other ……..

16. Mother's Education:

PhD [ ] MPhil [ ] Masters [ ] Bachelors [ ]

Intermediate (12th) [ ] High School (10th) [ ]

Up to 8th Standard [ ] Up to 5th Standard [ ]

No formal Education (Knows reading and writing in any language) [ ]

No formal Education (Knows reading only any language) [ ]

Illiterate (Does not know reading or writing) [ ]

17. Can your mother read and understand English?

Yes [ ] No [ ] Other ……..

18. Place of your residence:

Rural [ ] Urban [ ] Semi-Urban [ ]

19. What is the average monthly income of your family?

Up to Rs. 20,000 [ ] Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 40,000 [ ]

Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 80,000 [ ] More than Rs. 80,000 [ ]

20. Board Secondary Education (10th)

CBSE [ ] ICSE [ ] State Board [ ]

Other ……...

21. Percentage of Marks obtained in High School (10th)

40 or Below 40 % [ ] 41 – 50% [ ] 51 – 60 [ ]

61 – 70 [ ] 71 – 80 [ ] 81 – 90 [ ] 91 – 100 [ ]

22. Medium of Instruction in High School (10th)

Hindi [ ] English [ ] Other …….

23. Board at Intermediate (12th) Level

CBSE [ ] ICSE [ ] State Board [ ]

Other ……...

24. Percentage of Marks obtained in Intermediate (12th)

40 or Below 40 % [ ] 41 – 50% [ ] 51 – 60 [ ]

61 – 70 [ ] 71 – 80 [ ] 81 – 90 [ ] 91 – 100 [ ]

25. Medium of Instruction in Intermediate (12th)

Hindi [ ] English [ ] Other …….

26. Percentage of Marks obtained in Bachelors programme

40 or Below 40 % [ ] 41 – 50% [ ] 51 – 60 [ ]

61 – 70 [ ] 71 – 80 [ ] 81 – 90 [ ] 91 – 100 [ ]

27. **Percentage of Marks obtained in Masters programme (*Skip of Not Applicable*)**

40 or Below 40 % [ ] 41 – 50% [ ] 51 – 60 [ ]

61 – 70 [ ] 71 – 80 [ ] 81 – 90 [ ] 91 – 100 [ ]

28. **Do you have a laptop?**

Yes [ ] No [ ]

29. **General category students are more hardworking than reserved category students.**

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

30. **Do you think upper-caste students are more intelligent than reserved category students?**

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

31. **Reserved category people have got more benefits due to the reservation than they deserve.**

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

32. **Did you ever try to know about someone's caste/category on the campus?**

Yes [ ] No [ ] Can’t Say [ ]

33. Do you think that reservation policy is discriminatory?

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

34. Reserved category students do not need to study hard to progress in life.

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

35. Discrimination in India today is about Class (Rich and Poor) and not about Caste.

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

36. Caste discrimination exists because of reservations.

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

37. If everyone stops writing their caste titles/surnames, Caste will end.

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

38. I was enquired about my Caste-Category on the campus by friends/teachers.

Yes [ ] No [ ] Can't Say [ ]

39. Reservations should solely be based on economic criteria.

Strongly Disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Neutral [ ]

Agree [ ] Strongly Agree [ ]

Annexure - III

S. No.	Name of the Central University (CU)	Percentage of students from SCs/STs/OBCs enrolled in CUs as on 01.04.2015			Percentage of students from SCs/STs/OBCs enrolled in CUs as on 01.04.2016			Percentage of students from SCs/STs/OBCs enrolled in CUs as on 01.04.2017			Percentage of students from SCs/STs/OBCs enrolled in CUs as on 01.04.2018			Percentage of students from SCs/STs/OBCs enrolled in CUs as on 01.04.2019		
		SCs	STs	OBCs	SCs	STs	OBCs	SCs	STs	OBCs	SCs	STs	OBCs	SCs	STs	OBCs
1.	Maulana Azad National Urdu University	1.15	1.25	38.52	1.31	0.90	33.12	1.12	1.24	41.55	1.02	2.12	40.03	1.45	3.15	40.39
2.	Hyderabad University	18.52	9.20	31.22	17.57	9.15	34.38	17.68	8.72	35.02	17.12	8.59	35.93	16.63	8.63	35.64
3.	The English & Foreign Languages University	13.94	8.53	28.49	14.53	8.89	28.37	12.19	8.10	26.10	11.33	8.64	24.59	11.01	7.65	25.05
4.	Guru Ghasidas University	16.49	11.63	30.09	14.92	10.72	32.02	15.52	10.66	36.86	16.22	11.08	37.94	16.27	10.57	41.54
5.	Delhi University	10.30	3.74	22.70	6.67	2.54	23.76	14.74	5.18	22.23	15.01	5.27	22.15	14.98	6.07	23.84
6.	Jamia Millia Islamia	0.00	0.00	14.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.18	14.24	0.17	0.18	12.75	0.57	0.41	10.47
7.	Jawaharlal Nehru University	14.46	7.74	29.30	14.09	7.50	30.46	14.13	7.65	31.05	14.46	7.45	31.80	14.46	7.45	31.80
8.	Dr. Harisingh Gour Vish.	20.05	6.38	42.86	19.88	5.68	41.77	19.70	6.22	41.60	19.70	6.22	41.60	19.70	6.22	41.60
9.	The Indira Gandhi National Tribal University	11.79	44.08	24.28	11.87	40.51	24.14	12.89	36.41	24.51	14.05	32.63	25.86	14.60	27.93	28.31
10.	Mahatma Gandhi Antarrashtriya Hindi Vishwavidyalaya	23.52	5.68	25.34	22.06	4.63	32.74	25.49	11.57	25.27	22.62	4.64	36.65	22.96	4.89	38.25
11.	Pondicherry University	15.75	5.15	37.07	13.97	6.04	32.68	13.36	6.43	39.85	14.09	6.34	31.15	14.53	6.41	29.99
12.	H.N.B. Garhwal University	15.05	2.56	5.24	15.36	1.96	7.87	14.93	1.80	8.11	14.95	2.31	10.79	15.18	2.13	11.45
13.	Aligarh Muslim University	1.40	0.24	34.34	0.65	0.21	17.22	0.92	0.35	20.04	0.89	0.51	18.94	1.06	0.30	26.61
14.	Banaras Hindu University	12.90	5.13	29.88	11.76	4.86	32.26	12.37	5.00	31.58	12.69	5.05	31.15	12.36	5.08	31.55
15.	Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University	44.50	2.52	15.12	43.75	2.55	15.03	43.75	2.55	15.03	42.91	2.60	16.99	39.28	2.51	18.93
16.	Allahabad University	18.05	1.28	41.49	19.32	1.73	44.62	20.47	2.17	44.99	20.46	2.07	45.16	20.47	2.07	45.16
17.	Visva Bharati	17.04	6.22	22.45	14.85	7.44	26.68	15.00	7.51	26.99	15.87	6.21	22.36	14.97	7.59	26.97
18.	Central University of Bihar/ South Bihar	10.27	0.64	36.76	11.73	0.78	33.90	10.64	0.68	37.91	10.58	1.18	41.46	10.69	2.15	42.20

19.	Mahatma Gandhi Central University	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.25	1.89	37.22	12.46	2.46	35.61	9.46	2.45	35.55
20.	Central University of Gujarat	19.61	8.01	27.62	20.93	9.16	27.33	20.86	7.43	30.14	20.32	5.94	29.29	17.85	6.88	30.86
21.	Central University of Haryana	20.06	2.57	45.10	15.72	3.50	48.58	13.72	3.37	47.12	13.04	3.52	49.60	12.46	3.88	49.25
22.	Central University of Himachal Pradesh	16.15	8.21	24.74	15.80	8.57	24.81	15.06	8.84	26.63	15.37	10.15	25.98	15.69	11.02	24.68
23.	Central University of Jammu	16.85	6.04	16.30	15.88	6.35	15.75	17.18	4.60	15.87	16.27	7.71	14.81	15.70	7.41	16.45
24.	Central University of Kashmir	0.64	7.15	5.49	0.80	7.11	9.42	1.67	6.45	10.59	0.68	5.76	10.24	0.46	7.22	10.66
25.	Central University of Jharkhand	5.98	8.71	32.85	5.89	8.22	33.88	6.82	7.90	36.26	7.33	8.28	36.82	7.85	8.40	34.00
26.	Central University of Karnataka	23.42	8.28	31.02	23.67	7.37	30.70	22.67	6.34	33.54	22.49	6.07	35.16	18.81	6.12	33.44
27.	Central University of Kerala	6.93	1.70	59.55	9.71	4.64	49.67	10.84	4.93	45.52	9.87	5.15	47.29	10.64	4.49	46.45
28.	Central University of Orissa	20.51	10.63	23.50	20.76	9.46	23.92	18.14	9.85	25.53	16.41	10.25	27.62	15.16	8.82	30.93
29.	Central University of Punjab	11.38	2.19	20.13	12.39	4.42	23.01	11.55	6.00	24.69	12.01	5.78	26.20	12.57	6.21	27.55
30.	Central University of Rajasthan	12.83	4.74	41.15	14.03	5.41	40.88	15.67	5.55	40.87	14.50	5.43	39.67	14.85	5.27	40.81
31.	Central University of Tamil Nadu	8.94	0.34	19.91	11.30	0.70	22.30	13.63	1.30	32.28	18.04	3.18	41.06	17.78	3.81	44.93
32.	Assam University	13.56	14.84	28.48	13.31	15.74	28.28	13.50	17.01	31.07	14.02	15.99	29.88	15.82	16.08	26.61
33.	Tezpur University	11.82	7.45	28.61	12.03	7.63	27.34	11.82	7.64	27.12	12.53	7.38	25.52	12.71	8.00	24.61
34.	Rajiv Gandhi University	3.23	83.19	7.00	1.28	78.32	13.44	1.67	76.32	15.56	2.14	79.60	12.19	2.26	81.46	10.36
35.	Manipur University	8.05	22.95	38.95	8.05	22.95	38.95	7.40	29.31	41.43	7.40	29.31	41.43	9.62	28.41	47.81
36.	North Eastern Hill University	3.95	67.42	4.92	3.81	69.51	3.34	4.66	71.86	3.38	3.74	71.74	3.08	3.38	72.89	3.11
37.	Mizoram University	1.48	91.46	2.32	1.27	91.39	2.85	1.13	47.63	3.06	2.76	86.32	4.96	1.95	87.21	5.02
38.	Nagaland University	0.56	90.01	2.45	1.41	91.11	2.92	1.08	88.64	4.10	0.98	89.81	3.85	1.00	90.33	3.92
39.	Sikkim University	6.88	28.67	25.62	7.59	29.34	27.91	8.18	31.56	29.53	7.99	32.72	29.91	8.61	30.57	30.46
40.	Tripura University	15.88	26.26	16.34	15.86	30.58	14.05	16.23	35.10	13.31	14.72	39.25	14.53	14.92	40.76	16.36

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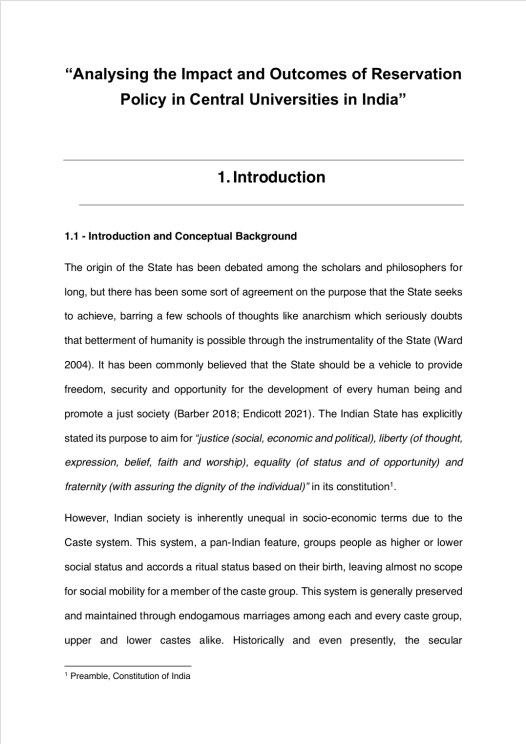

"Analysing the Impact and Outcomes of Reservation Policy in Central Universities in India"

1. Introduction

1.1 - Introduction and Conceptual Background

The origin of the State has been debated among the scholars and philosophers for long, but there has been some sort of agreement on the purpose that the State seeks to achieve, barring a few schools of thoughts like anarchism which seriously doubts that betterment of humanity is possible through the instrumentality of the State (Ward 2004). It has been commonly believed that the State should be a vehicle to provide freedom, security and opportunity for the development of every human being and promote a just society (Barber 2018; Endicott 2021). The Indian State has explicitly stated its purpose to aim for *"justice (social, economic and political), liberty (of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship), equality (of status and of opportunity) and fraternity (with assuring the dignity of the individual)"* in its constitution[1].

However, Indian society is inherently unequal in socio-economic terms due to the Caste system. This system, a pan-Indian feature, groups people as higher or lower social status and accords a ritual status based on their birth, leaving almost no scope for social mobility for a member of the caste group. This system is generally preserved and maintained through endogamous marriages among each and every caste group, upper and lower castes alike. Historically and even presently, the secular

[1] Preamble, Constitution of India

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Impact and Outcomes of Reservation

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Analysing the Impact and Outcomes of Reservation Policy in Central Universities in India

THESIS

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

GEOGRAPHY

By

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6. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter summarises the study's findings and, based on the insights drawn from the study, recommends some policy measures for the better operationalisation of the reservation policies, making campuses more inclusive and formulation of inclusion-oriented policies.

Summary findings of Objective 1:

1. There exists a gap between the proportion of the population of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and the Muslim minority in the country and in their proportion of representation in the Higher Education Institutions both at Students Levels and Faculty Levels.
2. Around half of the Central Universities could not completely fulfil the total reserved seats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.
3. Reservations have raised the proportion of reserved category students in higher education institutions around *two and half times* compared to a situation without reservations. This proportion is around *two times* for Other Backward Classes, *three times* for Scheduled Tribes and *three and half times* for Scheduled Tribes.
4. In Central Universities, the implementation of reservations has been better at Student Levels than Faculty Levels. In the last five years (2015-19), of all the seats offered for intake to reserved category students in 29 Central Universities (see Table 5.4), around 85% seats have been fulfilled; whereas in contrast to that, at Faculty levels, of all the seat

sanctions for the reserved category candidates, only 20% of seats have been filled, rest remain vacant.

5. At faculty levels, as seniority level increases (i.e., from Assistant Professor Level to Associate Professor Level or Professor Level), the proportion of reserved category teachers falls drastically.
6. Muslim community students have not been adequately benefitted from the current system of reservations despite a large chunk of the Muslim population included in Other Backward Classes.
7. A significant proportion of reserved category students score higher marks in entrance examinations and take admissions under unreserved categories (see Table 5.5).

Summary findings of Objective 2:

1. At the Undergraduate Level, unreserved category students score higher marks than reserved category students, and this difference is statistically significant, though the effect size informs that quantum of difference is small. At Postgraduate Level, there is no statistically significant difference in the marks achieved by reserved category and unreserved category students. Thus, at the Undergraduate Level small mismatch exits, which got eliminated at Postgraduate Level.
2. The gap between entry point (admission to the course) and exit point (completion of the course) reduces at Undergraduate Level, and at Postgraduate Level, the gap at entry point gets completely closed at the exit point. Thus, both at the Undergraduate and Postgraduate levels, the systematic evidence of Catch-Up is noticed.

Summary findings of Objective 3:

1. There exists a strong correlation between one's Caste Denial Level and Caste Prejudice Level, i.e., an individual who is more likely to be deny the existence of Caste and its ability to affect people's lives is more likely to be Caste Prejudiced and vice-versa.
2. Spatial variation is observed among the universities with respect to Caste Prejudice Level; all universities do not have similar caste prejudice levels. Universities with more liberal campus character are likely to be less Caste prejudiced than universities with dominant conservative and religious overtones.
3. The gender of a person does not significantly influence one's Caste Prejudice Levels. Both male and female gender individuals are equally likely to be more prejudiced or less prejudiced.
4. Caste prejudice is highest in General Category students followed by Other Backward Classes Category Students. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Students are the least Caste Prejudiced among all.
5. Humanities and Social Science stream Students are less likely to be Caste Prejudiced than Science stream students.
6. As the level of education increases, the student's Caste prejudice levels decreases. For example, Masters students are less Caste Prejudiced than Bachelors Level Students and PhD Level students are less Caste Prejudiced than Masters Levels students.
7. Students' views regarding reservations policy are affected by their Caste Prejudice Levels. Students with higher caste prejudice levels are more likely to believe that reservations are discriminatory. In contrast, students

with lower caste prejudice levels are less likely to believe that reservations are discriminatory.

8. Student's Caste Denial Levels also influences students' views regarding economic criteria-based reservations. Students with lower levels of caste denial are more like reject economic criteria-based reservations, whereas students with higher levels of caste denial are more likely to accept economic criteria-based reservations.
9. Every social category of students is equally interested in knowing other person's Caste/Category, but reserved category students (SC, ST and OBC) are more likely to be enquired about their caste/category at campuses than general category students.

Summary findings of Objective 4:

1. Fathers of General category students are more educated than fathers of reserved category students. A father of a large number of students from the reserved category are either illiterate or have lower levels of education. This pattern is also true in terms of mothers' education. Though, the level of mother mothers' education across all social categories is lower than the father's education.
2. The children of less educated and illiterate parents are able to access the campuses of higher education in significant numbers. Thus, the long-held opinion that reservation policy benefits mostly are appropriated by the elites/rich is not entirely true.
3. The level of Father's education makes a statistically significant difference in the students' academic achievements at all the levels of the

studies (10th, 12th, Bachelors and Masters). Kids of more educated fathers score higher marks.

4. The student's family income makes a statistically significant difference in the marks that students achieve at 10th, 12th and Bachelor's level and not at Masters levels.
5. Father's ability to read and understand the English language makes a statistically significant difference in the students' marks at college or university level (Bachelors and Masters). The children whose fathers can read and understand the English language perform better in higher education.
6. The medium of instruction at the 10th level significantly impacts students' achievements in higher education (bachelors and masters level). The students with English as their medium of instruction at 10th score higher marks than the students who have completed their high school (10th) in Hindi medium.
7. The ownership of a Laptop makes a statistically significant difference in the marks achieved by students in higher education (bachelors and master levels). The students owning a laptop are generally scoring higher marks than those who do not. (This would be a more so significant marker during the pandemic and post-pandemic times and the shift of traditional teaching-learning to virtual and online modes.)

Policy Recommendations

1. A *Statutory Body* could be constituted to oversee the implementation of the reservations at both Students Levels and Faculty Levels, at University level with the punitive/disciplinary powers in case of wilful discrepancies in the implementation.
2. The sections of people from minority communities whose socio-economic conditions are similar to Scheduled Castes could be included in the Scheduled Caste list. A provision of separate sub-quota for the sections of socio-economically and educationally backward minorities could be designated within the SC, ST and OBC quota.
3. Nation-wide Caste Census could be conducted along with Census of India for proper identification of socio-economically and educationally backward castes and communities across the religions and regions, and accordingly, the designated quota for each category could be varied with respect to population.
4. Pre-University Schooling (Intermediate Level, i.e., 11^{th} and 12^{th} Level) should be conducted in English medium only across the Educational Boards in India, in government schools also. At 9^{th} and 10^{th} standard, the schooling could be conducted in mixed medium (i.e., Regional language + English language), not only across the Educational Boards in India, but in government schools also. This will prepare students, especially students from low-income level and less education level families, for a smooth transition to English medium, and also prepare them to English dominated (in terms of quality and quantum of books

and reading material available and colleges/universities conducting higher education in English medium) higher education field.

5. Remedial classes with vernacular/regional language touch could be introduced in universities for students facing initial difficulty in the English language. Also, a comprehensive English language reading, comprehension and writing course should be conducted by universities for the interested candidates with different-different levels of command over the English language.
6. Awareness and sensitisation modules and programmes related to diversity, caste and class, religion and gender discriminations and harassments and also about available remedial measures should be conducted in the universities and pre-university schooling for teachers/faculties, students and staff.
7. A compulsory social science and humanities courses related to *critical thinking and social and ethical philosophies* could be designed and shall be introduced to all stream students, including sciences, engineering and medical streams to reinforce the humanistic themes which are larger than Caste or Religious identities.
8. The State shall endeavour to provide quality public-funded education (both at school level and university level) to close the gaps in cultural capital and home environment for conducive learning, as education is a great leveller tool available at our disposal.
9. A provision of adequate scholarship for students from low-income families should be made. Laptop rental services maintained by the university could be on nominal fees for the needy students. These

laptops could be given to students when they join the course and to be returned when they complete the course.