

# The Making of EBC in Bihar: From Karpoori to Nitish

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This study is an attempt to portray the trajectory of the rise and growth of EBCs of Bihar in historical perspectives. It will also look into the process of transformation of EBCs from ‘Class- in -itself’ to ‘Class- for- itself’. The Karpoori Thakur Ministry’s reservation policy is indicative of a sea-change in the structure of Bihar’s political sociology. Despite some hiatus, the coming into power of Lalu Prasad led JD Government, the process of backward dominance in Bihar’s politics accelerated. However, the EBCs failed to keep pace with the OBCs, and a long gap became perceptible between them, though the former also moved ahead. Nitish Government has taken several steps to fill the gap to bring EBCs into mainstream.

**Keywords:** EBC, Annexure I & II, Class- in -itself, Class- for- itself, Mungerilal Commission.

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Forwards or twice-born caste groups that had been dominant in Bihar since independence and before are being replaced by the Backward Castes as the dominant stratum in the state. Despite some hiatus, the coming into power of JD Government led by Lalu Prasad, the process of backward dominance in Bihar's politics accelerated. However, the EBCs failed to keep pace with the OBCs, and a long gap became perceptible between them, though the former also developed and moved ahead. Nitish Government has taken several steps to fill the gap to bring EBCs into mainstream. By this paper, sincere efforts shall be made to sketch the varied contours of EBCs from genesis to their status at present.

The Acronym "EBC " stands for Extremely Backward Classes/Castes, also called Most Backward Castes, and at present comprises of about 115 Castes. They are being known as 'Annexure-1' in Bihar, as OBCs are called 'Annexure -II'. In 1951, the Government of Bihar issued a G.O. listing the Other Backward Classes in two Annexures, for awarding post-matric scholarship etc. under a scheme launched by the Ministry of Education, the Govt. of India<sup>i</sup> : Annexure-I contained 79 castes who were deemed more backward than the 30 castes contained in Annexure-II. The first Backward Classes Commission, set up at the central level (29<sup>th</sup> January 1953) and chaired by Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, in its report submitted in 1955, had prepared a list of 2399 Backward Castes for the entire country, out of which 837 were classified as 'Most Backward'.<sup>ii</sup> The Commission, further , listed some 127 castes as backward for Bihar. Based on the report of Kaka Kalelkar commission, the Major Castes and Ethnic Groups of Bihar can be depicted with percentage of total population mentioned against their names by a Table below:

**Table-1: Major Castes and Ethnic Groups of Bihar** <sup>iii</sup>

Category	Caste/Group	Per cent of Total population	
		A *	B*
Forwards /Twice-born	Brahman	4.7	4.6
	Bhumihar	2.9	2.8
	Rajput	4.2	4.1
	Kayasths	1.2	1.2
	Total Forwards	13.0	12.7
Upper Backwards	Bania	0.6	0.6
	Yadav	11.0	10.7
	Kurmi	3.6	3.5
	Koiri	4.1	4.0
	Total Upper Backwards	19.3	18.8
Lower Backwards	Barhi	1.0	15.6
	Dhanuk	1.8	
	Hajjam	1.4	
	Kahar	1.7	
	Kandu	1.6	
	Kumhar	1.3	
	Lohar	1.3	
	Mallah	1.5	
	Tatwa	1.6	
	Teli	2.8	
	Total	16.0	
Other Shudras	16.0	15.6	
Total Lower Backwards	32.0	31.2	
Total Backwards	51.3	50.0	
Muslims		12.5	12.2
Bengali		-----	2.4
Scheduled Castes		14.4	13.8
Scheduled Tribes		9.1	8.9
Grand Total		100.0	100.0

\*Column A does not include Bengali Speakers as a separate group, while Column B does include them, with the enlarged total (100.0 per cent of population+2.5 per cent Bengali Speakers) revised to 100 per cent.

Sources of Data: For specific Hindu Castes,1931 Census; for all Other ,1961 Census <sup>iv</sup>

To compound the confusion, the Chairman Kaka Kalelkar repudiated the whole idea of backward castes, i.e. he opposed the acceptance of caste as the basis for backwardness. Thereupon, in response to the Home Ministry letter dated August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1961,<sup>v</sup> the Government of Bihar decided to continue with the list already prepared in 1951.

In 1964, the Patna High Court, in view of the Supreme Court's judgement in *Balaji Vs. State of Mysore* (A.I.R.1963, SC 649), declared the 1951 Bihar Government's list of Backward Classes as invalid, as it had relied on caste as the criterion of backwardness<sup>vi</sup>. In view of this, the State Government decided that the current educational benefits should be given only to such students of Other Backward Classes mentioned in the 1951 Order whose family income was below Rs. 500 per month. For admission to medical college, the income limit was fixed at Rs.250 per month.<sup>vii</sup>

Eventually the Govt. of Bihar responded to this legal rejection by appointing in December 1971 a new commission on the matter headed by Mungeri Lal. This commission submitted its final report in February 1976, settling on a new list of 128 castes - 94 of them as 'Most Backward and the rest 34 as backward castes. Essentially the 128 were the same ones as in earlier versions, augmented by some Christian groups.<sup>viii</sup>

L.R. Naik, the Member of the Mandal Commission, used the word "Depressed Backward Classes" for EBCs, in his Minute of Dissent.<sup>ix</sup> He rightly observed, "What all it connotes --- their intermingling with the Indian Society was either denied, prohibited and even segregated obviously on account of stigma of their traditional occupations, stigma of criminality, stigma of nomadism resulting in their abysmally low social status".

As a matter of fact, the EBCs of Bihar like STs are at the bottom of social hierarchy. They are mainly serving class and bulk of them are labourer, landless and destitute. Even if they had land, it is often in small quantity, infertile, un-irrigated and economically unviable. They constitute a sizable section of Bihar's population (about 32%).

### Mungerilal Commission

In December 1971, the Bihar Backward Classes Commission was constituted by Bhola Paswan Shastri's Government under the Chairmanship of Shri Mungeri Lal, who was a member of Bihar Legislative Council. Besides him, the commission comprised of six members. The Commission was asked to recommend measures for the betterment of OBCs along with the SCs and STs. The Mungeri Lal Commission prepared its own list of Other Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes, taking into account social status, educational backwardness, adequacy of representation in government service and adequacy of the share in trade, commerce, industry etc.

The Commission found MBCs /EBCs far behind than the OBCs. The latter group, while not as powerful in social, political or economic matters as the first four 'twice-born' caste groups (Brahmins, Bhumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas ) in the state ,but were certainly far ahead of the MBCs.

Table- 3: Educational Status of OBCs and EBCs,1973 (Class-X)

caste	No. of school in which students of this caste study	Total number of students	Total number of students of the Backward Classes	No. of students of this caste
Yadav	270	15,805	5,375	1508
Kurmi	190	14,169	4212	815
Koiri	86	5,053	1,950	408
Bania	46	2,697	1,125	161
Teli	118	6,813	2,540	361
Kumhar	58	3,610	1,661	92
kamar	61	3,925	1,548	110
Hajam	196	13,141	4,613	300
Mallah	270	3,022	1,150	74
Ansari	6	356	150	10

**Note:** The total number of high schools in Bihar in 1973 was 2800. Data collected in respect of Class X in 380 High Schools.

(Report of the Bihar Backward Classes Commission, 1976), as cited from Shyama Nand Singh – *Anti Reservation Agitation in Bihar*, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 52, No.1, January -March, 1991, p.29

The number of students of the OBCs at the College or University level was less than it was at the School levels. This was because the drop-out rate at the School stage was higher in the case of OBCs.

The Commission raised very valid ground for reservation that would ensure adequate representation under Art. 16(4). It considered the number of employees of the various backward castes in different government Departments of Bihar and compared the standing of these castes with that of SCs, STs and others in the matter of Government employment. It cited the pattern of representation of various caste groups, i.e., SCs, STs, BCs and other in the Department of Education in Bihar as on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1972, as shown by Table No. 4 below:

Table 4

Representation of the BCs in the Department of Education in Bihar as on 01.01.1972

Category of Posts	Total no. of Employees	SCs /Total Percentage	STs/Total Percentage	BCs /Total Percentage	Other/ Total percentage
Class I	114	01/0.1	01/0.1	02/1.0	110/96.7
Class II	414	03/0.8	06/1.5	04/0.9	401/96.8
Class III	9215	259/2.8	98/1.0	742/8.1	8182/88.1
Total	9743			748	7.6

Source: Report of the Mungeri Lal Commission, Part III (Patna: Government of Bihar, 1976), p.128, as cited from Shyama Nand Singh – *Anti Reservation Agitation in Bihar*, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 52, No.1, January -March, 1991, p.30

From Table 4, it is obvious that in the Education Department in class I, II and III categories 96.7, 96.8 and 88.1 percent posts were filled by the candidates of the upper

castes. The SC, ST and OBCs who constitute more than 80 percent population of the state were only appointed on 3.3, 3.2 and 11.9 percent posts of class 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> grades in 1972. In other department like the Forest Department, the backward classes accounted for 11.13 percent of the jobs. Their representation in the Department of Rural Engineering and Organisation was 8.06 percent, in the Department of Revenue and Land Reform, it was 8.3 percent; and in the Department of Supply and Commerce, it was 1.1 percent.<sup>x</sup>

In its fourth report, the Commission recommended a number of welfare measures for the upliftment of the OBCs. The most important of these measures was the recommendation that 26 percent of the vacancies in educational institutions and Government and semi- Government jobs be reserved for the OBCs and that the Backward and the Most Backward Classes be considered separately in enforcing the quotas. It based its recommendations on Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution, which permit the state to make reservation for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes to ensure adequate representation in educational institutions and Government services. The Commission had made caste the basis for the award of preferential treatment. It had also found no use for the socio-economic development that had taken place in Bihar after Independence in excluding certain advanced backward castes from the list.<sup>xi</sup>

However, Yamuna Prasad Singh, one of the members of the Backward Classes Commission, (who happens to be from upper caste) rejected the final list of OBCs. Because he was against the preparation of OBCs list on the basis of caste and secondly, he opposed recommendation of reservation in the matter of promotion --- He was in favour of imparting free education, scholarships, and other facilities to students of the OBCs.<sup>xii</sup>

Here it is pertinent to quote Shyama Nand Singh, who in his paper "Anti Reservation Agitation in Bihar" rightly observed that the most backward castes were far behind in the field of education... they were denied access to educational institutions by the dominant castes in the villages. Since Independence, care has been taken to ensure their educational advancement.<sup>xiii</sup> In the context of education of SCs and STs, a number of incentives like free education, scholarship, hostel facilities and reserved seats were

provided to them. Attempts were made to ensure hundred percent enrolment of their children and retain them in different stages of education. But, unfortunately, there is around 70 to 80 percent dropout rate at the primary level. In the higher classes, particularly in Science, they are few in number. They were not enjoying the reserved seats in medical and engineering colleges. In terms of literacy rate, only 10.40 percent and 17 percent SC and ST are literate.<sup>xiv</sup> The literacy rate of all communities, excluding SC and ST, was 30.17 percent. Literacy rate among OBCs is not separately available. It may be similar to ST literacy rate.<sup>xv</sup>

### **Karpoori Thakur and Implementation of the recommendations**

The Mungeri Lal Commission submitted its report in February 1976. The then Jagannath Mishra Government did not take any action, except setting up a Financial Corporation ostensibly for backward classes.

Karpoori Thakur, who became the Chief Minister of Bihar in June 1977; pursuing the Lohia line of further mobilizing the backward castes, acted on the report and in November 1978, issued the G.O. accepting the classification of the Mungeri Lal Commission. For recruitment to jobs, it provided a reservation scheme noted below:

Other Backward Classes	---	08 percent
Most backward Classes	---	12 percent
Women	---	03 percent
Economically Backward	---	03 percent

Only those candidates should be given this benefits whose family income was below the minimum income limits.

(II) Reservation of 24% seats in engineering, medical and other professional institutions for students of Other Backward Classes;

(III) Grant of various other benefits like allotment of house sites, grant of scholarships, reimbursement of tuition fees, etc. to OBCs.

The announcement of 26 % reservation for posts and 24 % seats led to an open confrontation between the upper castes and the backward castes. A caste-based movement arose. There were open armed clashes, arson, and destruction. Shyama Nand Singh, in his essay “Anti reservation Agitations in Bihar” observed that the anti –

reservationists belonged to a segment of society which was vocal and dominant socially and economically, and which had traditionally controlled the economic and social life of the state. The pro-reservationists consisted largely of the newly prosperous backward castes who wanted their own social and economic development.<sup>xvi</sup> The legislators too fought some for reservation and the others against it. The Janata Party was divided not only in terms of caste and region but also in terms of its constituents. Those who voted for S.N.Sinha, MP and the then President of State Unit of the Janata Party during JLP leadership contest in June 1977, continued to consider him their leader even after his defeat by Karpoori Thakur and they were vehemently opposed to reservation. Karpoori Thakur lost most of his upper caste supporters except a few socialist leaders, as the former thought that his reservation policy was an injustice to their castes.<sup>xvii</sup>

The pro- reservationists declared that the main motive behind the policy of reservation is to bring the downtrodden into the national mainstream. Government jobs give status, they imply power that is more valuable than more economic benefits. On this view also, the problem of backwardness is social, not economic.<sup>xviii</sup> The leaders of the backward classes argue that the intellectual merit and efficiency or the 'merit theory' is being used to exploit the weaker sections and deprive them of their share. There must be competition among equals and not among unequal. Competition among unequal leads to disproportionate representation to certain castes. In recent years there has admittedly been a certain loss of efficiency in Indian administration. But this can hardly be attributed to officers of the SCs, STs and OBCs, for they constitute just 10 percent of the higher echelons of the administration.

The anti – reservationists were supported by the anti-Karpoori faction of the Janata party and by the Congress (I) and other opposition parties in the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The anti-Karpoori Legislators of the Janata Legislature Party in Bihar sought relentlessly to exploit the situation for their own political ends. They were anxious to make him thoroughly unpopular and bring about a change in the leadership of the Janata Legislature Party in Bihar. The opposition parties, particularly the Congress (I) hoped to consolidate their own position among the upper castes.

Karpoori Thakur survived one challenge to his ministry in January 1979, when he was able to beat down a no-confidence motion in the Assembly. But finally, in April of the

same year, the combination of a Forward-Harijan alliance in the Assembly and at the national -level, Jana Sangh-BLD conflict within the Janata Party brought down the Thakur Government. It was succeeded by a ministry headed by Ram Sundar Das, a SC, but dominated by the same combination of Forwards and Jana Sanghis that had defeated the Thakur Government. Thus, the shift from Forward to Backward control at the ministerial level under Karpoori Thakur was in the end a short-lived one, but the underlying trends continued to remain in favour of the Backwards. Harry W. Blair observed about the social change of Bihar in the late 1970s,

“There is little doubt that Bihar is in process of undergoing its third major social, economic and political change in this century. Sachhidanand Sinha, who led the struggle culminating in the separation of Bihar from Bengal in 1912, could be said to be the creator of Modern Bihar. Sri Krishna Sinha, who shepherded the province into independence and through its first decade and a half thereafter, could be described as the creator of a Forward Raj in Bihar. And Karpoori Thakur may be well turn out to have been the creator of a Backward Raj.”<sup>xix</sup>

A controversy was created over the procedures to be adopted in implementing the reservation policy. The relevant notification said, simply, that the procedure would be the same as the one being followed in the case of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. This was misconstrued that OBCs candidates would be debarred from competing for the general vacancies. This, according to the leaders of the backward castes, was tantamount to granting 56 percent reservation to the upper castes. Many recruiting agencies also misconstrued the provision for reservation as prescribing the upper limit for the intake of OBCs candidates. In July 1979, therefore, the Das Ministry made it clear that the reservation percentage indicated the minimum quota, not the maximum and that the candidates of the backward classes selected on merit should not be shown against the quota reserved for the backward classes.<sup>xx</sup>

### **Mandal Effects and EBCs**

Manish K. Jha and Pushendra in his book “Governing Caste and Managing Conflict - Bihar, 1990-2011” coined the phrase ‘Caste Social’ to ‘Caste Political’ and observed that ‘What changed during the 1990s was the transformation of caste social into caste

political'.<sup>xxi</sup> In little less than four decades since the adoption of the Constitution, establishment of democracy, electoral representation, and the first general elections in the country, caste transformed into a political category. However, for EBCs, Ambedkar's prophecy in 1949<sup>xxii</sup> that Indians would live with the dichotomy of political equality exercised through the 'one person-one vote' principle on the one hand, and gross inequality in social and economic sphere, in turn compromising the political equality in the long run is looming large.

The Congress party ruled over Bihar continuously until the 1990, except for brief periods in the late 1960s and late 1970s. It was the rule of the upper sections of the society, both caste wise and class wise, notwithstanding the fact that some of its chief ministers belonged to the OBC, SC and Muslim communities. With the formation of Janata Dal government in 1990, under the leadership of Lalu Prasad marked the ushering of a new era for the rise and consolidation of backward castes politics in Bihar. Immediately after coming to power and forming government in 1990, Lalu Prasad annulled 3% reservation provided for economically weaker sections under karpoori formula and reduced the women quota to 2% from 3%<sup>xxiii</sup> and thus, increased the quota for OBCs from 20 per cent to 27 per cent; the law in this regard came in force in 1992. Accordingly, he increased quotas for EBCs in government jobs from 10 per cent to 14 per cent. After the bifurcation of Bihar (creating a separate state, Jharkhand), it was further increased to 18 per cent. He also provided political space and position to several leaders belonging to EBCs.

The JD government, under Lalu prasad in 1993, also passed the Bihar Panchayati Raj Act which reflected this new formula in the grass-roots-level institutions in similar proportion. For the backward classes, 10 % seats were reserved: for the EBCs, 14% and 2% for women.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Sanjay Kumar (by quoting Sinha, A.-*Nitish Kumar and the Rise of Bihar*, Delhi-2011: Penguin India) observed about Lalu Prasad<sup>xxv</sup>:

He was quite aware that Mandal and the revised Karpoori formula combined could at best bring few thousand jobs to the State's OBCs in a year, which could only create a very tiny oasis in the desert of OBC disability ...The novelty and uniqueness of Lalu was that he took Mandal

beyond quota jobs; he converted it into psychological machine. Through his decisions, speeches, appearances, and public behaviour he was able to portray himself as apna admi, “one of our own” to the masses. The only other politician of Bihar before him who had been identified by the poor as ‘apna admi’ was Karpoori Thakur, Lalu went beyond Karpoori ... He depicted his election and tenure as Chief Minister as a triumph of the downtrodden, making them feel it was actually gharib raj, rule of the poor...

### **The Making of EBCs under Nitish Government**

The OBCs coalition forged during Mandal agitation and in the elections thereafter could not be maintained for long and internal contradictions along with rival political aspirations started showing signs of fissures in the unity. The limits of ‘popular sovereignty’ of Lalu’s regime were obvious and political mobilisation of other-than-Yadav-OBCs started taking shape.<sup>xxvi</sup> The group which was feeling left out was a heterogeneous caste group of EBCs who make up 32 per cent of the population and they had less than 5 per cent representation in the Bihar assembly. This heterogeneous category of EBC castes now called for rallying together under another dominant backward-caste leader and flag. It was this call that provided political space for Nitish Kumar, a Kurmi caste leader and Lalu’s old comrade-in-arm. In 1994, Nitish Kumar defected from Lalu, and together with George Fernandes, formed Samata Party.

The rallying point of this mobilisation became the EBC caste group who are often referred by the upper castes and even by OBCs as pachpania (an assortment of various lower castes).<sup>xxvii</sup> Due to their geographical dispersal, lack of numerical strength of their individual castes and heterogeneity, they were never in a position to make claim on government and politics of the state.<sup>xxviii</sup> Nitish Kumar had assiduously worked to bring together a coalition of Kurmis, Koeris, EBCs, lower Muslims (Pasmada) and Mahadalits and the upper-caste and business-community support-base of his party’s coalition partner, BJP. Finally, in November 2005 assembly elections, EBCs consolidated their votes in alliance with lower caste Muslims and upper castes and RJD regime was replaced by the JD(U)-BJP coalition. Widening of caste representation in

the Assembly initiated by Lalu-Rabri led governments further deepened with Nitish Kumar's governing strategy to include the lowest among the backward castes and community.

The state Cabinet on January 12, 2006 approved the decision to promulgate Bihar Panchayati Raj Amendment Ordinance, 2006, to amend the Panchayati Raj Act, 1993, for extending quota facility to EBCs and Women in the Panchayat bodies. Accordingly, the NDA government decided to give EBCs and women 20 percent and 50 percent reservation facility respectively in the three-tier local bodies - District Boards, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats.<sup>xxix</sup> After the 2006 Panchayat elections, the state had more than 2,60,000 elected representatives in these PRIs comprising Mukhiyas (chairpersons of GPs) and ward members; Sarpanches (elected heads of Gram Katchahries at GPs) and panches; Pramukhs (chairpersons of Panchayat Samitis) and Panchayat Samiti members; Adhyakhas (chairpersons of ZPs) and ZP members. From amongst the EBC category, 1,464 were elected as Mukhiyas, 18,901 as Gram Panchayat Members and 1,464 as Sarpanchs and 18,900 as panchas.<sup>xxx</sup> This deepening of representational politics further reorganised power equation at village and municipal ward levels; and has initiated far-reaching consequences for assertion by another stratum of backward castes in the politics of the state.

The Bihar Cabinet in December 2016 announces 50% reservation in judicial services<sup>xxxi</sup>. Aspirants belonging to EBCs will get 21 per cent reservation, OBCs 12 per cent, SCs 16 per cent and STs 1 per cent. 35 per cent quota has been reserved for women belonging to all categories.

The Bihar government on 15 May 2018 approved a scheme for providing financial assistance to candidates belonging to the EBCs who crack the civil service preliminary tests conducted by the UPSC and the state public service commission. The scheme - "Mukhyamantri Atyant Pichhda Varg Civil Seva Protsahan Yojana" - was approved at a meeting of the cabinet chaired by Chief Minister Nitish Kumar. "Under the scheme, EBC candidates cracking the civil services PT conducted by UPSC will be provided a grant of Rs one lakh while those from the social group clearing the preliminaries held by the BPSC will be given Rs 50,000", Prem Singh Meena, Secretary, department of welfare of OBCs/EBCs, told reporters.<sup>xxxii</sup>

The state Government on 29 January 2020 reworked three schemes to benefit the EBCs, including payment of Rs.10 lakh to the willing entrepreneurs from these sections to start their choice business Ventures.<sup>xxxiii</sup> The cabinet approved the proposal to increase the range of annual family income from the existing Rs.1.50 lakh to Rs. 2.50 lakh for the EBC students to make the post-matric scholarship available to them. Under the third scheme, the hostels for EBC students would now be constructed in six more districts – Lakhisarai, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Khagaria, Siwan and Vaishali. Giving the details of the scholarship and hostel related schemes, welfare department secretary Prem Singh Meena said at present 2 lakh EBC students belonging to families with Rs. 1.5 lakh annual family income were getting the post-matric scholarships. With the increase in the income bracket to Rs. 2.50 lakh, there would be 25% more beneficiaries. Meena also said under the Jannayak Karpoori Thakur Chhatravas Yojana, Hostels for the EBC students have been constructed in 28 districts, of which those in 26 districts had already become functional, and two other hostels were nearing completion. The bed capacity of each hostel is 100. All these measures consolidated rank and file of EBCs.

#### **Expansion by Inclusion:**

From 2005 onwards 17 more castes have been included in the EBC list and five have been deleted and added in the SC list. The following Castes have been added and deleted from the EBCs list vide Resolution No. with date mentioned against their names: <sup>xxxiv</sup>

<u>Caste</u>	Serial No.	<u>Resolution No. with Date</u>
1. Badhai	113	2844, dated 12.06.2009
2. Patwa	114	2845, dt 12.06.2009
3. Kamar ,i.e.,Lohar and Karmakar	115	1170 ,dt.25.03.2010
4. Kanu /Halwai	02	1169, dt25.03.2010
5. Devhar	116	3799, dt 21.06.2010
6. Samari Vaishya	117	3799, dt15.12.2011,
7. Kaithal Vaishya/ kathbania	110	5617, dt05.04.2013
8. Haluwai	118	7920, dt 20.05.2013
9. Laheri	121	19313, dt20.12.2013

10. Pairgha/Parihar	119	19314, dt20.12.2013
11. Jagga	120	19316, dt20.12.2013
12. Kulhaiya	123	2654, dt24.02.2014
13. Rajbansi (Risya/ Desia or Polia)	122	2655,dt24.01.2014
14. Awadh Bania	124	15308, dt10.11.2014
15. Barai/Tamouli (Chaurasia)	125	6136,dt22.04.2015
16. Teli	126	6137, dt.22.04.2015
17. Dangi	127	9533, dt.01.07.2015

### **Deleted Castes with Resolution No. and Date**

1.Surhia	64	653, dt.22.02.20071
2.Gour/Gonr	24&27	695, dt28.02.2007
3.Khatwe	19	17891, dt.28.12.2012
4.Tanti (Tatwa)	33	9532,dt.01.07.2015
5.Naiyaa	43	6135, dt22.04.2015

### **Notes & References:**

<sup>i</sup>. Blair, Harry w - Rising Kulaks and Backward Classes in Bihar, Social Change in the late 1970s, Economic and Political weekly, Volume 15, No.2, January 12,1980, p.64; Also, Mandal Commission Report, Vol. IV Chapter VI, P.157

<sup>ii</sup>. 21st Annual Report 2008-09, National Commission for Backward Classes, Trikoot-1, Bhikaiji Cama Place, New Delhi- 110066, p.-7

<sup>iii</sup>. Blair, Harry w - Rising Kulaks and Backward Classes in Bihar, p.65

<sup>iv</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>v</sup>. The Home Ministry, the Govt. of India, had informed the State Governments that they may draw up their lists of Backward classes as the lists recommended by the Kaka Kalelkar Commission had not been accepted.

<sup>vi</sup>. Blair, Harry w - Rising Kulaks and Backward Classes in Bihar, p.65

<sup>vii</sup>. Government of India Report of the Backward Classes Commission (first part) , Volume-1,Chapter-II (2.20)

1980, P.6.

<sup>viii</sup>. Blair, Harry w - Rising Kulaks and Backward Classes in Bihar, p.65

<sup>ix</sup>. Government of India Report of the Backward Classes Commission (Second part) , Volume-VII, 1980,Page 229

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- <sup>x</sup> . Singh, Shyama Nand – Anti Reservation Agitation in Bihar, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 52, No.1, January -March,1991, p.31
- <sup>xi</sup> . Ibid.P.31-32
- <sup>xii</sup> . Ibid.P.31
- <sup>xiii</sup> . Ibid, p.28-9.
- <sup>xiv</sup> . Ibid. 30-31, also Report of the second Backward Classes Commission, Government of India, New Delhi,1980, Vol. I & II, p.49
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