

**R E P O R T**  
**OF THE**  
**COMMISSION FOR RESERVATION**  
**OF SEATS IN EDUCATIONAL**  
**INSTITUTIONS**  
**KERALA**  
**1965**

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## CHAPTER I

### Introductory

#### 1. *Constitution of the Commission:*

This Commission was appointed by the Government of Kerala on the 8th July, 1964, and it assumed office on the 14th July, 1964. The terms of reference to the Commission and the names of its members are set out in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the order of appointment, G.O.MS. 243/64/PD dated 8-7-1964 which read as under:—

- (1) “Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India provides for special provisions being made for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. Based upon this provision Government have been reserving seats in educational institutions for certain sections of the people in the State who are considered to be backward socially and educationally. The Government have been considering for some time the question of setting up a Commission to review the position. The Commission is expected to recommend which sections of the people require special treatment under Article 15(4) having regard to their present social and educational conditions. The recent decision of the High Court in JACOB MATHEW Vs. THE STATE OF KERALA has pointedly brought to the notice of Government the necessity for conducting an enquiry in this regard. Accordingly, a Commission is hereby constituted with Shri G. Kumara Pillai (Retired High Court Judge) as Chairman and the following members, namely:—

1. Shri P. S. George, Thiruvella.
2. Shri V. K. Krishnankutty, Advocate, Mattancherry.
3. Shri L. M. Pylee, Ex-Minister, Ernakulam
4. Shri P. K. Abdulla, I. A. S.,  
(Member-Secretary)

- (2) The Commission shall enquire into the social and educational conditions of the people and report on what sections of the people in the State of Kerala (other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be treated as socially and educationally backward and therefore deserving of special treatment by way of reservation of seats in educational institutions. They shall also recommend what the quantum of such reservation should be and the period during which it may remain in force”.

## 2. *Plan of work*

After a preliminary study of the questions involved in the terms of reference, the Commission drew up a questionnaire in English (vide Appendix I) with translations in Malayalam, Tamil, Hindi and Kannada and released the same on 6-10-1964. The questionnaire was also published in the Gazette and in some of the leading newspapers. The response to this questionnaire was phenomenal and evinced the measure of the interest the people of the State have in the matter under consideration. Six thousand and forty two answers have been received from individuals coming from all stations and walks in life and social organisations representing various classes of people and interests. Besides these, memoranda from 93 individuals and organisations dealing with the matter in issue from various points of view or setting out the claims of different classes and communities have also been received. Very many persons and organisations from all over the State came forward to give oral evidence as well. In all, 347 persons were examined by the Commission at various places in the State. The names of the memorialists and the persons who gave oral evidence are given in Appendices II and III respectively. The Commission also visited some places for studying local conditions. At the instance of the Commission, a Sample Survey of certain aspects of the Socio-Economic conditions of the people of the State was also conducted by the Bureau

of Economics and Statistics with the sanction of the Government. The Commission has further collected and considered Statistics on educational and social matters from the numerous Professional and other Colleges and Schools in the State and the various Departments of Government.

3. *Historical background leading to the appointment of this Commission :*

The circumstances which have led to the appointment of this Commission are, in brief, the following:—

For some years before the reorganisation of States, both the former State of Travancore-Cochin and the State of Madras had been reserving seats in educational institutions, especially Professional Colleges, for students who were considered to belong to backward classes. After the formation of the Kerala State, on 15-6-1957, the Government of Kerala passed an order R. Dis.10528/57/EHD. (Education-F) providing for similar reservation in Professional Colleges, which reads as under:—

“Representations have been received by Government from the Kerala State Muslim League and the Akhila Kerala Ezhava Convention requesting Government to give legitimate representation due to their communities in the matter of admission to Professional Colleges. Government have examined the question in detail and they order as follows:—

- (a) 35% of the seats will be reserved for backward classes and 5% for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the Professional Colleges, viz., Engineering, Agricultural, Medical and Veterinary Colleges.
- (b) In the case of Engineering and Medical Colleges, a minimum of 45% of the marks in the optional subjects should be insisted upon for candidates from backward classes and Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

(c) There will be no regional representation.

(d) Subject to these reservations, admissions will be strictly according to merit”.

This order was made under Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India although there is no specific reference in it to that Article.

Article 15 of the Constitution reads as follows:—

“15(1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

(2) No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to—

(a) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment; or

(b) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of the State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.

(3) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children.

(4) 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”.

Article 29 mentioned in Article 15 (4) reads as follows:—

“29(1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having

a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

(2) 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”.

Subsequently there have been several modifications, amplifications and explanations of the Order of 15-6-1957. By order R.Dis. 11744/57/EHD (Education-F) dated 28-6-1957, Government directed that the 35% seats reserved in favour of the Backward Classes by the earlier order should be distributed as follows:—

(1)	Ezhavas	..	13
(2)	Muslims	..	9
(3)	Latin Catholics	..	3
(4)	Backward Christians		1
(5)	Other Hindus	..	9
Total			35

A clarification of the order of 28-6-1957 was made by Memorandum No. D.Dis.14141/57/EHD (Education-F) dated 5-7-1957, whereby it was directed that Thiyyas would be treated as Ezhavas for purposes of admission to Professional Colleges and that all the communities mentioned in Annexure I of the Government Proceedings S(D)2-41489/56/PD dated 6-2-1957 excepting Ezhavas and those belonging to religions other than Hinduism, are to be treated as “Other Hindus”. The Memorandum further clarified that the term “Backward Christians” used in the earlier order would include “S.I.U.C. and Other Christians”, and defined the term ‘Other Christians’ as including Pulayas, Parayas and other Scheduled Castes and backward community members converted to Christianity. The principles regarding reservation of seats (including the distribution of the reserved seats) in Professional Colleges laid

down in these orders were made applicable to all Technical Institutions under the control of the Government and the University by Order R.Dis.15362/57/EHD dated 13-7-1957. Government had further directed a region-wise distribution or reservation of seats for Engineering and Medical Colleges by G.P. No. D.Dis. 15356/57/EHD (Education-F) dated 10-7-1957. The direction was that while the reservation of seats for Backward Classes and Scheduled Classes was to be worked on a State basis, the total number of admissions for the State including seats for the Backward Classes and Scheduled Classes was to be distributed between Malabar area and Travancore-Cochin area in the ratio of 5:8.

Without affecting the nature and quantum of the reservation for Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Tribes some changes were made during the years 1959 to 1963 in the scheme of reservation formulated by the above orders. It is not necessary to trace here step by step the various changes effected during these years: it will be sufficient to state the position as it was in 1963, when the case of JACOB MATHEW Vs. STATE OF KERALA mentioned in the order of appointment of the Commission arose. There were two orders in 1963, viz., G.O. Rt. 1418/63/Edn. dated 7-5-1963 relating to Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics, and G.O. Ms. No. 419/63/HLD dated 7-6-1963 relating to Medical Colleges. By the first order 15% of the total number of seats in institutions under private management was set apart to be filled up by nominees of the Managements concerned, from among the eligible candidates who had applied to the Director of Technical Education, 10% of the total number of seats in all the institutions in the State (inclusive of both Government and Private Institutions) was to be filled up purely on merit on State-wide basis, 35% of the total number of seats in the State was to be reserved for Backward Communities and 5% for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in accordance with the principles laid down in the order dated 28-6-1957 to be filled up on a State-wide basis, a few seats were set apart to be filled up by nominees of certain other States and the Central Government and the Kerala Sports Council, and the

remaining seats were to be distributed on a District-wise basis in the following ratio, namely:—

Cannanore	11
Kozhikode	15
Palghat	11
Trichur	10
Ernakulam	11
Kottayam	10
Alleppey	11
Quilon	11
Trivandrum	10

By the second order, i.e., G.O. MS. 419/63/HLD dated 7-6-1963 relating to Medical Colleges, certain fixed number of seats was reserved for nominees of the Government of India, degree or diploma-holders in Ayurveda, degree or diploma-holders in Homoeopathy and children of Registered Medical Practitioners in Modern Medicine, and out of the remaining seats 10% was set apart to be filled up on State-wide merit basis, 50% distributed on District-wise merit basis in the same ratio as in the case of Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics, 35% reserved for Backward Classes to be filled up in accordance with the principles laid down in the order of 28-6-1957 on State-wide merit basis, and 5% reserved for Scheduled Castes and Tribes to be filled up on State-wide merit basis.

As regards Arts and Science Colleges, the Government of Travancore-Cochin had by their order No. ED (C) 2-529/56 dated 28-5-1956 directed, in respect of pass courses, reservation of 20% of the seats for Scheduled Castes and Tribes and reservation for Backward Communities in such manner that the over-all reservation for Scheduled Castes and Tribes and Backward Communities together should not exceed 30% of the total number of seats—that is to say, ordinarily Backward Communities were to have reservation of 10% of the seats but if in any year Scheduled Castes and Tribes failed to avail to the full extent the 20% seats reserved for them, such seats as were not availed by them were to be given to the Backward Communities in case there

were candidates from among them. This order further allowed a concession to Backward Communities and Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the matter of admission to Honours and Post-Graduate Courses, namely, in cases where candidates passing the qualifying examination in the first and second classes alone were eligible for admission, members of the Backward Communities, Scheduled Castes and Tribes could be admitted even if they had only the second class in preference to others having the first class, upto the percentage fixed for them. This order was to be in force for a period of five years after which the position was to be reviewed. The period was subsequently extended by the Government and it was ordered by G.O. MS. No. 225/62/EDN (Education-F) dated 28-3-1962 that the rules laid down in the G.O. of 28-5-1956 would continue in force until further orders. This was the position in 1963 regarding reservation of seats in Arts and Science Colleges. By 1963 some additions were also made to the List of Communities in Annexure I of the Government Proceedings S (D) 2-41489/57/PD dated 6-2-1957. There were also representations to Government from various quarters both for and against the principle of reservation as well as in respect of the claims for eligibility or otherwise of certain communities for inclusion among the list of Backward Classes and the quantum of reservation. The validity of the Government orders directing reservation of seats in the Engineering and Medical Colleges was challenged in 1963 by a number of Writ Petitions filed in the High Court of Kerala by some unsuccessful candidates for admission to those institutions. All these petitions were heard together and disposed of by a Single Judge of the High Court by an order in the case of JACOB MATHEW Vs. THE STATE OF KERALA reported in A.I.R. 1964 Kerala 39. The learned judge allowed the Writ Petitions holding that the reservation of 35% of the seats for Backward Classes and the distribution thereof and the reservation of some seats for nominees of the Sports Council and children of Registered Medical Practitioners as well as the District-wise distribution of 50% of the seats could not be sustained, mainly for the reasons (i) that classification of socially Backward Classes

predominantly on the test of caste, community or religion was inconsistent with the requirements of Article 15 (4) of the Constitution; (ii) that the backwardness under Article 15(4) must be both social and educational and not one of them alone; (iii) that mere subjective satisfaction of the Government on the grounds of classification is not enough and there should be an objective approach with due regard to the materials that have been collected by the Government after a proper examination of the data relevant for such purposes; (iv) that from the materials adverted to by the Government themselves it was clear that no proper approach had been made; (v) that the inclusion of Ezhavas and Muslims as Backward Classes was based on the test of caste, community or religion and no investigation regarding their economic condition had been made, and (vi) that the adoption of District-wise distribution was not based upon any scientific data regarding the student populations of particular Districts or the object of advancing the educational interests of the territorial divisions. Against this decision Government filed an appeal in the High Court, Writ Appeal 164 of 1963, and the appeal was allowed by a Division Bench except as regards District-wise distribution and reservation for the children of Registered Medical Practitioners.

The appellate decision is reported in **STATE OF KERALA Vs. JACOB MATHEW AND OTHERS, A.I.R. 1964 Kerala 317**. It was held therein that it is permissible to take caste also into consideration in ascertaining the backwardness of a group of persons, that if the whole or a substantial portion of a caste is socially and educationally backward, then the name of that caste can be a symbol or synonym for a class of citizens who are socially and educationally backward and thus within the ambit of Article 15(4) of the Constitution; and that in view of the details furnished in the affidavit filed on behalf of the State and the affidavit of the guardian of one of the respondents, Ezhavas, Muslims and Latin Catholics inclusive of Anglo-Indians have to be taken as constituting "socially and educationally backward classes of citizens" within the meaning of Article 15(4) and reservation of seats for them is not violative of the

provisions of the Constitution. The learned Judges of the appellate Bench observed also:

"We must, however, point out that the paucity of up-to-date data has been a source of considerable worry. It is impossible to say that our conclusion has not been influenced, to some extent at any rate, by our own experience of life and work in this State.

An enduring conclusion, however, should not be based on data that is not absolutely up-to-date or on judicial experience which such data may disprove or modify. We think it is essential that the State should immediately embark upon a fact-finding enquiry into matters that are relevant and frame appropriate orders in the light of that enquiry. We direct the State to do so".

The Judgement in STATE OF KERALA Vs. JACOB MATHEW (referred to hereinafter as "Jacob Mathew's case") was rendered on 3-4-1964. About three months later, on 8-7-1964, Government appointed this Commission with the terms of reference which have already been set out at the beginning of this report.

*Note:* Except the quotations from the Constitution, the words "Classes", "Castes", "Communities", "Scheduled Tribes", "Scheduled Classes", "Scheduled Castes", are used here as in the G.Os. mentioned in paragraph 3.

#### 4. *Object of Article 15 (4)*

Article 29 (2) of the Constitution ensures to all citizens regardless of religion, race, caste, language or any of them, admission to educational institutions maintained by the State, and Article 15(1) prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. Clause (4) of Article 15 constitutes an exception to the above provisions and permits the State to make any special provision for the advancement

of any socially and educationally Backward Classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes notwithstanding anything said in the other clauses of Article 15 or in Article 29(2). Article 15(4) is not a mandatory but an enabling provision which was added to the Constitution by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. The necessity for the amendment arose because the Supreme Court had in the *STATE OF MADRAS Vs. CHEM-PAKAM DORAIRAJAN* (A.I.R. 1951 S.C. 226) upheld a decision of the Madras High Court striking down G.O. No. 1254/Education dated 17-5-1948 of the Madras Government regulating admissions to the Medical and Engineering Colleges in the Madras State on the basis of castes or communities and districts. The Madras Government had contended in that case that the regulation complained of was in conformity with the provisions of Article 46 to promote the educational interests of the weaker sections. The Courts however held that this regulation offended against the Fundamental Right guaranteed to citizens by Articles 15(1) and 29(2) and could not therefore be upheld. Thereupon an amendment to the Constitution was considered necessary "to bring Articles 15 and 29 in line with Articles 16(4), 46 and 340 and to make it constitutional for the State to *reserve* seats for backward classes of citizens, Scheduled Castes and Tribes in public educational institutions as well as to make other special provisions as might be necessary for their advancement".—Vide Basu's Commentaries. Clause (4) was accordingly added to Article 15 by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951. Article 15(4) does not make it obligatory on the State to make any special provision for the advancement of the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and only gives the State a power to make such provisions if the State considers it necessary. But from the very language of Article 15(4) and the history of the enactment it is clear that the clause was added for giving full effect, without hindrance, to the professed object of the Constitution and the Directive Principle of State Policy set out in Article 46 and the Preamble of the Constitution. The object first set out in the Preamble to the Constitution is to secure to

all citizens of India "JUSTICE, social, economic and political"; and Article 46 directs:

"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".

In the light of the above object and directive principle, the failure or refusal of the State to make any special provision under Article 15(4) when it is convinced that there are socially and educationally backward classes of citizens deserving of protection will be dereliction of duty.

The special provisions envisaged in Article 15(4) may take various forms, e.g., financial assistance, special coaching, opening of additional educational institutions and hostels, etc. Reservation of seats is only one among them. But it is the most important of them all from the point of view of immediate returns or results. And, it calls for the exercise of the greatest care on the part of the authorities. Regarding the desirability of getting immediate results, it has been observed by the Supreme Court in *BALAJI Vs. STATE OF MYSORE* (referred to hereinafter as "Balaji's case") A.I.R. 1963 S.C. 646—

"It is obvious that unless the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people are promoted quickly and liberally, the ideal of establishing social and economic equality will not be attained, and so, there can be no doubt that Article 15(4) authorises the State to take adequate steps to achieve the object which it has in view. No one can dispute the proposition that political freedom and even fundamental rights can have very little meaning or significance for the Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes unless the backwardness and inequality from which they suffer are immediately redressed".

About the difficulties involved, the Supreme Court has observed:—

“.....reservation should and must be adopted to advance the prospects of the weaker sections of society, but in providing for special measures in that behalf care should be taken not to exclude admission to higher educational centres to deserving and qualified candidates of other communities. A special provision contemplated by Article 15(4), like reservation of posts and appointments contemplated by Article 16(4), must be within reasonable limits. The interests of weaker sections of society which are a first charge on the States and the Centre have to be adjusted with the interests of the Community as a whole. The adjustment of these competing claims is undoubtedly a difficult matter”.

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“Undoubtedly, it has to take reasonable and even generous steps to help the advancement of weaker elements; the extent of the problem must be weighed, the requirements of the community at large must be borne in mind and a formula must be evolved which would strike a reasonable balance between the several relevant considerations”.

As reservation is intended and certain to secure more opportunities for the classes in whose favour it is made and involves to that extent the curtailment of the opportunities being enjoyed by the other classes, it is sure to evoke bitter criticisms and complaints from the latter and induce the former to clamour for more and more.

The difficulties involved in the problem are further heightened as the Constitution itself does not contain any definition of social backwardness, and ideas of social and educational backwardness vary from individual to individual and State to State. The Supreme Court itself has pointed

out in CHITRALEKHA Vs. STATE OF MYSORE, A.I.R. 1964, S.C. 1823 (referred to hereinafter as "Chitralekha's case") :—

"The laying down of criteria for ascertainment of social and educational backwardness of a class is a complex problem depending upon many circumstances which may vary from State to State and even from place to place in a State".

In the above circumstances, the Commission felt necessary that besides collecting relevant statistical information it should give wide publicity to its enquiry and collect as much evidence as possible on the matters in issue and provide an opportunity to every individual, organisation and agency, who desired to do so, to submit his or its point of view; and we have done so. Realising the importance and difficulties of the Commission's task, Government also were good enough to pass specific orders allowing Government servants who are called, or desired to give evidence before the Commission, freely to submit their views and give evidence unhampered by any Service Rules. Such is the volume of evidence and representations we have received that it is impracticable to refer to all of them in this report. Legislators, government servants, social workers, educationists of all grades, principals and professors of colleges, primary school teachers, students, doctors, engineers, lawyers, industrialists, factory workers, and other labourers, bankers, merchants, artisans, agriculturists, persons belonging to various castes and communities, men and women hailing from all over the State have sent answers to the questionnaire and given memoranda and evidence. We have carefully considered all the evidence, answers to the questionnaire and written memoranda received and every shade of opinion urged before us with the help of the statistical information collected from Governmental Departments, Census Reports and similar publications.

## CHAPTER II

### **General Principles for ascertaining Social and Educational Backwardness**

5. *Backwardness under Article 15(4) is not either social or educational but both social and educational:*

On the language in Article 15(4), doubts have been expressed as to whether the protection in respect of education by means of special provisions under clause (4) can be given only to classes of citizens who are both socially and educationally backward, i.e, backward in two respects, namely (1) socially, and (2) educationally, or whether it can also be given to classes who are backward in one alone of these two respects. These doubts have been expressed because the word "and" occurring in statutory enactments has sometimes been construed as meaning "or", and the language used in Article 15(4) is:

"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"

*(underlining, ours).*

Both views have been urged strongly before the Commission.

There is nothing in the context or the subject-matter to suggest that the word "and" used in Article 15(4) has to be given a construction different from its plain and ordinary meaning. To construe it as "or" would be against the very spirit and declared objectives of the Constitution. The Directive Principles of State Policy as regards education are contained in Articles 41 and 46. Article 46 directs the State to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections; but as regards citizens generally, Article 41 directs the State only to make

effective provisions within the means of its economic capacity and development, for securing the right to education. The two Articles read:

“41. The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want”.

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“46. 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”.

The difference between them is very significant. In the case of socially backward classes lack of education is almost invariably due to the denial or want of opportunities and means, and therefore, the State has been enabled by Article 15(4) to make special provisions for them in the matter of education. There is no such denial or want of opportunities in the case of classes who are not socially backward but might be educationally backward. And it will be superfluous to state that no special provision is called for, for advancement of education of any class which is not educationally backward. The dispute is now set at rest by the decision of the Supreme Court in *Balaji's Case* wherein it has been observed:

“The backwardness under Article 15(4) must be social and educational. It is not either social or educational, but it is both social and educational”.

#### 6. *General Principles indicated by the Supreme Court for ascertainment of social backwardness:*

The expression “socially and educationally backward classes of citizens” has not been defined in the Constitution and there is a lot of controversy as to what is meant

by the words "classes of citizens" and as to the criteria for classification of citizens for purposes of ascertainment of social backwardness. These controversies have come up for judicial consideration and the Supreme Court has laid down certain general principles for guidance of the authorities concerned. The most important of them is whether the classes of citizens contemplated in Article 15(4) are the traditional castes, and communities or whether they are only economic cross-sections of the whole population. There have also been suggestions that the approach to the question should not be so strict but a blended one, taking into account both caste disabilities and economic factors. On this question the Supreme Court has observed as follows in *Balaji's case*:—

"The group of citizens to whom Art. 15 (4) applies are described as 'classes of citizens' not as castes of citizens. A class according to the dictionary meaning, shows division of society according to status, rank or caste. In the Hindu social structure, caste unfortunately plays an important part in determining the status of the citizen. Though according to sociologists and vedic scholars, the caste system may have originally begun on occupational or functional basis in course of time, it became rigid and inflexible. The history of the growth of caste system shows that its original functional and occupational basis was later over-burdened with considerations of purity based on ritual concepts, and led to its ramifications which introduced inflexibility and rigidity. This artificial growth inevitably tended to create a feeling of superiority and inferiority, and to foster narrow caste loyalties. Therefore, in dealing with the question as to whether any class of citizens is socially backward or not, it may not be irrelevant to consider the caste of the said group of citizens. In this connection it is, however, necessary to bear in mind that the special provision is contemplated for classes of citizens and not for individual citizens as such, and so, though the caste of the group of citizens may be relevant, its importance should not be exaggerated. If the classification of backward classes of citizens was based solely on the caste of the citizen,

it may not always be logical and may perhaps contain the vice of perpetuating the castes themselves.

Besides, if the caste of the group of citizens was made the sole basis for determining the social backwardness of the said group, that test would inevitably break down in relation to many sections of Indian society which do not recognise castes in the conventional sense known to Hindu society. How is one going to decide whether Muslims, Christians or Jains, or even Lingayats are socially backward or not? The test of castes would be inapplicable to those groups, but that would hardly justify the exclusion of these groups in toto from the operation of Art. 15 (4). It is not unlikely that in some States some Muslims or Christians or Jains forming groups may be socially backward. That is why we think that though castes in relation to Hindus may be a relevant factor to consider in determining the social backwardness of groups or classes of citizens, it cannot be made the sole or the dominant test in that behalf. Social backwardness is, on the ultimate analysis, the result of poverty to a very large extent. The classes of citizens who are deplorably poor automatically become socially backward. They do not enjoy a status in society and have, therefore, to be content to take a backward seat. It is true that social backwardness which results from poverty is likely to be aggravated by considerations of caste to which the poor citizens may belong, but that only shows the relevance of both caste and poverty in determining the backwardness of citizens.

The occupations of citizens may also contribute to make classes of citizens socially backward. There are some occupations which are treated as inferior according to conventional beliefs and classes of citizens who follow these occupations are apt to become socially backward. The place of habitation also plays not a minor part in determining the backwardness of a community of persons. In a sense, the problem of social backwardness is the problem of rural India and in that behalf, classes of citizens occupying a socially backward position in rural area fall within the

purview of Art. 15(4). The problem of determining who are socially backward classes is undoubtedly very complex. Sociological, social and economic considerations come into play in solving the problem, and evolving proper criteria for determining which classes are socially backward is obviously a very difficult task”.

As to the nature of the caste disabilities which may be taken into consideration, the Supreme Court has said:

“It seems fairly clear that the backward classes of citizens for whom special provision is authorised to be made are, by Art. 15 (4) itself, treated as being similar to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which have been defined were known to be backward and the Constitution makers felt no doubt that special provision had to be made for their advancement. It was realised that in the Indian Society there were other classes of citizens who are equally or may be somewhat less, backward than the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and it was thought that some special provision ought to be made even for them. Article 341 provides for the issue of public notification specifying the castes, races or tribes which shall, for purposes of this Constitution, be deemed to be Scheduled Castes either in the State or the Union territory as the case may be. Similarly Art. 342 makes a provision for the issue of public notification in respect of Scheduled Tribes. Under Art. 338(3) it is provided that references to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be construed as including references to such other Backward Classes as the President may, on receipt of the report of a Commission appointed under Art. 340 (1), by order, specify and also to the Anglo-Indian community. It would thus be seen that this provision contemplates that some Backward Classes may by the Presidential order be included in Scheduled Castes and Tribes. That helps to bring out the point that the Backward Classes for whose improvement special provision is contemplated by Art. 15(4) are in the matter of their backwardness comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes”.

7. *Caste of a group of citizens may be a relevant circumstance in ascertaining their social backwardness, but it cannot be the sole or dominant test in that behalf.*

In a later case the Mysore High Court expressed doubts as to whether a classification totally eschewing caste considerations and based only on economic, occupational and habitational difference could be justified on the decision in *Balaji's case*. Thereupon the matter was again taken to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court pointed out in *Chitrlekha's case* that two principles stand out prominently from the observation in *Balaji's case*, namely:—

(1) the caste of a group of citizens may be a relevant circumstance in ascertaining their social backwardness; and

(2) though it is a relevant factor to determine the social backwardness of a class of citizens it cannot be the sole or dominant test in that behalf”.

The Supreme Court further observed in *Chitrlekha's Case*:

“While this court has not excluded caste from ascertaining the backwardness of a class of citizens, it has not made it one of the compelling circumstances affording the basis for the ascertainment of the backwardness of a class. To put it differently, the authority concerned may take caste into consideration in ascertaining the backwardness of a group of persons; but if it does not its order will not be bad on that account, if it can ascertain the backwardness of a group of persons on the basis of other relevant criteria”.

After referring to Article 46, 341 and 342 the Supreme Court finally summed up the position as follows:—

“These provisions recognise the factual existence of backward classes in our country brought about by historical reasons and make a sincere attempt to promote the welfare of the weaker sections thereof. They shall be so construed as to effectuate the said policy but not to give weightage to progressive sections of our society under the false colour of caste to which they happen to belong. The important

factor to be noticed in Art. 15(4) is that it does not speak of castes, but only speaks of classes. If the makers of the Constitution intended to take caste also as units of social and educational backwardness, they would have said so as they have said in the case of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Though it may be suggested that the wider expression "classes" is used in clause (4) of Art. 15 as there are communities without castes, if the intention was to equate classes with castes, nothing prevented the makers of the Constitution to use the expression "Backward Classes or Castes". The juxtaposition of the expression "Backward Classes" and "Scheduled Castes" in Art. 15(4) also leads to a reasonable inference that the expression "classes" is not synonymous with castes. It may be that for ascertaining whether a particular citizen or a group of citizens belong to a backward class or not, his or their caste may have some relevance, but it cannot be either the sole or the dominant criterion for ascertaining the class to which he or they belong.

This interpretation will carry out the intention of the Constitution expressed in the aforesaid Articles. It helps the really Backward Classes instead of promoting the interests of individuals or groups who, though they belong to a particular caste a majority whereof is socially and educationally backward, really belong to a class which is socially and educationally advanced. To illustrate, take a caste in a State which is numerically the largest therein. It may be that though a majority of the people in that caste are socially and educationally backward, an effective minority may be socially and educationally far more advanced than another small sub-caste the total number of which is far less than the said minority. If we interpret the expression "classes", as "castes", the object of the Constitution will be frustrated and the people who do not deserve any adventitious aid may get it to the exclusion of those who really deserve. This anomaly will not arise if, without equating caste with class, caste is taken as only one of the considerations to ascertain whether a person belongs to a backward class or not. On the other

hand, if the entire sub-caste, by and large, is backward, it may be included in the Scheduled Castes by following the appropriate procedure laid down by the Constitution.

We do not intend to lay down any inflexible rule for the Government to follow. The laying down of criteria for ascertainment of social and educational backwardness of a class is a complex problem depending upon many circumstances which may vary from State to State and even from place to place in a State. But what we intend to emphasize is that under no circumstance a "class" can be equated to a "caste" though the caste of an individual or a group of individuals may be considered along with other relevant factors in putting him in a particular class. We would also like to make it clear that if in a given situation caste is excluded in ascertaining a class within the meaning of Art. 15(4) of the Constitution, it does not vitiate the classification if it satisfied other tests".

(Underlining ours)

#### 8. *General principles regarding educational backwardness*

As regards the criteria for assessing educational backwardness also the Constitution contains no provision and the guidance which the Commission can obtain from the pronouncements of the Supreme Court is contained in the following observations in *Balaji's case*:—

"It may be conceded that in determining the educational backwardness of a class of citizens, the literacy test supplied by the Census Reports may not be adequate; but it is doubtful if the test of the average of student population in the last three High School classes is appropriate in determining the educational backwardness. Having regard to the fact that the test is intended to determine who are educationally backward classes, it may not be necessary or proper to put the test as high as has been done by the Committee. But even assuming that the test applied is rational and permissible under Art. 15(4), the question still remains as to whether it would be legitimate to treat castes or communities which are just below the State average as educationally

backward classes. If the State average is 6.9 per thousand, a community which satisfied the said test or is just below the said test cannot be regarded as backward. It is only communities which are well below the State average that can properly be regarded as educationally backward classes of citizens. Classes of citizens whose average of student population works below 50% of the State average are obviously educationally backward classes of citizens. Therefore, in our opinion, the State was not justified in including in the list of Backward Classes, castes or communities whose average of student population per thousand was slightly above, or very near or just below the State average.....

.....  
If the test has to be applied by a reference to the State average of student population the legitimate view to take would be that a class of citizens whose average is well or substantially below the State average can be treated as educationally backward. On this point again, we do not propose to lay down any hard and fast rule; and it is for the State to consider the matter and decide it in a manner which is consistent with the requirements of Article 15(4)".

(*Underlining ours*)

#### 9. *Basis of investigations by the Commission*

The Commission's investigations have been made in the light of the general principles contained in the above observations of the Supreme Court which, as the Supreme Court itself has expressly cautioned, are not to be taken as hard and fast or inflexible rules. The tests adopted by the Commission in the light of those principles are explained in the next Chapter.

## CHAPTER III

### Tests Adopted by the Commission

#### 10. *Existing scheme of Reservation and Classification*

After the appellate decision in *Jacob Mathew's Case* Government discontinued the district-wise distribution of seats and restored the allocation of those seats between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas in the ratio of 5 : 8, omitting however the direction in the order of 10-7-1957, that, while the reservation for "Backward Classes" and "Scheduled Classes" was to be worked on a State basis, the allocation of 5 : 8 between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas was to hold good in respect of the total number of seats. The orders now in force as regards reservation of seats in Professional Colleges and Polytechnics are G.O. Rt.1289/65/Edn. dated 5-5-1965 relating to Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics, and G.O.Rt. 2009/65 (Health & Labour-B) dated 24-5-1965 relating to Medical Colleges. By the first order 15% of the seats in institutions under private management is allowed to be filled up by the Managements from among eligible applicants who have applied to the Director of Technical Education and a fixed number of seats in Engineering Colleges is set apart for certain special cases such as nominees of the Government of India, and candidates recommended by the Kerala Sports Council etc. Of the remaining seats in Engineering Colleges (i.e., 85% seats in Private Institutions and all the seats in Government Institutions other than those set apart as mentioned above), 10% is to be filled up purely on merit on State-wide basis, 50% is to be allocated between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas in the ratio of 5 : 8, and 40% is reserved for

“Backward Communities” and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as follows:—

“ Ezhavas	..	13%
Muslims	..	9%
Latin Catholics	..	3%
Backward Christians		1%
Other Hindus	..	9%
Scheduled Castes and		
Scheduled Tribes	..	5%
		<hr/>
“ Total	..	40%
		<hr/>

The corresponding directions as regards Polytechnics are that 10% of the seats is to be reserved exclusively for Junior Technical School Leaving Certificate holders, 10% is to be filled up purely on merit on State-wide basis, 40% is to be filled up between the Malabar area and the Travancore-Cochin area in the ratio of 5: 8, and the remaining 40% is to be reserved for “Backward Classes”, “Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes” in the same proportion interse as in the case of the Engineering Colleges. By the second order, ie., G.O.Rt. 2009/65/HLD dated 24-5-1965, relating to Medical Colleges certain fixed number of seats is set apart for some special cases such as nominees of the Government of India, etc., and of the remaining seats:—

- (i) 10% is to be filled up purely on merit on State-wide basis;
- (ii) 50% is to be allocated between Malabar area and Travancore-Cochin area in the ratio of 5:8; and
- (iii) 40% is to be reserved for Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The 40% so reserved is to be distributed as follows:—

"Ezhavas ..	13%
Muslims ..	9%
Other Hindus ..	9%
Latin Catholics including Anglo-Indians ..	3%
Other Backward Christians including S.I.U.C...	1%
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes ..	5%
	<hr/>
Total ..	40%

It may be noted that while Anglo-Indians are not included in the list for distribution of the 40% reserved seats in Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics they are included in the list for distribution of the 40% reserved seats in Medical Colleges.

Government have informed the Commission by letter No. 41543/Ag.3/64/Agri. dated 22-9-1964 and letter No. 20398/Ag.3/65/Agri. dated 11-5-1965, that, "the general orders issued by the Education Department in respect of the reservation of seats in the Professional Colleges are made applicable to admissions to the Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges also", and that 25% of the seats in Veterinary College and 20% of the seats in Agricultural College are set apart for the nominees of the Government of India.

Thus according to the above orders and the orders mentioned in Chapter I, besides the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, there are five classes of citizens considered socially and educationally backward. These five classes are:—

- (i) Ezhavas including Thiyyas;
- (ii) Muslims;
- (iii) Latin Catholics (with whom are included Anglo-Indians for purposes of admission to Medical Colleges);
- (iv) Backward Christians; and
- (v) Other Hindus.

Irrespective of considerations as to whether there are social differences within each community itself arising out of economic and other factors all Ezhavas and Thiyyas, all Muslims, and all Latin Catholics and Anglo-Indians are included in classes (i) to (iii) respectively. Likewise all members of the S.I.U.C. and all converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes are included in class (iv). As per directions in the Government Memorandum No. D. Dis. 14141/57/E.H.D. dated 5-7-1957, class (v) "Other Hindus" consists of all classes mentioned in the list in Annexure I to G.P.S(D)2-41489/56/PD. dated 6-2-1957 excepting "Ezhavas including Thiyyas" and those belonging to religions other than Hinduism. This list known as the "List of Other Backward Classes in Kerala State" (referred to hereinafter as the P.S.C. list) is kept for purposes of giving representation to Backward Classes in Public Services under Article 16(4). It includes both "Other Hindus" and classes (i) to (iv) mentioned above. There is another list known as the "List of Other Backward Communities/Classes" (referred to hereinafter as the D.H.W. list) kept for giving educational concessions by the Department of Harijan Welfare. The two lists with the latest amendments are given in Appendices IV and V. The castes and communities included in the two lists are, to some extent, common but there are considerable variations also. The D.H.W. list contains a larger number of castes and communities. The Director of Technical Education has informed the Commission by letter No. F1-28407/64/DTE dated 18-9-1964 that for purposes of admission to Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics class (v) "Other Hindus" is being taken as consisting of all classes in the P.S.C. list excepting Ezhavas and Thiyyas and persons belonging to religions other than Hinduism but including Saiva Vellalas also. The inclusion of Saiva Vellalas in the class "Other Hindus" does not seem to be in conformity with the Government Memorandum D.Dis. 14141/57/EHD dated 5-7-1957. Regarding the addition of that community, all that the Director had to say was: "In addition, the Saiva Vellala community was used to be included under the O.B.H. group based on previous year practice, although this community is not in

the P.S.C. list". In his letter No. M.C.(B)3-15343/64 dated 17-8-1964 the Principal, Medical College, Trivandrum has informed the Commission that in the matter of admissions to the Government Medical Colleges, the D.H.W. list is being followed. The Principal of the Agricultural College also has informed the Commission in letter No. GAI.1909/64 dated 8-9-1964: "Seats have been allotted to the communities as per the list of Other Backward Community published by the Department of Harijan Welfare from time to time". This practice of following the D.H.W. list does not appear to be warranted by the Government Memorandum D.Dis. 14141/57/EHD dated 5-7-1957 mentioned above which specifically says that "Other Hindus" consists of all communities mentioned in Annexure I to the G.P-S(D)2-41489/56/PD dated 6-2-1957 (ie., P.S.C. list) excepting Ezhavas and those belonging to religions other than Hinduism.

It is needless to say that as in the case of classes (i) to (iv) economic and other differences within each community are not being taken into account in the case of class (v) either. For the sake of convenient reference we are using the term "listed communities" to indicate all the castes and communities included as Backward Classes in the two lists and "non-listed communities" to indicate the castes and communities not included therein. The question on which the greatest concern has been expressed to us is whether caste or community should or should not be taken as a criterion in this State for ascertaining social backwardness. In spite of disputes among themselves as to whether particular communities or castes are socially and educationally backward or not, members and organisations of the "listed communities", with rare exceptions, have represented and given evidence to the effect that caste and communal difference have been from time immemorial and are still very powerful factors in the social life of the people of this State and that members of some castes and communities are even now subject to grave social disabilities merely because of their caste or community and are consequently socially backward. On the other hand; members and organisations of "non-listed communities", with like exceptions, have represented

or given evidence to the effect that there are now no social disabilities contributing to social backwardness and that all such social disabilities had disappeared long ago. According to one extreme view, no caste disability contributing to social backwardness has been in existence for the last fifty or sixty years. Others said that all such disabilities have been removed with the Temple Entry Legislations, the first of which was the Temple Entry Proclamation in Travancore, in 1936. Legislation in this matter was enacted in Cochin and Malabar in 1947. It was also said that at least after the commencement of the Constitution in 1950, there has been complete equality among castes. There were differences of opinion too between members of the non-listed communities on the one hand and members of the listed communities on the other, and disputes among members of the listed communities themselves, as to whether particular communities among the listed communities are socially backward or not.

11. *Test for social backwardness—Both economic factors and caste/community to be taken into account.*

On a careful consideration of all the materials before the Commission, we are of opinion that in the circumstances now existing in Kerala, it is neither just nor practical to make a classification under Article 15(4) eschewing all considerations of caste or community and that a blended approach has to be made to the question taking both economic factors and caste or community into consideration. The constitutional and legal objections to making a classification based solely on caste are stated in the observations of the Supreme Court in *Balaji's* and *Chitralkha's* cases extracted in paragraphs 6 and 7. We have only to add that there was also reliable evidence before the Commission that although caste is still a potent factor in the social life of the people of the State and large sections of many of the listed communities still labour under caste or communal disabilities which have caused them to be socially backward, the upper or wealthier sections among them do not at present suffer any such disability, worth mentioning and are in no way socially backward.

That caste or communal disabilities still play an important part in the social life of the people of the State admits of no doubt on the evidence before the Commission. An eminent leader of the Bar at Ernakulam, who has held high political office and has considerable experience of all sections of people and who belongs to a most progressive section among the non-listed communities, has stated in the memorandum he has sent to the Commission: "It must be recognised that caste is still in many cases a social and educational depressant.....The canker of caste and the serious disabilities suffered by some castes are both realities". According to him, "members of many castes like Chaliyas, Mukkuvars, Barbers—not Ezhavas, may be—by and large are hampered by absence of an educational background and by the social handicaps attached to the caste". He has further said: "It is common knowledge that among some castes regarded by the Kerala and Madras communal G.Os. as backward are families outstanding in the field of higher education and so the perversion of a provision to abolish backwardness into a convenient privilege should not be allowed to such persons. It is not practical politics nor sound constitutional law to eschew caste or community in a scheme under Art. 15(4). At the same time it is inconsistent with nationalism and constitutionality to permit certain castes to masquerade as backward qua such caste. The middle course of treating pronouncedly inferior castes and communities as among the many criteria in classifying backwardness is perhaps the most acceptable". A Principal of one of the Government Colleges in Malabar, who too belongs to the same non-listed community and is opposed to the present system of reservation, has stated in his oral evidence before the Commission: "In practice there is untouchability even though it has legally disappeared. In my younger days we could not sit with the Ezhavas and other untouchables and there were certain schools where they were not admitted. But now we touch each other and even dieting together is not uncommon. Intermarriages are yet uncommon."

(Underlining, ours)

Two prominent Advocates at Quilon, both belonging to non-listed communities and both holding the view that the present system of reservation is wrong and economic backwardness has to be taken into consideration for purposes of Article 15(4), said in their evidence: "Unless the feeling of Savarnas and Avarnas as we understand it in Kerala disappears social backwardness also cannot disappear". There is a considerable volume of similar evidence and representations from respectable members of the non-listed communities showing that caste or communal disabilities formed until very recently the major or sole factor in social backwardness and that they still form an important factor although they are now disappearing. A former Member of Parliament who belongs to one of the non-listed communities said in the course of his evidence: "Our moorings are so strong in respect of castes and communities. Caste is more strong in Kerala than in any other part". In the "Indian Express" dated 30-12-1964 Shri Morarji Desai, while speaking on the five-fold task before the Government, is reported to have referred to one of them as follows:

"We have the following tasks to perform:—

\* \* \* \*

3. Removal of social disabilities which create division into different castes and grades of status so that equality of human status is established for all the citizens of India.

\* \* \* \*

Communal or castes pressures will go completely only when full integration of our social life is established and when poverty is completely removed.

The Congress, both through its organisation and the governments which it runs, is trying to discourage and remove discrimination in public life on account of communal or religious considerations. It has, therefore, established secular government in this country firmly and is also working for eliminating castes from our social fabric.

The institution of caste, however, has been at least 2,000-year old and cannot be removed as quickly as we would like to remove it. I however, have a feeling that the way our social life is being developed, castes will substantially disappear in the course of next 25 years."

The evidence and representations on this subject from members of the listed communities were overwhelming. Harrowing narratives of personal experience of caste disabilities were given to us by many persons of those communities, especially at Palghat, Cranganore and Calicut. We have been told of denial of admissions to schools and other educational institutions, exclusion from public roads and consequent difficulty of attending schools, denial of appointments in the public services of the former States of Travancore and Cochin, and exclusion from or denial of access to public offices and other places of public resort. No doubt, there was an element of exaggeration in some of the narratives but by and large, most of the incidents recounted to us by scores of persons belonging to many of the listed communities, must be true. Among those were persons of high status who have occupied and are occupying responsible positions in life.

The evidence of persons who have said that there are now no caste or communal handicaps and that such disabilities had disappeared long ago is based mostly on legal enactments and general platitudes and not on their personal experience. That in spite of legislation on the subject grave caste discriminations are practised even now and have given rise to prosecutions under the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, is evident from the list of prosecutions under the said Act given in Appendix VI. Three or four persons had stated before the Commission that for the last 50 or 60 years there have been no caste distinctions and disabilities in Trivandrum. But Appendix VI would show that the largest number of cases under the Untouchability (Offences) Act, for the quinquennia 1956 to 1961 and 1961 to 1965 have been registered in the Trivandrum District.

All the persons who said that there were no caste distinctions or disabilities in Trivandrum, except one, professed ignorance as to whether there have been such prosecutions. That one, who was a lawyer, frankly stated that he had appeared in one of these cases. Of the 86 cases registered in the Trivandrum District 47 have ended either in conviction or compounding and three were pending on 1-7-1965. We have been told by social workers and other experienced persons that the number of cases which come to court will only be one out of a hundred or even less, because of the ignorance and poverty of the persons against whom the offences are committed.

In the light of the evidence referred to above, especially of the persons who have actually suffered from caste or communal distinctions and disabilities, we are unable to accept the statements that there are now no caste or communal distinctions and disabilities, and that all such distinctions and disabilities have disappeared with the Temple Entry Legislations and the promulgation of the Constitution. No doubt, at present, there is in law, no caste distinctions and disabilities, but equally doubtless, in actual life, many sections of the listed communities are still labouring under grave handicaps by reason of their caste. As pointed out in the appellate decision in JACOB MATHEW'S case:—

“Conformity in such cases does not synchronise with the promulgation of statutory enactments or constitutional documents. Time has to play its part, and time alone transmutes the ideals of the law into the realities of everyday life. No one can say that the introduction of progressive measures is the end, and not the beginning, of a process of amelioration. Habits of thought die hard and slow, and occupations like toddy tapping carry their social stigma from one generation to another and through decades of conduct and behaviour”.

In the circumstances existing at present in this State caste or community cannot be left out of account and has to be accepted as one of the elements of the test for classification.

12. *Nature of disability to be taken into account.*

By this we do not mean that every caste or communal distinction or disability has to be taken note of and made a basis for the classification. The Supreme Court has pointed out in *Balaji's case*: "The Backward Classes for whose improvement special provision is contemplated by Article 15(4) are in the matter of their backwardness comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". This indicates that if caste is to be taken as one of the criteria for classification, the disabilities to be taken note of and made a basis of classification, should be similar to the disabilities of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, like untouchability or "near untouchability" which have led to something like segregation and constituted a hindrance to free social intercourse or association with the advanced classes. The caste disability to be taken note of must be such as had hindered social progress in the past by denial of access to educational institutions, public offices and places of public resort because of occupation or traditions and such as have still left vestiges which in spite of legal enactments constitute a serious impediment in social life.

13. *Necessity for a means-cum-caste/community test.*

The dangers involved in taking caste as the sole or dominant test have been pointed out by the Supreme Court in *Balaji's case*. One of them is that in a caste which is socially backward by and large, and which is numerically big, there might be an effective minority which is socially and educationally far more advanced and which is numerically larger than another small sub-caste and that it would defeat the object of the Constitution if this advanced minority in that caste who does not require the protection under Article 15 (4), is allowed to get the benefit of reservation at the cost of those who deserve the same. We are of opinion that, if both means and caste/community are taken into account in the classification, the dangers pointed out can be avoided. Giving evidence on this topic one of the leading Advocates at Quilon, who is a prominent social worker and who belongs to one of the listed communities,

said: "The rich people in the backward communities, even though they have not acquired any high level of education are able to move in society today without being discriminated socially. Even the Ministers pay visits to the residence of a wealthy Ezhava, though he is not highly educated. Ministers and other highly placed members of the forward communities participate, without social discrimination, in all the events and ceremonies in his house. At the same time another neighbouring Ezhava who is not rich will not be given a seat in the front row in such ceremonies. Highly educated and even highly paid officers are in competition for marrying the daughters of rich persons. The benefit of the existing reservation of seats in educational institutions in favour of the Ezhavas and Other Backward Communities, are, today, enjoyed by the rich people of the type mentioned above". Other witnesses too, belonging both to listed and non-listed communities, have given evidence on similar lines stating that the wealthy sections do not at present have any caste or communal disabilities worth mentioning and are not socially backward, and that the benefits of the present system of reservation based solely on caste or community is, to a considerable extent, being enjoyed by the wealthy sections to the prejudice of the poorer sections. The various ameliorative enactments and the generous and unstinted help which the State has been giving after the commencement of the Constitution to the listed communities are, to a great extent, promoting their social progress. Naturally, the wealthier and more advanced sections among them have been quick to take advantage of such measures and appropriate the benefits of the progress. The poorer sections have lagged behind. We therefore consider that a means-cum-caste/community test has to be adopted for the classification so as to take in only the poor and deserving sections and exclude the wealthier sections.

14. *The income level for the means-cum-caste/community test.*

The next question is what is the economic standard to be adopted for the above test. After considering all suggestions on the subject we are of opinion that only members of families which have an "aggregate income", i.e., income of all members taken together of less than

Rs. 4,200 per annum from all sources (hereinafter referred to as the lower income group) may be taken as economically backward for purposes of the means-cum-caste/community test. By the term "family" we mean in the case of an applicant for admission to an educational institution the applicant and his parents. If either of the parents of the applicant is not alive and his guardian is his grand-parent the term "family" will include such guardian also. We have adopted Rs. 4,200 per annum as the standard because the preponderance of evidence before us was that a monthly income of Rs. 350 would just keep an ordinary middle class family in minimum comfort allowing a small margin for the collegiate education of a child and this evidence derives considerable support from the fact that until the Finance Act of 1965, Rs. 4,200 per annum was the lowest taxable income under the Income Tax Act if the allowances for wife and children also be taken into account. Considering the present wages and value of money, we are of opinion that this amount is neither too high nor too low. Members of families in the State which have an "aggregate income" of Rs. 4,200 and above per annum from all sources put together, cannot be considered to belong to any socially backward class whatever may be the caste or community to which they belong.

There were representations to the effect that the economic test should be applied without caste and community being taken into account and that all persons below a given economic level (which may be lower than the suggested income of Rs. 4,200 per annum) may be treated as socially backward. We consider that in the present circumstances of the State a wholesale classification of all persons below a certain economic level as socially backward, is not justified. Social backwardness, though to a considerable extent dependent on economic factors, depends also to a large extent in this State upon popular conceptions of the status of a caste or community.

#### 15. *Communities outside the Hindu fold.*

It has come to the notice of the Commission that there are certain communities in Kerala, which though

outside the Hindu fold, have been labouring under social disabilities mainly on account of their community. Historical and other reasons had kept and are keeping them apart from the rest of the population as separate or distinct classes and this segregation has brought about their social backwardness. As in the case of sections of the Hindu population who had been labouring under caste disabilities, only the lower income groups of these communities now actually labour under communal disabilities: the wealthier sections of these communities have at present no social disability and cannot be said to be backward. We would apply the means-cum-caste community test to the members of these communities also, taking the word "caste" as meaning not only as caste within the Hindu fold but including also distinct communities outside the Hindu fold which have been labouring under similar social disabilities. More will be said about these communities in Chapter IV.

#### 16. *Occupational test.*

We have also examined the suggestion that an occupational test may be adopted for classification. This suggestion is based on the presumption that there is a social stigma attaching to certain occupations and that certain other occupations tend to keep persons following them, economically and socially backward. As regards "occupational stigma" we have to say that there is a well-organised labour in the State and that the theory of occupational stigma was spurned by almost all the labour leaders who came before us, except in the case of a few traditional occupations such as those of (i) barbers, (ii) washermen, (iii) fishermen, (iv) leather curers and leather workers, (v) tree climbers, (vi) toddy tappers (vii) pottery workers, (viii) smiths and carpenters and (ix) scavengers. Of these, the last is almost wholly attended to by members of the Scheduled Castes. The other eight occupations are practically the monopoly of certain castes and communities who are now included in the listed communities. All the persons belonging to a particular caste or community may not now be following its traditional occupation, but most of the persons who pursue any of those occupations belong to the

caste or community whose traditional occupation it is. We have been told that in such cases very often persons following the traditional occupation will be closely related (like father, brother, cousin, etc.) to persons who are pursuing occupations to which there is no social stigma. In such cases, on account of the near relationship of the persons following the traditional occupation to the other persons and their caste/communal associations, the stigma affects even the persons not following the traditional occupation. The few persons from other communities who may be following these traditional occupations on account of modern trends are seldom affected by occupational stigma. The evidence is that in the case of these eight occupations also, it is only the lower income group which is affected by the stigma. As we consider that the lower income groups of the castes and communities following these traditional occupations have to be classified as socially backward on the means-cum-caste /community test explained above, a further test based on these eight occupations will be superfluous. Distinctions of caste and community as regards those who pursue such occupations are based on the stigma of their traditional occupations and therefore the means-cum-caste/community test on account of which they are being classified as socially backward by the Commission really takes care of the occupational stigma as well. Other occupations which are said to be socially depressant are last grade service in Government and similar establishments, employment in factories, and manual labour. As regards last grade servants in Government service and peons in similar establishments, it has to be observed that a post however low in Government service carries with it a monthly salary and fixity of tenure and is therefore attractive. Notwithstanding their small emoluments the posts are not generally viewed as social depressants. Factory work too with its certainty of periodical and comparatively good wages and relatively fixed tenure is not viewed here as a social depressant. Under modern conditions of industrial organisation, manual labourers form an extremely fluctuating group. As observed in the memorandum of a former Judge and an eminent constitutional lawyer who has considerable experience of local

conditions. "in a densely populated State like Kerala it is extremely difficult to mark the dividing line between urban areas and rural areas. There is also no area in Kerala State where there is no self-Government at present, and many Panchayat areas in the State are more industrialised than a neighbouring municipal area". Hence, the occupation of manual labourers very often undergoes change. An agricultural labourer may become a factory worker or shop-keeper next day. In a considerable number of cases such changes occur at short intervals and therefore identification of persons occupation-wise becomes more difficult in their case.

#### 17. *Habitational test.*

Coming to the habitalational test suggested in *Balaji's case*, we are of opinion that there are no great social differences in the State merely on account of places of residence. Reference has already been made to the fact that many a panchayat area is almost as much, if not more, developed as some Municipal areas. Although roads, hospitals and schools are fewer in the Malabar area and the hilly tracts in the Travancore-Cochin area, means of transport are easy and there is not such a dearth of social amenities as to make any region backward in social respects. Some persons have urged that Malabar as a whole (Wynad, Attapadi and Kasargode in particular) is educationally more backward than the rest of the State. But none has said that Malabar as a whole or the regions mentioned above are socially backward. Except educational backwardness due to historical reasons, and the comparatively smaller number of educational institutions and the presence of a larger proportion of Muslims and Ezhavas (including Thiyyas), nothing can be urged for treating the people of Malabar as a whole or of the regions mentioned above to be socially more backward than the people in the rest of the State. So far as Muslims, Ezhavas and some of the other communities claiming to be backward are concerned, we are recommending that the lower income groups among those castes and communities are to be classified as socially and educationally backward. That being so, we feel that there

is no justification for affording any further protection under Art. 15(4) to the people of the Malabar area or of the particular regions mentioned above. From the statistics and other information available to the Commission, it cannot be doubted that Malabar as a whole is educationally more backward than the Travancore-Cochin area; but it is equally true that the people of Malabar as a whole or any economic section thereof is not socially more backward than the people in the rest of the State or the corresponding economic section thereof. In fact many persons coming from the Travancore-Cochin area urged that the people in Malabar are, except in the matter of educational institutions, hospitals and roads, better off than the people in Travancore-Cochin area, and in support of their statements they gave us long lists of officers in the Indian Civil and Administrative Services, other Central Services and of persons and achievements in industrial and commercial spheres. As complete and reliable statistics on the subject are not available we do not desire to record any opinion as to the relative social development of the two areas. All that we observe is that mere residence in Malabar or in the particular regions mentioned above, does not appear to us to cause any social backwardness; and without a group of persons being found *both* socially and educationally backward, they cannot be classified as backward for purposes of Article 15(4). However we are convinced that Malabar as a whole is educationally backward compared to Travancore-Cochin area. We shall advert again to this question in Chapter VI.

### 18. *Test for Educational backwardness.*

As regards educational backwardness of the classes of citizens, different suggestions have been made during the course of our enquiry as to the yardstick to be adopted, ranging from the number of University degree-holders in a community to literacy as seen from the Census Reports. As university education to all the citizens in the State cannot become the goal of education for decades or even centuries to come and as it is neither necessary nor feasible to give university education to all the citizens, to treat the number

of graduates in a community as the criterion for fixing educational backwardness, appears to us as highly unrealistic. After pointing out that literacy test supplied by the Census Reports may not be adequate, the Supreme Court has said in *Balaji's case* "..... it is doubtful that the test of the average student population in the last three High School classes is appropriate in determining the educational backwardness. Having regard to the fact that the test is intended to determine who are educationally backward classes it may not be necessary or proper to put the test as high as has been done by the (Nagan Gowda) Committee". The Court has further said: "On this point again we do not propose to lay down any hard and fast rule. It is for the State to consider the matter and decide it in a manner which is consistent with the requirement of Art. 15(4)". The literacy test supplied by the Census Report means that if the number of persons in a group who are not literate i.e., who cannot read and write or has not passed a written examination, is high, that group would be treated as educationally backward. The Census Report (1961) says that literates will include persons who can both read and write and who have passed written examinations or examination in proof of educational standards. Having regard to the observations of the Supreme Court and what we have stated above, neither the literacy test nor the degree-holders' test can be accepted as a criterion for gauging educational backwardness. In the above circumstances we are of opinion that a composite test as explained below has to be adopted in this State for ascertaining educational backwardness.

The observations of the Supreme Court in *Balaji's case* doubting the appropriateness of the test based on the number of students in the last three High School classes, have to be viewed in the light of the Court's subsequent observation that it does not propose to lay down any hard and fast rule and it is for the State concerned to consider and decide the matter consistent with the requirement of Article 15(4). The conditions in Kerala are different from those in Mysore at the time of *Balaji's case*. Kerala has the highest literacy

in India excepting Delhi. The Census Report of 1961 shows that the rate of literacy in Kerala was 7468 per thousand while it was 254 in Mysore. The rate in Delhi was 527 per thousand. Likewise the number of students in the last class of the High Schools in Kerala in 1964-65 appears to be proportionately much higher than in Mysore at the time of the Nagan Gowda Committee Report. According to that report, the number of students in Mysore in the last three High School classes together came only to 6.9 per thousand. The statistics compiled from the statements furnished by the Education Department show that the number of students in the last three High School classes in Kerala comes to 33.87 per thousand. The average in the last class alone comes to 7.75 per thousand (vide Appendices VII and VIII). Therefore the level of education in Kerala is much higher than in Mysore. It is against this background of general education that educational backwardness among the classes of this State has to be gauged. The Lower and Upper Primary stages are plainly too low to be adopted as the standards. At the Lower Primary stage one can only read and write a simple letter. At the Upper Primary stage also the student is not equipped for an independent life. A pass in the School Final Class (Standard X) is the minimum qualification for appointment in Public Services, and it is also the qualification for admission to university and technical education. In most of the developed countries the goal of general education is the completion of the secondary standard which is the take off stage for the university and which alone can be said to effectively equip an ordinary citizen for shouldering modern civic responsibilities. Further Article 45 of the Constitution provides that the State shall endeavour within a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen. This would indicate that the makers of the Constitution desired that within ten years from the commencement of the Constitution, there should be free and compulsory education not only at the primary stage but even at the secondary stage. A child entering the school when it is five years old will normally reach Standard X by its fourteenth

year. Considering all these circumstances we are of opinion that the State average of the students in the last of the High School classes (Standard X) can safely be taken as one of the elements of the composite test for ascertaining educational backwardness.

It is a matter of common knowledge that after the commencement of the Constitution interest of the backward classes in education has been greatly stimulated by the various forms of liberal State assistance and that there has been a considerable increase in their student population during recent years. The statements furnished to the Commission show that the rate of student population of some of the listed communities is more than 50 per thousand in certain standards, which means that children who had not been receiving education suitable to their age and who are therefore beyond the normal age group for a particular standard are now studying in that standard. Therefore there is a risk of the student population in Standard X not reflecting the true level of education in a caste or community, taking all its age-group into consideration. To off-set this risk we would also take into consideration the number of persons per thousand in a community who have not completed primary education. We may point out that generally speaking the percentage of persons who have not completed primary education will be higher than the percentage of illiterates. The literacy rate in Kerala is 468 per thousand. This would mean that illiterates number 532 per thousand. Persons who have not completed primary education would include the entire number (532) of illiterates and such of the literates as have not studied up to and passed Standard IV i.e., they will include the entire 532 illiterates and a part of the 468 literates. Since the State average of the student population in Standard X is 7.75 per thousand and the number of illiterates is 532 per thousand, we would fix the criteria for the first two elements of the composite test as 7 per thousand in respect of student population and 600 per thousand in respect of persons who have not completed primary education. If the student population of any community in Standard X is less than 7 per thousand or if the number of

persons in it who have not completed primary education is more than 600 per thousand we would take that community to be educationally backward. Even if the student population in Standard X exceeds 7 per thousand the community would still be educationally backward if the total number of persons in it who have not completed primary education exceeds 600 per thousand. Conversely, if the number of persons who have not completed primary education is less than 600 per thousand the community would still be backward if the student population in Standard X is less than 7 per thousand of the population of the community. In cases where the educational index as determined by the number of students in Standard X per 1000 population, is not available and the number of persons who have not completed their primary education is less than 600 per thousand, we would take into consideration the number of students in Standard I and the fall-out between Standards I and X. In such cases we have treated as backward, the communities which have an abnormal fall-out. In certain cases it has not been possible to ascertain the population of the community as well as the number of persons in it who have not completed primary education. In such cases if their educational backwardness is established by the total absence of any student from the community in the statement furnished by the Education Department, we have included the lower income group thereof among the socially and educationally backward classes on being satisfied of their social backwardness.

19. These are the tests which we would adopt for assessing social and educational backwardness for purposes of Article 15(4).

## CHAPTER IV

### **Socially and Educationally Backward classes**

#### 20. *Socially and educationally backward classes specified.*

Applying the tests explained in the previous Chapter, we have come to the conclusion that citizens in this State who are members of families which have an "aggregate income" (as explained in paragraph 14 above) of less than Rs. 4,200 per annum from all sources and which belong to castes or communities mentioned in Appendix VIII constitutes socially and educationally backward classes for purposes of Article 15(4). We consider that generally the members of the castes and communities mentioned in the said Appendix are educationally backward and that the lower income groups (i.e. persons who belong to families which have an "aggregate income" of less than Rs. 4,200 per annum) are socially backward also. Hence, the lower income groups of these castes and communities belong in our opinion to classes of citizens who are both socially and educationally backward. Excepting some communities in respect of whom the Commission has not been able to get full and complete statistics the particulars given in Appendix VIII will show how citizens belonging to each community mentioned therein stand in respect of the application of the tests formulated in Chapter III.

Statistics of persons who have not completed primary education and of income groups were furnished by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics. The figures regarding student population, community-wise, in different standards were supplied by the Education Department. Details as regards traditional occupation and caste disabilities were obtained from evidence and memoranda received by the Commission, Census Reports, Report of the Backward Classes Commission (Government of India), and reports from officers of the Departments of Land Revenue and Harijan Welfare. It may be mentioned in this context

that our conclusions as to the educational backwardness of the classes mentioned in Appendix VIII are borne out also by the statistics relating to admissions in Engineering and Medical Colleges and Polytechnics which are set out in Appendices IX to XIII and to which detailed reference will be made in Chapter V.

Even though the basis of our conclusion in respect of each group of persons included in Appendix VIII will be clear from the details given in the said Appendix and what we have said already we are making below a few additional remarks. Before we do so, we desire to make it clear that although names of castes and communities are mentioned in column (2) of Appendix VIII, socially and educationally backward classes of citizens include only the lower income groups (members of families having an aggregate income of less than Rs. 4,200 per annum) and not all the members of the castes and communities mentioned therein. This fact is emphasised in column (4) of the Appendix, wherein an approximate estimate of the population of the lower income group in each caste or community, which alone has been included in the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, is given. This estimate has been made on the basis of the percentage figures relating to income groups given by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics and the population figures for the whole State given in Appendix XIV.

### 21. *Ezhavas*

Class I in Appendix VIII comprising the lower income group in the Ezhava (Thiyya, Izhuva, Ishuva, Illuva and Billava) community constitute numerically the largest of the socially and educationally backward classes. Ezhavas are generally found in the Travancore-Cochin area and to some extent in the southern parts of Malabar. Thiyyas are found mainly in Malabar, and Billavas (the Canarese counter-part of Ezhavas) in Kasargode and Hosdurg Taluks and neighbouring places. Ezhavas (ഇഴവ) are generally referred to as Ezhuvas (ഇഴുവ) in the Palghat District. All these are in reality only different names for the same

people. The words "Izhuvas" "Ishuvas" and "Illuvas" are only different ways of spelling in English the Malayalam word Ezhuva (ഇഴുവ). There is really no need to mention "Izhuvas" "Ishuvas" and "Illuvas" when Ezhavas as a whole are mentioned. But these words are found in the P.S.C. and D.H.W. lists, and Census Reports. As their omission in Appendix VIII might create doubts as regards Ezhuvas of Palghat we have specifically mentioned them also. Wherever the word "Ezhavas" is used hereafter in this report it is meant as including all these people i.e., Ezhavas, Izhuvas, Ezhuvas, Ishuvas, Illuvas, Thiyyas and Billavas.

As per the classification made under the earlier G.Os. also Ezhavas constituted the largest section. Their population in 1961 has been estimated to be over 3,583,000 which is 21.2% of the total population of the State. The lower income group who alone are to be included in the socially and educationally backward classes according to the classification suggested by us will number about 3,400,000. There was strong objection in JACOB MATHEW's case to the inclusion of this community in the list of Backward Classes and all the grounds urged in that case have been reiterated in the memoranda and evidence given by several persons belonging to the non-listed communities during the course of our enquiry.

It was vehemently stated before us that for the past sixty years or so Ezhavas have not been labouring under any caste disability and that there would be no justification for including the community as a whole or any section or income group thereof among the backward classes. It is stated at pages 339 and 340 of "Cochin Tribes and Castes" by Shri L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer published in 1909: "If a Chogan or Ezhava dare to pollute a Nayar by approaching nearer than the prescribed distance he was at liberty to cut him down. They were not permitted to enter within a native court of justice as they might pollute the Judges who were members of higher caste.....They cannot approach Brahmin houses or temples, nor can they pass through Brahmin villages in Palghat. They are not

allowed to take water from the wells of high caste men. . . . . It is disappointing to see that their children are not admitted into the Zamorin's College, Calicut., though as Christian converts they are welcome". At page 481 of Volume II of the Travancore State Manual by Shri Nagamiah it is said: "On account of the prejudices and exclusiveness of caste, the Government and Private Schools were shut against the backward classes, while religious scruples prevented their joining the Mission Schools. Thus for long years they remained without receiving the rudiments of education."

Reliable witnesses have told us about several cases of denial of appointments in Public Services, denial of admissions to educational institutions and even denial of access to courts and public offices. Some of those cases are well known, like those which happened to the late Dr. Palpu and the late Shri M. Govindan—two pioneers of the community in the field of Public Service. Shri M. Govindan was at first refused an appointment by the High Court on the ground that "custom and policy of the State was against such appointment". Government appointed him later as a District Munsiff and ultimately he retired as a District Judge. We do not dwell at length on these cases as all of them had happened about three or four decades back, and the question for our consideration is only whether Ezhavas as a whole or any section of them is at present labouring under caste disabilities. It is by no means correct to say that their caste disabilities had completely disappeared more than 60 years back.

Customs are changing, and rapidly so, after the Temple Entry Legislations and the commencement of the Constitution. Even so, caste prejudice—or the general feeling of inferiority—against the community still subsists, and the lower income group is even now subject to very many of the caste disabilities which the community as a whole had to bear till about thirty years back. We have referred in Chapter III to some of the evidence on this subject. We may mention here two trivial incidents which however throw a flood of light on the caste complex. At Trichur,

we were told that from the date on which two public tanks were opened to non-caste Hindus, caste Hindus are not using them. An advocate belonging to the Thiyya community told us at Kozhikode that three years back when he was going through a paddy field, certain Thiyyas standing there moved to a respectable distance with folded arms, and that when he asked them why they did so they said that they were Thiyyas. The implication of their statement was that the Advocate appeared to belong to a high caste and hence they moved away from him. That reveals the instinctive sense of inferiority which the lower sections of the community themselves have even now. The statistics collected from the District Courts in the State show that offences under the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955 have been committed against Thiyyas, even in 1965. These facts and statistics reveal that although Article 17 of the Constitution and the Untouchability (Offences) Act forbid and penalise the practice of untouchability, it is still practised and the feeling of "high and low caste" subsists even now, to a considerable extent. Time and time alone can remove these disabilities. Reference has already been made in Chapter III to Shri Morarji Desai's statement and other evidence regarding this matter.

The suggestion that the Ezhava community is economically better off than some of the "non-listed communities" is also not supported by any reliable evidence. The witnesses who said that Nairs are economically worse off than Ezhavas have not furnished us with any statistical data although some of them had stated that they would furnish the same. Certain passages from the Kerala District Gazetteer extracted in paragraph 64 of the first judgment in JACOB MATHEW'S case were also referred to by some witnesses during the course of our enquiry. In the light of the facts disclosed by the Sample Survey, the statements of the witnesses mentioned above and in the Gazetteer as regards the economic position of the Ezhavas do not appear to be correct. The percentage of house-holds in the community having five acres of land or more is only 2.40 which is far lower than the corresponding percentage of 7.50

in the Nair community. We have been given to understand that the statements in the Gazetteer are not based on any indices prepared on the basis of scientific data collected as regards social progress and educational attainment of the different communities. The statements are made by the writers on the strength of their general impressions, which, of course, are bound to vary according to individual notions.

According to the Report of the Sample Survey conducted by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics, the percentage of persons belonging to the Nair community having a house-hold income (i.e., income from all sources of all members living in a house) of Rs. 300 and above per mensem is 8.81, while that of the Ezhavas is 3.87. As stated already, income from all sources of all the members of a house are included in the household income.

On the whole, there can be no doubt that the lower income group among Ezhavas is both socially and educationally backward.

## 22. *Muslims*

The next largest class as per the classification in Appendix VIII comprises the lower income group among Muslims. In the P.S.C. and D.H.W. lists both Muslims as well as sections thereof, like Jonakan, Mappila, Lebba etc., are found included. After the inclusion of Muslims as a whole it was superfluous and therefore unnecessary to have, or retain, any separate section thereof in the said lists. As the lower income group among the entire Muslim community has been included in Appendix VIII we have not mentioned therein separate sections of the community. The total population of Muslims is 30,27,639 as per Census Report for 1961. They form 17.91% of the population of the State. The lower income group in the community included in the list of socially and educationally backward classes number over 29,17,000.

As in the case of Ezhavas there was opposition to the inclusion of Muslims also whether as a whole or any sections

thereof, among the socially and educationally backward classes. The grounds of objection were the same as those urged in JACOB MATHEW'S case. Although there are a few cases of wealthy persons among the members of this community, speaking generally Muslims as a class appear to be very backward both educationally and economically. The data regarding student population and persons who have not completed primary education may be seen in Appendix VIII. The percentage of persons having an house-hold income of Rs. 300 per mensem or above is only 3.64 and of house-holds having 5 acres of land or more 2.39. On account of historical reasons and differences in culture the community leads more or less a segregated life, not mingling freely with other sections of the people. This segregation is further accentuated by the 'Purdha' which has kept away the women folk from education and contributed to the general educational backwardness of the community. The community was until recently averse to English education. We were told that even so late as 1958 when the Government College at Madappally was started a big conference under the leadership of Mullas gathered in the Badagara Mosque and passed a resolution that Muslim children should not be sent to schools and colleges before they completed a course of religious education for 8 to 12 years. Muslims never formed part of the ruling class in Kerala. The original Muslims came to Kerala as sailors and merchants, and many of those now found here are said to be the off-spring of Arabs from unions with Thiyya or Choga women and other low castes (vide page 489, Volume II, Cochin Tribes and Castes). Most of the converts too were from low castes. A considerable portion of the community, are fishermen, agricultural labourers, pedlars, and daily wage earners. As Islam does not recognise caste distinctions all these people were freely intermingling with what may be deemed to be the upper class of Muslims, and this, in its turn, kept away the other sections of the population from even the upper class Muslims and contributed to the social and educational backwardness of the Community. It is only very recently that Muslims have taken to English education and the statistics referred to in other parts of this report will show how very backward

they are educationally. There is therefore no doubt that the lower income group among the Muslims also is both socially and educationally backward.

### 23. *Latin Catholics*

Class III in Appendix VIII comprises the lower income group of the Latin Catholics other than Anglo-Indians. The population of the community is about 7,83,000 (4.63% of the State population) and the lower income group included as per our classification as Backward Class, number about 7,51,000. The social backwardness of this community is largely due to historical reasons. On account of their association with the Portuguese, other sections of Christians and Muslims and Hindus had long kept aloof from them. Many of the early Latin Catholics were fishermen converted to Christianity by Portuguese and even now large sections of them are fishermen and reside mainly in the coastal areas. After the fall of the Portuguese power they were looked at askance because of their earlier association, and while other denominations of Christians received encouragement from the Ruling Princes and the British Government and progressed educationally and financially, Latin Catholics were relegated to a lower social stratum in the Christian community. The lower income group still continues to be socially backward. The percentage of persons in the community having an house-hold income of Rs. 300 per mensem and over is only 4.13 and the percentage of house-holds having 5 acres of land and more is 1.86. The data given in Appendix VIII will show that they are also educationally backward. Hence we consider that the lower income group among Latin Catholics (i.e. Latin Catholics other than Anglo-Indians) belong to the socially and educationally backward class.

### 24. *Anglo Indians*

The 1961 population of Anglo-Indians as estimated by us is 22,340 and they form 0.13% of the population of this State. The number of students in Standard X per 1000 population of this community is 18.48 which is far above the State average of 7.75 per thousand. The number of

persons in this community who have not completed the primary education per thousand population is 580 against the norm of 600 fixed by us. This community is not, therefore, educationally backward. The percentage of persons in the community having monthly income above Rs. 300 from all sources put together is 14.34, whereas that of persons in the Latin Catholic community (other than Anglo-Indians) is only 4.13. The corresponding figures for the Syrian Catholics are 8.97, Marthomites 8.36, Jacobites 9.21 and Nairs 8.81. Therefore, the economic position of the community is not backward. They have no caste/community disabilities contributing to social backwardness. For the above reasons, we are of the opinion that the Anglo-Indian community is neither socially nor educationally backward. We have not, therefore, included this community in the list of socially and educationally backward classes in Appendix VIII.

#### 25. *Other Backward Christians*

Class IV in Appendix VIII consists of the lower income group from the S.I.U.C. and converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes. The primary reason for the social backwardness of this class is their conversion from Scheduled Castes. The social backwardness of the Scheduled Castes is so great that the new convert is not easily assimilated with the congregation which he has joined, and others instinctively keep away from him until his standards rise. That will come only by gradual stages. The evidence is that the degree of segregation of the new convert from Scheduled Castes is almost as high as before his conversion. One of the witnesses complained to us that on account of discrimination against the new converts to Christianity, his promotion as Headmaster in an aided High School under Christian management was deliberately delayed. We are convinced that, in practice, converts from Scheduled Castes are treated as socially backward. S.I.U.C. also stands more or less in the same position. Although the population strength of the S.I.U.C. has been ascertained, it has not been possible for us to form a satisfactory estimate of the population of

the converts from Scheduled Castes as they are found distributed among all denominations of Christians. By the term converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes we mean the converts themselves and all children born to them and following the Christian faith but not their grand children and subsequent generations. As the educational backwardness of these people may be seen from Appendix VIII, there is no need to make any comment thereon. We would therefore hold that the lower income groups among S.I.U.C. and converts to Christianity from Scheduled castes (the term 'converts' being understood as explained above) belong to socially and educationally backward classes.

26. *Memorandum from Backward Classes Christian Federation*

In a memorandum presented by the Backward Classes Christian Federation, Kottayam, it was stated that their population as per the 1931 Census of Travancore was 503,387 and that allowing 25% decennial increase, their population in 1961 would be 1,024,192. On that basis they demanded separate reservation of 10% of seats in all the educational institutions. The memorialists have not taken into account that the population of the 5 Taluks transferred to the Madras State can no more form part of the population of Kerala. Further, the population of 503,387 is not the population of Scheduled Caste converts alone but it includes the population of the converts from Illava (Ezhava), Nadar, Mukkuvan, Sakravar, Kerala Mudalis, Kavathy and the Vellala communities, and no deduction has been made in the memorandum in respect of their population. The converts from classes other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have no social disabilities comparable to those of the converts from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We are unable to accept the suggestion that the strength of the backward Christians should be calculated on the basis of their birth rate. For, as time passes, even Scheduled Caste converts will become assimilated with other members of the denominations to which they have been converted, and will cease to be backward, and so their

birth rate for assessing the population strength of the backward Christians is not a deciding factor or even a very relevant factor. They will be merged with the Latin Catholics, Syrian Catholics, Marthomites, Jacobites, etc. to whose rites they were converted. In our opinion there is no justification for including among the socially and educationally backward classes any section of the Christian population other than the lower income groups among Latin Catholic, S.I.U.C. and converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes (as explained in paragraph 25 above).

#### 27. *Other Backward Hindus*

Class V in Appendix VIII consists of the lower income group among the communities in the Hindu-fold (other than Ezhavas, Thiyya, Izhuvar, Illuvan and Billava and Scheduled Castes and Tribes) which are generally recognised as socially inferior. All the communities mentioned under class V in Appendix VIII were labouring under great social disabilities on account of their caste or community, and large sections of them are even now labouring under such disabilities. Their population is estimated to be 17 lakhs, ie. 10.05% of the State population and the lower income group to be about 1,550,000. Most of them were traditionally avarnas or were being treated on a par with avarnas and had been denied social intercourse or association with the rest of the people. Reference has already been made in Chapter III to the fact that although, in law, there is now no caste disability, it still exists in real life. The educational backwardness of these communities is plainly clear from data given in Appendix VIII. It calls for no further comments. We therefore consider that the lower income group among these people also are socially and educationally backward.

The Central Association and some of the Taluk Unions of the Viswakarmala Community have represented that their population in 1941 was 4,87,673, that their population in 1961 would therefore be 9 to 10 lakhs on the basis of a

2% increase every year and that they should be treated as a separate class by themselves and given at least 3% of the total number of seats. We have carefully examined these representations. In calculating the population of 1961 from the population of 1941 no reduction has been made, in these representations, for their population in the five Taluks transferred to the Madras State. The population of the Viswakarmalas as estimated by us on the basis of the principles explained in the Note on Population (Appendix XIV) comes only to about 6,50,000. Evidence of the Heads of Educational Institutions as well as admissions made by some of the representatives of the community show that Viswakarmalas have not fared badly at all on account of their inclusion in the class "Other Backward Hindus". Many of these and similar representations (like those of the B.C.C.F. already referred to, etc.) appear to be based on misconceptions of the nature and scope of the Commission's enquiry and of Art. 15 (4). The memorialists and persons who made representations seem to think that the Commission has been appointed to apportion the seats in educational institutions among the several communities according to their population strength, irrespective of the question whether the communities are socially and educationally backward or not, and that the commission's report has something to do with the claims of the communities for appointments in public services. Naturally, therefore, there has been a tendency among some of these memorialists to exaggerate the population strength out of all reasonable bounds. This tendency has been noticed in the case of some of the witnesses also. We consider that the policy to be adopted in respect of the application of Art. 15(4) should be, as far as possible, to promote integration of the people and discourage fissiparous tendencies. Having regard to all these considerations we are of opinion that it is neither necessary nor desirable to make a separate classification of the lower income group among Viswakarmalas.

Two other communities also have presented memoranda asking for inclusion among the socially and educationally backward class. One of them is Kumarakshatriyas.

Their number, according to themselves, is only less than 1000. They say that their language, customs, culture and social habits are similar to those of the Koteyar community. We have found the Koteyar community to be not socially backward. No evidence is forth-coming to show that the Kumarakshatriyas either, who claim to be in the same group as the Koteyars, are socially backward. The other community is the Parisaivars (Temple musicians of Tamil origin) who are said to have about 1000 families in the Trivandrum District. These people also do not appear to us to be socially backward. We are not therefore including the lower income groups among these two communities in the socially and educationally backward classes.

28. *Differences between Appendix VIII and the P.S.C. and D.H.W. Lists.*

The Commission has not been able to get information about the following 57 communities mentioned in the D.H.W. List,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Alwar                                | 15. Gonde   |
| 2. Annadan                              | 16. Isai Vellalar or<br>Melakarar                           |
| 3. Archukatlavandu                      | 17. Jakkula   |
| 4. Balolika                             | 18. Jandara   |
| 5. Bissoy                               | 19. Kalingi   |
| 6. Bondil                               | 20. Khodala   |
| 7. Chattadi (Chattada<br>Sri vaishnava) | 21. Lambadis  |
| 8. Dasari                               | 22. Mahendra (Medara)                                       |
| 9. Devalkar                             | 23. Mangala   |
| 10. Dhakkada                            | 24. Magaran   |
| 11. Dommara                             | 25. Madugar (Medavar<br>or Vethakkara of<br>Selam District) |
| 12. Gandla                              |   |
| 13. Gangavar                            |   |
| 14. Godaba                              | 26. Male  |

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 27. Muduva            | 43. Perike Balija  |
| 28. Mutracha          | 44. Pichigunta     |
| 29. Muthiryyana       | 45. Poraya         |
| 30. Nakkale           | 46. Pusalavadu     |
| 31. Namdev Mahratta   | 47. Ronas          |
| 32. Nolkodaya         | 48. Sugalis        |
| 33. Odiya             | 49. Srisayana      |
| 34. Oiulu             | 50. Siviari        |
| 35. Omanite           | 51. Sedan          |
| 36. Oriya             | 52. Thondaiman     |
| 37. Pamula            | (Thondaman)        |
| 38. Pangadikara       | 53. Thatapu        |
| 39. Pattanavan        | 54. Thoriyan       |
| 40. Parvatharajakulam | 55. Tigala (Tigla) |
| 41. Pentias           | 56. Tolikula       |
| 42. Perika            | 57. Thurpukapus    |

In the reports and replies received from the Officers of the Departments of Land Revenue and Harijan Welfare, through whom enquiries were made about the population, occupations and disabilities of communities, there was no reference to those communities. Community-wise details of Malabar area are furnished in the Madras Census Report of 1921 and, to some extent, in the Madras Census Report of 1931. The two reports do not show these communities as existing in the Malabar area. Community-wise details regarding Travancore-Cochin are found in the Census Reports of 1941. The names of these communities do not appear in those Reports either. Subsequent Census Reports do not contain the names of these communities. In the community-wise student population statement furnished by the Education Department too the names of these communities do not appear. As the statements were prepared after directly questioning the students, the total omission

therein of the names of the said communities is significant. In the Sample Survey also these communities have not been caught. We are therefore led to believe that no such communities now exist in Kerala. They are probably castes and communities which existed in parts of the old Madras State other than Malabar and their names might have been copied in the D.H.W. list from the corresponding list of the Madras State before the reorganisation of States. It is also possible that some of them might be nomadic tribes or wandering mendicants with no settled homes who might have occasionally made their way to Kerala and returned after a short sojourn. The following 12 communities found in the P.S.C. and/or D.H.W. lists have not been included in Appendix VIII:—

1. Ambalakaran.
2. Agamudiyans (including Tuluva Vellalas).
3. Anglo-Indians.
4. Chetties (Kottar Chetties, Parakka Chetties, Elur Chetties, Attingal Chetties, Pudukkada Chetties, Iraniel Chetties, Perurkada Chetties, Sripandara Chetties, Thelunku Chetties, and Udayamkulangara Chetties).
5. Jews.
6. Koteyar (Sheragara, Kshatriya of South Kanara).
7. Parivara Bunt (of South Kanara).
8. Puraigiri Kshatriya.
9. Reddiars.
10. Saiva Vellalas.
11. Vanniyakulakshatriya (in Tamil Districts) including Vanniya, Vanniyar or Vennier, Gounder, Kander or Vannia Gounder and Vannia Kandar (other than Vellala Gounder) belonging to Venniakulakshatriya Caste, Agnikulakshatriya (in Telugu Districts).
12. Virakodi Vellalars.

The reason why they have not been included in Appendix VIII is that Anglo-Indians and Jews are neither socially nor educationally backward, and the others are not

socially backward. Reference has already been made to Anglo-Indians in paragraph 24 above. Jews also are in the same position if not better. According to statistics obtained, the number of persons among them who have not completed primary education is 222 per thousand and the community has cent percentage as regards persons whose house-hold income (i.e., income of all members in a house from all sources) is Rs. 300 per mensem and over. We are also not aware of any social disabilities which the Jews in the State have. Saiva Vellalas and Veerakodi Vellalas are under no caste disabilities. The evidence is that their position is the same, if not better, as that of Vellalas and Nairs. We have already referred in paragraph 10 above to the circumstances in which the Saiva Vellala community happened to be included in the reservation group.

The communities mentioned as Nos. 77 to 91 in Appendix VIII are now treated as or as eligible for educational concessions normally allowed to, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in certain parts of the State and as Backward Classes in certain other parts of the State. The very fact that they are treated as Scheduled Castes/Tribes or on a par with such Castes/Tribes shows that their social conditions are backward. Their educational conditions also are backward. We would recommend that these groups may be treated uniformly throughout the State either as Scheduled Caste/Tribes or as socially and educationally Backward Classes. In a small State like Kerala, where means of transport are easy, there is no justification for treating any group or section of people as Scheduled Castes/Tribes in one region and as Backward Class at the same time in another region or vice versa.

29. *No Group of persons other than those specified in Appendix VIII need be included in the socially and educationally Backward Classes*

In our opinion there is no justification in including in the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens any group of persons other than those specified in Appendix VIII.

## CHAPTER V

### Reservation—Quantum and Period

30. There is at present reservation of seats in Arts and Science Colleges, Medical, Engineering, Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges and Polytechnics. There is no reservation in the Law Colleges and Ayurveda Colleges, and there was no demand either during the course of our enquiry for reservation in those institutions. None seemed to bother about them, evidently because they are less attractive than the Medical and Technical institutions or because all qualified applicants are able to secure admission to them without difficulty.

#### 31. *Arts and Science Colleges*

In the case of Arts and Science Colleges it appears to us that there is no need to continue reservation for undergraduate courses. There are now fifty First Grade Colleges and fifty Junior Colleges in Kerala, and the number of students in them during 1964-65 was 33,831 for the Pre-University and Pre-degree courses and 27,326 for the Degree and 1,373 for Post-graduate courses. All qualified applicants now get admission to the undergraduate courses though an applicant might not sometimes be able to secure admission in the College of his first choice. Thus competition for admission to the undergraduate courses is negligible; and no qualified applicant belonging to Backward Classes is likely to fail to get admission in one or another College. As some of the Junior Colleges are sure to be raised as First Grade Colleges, and more accommodation can also be provided in the existing colleges admission for all qualified applicants belonging to Backward Classes will be certain in the future also. In the circumstances, the Commission would recommend that reservation of seats for undergraduate courses (i.e., pre-degree and degree courses) in Arts and Science Colleges for socially and educationally backward classes may be discontinued from the next academic year.

We are given to understand that the Backward Classes will experience difficulties in the matter of admission to Post-graduate courses in Arts and Science Colleges if some reservation is not provided for. At present there is reservation in favour of the backward classes to the extent of 10% seats. We would recommend that 5% of the seats in Post-graduate Courses may be reserved for the socially and educationally Backward Classes with all other concessions now allowed to them in the matter of admission to Post-graduate courses.

### 32. *Professional Institutions*

Statistics relating to admissions in Medical and Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics are given in Appendices IX to XIII. It appears from these statements that usually there are a large number of applications—four or five times the number of seats in those institutions—and that competition for admission is therefore very keen. There is nothing strange in it, for in our country at present there is a great demand for qualified Doctors, Engineers and Technicians, and such persons are therefore sure to get a decent income, ensuring a comfortable living almost from the day they pass out of the College. This would naturally be conducive to the material and social welfare of the new entrants to the professions, and therefore Backward Classes will be just as keen as other classes, if not more, on getting admission to these institutions. From the Appendices it also appears that without reservation of seats Backward Classes will find it difficult for some time to hold their own against others and obtain a fair share of the admissions to these institutions. Reservation has been in force in Kerala in 1957, and for some years even prior to that in Travancore-Cochin, although on a different pattern. Consequently there has been some improvement in the position of the backward classes; even so, reservation at a reduced rate for some years more appears to be necessary to enable them to hold their own in the competition for admission. As the classification now in force is based purely on caste/community basis the statistics obtained from the technical institutions are community-wise statements. In considering

those statistics it has to be borne in mind that if our recommendation for adopting a means-cum-caste/community test is accepted, the wealthier sections of the castes and communities mentioned in Appendix VIII, who have got the means and facilities for educating their children, will be removed from the classification and that Backward Classes will consist only of the lower income groups in the said castes and communities, who have no such means and facilities.

Appendix IX shows that if admission to the M.B.B.S. course had been made purely on merit basis, Ezhavas, who form 21.2% of the population would have got only 9% of the seats in 1961-62, 12% in 1962-63 and 15% in 1963-64. Muslims, who form 17.91% of the population, would have got 2% of the seats in 1961-62; 2% in 1962-63, and 6% in 1963-64; Latin Catholics who form 4.63% of the population would have got 2% of the seats in 1961-62, nil in 1962-63, and 4% in 1963-64; Other Backward Hindus who form 10.05% of the population would have got 4% of the seats in 1961-62, 6% in 1962-63, and 2% in 1963-64; and Other Backward Christians (of whose population it was not possible to make a satisfactory estimate) would have got 2% of the seats in 1961-62, 3% in 1962-63 and 2% in 1963-64. We have not received all the figures for 1964-65. When the percentage of qualified applicants belonging to the above mentioned classes and the percentage of candidates belonging to them who would have secured admission if admission had been regulated purely on merit basis (without any sort of reservation) are also taken into consideration the picture of their educational backwardness gets further accentuated. Appendix XI shows that for the M.B.B.S. course in 1962-63 the percentage of qualified Ezhava applicants was 18.40. The percentage of Ezhava applicants who would have secured admission purely on merit basis was only 12 (vide Appendix IX). The corresponding figures for Muslims are 8.7 and 2 Latin Catholics 2.4 and nil; Other Backward Hindus 7 and 6 and other Backward Christians 1.4 and 3. In 1963-64 the percentage of qualified Ezhava applicants to the total number of applicants was

20.45 and the percentage of Ezhavas who would have secured admission purely on merit basis to the total number of admissions was 15. The corresponding figures for Muslims were 10.72 and 6 Latin Catholics 2.23 and 4 ; Other Backward Hindus 7.10 and 2 and Other Backward Christians 3.62 and 2. Although the number of Ezhava applicants in 1963-64 was almost proportionate to their population strength it is noteworthy that they would have been able to secure only 15% of the admissions—a fact which tends to show the general educational backwardness of the qualified Ezhava candidates. A comparison of the figures for the years 1964-65 to 1957-58 with the figures for 1961-62 to 1963-64 would show that during the years reservation was in force, some progress has been made by the several classes. If admission was regulated purely on merit basis, Ezhavas would have secured only 4%, 5%, 3% and 4% in 1954-55, 1955-56, 1956-57 and 1957-58 respectively, whereas they would have secured 9%, 12% and 15% in 1961-62, 1962-63 and 1963-64. Muslims would have obtained 1% in 1954-55 nil in 1955-56 and 1956-57 and 3% in 1957-58. Latin Catholics would have got 4%, nil, 2% and 2% in 1954-55, 1955-56, 1956-57 and 1957-58 respectively. Other Backward Hindus would have got 8%, 6%, 6% and 3% in 1954-55, 1955-56, 1956-57 and 1957-58 respectively; and Other Backward Christians would have obtained 2%, 1%, 1% and nil in the said four years.

From Appendix IX it might appear at first sight that Latin Catholics had made up their educational backwardness by 1963-64. For, in that year they are shown as likely to have obtained 4% if admissions were made purely on merit basis. But this impression will be disproved by a closer scrutiny of the figures for other years. While Latin Catholics would have obtained the same 4% in 1954-55, they would have got only nil in each of the years 1955-56, 1960-61 and 1962-63, and only 2% each in 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1961-62. A stray high percentage for one or two years does not therefore give a correct picture. Another interesting feature revealed by Appendix IX is that none of these five classes, excepting Latin Catholics, got any seat

in 1958-59. There was no reservation for the M.B.B.S. course in that year. But a concession was allowed for Latin Catholics. Column A in respect of Latin Catholics for 1958-59 in Appendix IX shows that if admissions in their case also had been regulated on the basis of merit they would have got no seat at all. In that year, there were only 26 admissions in all, and 24 of them were secured by communities not belonging to the Backward Classes and the remaining 2 (i.e. 8% ) went to Latin Catholics.

The figures relating to the Pre-Medical course are given in Appendix X. If admission to that course were regulated purely on merit, Ezhavas would have obtained only 10% in 1961-62 and 7% each in 1962-63 and 1963-64. Muslims would have obtained only 3% seats in each of the three years; Latin Catholics would have obtained 2% in 1961-62, nil in 1962-63 and one in 1963-64; Other Backward Hindus would have obtained 3% in 1961-62, 5% in 1962-63 and 3% in 1963-64; and Other Backward Christians would have obtained nil in 1961-62, 2% in 1962-63, and nil in 1963-64. The Progress made in this case during the years is less satisfactory than in the case of M.B.B.S. course. A detailed reference to the relevant figures is not made here as all the figures are given in Appendix X.

It has not been possible to obtain reliable statistics relating to Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges. As the qualifying examination for those courses is the same as or similar to, that for the Pre-Medical course, the position in respect of those colleges cannot be far different from that seen in Appendix X.

Statistics as regards Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics are given in Appendices XII and XIII. The percentage of qualified applicants and of applicants who would have secured admission in the Engineering College purely on merit basis in the three years 1962-63, 1963-64 and 1964-65 are as follows:—

#### EZHAVAS

11.95 and 7.74 respectively for 1962-63;  
11.47 and 5.02 respectively for 1963-64; and  
13.12 and 10.52 respectively for 1964-65.

**MUSLIMS**

8.08 and 3.22 respectively for 1962-63;  
 9.02 and 3.00 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 11.64 and 4.64 respectively for 1964-65.

**LATIN CATHOLICS**

2.25 and 0.73 respectively for 1962-63;  
 2.03 and 1.18 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 2.92 and 1.54 respectively for 1964-65.

**OTHER BACKWARD CHRISTIANS**

0.85 and 0.44 respectively for 1962-63;  
 1.71 and 0.59 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 1.82 and 0.46 respectively for 1964-65.

**OTHER BACKWARD HINDUS**

7.18 and 4.24 respectively for 1962-63;  
 7.91 and 3.69 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 7.28 and 5.26 respectively for 1964-65.

In the case of Polytechnics the figures are:—

**EZHAVAS**

17.3 and 15.8 respectively for 1962-63;  
 17.6 and 15.4 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 17.8 and 17.00 respectively for 1964-65.

**MUSLIMS**

8.5 and 7.6 respectively for 1962-63;  
 8.6 and 7.1 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 8.5 and 6.5 respectively for 1964-65.

**LATIN CATHOLICS**

1.9 and 1.4 respectively for 1962-63;  
 2.6 and 1.9 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 1.3 and 1.1 respectively for 1964-65.

**OTHER BACKWARD CHRISTIANS**

1.6 and 1.1 respectively for 1962-63;  
 1.3 and 0.70 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 0.6 and 0.1 respectively for 1964-65.

**OTHER BACKWARD HINDUS**

12.7 and 9.3 respectively for 1962-63;  
 12.3 and 11.3 respectively for 1963-64; and  
 14.4 and 13.9 respectively for 1964-65.

Speaking generally, the position of the five Backward Classes is still backward although they have been making some progress during the years reservation has been in force. The pace of progress in the case of Muslims and Latin Catholics is far from satisfactory. Ezhavas and Other Backward Hindus have fared better—Other Backward Hindus would seem to have made good their position as regards Polytechnics by 1963-64. But they are still very backward as regards Medical and Engineering Colleges, and in view of what we have said already about stray high percentages it is too early to decide whether their achievements in Polytechnics during the last two years is permanent or only a temporary phase.

In view of the above circumstances, we are of opinion that the time has not yet arrived for discontinuing reservation in Medical, Engineering, Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges and Polytechnics, and that reservation may continue with some reduction for ten years.

As regards the principles to be followed in fixing the quantum of reservation in professional institutions we can do no better than quote the observations of the Supreme Court in *Balaji's case*:

“In this connection, it is necessary to remember that the reservation made by the impugned order is in regard to admission in the seats of higher education in the State. It is well-known that as a result of the awakening caused by political freedom, all classes of citizens are showing a growing desire to give their children higher university education and so, the Universities are called upon to face the challenge of this growing demand. While it is necessary that the demand for higher education which is thus increasing from year to year must be adequately met and properly channelised, we cannot overlook the fact that in meeting that demand standards of higher education in Universities must not be lowered. The large demand for education may be met by starting larger number of educational institutions, vocational schools and polytechnics. But, it would be against the national interest to exclude from the portals of our Universities qualified and competent students on the ground that all the seats

in the Universities are reserved for weaker elements in society. As has been observed by the University Education Commission,

“He indeed must be blind who does not see that mighty as are the political changes, far deeper are the fundamental questions which will be decided by what happen in the Universities”

Therefore in considering the question about the propriety of the reservation made by the impugned order, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the reservation is made in respect of higher university education. The demand for technicians, scientists, doctors, economists, engineers and experts for the further economic advancement of the country is so great that it would cause grave prejudice to national interests if considerations of merit are completely excluded by wholesale reservation of seats in all Technical, Medical or Engineering Colleges or institutions of that kind. Therefore, considerations of national interest and the interest of the community or society as a whole cannot be ignored in determining the question as to whether the special provision contemplated by Art. 15(4) can be special provision which excludes the rest of the society altogether. In this connection, it would be relevant to mention that the University Education Commission which considered the problem of the assistance to backward communities, has observed that the percentage of reservation shall not exceed a third of the total number of seats, and it has added that the principle of reservation may be adopted for a period of ten years.

“We have already noticed that the Central Government in its communication to the State has suggested that reservation for Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be upto 25% with marginal adjustments not exceeding 10% in exceptional cases.

“If admission to professional and technical colleges is unduly liberalised, it would be idle to contend that the quality of our graduates will not suffer. That is not to say that reservation should not be adopted; reservation should and must be adopted to advance the prospects of the weaker

sections of society, but in providing for special measures in that behalf care should be taken not to exclude admission to higher educational centres to deserving and qualified candidates of other communities. A special provision contemplated by Art. 15(4) like reservation of posts and appointments contemplated by Art. 16(4) must be within reasonable limits”.

We have already mentioned that reservation has been in force about a decade now and that some progress has been made by the classes which have been enjoying the benefits of reservation till now. Having regard to the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court, the statistics, mentioned above, the population of the different classes according to the classification made by us in Appendix VIII, and taking an over-all view of the rate of appropriation of the benefits of reservation as seen from Appendices IX to XIII, we would recommend that 25% of the general seats (ie. seats other than those allotted to the Managements of Private Institutions or set apart for special cases such as nominees of the Government of India, Ayurveda diploma holders, homoeopaths, Junior Technical Certificate holders etc.) in Medical, Engineering, Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges and Polytechnics may be reserved for the socially and educationally Backward Classes of citizens and distributed as follows among the five backward classes mentioned in Appendix VIII:—

Ezhavas	..	9%
Muslims	..	8%
Latin Catholics		
(other than Anglo-Indians)	..	2%
Other Backward Christians (i.e., S.I.U.C. and converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes)		1%
Other Backward Hindus	..	5%
Total		<hr/> 25% <hr/>

According to the G.Os. now in force candidates passing the qualifying examinations have to secure a minimum 50% of marks in the concerned subjects for admission to the Engineering and Medical Colleges, and a reduction in the minimum is allowed in the case of candidates belonging to Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The minimum in their case is only 45% marks. We feel that in view of the progress achieved by the Backward Classes during the years reservation has been in force there is no justification for retaining any further two different standard in the matter of the minimum marks for admission. We would recommend, for maintaining proper standard in the professions, the minimum now prescribed for the non-reservation group, namely, 50% marks, may be made applicable also to the socially and educationally Backward Classes other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We would also recommend that if any seat in the reserved pool is left unavailed of by candidates belonging to the respective classes of citizens, such seat may go to the open pool (merit, State-wide basis), and that seats reserved for classes (iv) and (v) (Other Backward Christians and Other Backward Hindus) may be filled up by qualified applicants belonging to the respective classes as a whole in the order of their merit without any further distribution among the several groups included therein.

## CHAPTER VI

### Allocation of seats between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas

33. Closely connected with the question of reservation of seats and forming part of the scheme of reservation now in force is the question of allocation of seats between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas on the ground of educational backwardness of the former region. Under the existing system 50% of the general seats in the Medical, Engineering, Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges and 40% of the total number of seats in Polytechnics are being allocated between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin in the ratio of 5:8.

Reservation under Article 15(4) in favour of a region can be made only if the people of that region are both socially and educationally backward. If the people of a region are not socially backward and are only educationally backward, Article 15(4) cannot be pressed into service to help them, especially after the decision in *Balaji's case*, which has laid down that backwardness under Article 15(4) must be both social and educational. But even though no reservation under Article 15(4) can be made, it is open to the State to take such measures as it deems fit for removing the educational backwardness of the region provided they are not contrary to or violative of the provisions of the Constitution.

Article 29(2) which governs admissions to educational institutions prohibits denial of admission to such institutions "on grounds only of religion, caste, language or any of them". This Article does not in terms prohibit denial of admission on grounds of place of birth or residence, for neither "place of birth" nor "residence" is mentioned therein. Discrimination on the ground of place of birth is prohibited by Article 15(1). A reasonable classification based on residence is not however prohibited by Article 15(1). Article 14 provides for equality before the law and equal protection of the laws. The effect of these three Articles on the question of admission to educational institutions has come up for

consideration in three cases. In the first of them, i.e., **UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS Vs. SHANTA BAI** (A.I.R. 1954 Madras 67), the Madras High Court has held that "Article 29(2) being a special provision relating to admission to educational institutions, the maxim generalia specialibus non derogant should apply and Article 29(2) should be regarded as the controlling provision and not Article 15(1)". In the next case, **STATE OF BOMBAY Vs. BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY** (A.I.R. 1954 S.C.561), the Supreme Court has observed: "Article 15 protects all citizens against discrimination generally, but Article 29(2) is a protection against a particular species of wrong, namely, denial of admission into educational institutions". The question of the validity of allocation of seats between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas was specifically raised before the Kerala High Court in **JOSEPH THOMAS Vs. STATE OF KERALA** (A.I.R. 1958 Kerala 33). The validity of the allocation was upheld in that case on the ground that it was not hit by either Article 15(1) or Article 14. On account of this finding the High Court did not decide the question whether in the matter of admission to educational institutions, Article 29(2) was an exclusive provision or it was controlled by Articles 15(1) and 14 and left the question open. The allocation complained of was taken in that case as made "not on the basis of the place of birth of the candidates concerned but on their domicile as popularly understood, i.e., their place of residence, the place where they live or have their home." The classification based on residence was held to be reasonable in the context of the educational backwardness of Malabar and the historical and other reasons therefor. It is clear from these decisions that a reasonable allocation of seats between the two regions based on educational backwardness and residence is not contrary to or violative of the provisions of the constitution. We may also, in this connection refer to the following observations in the notes on Article 15 on Basu's Commentary on the Constitution of India, Vol.I, 1961 Edition, page 460: "It is to be noted that the words 'place of birth in the Constitution differ from the word

'resident' in section 117 of the Australian Constitution or in Article 16(2) of our Constitution. The words 'place of birth' and 'only' in the present clause of our Constitution leave a State free to discriminate on the ground of 'domicile' or 'residence' subject of course to the other provisions of the Constitution".

On the question of comparative backwardness of the two areas it has been observed in JOSEPH THOMAS' case, "It is well known that Malabar is educationally more backward than Travancore-Cochin and whatever be the reasons for backwardness.....the indifference of the Madras Government or the smaller scale of Christian Missionary enterprise .....there can be no doubt that a great leeway has to be made before parity is established and identity of treatment will not work out an injustice. On the basis of population also the distribution is sustainable, the population of Malabar being 5169373 and that of Travancore Cochin 8396572".

The ratio between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin as regards area and population is approximately 5:8; Malabar having an area of 16,563 Sq.K.Ms. and Travancore-Cochin 22,293 Sq.K.Ms. and their population in 1961 being 62,37,962 and 1,06,65,753 respectively. That this ratio does not obtain in matters pertaining to education can be seen from the tables given below as regards the number of educational institutions and students.

#### NUMBER OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Sl. No.	Category of institutions	Malabar 1964-65	Travancore- Cochin 1964-65	Total for Kerala 1964-65
1	High Schools	298	850	1148
2	Arts and Science Colleges	14	36	50
3	Junior Colleges	7	43	50
4	Law Colleges	..	2	2
5	Engineering Colleges	2	4	6
6	Medical Colleges	1	3	4
7	Ayurveda Colleges	..	2	2
8	Agricultural College	..	1	1
9	Veterinary College	..	1	1
10	Oriental Title Institution	5	1	6
Total		327	943	1270

## STUDENT POPULATION

## 1. High Schools

Sl. No.	Standard in High Schools	Number of Students in 1964-65		Total for Kerala
		Malabar area	Travancore- Cochin area	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	VIIIth Standard	56064	185076	241139
2	IXth Standard	41856	158580	200436
3	Xth Standard	27163	103817	130980
	Total of VIIIth to Xth Standards	125083	447472	572555

## 2 Colleges

Sl. No.	Course of studies	Number of students in 1964-65		Total for Kerala
		Malabar area	Travancore- Cochin area	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Pre-University Class	612	5415	6027
2	Pre-Degree Class	4890	22914	27804
3	B.A./B.Sc./B.Com.	4866	22460	27326
4	M.A./M.Sc./M.Com.	101	1272	1373

In point of literacy too, Malabar is backward. In 1961 the literacy rate in Kerala was 46.8%, that in Travancore-Cochin 50.9% and in Malabar 39.8%.

In the light of the above figures there can be no doubt that Malabar area is educationally backward in comparison with Travancore-Cochin area. Considering the paucity of the higher educational institutions and professional Colleges in Malabar, we are of opinion that allocation of a reasonable percentage of seats in professional institutions other than Law and Ayurveda Colleges between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas has to be continued for some years more.

The next question is what is the percentage of seats to be set apart for allocation and what should be the ratio of distribution. In this context, it has to be borne in mind that the real purpose of the allocation is to ensure in any case a minimum number of seats for the students of the backward region—in other words, allocation is a sort of reservation on special provision with this difference, namely, that it is not made under Article 15(4).

Therefore, it will only be proper to consider the quantum of allocation also in the light of the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court in BALAJI'S case. It has been pointed out in that case that special provisions should in no case exceed 50% of the available seats and that how much less than 50 it should be, it is for the State to consider, having regard to the level of backwardness and the requirements of the community at large. The state of educational backwardness in Malabar is due, to a considerable extent, to the presence in that region of a larger proportion of Ezhavas, Muslims and Other Backward Classes for whose backwardness provision is being made by reservation under Article 15(4). Taking all the circumstances into consideration we are of opinion that twenty per cent (20%) of the general seats may be set apart for allocation between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas and fifty per cent (50%) of the general seats may be left for the open pool to be filled up on State-wide merit basis irrespective of considerations of class or region. For the distribution of the "allocation seats" we would suggest the ratio that is now in force viz., 5:8 which appears to be just and fair and which has also been approved in JOSEPH THOMAS' CASE. The allocation is to be made on the basis of residence of the candidates, to which there can be no legal objection and not on the basis of place of birth. For, a person born in a backward region need not necessarily be brought up in that region and need not therefore always be affected by the backwardness of the region. On the other hand, if a person born outside is brought up in a backward region the backwardness of the region will affect him. For taking residence as the basis for allocation, we are also influenced by the fact that there is no definite judicial pronouncement as to whether the prohibition of discrimination enjoined

by Article 15(1) on the ground of place of birth will apply to admissions to educational institutions or not. That allocation between geographical regions on the basis of residence can be made, is clear from the cases we have referred to above. We would recommend that the allocation suggested by us be allowed for a period of ten years. As the object of the allocation is to promote the educational interest of the backward region, viz., Malabar, it has to be made clear that only candidates who have been residing in the Malabar area for three years prior to the date of application or candidates who have been educated for the qualifying examinations in educational institutions in the Malabar area will be eligible for the seats allotted for that area.

As regards Professional Colleges (other than Law and Ayurveda Colleges) and Polytechnics the result of our recommendation will be that out of the general seats (i.e. seats remaining after the allotment for the Managements in private institutions and for special cases such as nominees of the Government of India etc.), fifty per cent (50%) will be considered as an open pool to be filled up on State-wide merit basis, twenty per cent (20%) will be set apart for allocation between the Malabar and Travancore-Cochin areas in the ratio of 5:8 on the basis of merit; five per cent (5%) will remain reserved under the orders now in force for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (who are outside the scope of our enquiry); and twenty five per cent (25%) will be reserved for the socially and educationally backward classes, to be distributed as follows:—

(1) Ezhavas	..	9%
(2) Muslims	..	8%
(3) Latin Catholics other than Anglo-Indians	..	2%
(4) Other Backward Christians i.e., S.I.U.C. & converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes		1%
(5) Other Backward Hindus		5%

## CHAPTER VIJ

### Conclusion

#### 34. *Summary of principal recommendations*

A summary of our principal recommendations is given below:—

(1) Only citizens who are members of families which have an aggregate income (i.e., income of all members in the family from all sources taken together) of less than rupees Four thousand and two-hundred (Rs. 4,200) per annum and which belong to the castes and communities mentioned in Appendix VIII constitute socially and educationally backward classes for purposes of Article 15(4).

(Chapter IV, Paragraph 20).

(2) By the term 'family' is meant the applicant and his parents. If either of the parents is dead and a grand-parent is the legal guardian, such grand-parent also will be included in the term 'family'. There is no justification in including in the socially and educationally backward classes of citizens any group of persons other than those specified in Appendix VIII.

(Chapter III, Paragraph 14 and Chapter IV, paragraph 29).

(3) For the said classes, reservation of seats in Post-graduate courses in Arts and Science Colleges and in Professional Colleges (other than Law and Ayurveda Colleges) and Polytechnics is necessary in the present circumstances.

(Chapter V.)

(4) No reservation is necessary for the said classes in Law Colleges and Ayurveda Colleges and for undergraduate courses in Arts and Science Colleges.

*(Chapter V, Paragraphs 30 and 31).*

(5) For post-graduate courses in Arts and Science Colleges, five per cent (5%) of the seats may be reserved for the said classes for ten years with all other concessions now allowed in the matter of admission.

*(Chapter V, Paragraph 31).*

(6) In Professional Colleges other than Law and Ayurveda Colleges, and in Polytechnics twenty five per cent (25%) of the general seats (i.e., seats remaining after the allotment for the Management in private institutions and for special cases such as nominees of the Government of India etc.) may be reserved for ten years for the said classes.

*(Chapter V, Paragraph 32).*

(7) The seats so reserved may be distributed among the five Backward Classes mentioned in Appendix VIII as follows:—

(i) Ezhavas	.. 9%
(ii) Muslims	.. 8%
(iii) Latin Catholics other than Anglo-Indians	.. 2%
(iv) Other Backward Christians including S.I.U.C. and converts to Christianity from Scheduled Castes	1%
(v) Other Backward Hindus	.. 5%

*(Chapter V, Paragraph 32).*

(8) The minimum marks prescribed for admission may be made the same for both the reservation and non-reservation groups.

*(Chapter V, Paragraph 32).*

(9) If any seat is left unavailed of by candidates belonging to the respective classes of citizens such seats may go to the open pool (merit, State-wide basis).

*(Chapter V, Paragraph 32)*

(10) Fifty per cent (50%) of the general seats (i.e., seats remaining after the allotment for Managements of private institutions and for special cases such as nominees of the Government of India etc.) may constitute an open pool to be filled up on State-wide merit basis, and twenty per cent (20%) of the general seats may be allocated between Malabar and Travancore-Cochin in the ratio of 5: 8 on the basis of merit, and 5% will remain reserved under the orders now in force for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (who are outside the scope of our enquiry).

*(Chapter VI, Paragraph 33).*

### 35. *Acknowledgement*

The task entrusted to the Commission was an extremely difficult and delicate one especially because of conflicting interests on an issue vital to all sections of the public. We have attempted to discharge that task to the best of our abilities, conscientiously, impartially and in a judicial spirit. We are grateful for the co-operation and assistance received from the public who sent memoranda and replies to our questionnaire and came forward to give evidence. Our thanks are also due to the Press which gave wide publicity to our questionnaire and programme of tours.

Lastly we desire also to acknowledge and express our appreciation of the hard work and willing co-operation of our staff who had to work for long hours, out of office time, almost every day. Special mention has to be made of our Assistant Secretary, Shri M. N. Sreedharan, without

whose drive and devotion to duty it would not have been possible to complete our work within the allotted time.

G. Kumara Pillai	Chairman
P. S. George	Member
V. K. Krishnankutty	„
L. M. Pylee	„
P. K. Abdulla	Member—Secretary.

Office of the Commission  
for Reservation of Seates  
in Educational Institutions,  
Trivandrum.

31-12-1965.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

**Questionnaire issued by the Commission**

Commission for Reservation of seats in Educational Institutions,  
Kerala

Office: T.C. 21/244,  
Punnen Road,  
Trivandrum—1.

From

Shri P. K. Abdulla,  
Secretary to Government (Education) &  
Member-Secretary to the Commission.

*Dated, 6th October 1964.*

To

Sir/Madam,

You are perhaps aware that Government have set up a Commission for Reservation of Seats in Educational Institutions with Shri G. Kumara Pillai, Retired High Court Judge as Chairman and Shri P. S. George, Thiruvella, Shri L. M. Pylee, Ex-Minister, Shri V. K. Krishnankutty, Advocate, Mattancherry, as Members and Shri P. K. Abdulla, as Member-Secretary, with the following terms of reference:—

(i) To enquire into the social and educational conditions of the people of Kerala;

(ii) To report what sections of the people in the State of Kerala (other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be treated as socially and educationally backward and, therefore, deserving of special treatment by way of reservation of seats in educational institutions;

(iii) To recommend what the quantum of such reservation should be; and

(iv) To recommend the period during which it may remain in force in the State.

2. A questionnaire prepared by the Commission is enclosed. It is based on the terms of reference. It follows the criteria laid down by the Supreme Court, in its decision in "M.R. Balaji Vs. State of Mysore" (A.I.R. 1963-S.C.649)—and in, "R. Chitrlekha and Venkata-subba Reddy Vs. State of Mysore and others"—(C.A. 1055 and C.A. 1057 of 1963)—to determine the social and educational backwardness of the classes of citizens for purposes of Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India. You are requested to give your answer to the questions in the space provided against each question. If the space provided is not sufficient for your answer, you are requested to attach a separate sheet

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of paper and give your complete answer. If you consider that you have to give relevant additional facts which, in your opinion are not covered by the questionnaire, please give a crisp account of those facts also.

3. As far as possible, the reply may kindly be forwarded in English or Malayalam.

4. If the same class of persons is known by different names in different localities that information may also be furnished.

5. If you want to give evidence before the Commission, please state so. The Commission would also desire to get a Memorandum of points which you wish to urge before the Commission.

6. The Commission has a phased programme of work. Delay in receiving answers to the questionnaire will retard its work in all the succeeding stages. Please therefore return the questionnaire, with your answers, to the Secretary to the Commission not later than 15 days from the date of receipt of this letter.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.)

P. K. ABDULLA.

COMMISSION FOR RESERVATION OF SEATS IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS,  
KERALA

QUESTIONNAIRE

The aim of the enquiry by the Commission is to assess the social and educational backwardness of the different classes of citizens of this State for purposes of reservation of seats in the Medical, Engineering (including Polytechnics), Agricultural, Veterinary and Arts and Science Colleges.

PART I

Educational Backwardness

Questions

Answers

1. Keeping in view, the aim of the Commission's enquiry as set forth above, what, in your opinion, should be the criteria for determining the educational backwardness of the classes of citizens in this State?

2. Do you think that the State average percentage of educational attainment can be taken as the standard yardstick to measure educational attainment of the different classes of citizens?

Give reasons.

3. Do you think that the percentage of educational attainment of all the members of each class of citizens should be taken into account in determining the educational backwardness of that class, or do you think that it is enough if the educational attainment as revealed by the student population in the current year is taken into account?

Give reasons.

4. What, in your opinion, should be the educational attainment to be taken into account—that is, whether, it should be the educational attainment at the lower primary, upper primary, secondary, Pre-University (Pre-Degree) or Graduation stage? Give reasons for preferring the particular level of attainment which you may suggest in your answer.

5. What should be the ratio which the percentage of educational attainment of a class of citizens should bear to the State average percentage of educational attainment in order to stamp that class as educationally backward?

Give reasons for choosing the ratio that you suggest.

## PART II

## Social Backwardness

6. In your opinion what factors contribute towards social backwardness?

7. Do you think that representation in the Government services, industrial spheres and professions such as medicine, law, engineering, teaching, etc., is a factor to be taken into account in determining social backwardness?

Give reasons.

(a) Poverty test or Income test

8. In your opinion, can the per capita income of the State be taken as the standard for determining the economic backwardness of a class of citizens in this State. If not, what level above or below the per capita income, should be taken as the standard?

9. Assuming that, on an average, one boy from a family of five, reaches the University class what, in your opinion, should be the minimum income of that family to maintain itself and conduct the collegiate education of that boy?

10. What, in your opinion, should be the number of years over which the average income should be calculated for determining the correct income of a family for that purpose?

11. Can a family whose income is just below the minimum income adverted to above, be treated as economically or socially backward?

(b) Occupation test

12. Do you think that there are occupations to which social stigma is attached according to conventional beliefs and, if so, what are they?

13. Is it a fact that classes of persons who follow such occupations are treated as socially backward?

14. Which are the classes, groups or communities whose traditional occupations carry with them such social stigma?

## (c) Habitation test

15. Can residence in any area of this State be considered as contributing to social or educational backwardness? If so, which class or group is suffering from such backwardness? State your grounds.

## (d) Test of Caste

16. Do you think that "Caste" still continues to be a factor governing social relations?
17. If so, what are the sections or castes of the Hindu community who suffer from such social disabilities?
18. Do the followers of other religions in the State recognise "Caste" in practice?  
If so, what are the sections that suffer from social disabilities on that account?

## PART III

## Quantum and period of reservation

19. At present 35% of the seats in the Medical, Engineering (including Polytechnics), Agricultural and Veterinary Colleges is reserved for Backward Classes and 5% for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as shown below:

## Backward Classes

Ezhavas	..	13%
Muslims	..	9%
Latin Catholics	..	3%
Backward Christians	..	1%
Other Hindus	..	9%

<b>Total</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>35%</b>
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## Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

..	5%
----	----

In Arts and Science Colleges, 20% of the seats is reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and 10% for the Backward Classes. What should, in your opinion be the reasonable quantum of reservation for Backward Classes?

20. What, should be the period for which the reservation of seats for Backward Classes (other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes), should continue?
21. Should the same period be applicable to all classes and if not, what should be the period for each?
22. Would you prefer to allow the continuance of a reasonable reservation for a period and then to review the position after that period, or would you prefer to allow the said reservation to taper to the vanishing point in accordance with a phased programme and, if so, what the phasing should be?

Name and address of the  
person answering the  
questions.

*Signature.*

## APPENDIX II

## List of Persons and Organisations who have given Memoranda to the Commission

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
1	The Honorary General Secretary, Union of Anglo-Indian Association, M.G. Road, Perumanoor, Ernakulam-5.
2	The President, The Malabar C.S.I. Church Welfare Association, Badagara.
3	Shri R. K. Pillai, President, Sri Thunchen Seva Sangom, Quilon.
4	Shri P. Hameed Koya, Payangadi, Cannanore District.
5	The President, and other representatives of the Kumarakshathriya Seva Sangha, Hosdrug, led by Shri M. K. Nambiar, Ex-M.L.A.
6	Shri A. Ramakrishnan, Advocate, Palghat & 23 others of Palghat, Alathur & Chittur Taluks of Palghat District.
7	Shri H. Vasudeva, Secretary, Kumarakshatriya Association, Kasaragode.
8	Shri V. P. Nayar, Ex-M.P., Sasthancottah.
9	The Verapoly Archdiocesan Club, Ernakulam.
10	Shri Thayyil K. Vasudevan, Advocate, High Court, Ernakulam.
11	Shri N. P. Mustifa, Kundil House, P.O., Elambachi, Cannanore District.
12	The Chathiath Latin Catholic Association, Chathiath, Ernakulam-2.
13	The Chathiath Carmel Arts & Music Club, Chathiath, Ernakulam-2.
14	Shri K. Krishnan, Pallippad House, Thuravoor P.O., (via) Ankamaly—Representing the Chavalakkaran Community.
15	The President, Kudumbi Seva Sanghom, Nanthiattukunnu, North Parur.
16	The Secretary, Kottarakkara Taluk Sivananda Vilasom, Veerasaiva Samajam, Kottarakkara P.O.,
17	Shri P. K. Kumaran Achari B.Sc. (Engg.) & 2 others representing the Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Kottayam Taluk Union No. 25, Kottayam.

Sl. No.	Name of persons and organisations
18	Shri K. Bharananganam & 4 others representing the Meenachil Taluk Union of the Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham.
19	Shri Baby Francis, Mannackanad P.O., Kottayam.
20	Fr. Xavier, Kaniampurath M.A., Ph.L. S.T.L., Principal, St. Alberts College, Ernakulam.
21	The General Secretary, Kerala Muslim Educational Association (Regd.), Ernakulam
22	The Union Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Taluk Union Office No. 26, Vazhappally P.O., Changanacherry.
23	Shri M. Ramiah Kambar, President, Kambar Sangham, Manacaud, Trivandrum.
24	The Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Alathur Taluk Union, Alathur.
25	Shri A. M. Haneef, T. C. 1746, Manacaud, Trivandrum.
26	Shri N. Mohammed Haneefa, Attuvarambu Veedu, Vallakkadavoo, Trivandrum—On behalf of the Muzain Muslims (Ostha).
27	Shri H. Muhammadali, Perathupara Mekkumkara Veedu, Vithura P.O., on behalf of Muslim Ostha or Muzair Muslims.
28	Shri A. Abdul Rashid, President, Quilon District Muzain Muslim Samajam, Quilon.
29	Shri L. G. Perira and 2 others—Representatives of the Latin Catholic Community of Trivandrum Diocese, Trivandrum District
30	The President, S.N.D.P. Union, Cannanore.
31	The B.C.C.F. Central Action Council, Trivandrum-4.
32	The Secretary, Village Welfare Association, P.O. Kuthampully, Thiruvilwamala—On behalf of the Devanga Community.
33	The Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Trichur.
34	The Akhila Kerala Vala Samudaya Seva Samithy, Vaikom.
35	The Daivajna Brahmin Community, Travancore-Cochin State Quilon.
36	Shri S. Thankappan Chettiar, Mampuzhi Thekkethil, Kurukkasseril, Alappad Muri, Karunagappally Taluk.
37	Rev. M. Karunakaran, President, District Council, Malabar District Church, North Kerala Diocese, C.S.I., P.O., Eranhipalam, Calicut-6.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
38	The President, Vice-President & Treasurer of the Malabar C.S.I. (Church of South India) Welfare Association, Tellicherry.
39	The Travancore Aiyanaavar Mahajana Sangham, Perumpazhuthoor P.O., Neyyattinkara.
40	The Congregation, Church of South India, (Ex-Basel Mission Church), Palghat.
41	The Backward Class Christian Students Organisation, Quilon.
42	Shri Thomas V. Abraham, Minister-in-charge, on behalf of the former Basel Mission Sabha, Talap.
43	The Church of South India, Feroke.
44	Members of the Diocese of North Kerala (Church of South India), Shorannur.
45	The Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Branch No. 20, Kizhur, Kunnankulam.
46	Rev. Fr. N. Stephen, President, The B.C.C.F., Kottayam.
47	The Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Branch No. 24, P.O. Kanipayyur via Kunnankulam.
48	The Basel Mission Members of the C.S.I., Ottappalam.
49	The Basel Mission Members of the C.S.I., Chalissery.
50	The Basel Mission Members of the C.S.I., Vaniyankulam.
51	The Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Crangannore.
52	The Kulathupuzha No. 74 Illathar Samootha Sangham, Kulathupuzha.
53	Shri C. S. Kolappan, Secretary, Yadhava Association, Trivandrum.
54	Shri P. Narayanan Tampi, Ex-M.L.A., Neyyattinkara.
55	Shri V. K. K. Menon, Bar-at-Law, Ernakulam.
56	Shri N. K. Kuttiraman, Advocate, Trichur.
57	Dr. M. N. Menon, Director of Animal Husbandry, Trivandrum.
58	Dr. C. O. Karunakaran, Leela Vilas, Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum.
59	Dr. M. K. Raman Nair, M.B.B.S., Lalitha Mandir, Thycaud, Trivandrum.
60	The Trivandrum Yuvajana Nair Sahodara Samajam, Palkulangara, Trivandrum & V. M. Thampi Memorial Library & Reading Room, Palkulangara, Trivandrum.

Sl. No.	Name of persons and organisations
61	Shri R. Sivaramakrishna Iyer, Retired Divisional Inspector of Schools, C/o. Dr. Mrs. Sarojini Hariharan, M.B.B.S., Registered Medical Practitioner, Main Road, Hyderabad.
62	The Kerala Pandithar Mahajana Sabha, Branch No. 14, Ponkunnam.
63	Shri N. Padmanabhan, Retired Headmaster, Varkala.
64	Shri Vattiyoorkkavu M. Krishna Pillai, Vattiyoorkkavu.
65	Shri Attingal Gopalan Nair, Vakil, Nedumangad.
66	Shri T. R. Raghavan, Srivihar, Vazhuthacaud, Trivandrum.
67	Shri T. R. Velunni, Retired District Magistrate, Trichur.
68	Shri T. P. Appukuttan, Retired School Assistant, Thottungal, Palghat.
69	Shri K. R. Achuthan, M.A., B.L., Retired Lecturer, Feroke College, Trichur.
70	The Viswakarma Welfare Society, Main Road, Trivandrum.
71	The Dakshina Kasi Viswanathapuram Artisans Colony, Kazhakuttom.
72	Shri E.S. Velayudhan, B.A., LL.B., Income Tax Officer (on leave), Trichur.
73	Dr. P. N. Narayanan, Varkala.
74	Shri N. Chandrasekharan Nair, President, N.S.S. Union, Nedumangad.
75	Shri M. V. Kesava Rao, Principal, Regional Engineering College, Calicut.
76	Shri G. Krishnan Nair, Saradalaya, Vavara, Nedumangad.
77	Shri N. Devanarayana Pillai, Koladathu Tharayil, Klappana P.O., Karunagappally.
78	The Kozhikode District Peruvannan Sangham & Akhila Kerala Velan Sangham, Kozhikode.
79	The Ayyanavar Mahajana Sangham, Vazhathoor.
80	Dr. M. V. Pylee, M.A., D.Lit., LL.M., (Harward), Director, School of Management Studies, University of Kerala, Ernakulam Centre.

Sl. No.	Name of persons and organisations
81	Shri V. R. Krishna Iyer, Advocate, M. G. Road, Ernakulam.
82	Dr. M. Thangavelu, Principal, Medical College, Trivandrum.
83	The Kerala Backward Class Christian Federation, Thiruvella.
84	The Central Committee of the Nazrani Bhooshana Samajam, Arthunkal.
85	Shri K. Mohammed Ali, Retired Divisional Educational Officer, Cochin-2.
86	Shri T. R. Abraham, St. Benedict Road, Ernakulam-8.
87	The President, Vathi Mahajana Sabha, Chiyyaram, Trichur.
88	The Muslim Vidyabhyasa Prolsahana Sangham, Edavilangu, Cranganore.
89	The Deputed Members of the Muslim Society, Crangannore—Represented by Shri K. M. Mohiyuddin M.A., LL.B., Retired Sub Judge, Crangannore.
90	Dr. N. V. Chathukutty, Valsa Vilas, Crangannore.
91	The Principal, N. S. S. College, Sherthallai, Pallippuram.
92	The Chittur, Alathur, & Palghat Taluk Unions of the Kerala Viswakarmala Sangham, Palghat.
93	Representatives of the Palghat Chamber of Commerce, Palghat.

### APPENDIX—III

List of Persons who have given oral evidence before the Commission  
and names of Organisations, if any, represented  
by them

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
1	Shri T. Y. Harris, Retired Divisional Inspector of Schools, Bains Compound, Nathencode, Trivandrum.
2	Dr. C. O. Karunakaran, Leela vilas, Kunnukuzhi, Trivandrum.
3	Shri A. Gunamony, Retired Income Tax Commissioner, Lizene, Pattom, Trivandrum.
4	Shri S. Ramanatha Pillai, Executive Engineer (Buildings & Roads) and Secretary, Lions Club, Trivandrum.
5	Shri K. P. Alikunju, Advocate, Trivandrum.
6	The Trivandrum Yuvajana Nair Sahodara Samajam, Palkulangara, Trivandrum— Represented by: Shri K. Raman Nair, & 2 others.
7	Shri Kaladi Parameswaran Pillai, Lekshmi vialsom, Vanchiyoor, Trivandrum.
8	Shri C. S. Kolappan, Secretary, Yadava Association, Trivandrum.
9	Shri P. Narayanan Thampi Ex-M.L.A., Neyyattinkara.
10	Shri V. Narayanan Nair, Merchant, Perumpazhuthur, Neyyattinkara.
11	Shri M. Sukumaran Nair, Azhanthavila house, Kurakanni, Varkala.
12	Shri G. Pachu Pillai, Alummoottil house, Kurakanni, Varkala.
13	Shri T. C. Rajan, Principal, S. N. College, Chempazhanthi.
14	Shri Attingal Gopalan Nair, Vakil, Nedumangad.
15	Shri S. Bavakunju, President, Muslim Jama-ath Panavoor, Nedumangad.
16	Shri G. Krishnan Nair Teacher, Government High School, Nedumangad.
17	Shri P. K. Padmanabhan, Secretary, All Kerala Harijan Sanghom, Nedumangad.

Sl. No.	Name of persons and organisations
18	Shri H. P. Mohammed Rowther, Principal, Seethi Sahib Memorial Polytechnic, Tirur.
19	Shri N. Moideen, Lecturer, S.S.M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
20	Shri A. K. A. Rahiman, Assistant Lecturer, S.S.M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
21	Shri P. Mammoo, Head of Department of Civil Engineering, S.S.M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
22	Shri M. Mohammed Moopan, Chembra, Tirur.
23	Shri K. P. Bava, Tirur.
24	Shri B. P. Kannan, Skilled Assistant, S. S. M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
25	Shri O. Balan, Instructor, S. S. M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
26	Shri M. Majeed, M3-18, S. S. M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
27	Shri K. Mustaffa, Lecturer, S. S. M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
28	Shri Mohammed Kasim, Student, S. S. M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
29	Shri Mohammed, Lecturer, S. S. M. Polytechnic, Tirur.
30	Shri Mohideenkutty Hajee, Ex-M.L.A., Tirur.
31	Rev. M. Karunakaran, Basel Mission, Kozhikode.
32	Shri T. C. Karunakaran, Advocate, Kozhikode.
33	Shri A. C. Govindan, Retd. Sub-Magistrate, Kozhikode.
34	Shri K. R. Ramakrishnan, Principal, Government Training College, Kozhikode.
35	Rev. Fr. S. H. Antony, Principal, St. Joseph's College, Devagiri, Calicut.
36	Dr. Ananthanarayanan, Principal, Medical College, Kozhikode.
37	Shri T. N. Padmanabhan Vadiyan, Akhila Malabar Vela Vaidya Sanghom, Kozhikode.
38	The Principal, Providence Women's College, Calicut.
39	Shri N. A. Padmanabhan, Principal, Women's Polytechnic, Calicut.
40	Shri T. Damodaran, Retd. Sheristadar, Calicut.

Sl. No.	Name of persons and organisations
41	Shri K. P. Chakkan, Secretary, Kozhikode District Peruvannan Sanghom, Kozhikode.
42	Shri V. G. M. Pavamony, Principal, Malabar Christian College, Calicut.
43	Shri E. Janardhanan, Advocate, Kozhikode (and 5 others).
44	Shri K. A. Jaleel, Principal, Farook College, Kozhikode.
45	Shri K. Vancheeswaran, Professor-in-charge, Guruvayoorappan College, Kozhikode.
46	Major Dr. O. K. Sankaran, Medical Research Laboratory, Bank Road, Calicut.
47	Shri Baffakki Thangal, Kozhikode.
48	Shri C. H. Mohammed Koya, M.P., Kozhikode.
49	Shri P. V. Abdulla Koya, Kozhikode.
50	Dr. P. K. Abdul Gafoor, Secretary, Arabic Association, Kozhikode (and 4 others).
51	Shri O. P. Raman, Corporation Employee, Calicut.
52	Shri Kuttan, Clerk, Port Office, Calicut.
53	Shri Raman, Clerk, Post Office, Calicut.
54	Shri P. Abdul Majeed, Advocate, Manjeri.
55	Shri S. Raman Pillai, Advocate, Pathanamthitta.
56	Shri T. G. Abraham, Vakil, Pathanamthitta.
57	Shri N. Govindan Nair, Advocate, Pathanamthitta.
58	Shri P. M. Thomas, Advocate, Pathanamthitta.
59	Shri K. K. Gopinathan Nair, Advocate, Pathanamthitta.
60	Rev. Fr. Philip C. Pantholil, Principal, St. John's College, Anchal.
61	Shri C. P. Salim, Vice President, Islamic Service Society of Kerala, Pathanamthitta.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
62	Shri M. Meeranan Meeran, Pettayil house, Vettippuram, Pathanamthitta.
63	Shri V. Meeran Sahib, Pettayil house, Pathanamthitta.
64	Shri M. Nagoor Meera, Asanaliyath house, Pathanamthitta.
65	Shri V. I. Hassan Rowther, Ulavum Purayidom, Pathanamthitta.
66	Shri K. Meera Sahib, Kallumpurayidom, Pathanamthitta.
67	Shri A. Meeravu Rowther, Pettayil Veedu, Pathanamthitta.
68	Shri A. S. Hameed, Plankootam, Pathanamthitta.
69	Shri J. Alexander, Principal, Catholicate College, Pathanamthitta.
70	Shri T. K. Kunjumman, Headmaster, C. M. S. U. P. School, Nalliankunnu, Chenneerkara.
71	Shri V. K. Ommen, Retd. Headmaster, C. M. S. High School, Kuzhikala.
72	Shri N. Gopalan, Vakil, Pathanamthitta.
73	Shri M. N. Narayanan, S. N. D. P. Union Secretary, Pathanamthitta.
74	Shri B. Salim Khan, Vilakom Purayidom, Chittur, Pathanamthitta.
75	Shri Khan Rowther, Eapen Purayidom, Pathanamthitta.
76	Shri P. Sadasivan Pillai, Secretary, Mannom Sugar Mills, Pandalam.
77	Shri C. Krishna Das, Principal, N. S. S. Training College, Pandalam.
78	Shri P. Gopala Raman, Additional Professor of Chemistry, N. S. S. College, Pandalam.
79	Shri N. C. Unnithan, Principal, Devaswom Board College, Sasthamcotta.
80	Shri V. P. Nair, Ex-M. P. Sasthamcotta.
81	Shri K. R. Kesava Pillai, Retd. Assistant Excise Commissioner, Sarala Bhavan, Nooranad.
82	Shri G. Balakrishna Pillai, Staff Reporter, The Malayala Manorama, Adoor.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
83	Shri Vincent Moorthy, Principal, Mount Tabour Training College, Pathanapuram.
84	Shri Eravankara N. Gopala Kurup, Ex-M. L. A., Padanilam P. O., Nooranad.
85	Shri T. C. Joseph, Principal, St. Stephen's College, Pathanapuram.
86	Shri N. Bhaskara Kurup, Principal, N. S. S. Polytechnic, Pandalam.
87	Shri Thazhava Kesavan, Advocate, Quilon.
88	Shri P. S. Abraham, Principal, Karmela Rani Training College, Quilon.
89	Dr. Kesava Rao, Principal, Regional Engineering College, Kozhikode.
90	Shri P. S. Narayana Pillai, Advocate, Quilon.
91	Shri S. Narayana Pillai, Advocate, Quilon.
92	Shri G. Parameswaran, Representative of the Quilon Kudumbi Samajam, No. Q-33/64, Olayil, Quilon.
93	Shri M. K. A. Hameed, Principal, T. K. M. College of Engineering, Quilon.
94	Shri V. K. P. Abdul Khadir, President, Padne Panchayat, Padne.
95	Shri P. C. Abdulla, Retired Teacher, Padne.
96	Shri P. Hameed Koya, Payyangadi.
97	Shri K. B. S. Rao, Principal, Government Polytechnic, Cannanore.
98	Shri K. Madhava Rao, Principal, S. N. College, Cannanore.
99	Shri K. P. Damodaran, Kausalya Sadan, Near Military Hospital, Cannanore.
100	Shri M. K. Madhavan, President, S. N. D. P. Yogam, Cannanore.
101	Shri P. K. Kunhikannan, Secretary, Sree Sundareswaran Temple, Cannanore.
102	Dr. T. P. Balakrishnan, Cannanore.
103	Shri V. Gopalan Nair, Principal, Government College, Vidya Nagar, Kasargode.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
104	Shri K. Somasekharan, President, Kumarakshatriya Seva Sangh, Hosdurg.
105	Shri H. Leeladharan, Secretary, Kumara Kshatriya Seva Sanghom, Hosdurg.
106	Shri M. K. Nambiar, Ex-M.L.A., Hosdurg, Kanhangad.
107	Shri H. Devappa, Retired Reserve Sub Inspector, Hosdurg.
108	Shri P. Kunhikannan, Retired Sheristadar, Dharmadam, Tellicherry.
109	Dr. K. Bhaskaran Nair, Principal, Breennen College, Tellicherry.
110	Shri C. Mukundan, Thycandy House, Thalai, Tellicherry.
111	Shri P. V. Mukundan, Member, District Development Council, Tellicherry.
112	Shri K. M. Gopalan, President, Sree Gnanodaya Yogam, Tellicherry.
113	Dr. P. K. Narayanan, Medical Practitioner, Tellicherry.
114	Shri K. M. Kunhanandan, Advocate, Tellicherry.
115	Shri R. Govindan, Payyampallil House, Moozhikara P. O., Tellicherry.
116	Shri T. M. Savankutty, Advocate, Tellicherry.
117	Shri M. Abooty, Advocate, Tellicherry.
118	Shri P. Chirukantan, Advocate, Tellicherry.
119	Shri K. Sukumaran, Secretary, Kunnathunadu S. N. D. P. Union, Perumbavoor.
120	Shri V. K. Subramonian Vilakkathu Parambil, Nayathode.
121	Shri P. R. Gopalan, Member, S.N.D.P. Union Council, Perumbavoor.
122	Shri P. Kochunni Panicker, Principal, S. N. M. College, Maliankara, Moothakunnam.
123	Shri M. Chandu, President, Kerala Kudumbi Seva Sanghom, N. Parur.
124	Shri T. G. Krishnan, Vice President, Kerala Kudumbi Seva Sanghom, N. Parur.

Sl. No.	Name of persons and organisations		
125	Shri K. D. Sannappi, General Secretary, Kerala Kudumbi Seva Sanghom N. Parur.		
126	Shri O. S. Ramakrishnan, Committee Member,	do.	do.
127	Shri N. Gopalan Moopan Committee Member,	do.	do.
128	Shri K. Krishnan, Pallippattu House, Thuravoor.		
129	Shri C. K. Velayudhan, Champannoor House, Koratty.		
130	Shri K. V. Ayyappan, Kunnampallil House, Koratty.		
131	Shri S. Seetharama Iyer, Principal, Sree Sankara College, Kaladi.		
132	Sister Ridempta, Principal, St. Xavier's College for Women, Alwaye.		
133	Sister Bensita, Vice Principal, St. Xavier's College for Women, Alwaye.		
134	Shri S. Varada Rao, Principal, Government Polytechnic, Kalamassery.		
135	Shri P. E. Madhavan, Secretary, S. N. D. P. Branch No. 855, Kalady.		
136	Shri M. N. Karunakaran Nair, M.A., LL.B., Kalady.		
137	Shri Paul V. Kunnil, Member, State Council S. S. P., Muvattupuzha.		
138	Shri A. J. Abdul Rahiman, Municipal Councillor, Muvattupuzha.		
139	Shri T. A. Mohammed, Kavunkara Mahal Committee Member, Muvattupuzha.		
140	Shri P. R. Krishnan, Secretary, S. N. D. P. Union, Muvattupuzha.		
141	Shri P. P. Syed Mohammed, Padinjare Ottathil, Puthenpura, Near Village Office, Petta, Muvattupuzha.		
142	Shri K. K. Viswanathan, Ex-M. L. A., Mattancherry.		
143	Dr. M. V. Pylee, Director, School of Management Studies, University of Kerala, Ernakulam.		
144	Shri P. S. Velayudhan, Principal, Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.		
145	Shri E. P. Varghese, Advocate, Ernakulam.		
146	Shri K. V. Thomas, Kunnathu house, Chirakakom, Varapuzha.		

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
147	Fr. J. G. Chennat, Manager, St. Albert's High School, Ernakulam.
148	Shri P. A. Daniel, Lecturer, St. Albert's College, Ernakulam.
149	Shri C. J. Simon, Nazareth, Cochin-2.
150	Shri P. M. Mayankutty Sahib, President, Kerala Muslim Jamaath Federation, Ernakulam.
151	Shri P. E. Muhammed Mustaffa, General Secretary, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
152	Shri K. H. Sulaiman, Organising Secretary, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation Ernakulam.
153	Shri A. B. Muhammed, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
154	Shri A. A. Kochunny, Member, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
155	Shri P. K. Shamsuddin, Member, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
156	Shri E. Shahul Hameed, Member, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
157	Shri P. A. Syed Mohammed, Member, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
158	Shri K. Mohammed Ali, Member, Kerala Muslim Jama-ath Federation, Ernakulam.
159	Shri M. K. Raghavan, General Secretary, S. N. D. P. Yogam, Cochin-2.
160	Shri Thayyil K. Vasudevan, Advocate, Ernakulam.
161	Shri K. Kochuraman, Thottapurathu house, Kodanad P. O., Ernakulam.
162	Shri T. R. Abraham, B. A. L. T., St. Benedict Road, Ernakulam.
163	Shri K. Kuttikrishna Menon, Advocate, Ernakulam.
164	Shri T. K. Ramachandra Iyer, Principal, Sanskrit College, Trippunithura.
165	Mrs. E. D'Souza, Banerji Road, Ernakulam.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
166	Shri R. G. Dias, Advocate, Ernakulam.
167	Shri D. J. Rodrigues, Advocate, Ernakulam.
168	Shri M. M. Ambrose, Panchayat Member, Nayarambalam P. O.
169	Shri T. V. Prabhakaran, Advocate, Ernakulam-6.
170	Shri K. P. Ramunni Menon, Supreme Court Advocate, Ernakulam.
171	Shri R. Sankaradasan Thampi, Principal, Law College, Ernakulam.
172	Shri K. Mohammed Naha, Advocate, & President, Kerala Muslim Educational Association, Ernakulam.
173	Shri Abdulla Haji Ahamed, Convent Road, Ernakulam.
174	Shri P. A. Sulaiman, Member, Kerala Muslim Educational Association, Ernakulam.
175	Sister M. Digna, Principal, St. Teresa's College, Ernakulam.
176	Shri M. L. Joseph, The Kerala Times, Ernakulam.
177	Shri V. P. Antony, Vice President, Carmel Arts & Music Club, Chathiath, Ernakulam-2.
178	Shri V. G. James, Convener, Latin Catholic Association, Chathiath, Ernakulam-2.
179	Shri P. D. George, Joint Convener, Latin Catholic Association, Chathiath, Ernakulam-2.
180	Shri N. Sreedharan, Principal, Ayurveda College, Trippunithura.
181	Shri Stanley Fernandez, Secretary, Anglo-Indian Association, Cochin.
182	Fr. Xavier Kaniampurath, Principal, St. Albert's College, Ernakulam.
183	Fr. Francis Payappilly, Professor of Physics, St. Albert's College, Ernakulam.
184	Shri Abdul Kader, Part-time Lecturer, Law College, Ernakulam.
185	Shri N. Parameswaran Pillai, General Secretary, N. S. S., Perunnai, Changanacherry.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
186	Shri M. R. G. Panicker, Propaganda Officer, N. S. S. Head Office, Changanacherry.
187	Sister Mary Xavier, Principal, Assumption College, Changanacherry.
188	Msgr. Francis Kalacherry, Principal, St. Berchman's College, Changanacherry.
189	Shri P. G. Krishnankutty, Palavila Kizhakkethil Veedu, Padinjattinkara, Kottarakkara.
190	Shri K. P. Sankunni, Mani Mandiram, Director S. N. D. P. Yogam, Changanacherry.
191	Shri E. K. Kesava Panicker, S. N. D. P. Union Secretary, Changanacherry.
192	Shri K. K. Narayanan Vaidyar, Puthenparambil, Second Mile, Changanacherry.
193	Shri K. K. Padmanabhan, Representative, The Kerala Kaumudi, Changanacherry.
194	Shri N. P. Raghavan Achari, General Secretary, Akhila Kerala Viswakarma Mahasabha, Changanacherry.
195	Shri E. S. Krishnan Achari, Secretary, Taluk Viswakarma Union, Changanacherry.
196	Shri T. N. Divakaran, Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Union, Changanacherry.
197	Shri C. K. Madhavan Achary, Inspector, Taluk Viswakarma Union, Changanacherry.
198	Shri M. Chellappan, Editor, The Karmayugom, Changanacherry.
199	Shri K. G. Menon, Principal, Government Polytechnic, Kottayam.
200	Shri T. J. Joseph, Secretary, The Akhila Kerala Avasa Catholic Mahajana Sabha, Nagampadam, Kottayam.
201	Dr. C. M. Francis, Principal, Medical College, Kottayam.
202	Fr. Joseph Kochuparambil, Director, Avasa (Harijan) Catholic Mahajana Sabha, Nagampadam, Kottayam.
203	Shri P. C. Paul, President, Avasa (Harijan) Catholic Mahajana Sabha, Nagampadam, Kottayam.
204	Fr. Isidov M. Vadakan, C. M. I., Principal, St. Joseph's Training College, Mannanam.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of persons and organisations</i>
205	Rev. Fr. William, Editor, The Deepika, Kottayam.
206	Shri P. K. Kumaran Achary, B. Sc. (Eng.), Assistant Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom, Kottayam.
207	Shri P. K. Ramakrishnan, President, Kottayam Taluk Union, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom, Kottayam.
208	Shri M. S. Sankaran Achari, Manthattil, Karapuzha, Kottayam.
209	Dr. P. M. Cheriyan, Karukachal P. O., Changanacherry.
210	Rev. Joseph, T. T., Principal, St. Thomas Training College, Palai.
211	Baby Francis, Manjanattu, Mannakkanad P. O., Kottayam.
212	Shri K. Gopalan, Bharananganam, Matathil Veedu, Bharananganam P. O.
213	Shri K. R. Kuttan Achary, Panthappallikkara Veedu, Amanakkara P. O., Ramapuram.
214	Shri P. C. Kuruvilla, Puthiyaparambu Veedu, Chingavanam P. O., Kottayam.
215	Dr. A. V. Varghese, Lecturer, Mar Thoma College, Thiruvalla.
216	Dr. P. T. Thomas, Principal, Titus II Teacher's College, Thiruvalla.
217	Shri K. C. Cheriyan, Headmaster, S. C. Seminary High School, Thiruvella.
218	Shri K. R. Krishnan Nair, Member, District Development Council, Santhinivas, Thiruvalla.
219	Rev. T. C. Thomas, Principal, Mar Thoma College, Thiruvalla.
220	Shri A. J. Cheriyan, Principal, St. Thomas College, Kozhencherry.
221	Shri P. Chacko, Ex. M. L. A., President, The Backward Class Christian, Federation, Thiruvalla.
222	Shri O. C. Ninan, Ex. M. L. A., Ooriyapadikkal, Thiruvalla.
223	Shri Kassim Mukkadan, Thiruvalla.
224	Shri C. M. Syed Mohideen Sha, Principal, M. S. M. College, Kayamkulam.

- 225 Prof. M. S. Rawther,  
M. S. M. College, Kayamkulam.
- 226 Shri K. Sukumaran,  
Ramabhavan (Karshika Colony), Krishnapuram,  
Oachira.
- 227 Shri N. Kochukunju,  
President, Chingoli Panchayat, Alapuzha house,  
Karthigappally.
- 228 Shri P. A. Subramonian Achary,  
Secretary, Tamil Viswakarma Yuvajana Sanghom,  
Kayamkulam.
- 229 Shri G. Gopalakrishnan,  
Member, Tamil Viswakarma Yuvajana Sanghom,  
Kayamkulam.
- 230 Shri P. S. Sathyadas,  
Principal, S. N. Junior College, Shertallay.
- 231 Shri A. Muhammed Osman,  
President, Islamic Service Society of Kerala,  
Central Office, Alleppey.
- 232 Shri C. X. Lawrence,  
Kattungal House, Alleppey.
- 233 Shri Eapen Arakkal, Ex. M. L. A.,  
Advocate, Alleppey.
- 234 Shri N. Govindan Unni,  
Principal, N. S. S. College, Shertallay.
- 235 Shri K. P. Reyonolds,  
General Secretary, Nasrani Bhooshana Samajam,  
Arthunkal.
- 236 Shri A. J. Peter,  
Arisarkadavil House, Alleppey.
- 237 Shri G. Sreedharan Pillai,  
Thekke Koonammakkil Veliyil House,  
Thekkummuri, Near X-Ray Hospital, Shertallay.
- 238 Shri Kenneth Nunes,  
Teacher, Govt. High School for Muhammedans,  
Alleppey.
- 239 Shri T. V. Padmanabhan,  
Cloth Merchant, Muttam Bazaar, Shertallay.
- 240 Shri P. N. Natarajan,  
Pandikariyil veedu, Vayalar, Shertallay.
- 241 Shri V. Rajappan,  
Puthenpurayil, Varanad, Shertallay.
- 242 Shri K. K. Sankaran,  
Kuttikkattu Veedu, Vadakkummuri, Shertallay.
- 243 Shri K. C. Alexander,  
Headmaster, Govt. High School for Muhammedans,  
Alleppey.

- 244 Shri K. I. Leons,  
Principal, Maharaja's Technological Institute, Trichur
- 245 Shri A. K. Parameswaran,  
Kodanthur P. O., Trichur.
- 246 Shri E. K. Menon,  
Principal, Thyagaraja Polytechnic, Alagappanagar,  
Trichur.
- 247 Dr. C. T. Peter,  
Principal, Kerala Veterinary College & Research  
Institute, Mahnuthy, Trichur.
- 248 Shri P. K. Thachu,  
President, Kerala Vathi Mahajana Sabha, Chiyaram,  
Trichur.
- 249 Shri V. K. Raman,  
Secretary, Kerala Vathi Mahajana Sabha, Chiyaram,  
Trichur.
- 250 Shri P. V. Kesavan,  
Member, Kerala Vathi Mahajana Sabha, Chiyaram,  
Trichur.
- 251 Shri V. I. Govindan,  
Member, Kerala Vathi Mahajana Sabha, Chiyaram,  
Trichur.
- 252 Dr. Chacko George,  
'Gitanjali', Peringavu, Trichur.
- 253 Shri V. P. Kannan Nair,  
Principal, Sree Kerala Varma College, Trichur-4.
- 254 Shri E. S. Velayudhan,  
Income Tax Officer, Eravimangalam, Nadathara,  
Trichur.
- 255 Shri N. K. Kuttiraman,  
Advocate, Olary, Trichur.
- 256 Shri N. A. Kesavan,  
Thannisseri P. O., Irinjalakuda, Trichur.
- 257 Shri K. S. Panicker, Ex. M. L. C.,  
P. O. Kurumpilavu, Trichur.
- 258 Shri A. S. Divakaran,  
Advocate, Chembukavu, Trichur.
- 259 Shri T. K. Raman,  
Retd. Deputy Collector, Koorkancherry, Trichur.
- 260 Shri V. R. Ramakrishnan,  
Advocate, Civil Lines, Trichur.
- 261 Shri T. R. Velunni,  
Retd. District Magistrate, Choorakottukara, Trichur.
- 262 Shri T. K. Krishnan,  
Advocate, Civil Lines, Trichur.

- 263 Shri K. Neelakantan,  
Retd. Superintending Engineer, Koorkancherri,  
Trichur.
- 264 Miss. Molly Thomas,  
Principal, Government Training College, Trichur.
- 265 Shri V. A. Kumaran,  
Retd. Tahsildar, Viyyur, Trichur.
- 266 Shri C. M. Govindankutty,  
President, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
H. O. Trichur.
- 267 Shri V. A. Madhavan,  
Assistant Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
H. O. Trichur.
- 268 Shri C. K. Krishnan,  
Treasurer, Kerala Viswakarmala Sangom,  
H. O. Trichur.
- 269 Shri K. A. Raman Achary,  
President, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom, Trichur  
District Committee, Trichur.
- 270 Shri K. K. Gopalan,  
Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala, Sanghom,  
Trichur District Committee, Trichur.
- 271 Shri C. V. Iyyu, Ex-M. L. A.,  
Kunnamkulam.
- 272 Shri K. K. Raman Acharry,  
President, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Talappilly Taluk Committee, Kunnamkulam.
- 273 Shri K. T. Velayudhan,  
Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Talappilly Taluk Committee, Kunnamkulam.
- 274 Shri P. A. Chatha,  
Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Talappilly Taluk Committee, Kunnamkulam.
- 275 Shri K. R. Krishnan Achary,  
Member, Karala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Talappilly Taluk Committee, Kunnamkulam.
- 276 Shri P. T. Kuriakku,  
Manager & Correspondent, S. D. Sanskrit College,  
Pavaratty, Trichur.
- 277 Shri T. K. Gopalakrishnan,  
President, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Cranganur.
- 278 Shri K. L. Gopalan Achari,  
Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Cranganore.

- 279 Shri M. N. Balan,  
Joint Secretary, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 280 Shri S. K. Sanku Achary,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 281 Shri T. R. Gangadharan,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 282 Shri T. K. Sankunni,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 283 Shri K. K. Govindan,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 284 Shri T. K. Mukundan,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 285 Shri T. S. Balachandran,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 286 Shri P. L. Ramakrishnan,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 287 Shri T. S. Chandrasekharan,  
Committee Member, Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom,  
Crangannur.
- 288 Shri E. A. Syed Mohammed,  
Convener, Muslim Vidyabhyasa Protsahana  
Sanghom, Edavilangu, Crangannur.
- 289 Shri K. M. Mohideen,  
Retd. Sub Judge, Methala, Crangannur.
- 290 Shri A. K. Kochumoideen,  
Ex-President, Azhikode Panchayat, Azhikode.
- 291 Dr. A. K. Muhammed Sagir, M. B. B. S.,  
Azhikode, Crangannur.
- 292 Shri A. K. Abdulla,  
Retd. District Educational Officer,  
Eryad, Crangannur.
- 293 Shri V. A. Syed Mohammed,  
Edavilangu, Crangannur.
- 294 Dr. N. V. Chathukutty,  
Valsa Vilas, Crangannur.
- 295 Shri K. R. Raghava Varrier,  
Headmaster, A. V. Memorial High School,  
Ponnani.

- 296 Shri V. I. Thavunni,  
Vellani veedu, Kadavandu, Ponnani.
- 297 Shri C. I. Mathen,  
Principal, Government Polytechnic, Perinthalmanna.
- 298 Shri P. Kuttiraman Nair,  
Principal N. S. S. Training College, Ottappalam.
- 299 Shri E. P. Chenthamarakshan,  
Emara, Muthalamada, Kollengode, Palghat.
- 300 Shri K. Gulabjan,  
Kollengode.
- 301 Shri K. Balachandran, Kollengode.
- 302 Shri K. R. Kombankutty, Alathur.
- 303 Shri T. P. Appukuttan,  
Thottungal, Palghat.
- 304 Shri K. G. Raghavan,  
Tailor Street, Palghat.
- 305 Shri P. Velayudhan, Advocate, Palghat.
- 306 Shri T. P. Sivaramakrishnan, Palghat.
- 307 Shri S. Venkitakrishnan,  
Principal, Sanskrit College, Pattambi.
- 308 Shri N. K. P. Narayanan,  
President, Chittur Taluk Union,  
Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom, Chittur.
- 309 Shri T. K. Balakrishnan,  
Secretary, Chittur Taluk Union,  
Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom, Chittur.
- 310 Shri C. Velayudhan,  
President, Palghat Taluk Union  
Kerala Viswakarmala Sanghom, Akathethara.
- 311 Shri D. Manju Achary,  
Vice President, Alathur Taluk Union, Alathur.
- 312 Shri K. Paramu Achary,  
Chittur Taluk Union, Palghat.
- 313 Shri M. Krishnan,  
Secretary, Palghat Taluk Union, Palghat.
- 314 Shri P. V. Kunjappan,  
Alathur Taluk Union, Alathur, Palghat.
- 315 Shri A. Manikkan,  
President, Palghat Taluk Union, Palghat.
- 316 Shri P. R. Rajagopalan,  
President, Backward Classes Reservation  
Protection Committee, Palghat.
- 317 Shri C. S. Devan,  
Advocate, Palghat.
- 318 Shri P. R. Ramakrishnan,  
Advocate, Chittur, Palghat.

- 319 Shri V. Appukuttan, Palghat.  
 320 Shri A. Velayudhan, Palghat.  
 321 Shri M. Velan, Palghat.  
 322 Shri K. C. Pazhanimala, Palghat.  
 323 Shri P. V. Chamiar, Palghat.  
 324 Shri P. H. Rama Iyer,  
 President, Palghat Chamber of Commerce.  
 325 Shri P. K. Krishnaswamy,  
 Secretary, Palghat Chamber of Commerce.  
 326 Shri R. S. P. Swaminathan,  
 Secretary, Palghat Chamber of Commerce.  
 327 Shri K. Ramaswamy,  
 Ex-Councillor, Vadakkethara, Chittur.  
 328 Shri K. Chithambaran,  
 S/o. C. K. N. Mudaliyar, Vadakkethara, Chittur.  
 329 Shri V. S. Muthuswamy,  
 Advocate, Palghat.  
 330 Shri S. Krishnan Unni,  
 Advocate, Palghat.  
 331 Shri P. S. Raghava Iyer,  
 Principal, Government Victoria College, Palghat.  
 332 Shri P. Janardhana Sarma,  
 Principal, Central Polytechnic,  
 Vattiyoorkavu, Trivandrum.  
 333 Shri K. C. Chacko,  
 Principal, Engineering College, Trivandrum.  
 334 Shri L. Sivathanu Pillai,  
 Principal, Women's Polytechnic, Trivandrum.  
 335 Dr. M. Thangavelu,  
 Principal, Medical College, Trivandrum.  
 336 Shri A. Maluk Mohammed,  
 President, Kerala Muzain Muslim Samajam,  
 Trivandrum.  
 337 Shri N. Krishnankutty,  
 Advocate, President, Kerala Veluthedathu Nair  
 Samajam, Trivandrum.  
 338 Dr. R. Adam Khan,  
 Attakulangara, Trivandrum.  
 339 Shri M. Y. Ebrahim Kunju,  
 Vice President, Kerala Muzain Muslim Samajam,  
 Nannattukavu, Pothencode.  
 340 Shri K. T. Achuthan,  
 Ex-Minister, Crangannur.  
 341 Shri L. G. Pereira, Retd. Collector,  
 General Hospital Junction, Trivandrum.

- 342 Shri Stephen Netto,  
Retd. I. G. of Registration, General Hospital Junction,  
Trivandrum.
- 343 Shri C. Swaminathan,  
Retd. Headmaster, Palayam, Trivandrum.
- 344 Rev. Fr. N. Stephen,  
President, B. C. C. F., Central Office, Kottayam.
- 345 Shri P. P. Lazar,  
General Secretary, B. C. C. F., Kottayam.
- 346 Shri V. D. John,  
Member, B. C. C. F., Kottayam.
- 347 Shri P. K. Sukumaran Nair,  
President, Social Service League, Trivandrum

## APPENDIX IV

### P.S.C. List

#### List of other Backward Classes in Kerala State

Agasa	Latin Catholics
Ambalakaran	Madivala
Anglo Indians	Mappila
Arayas	Maravans
Arayavathi	Maruthuvar
Aremahrati	Mukkuvan or Mukaya
Arya	Muslim
Bandari	Mogaveera
Chakkala	Naikkans
Chaptegara	Odans ('Kusavan', 'Kulalas', 'Kumbarans', 'Andhra Nair', and 'Anthuru Nair')
Chavalakkaran	Other Christians — Pulayas, Parayas and other Scheduled Castes converted to Christianity.
Chetties	Pandithars
Devadiga	Panniyar
Devargra	Pattariyas
Ezhavas and Thiyyas (Billavas)	Perumkollans
Ezhavathi	Peruvannan (Varnavar)
Ezhuthachan	Pulluvan
Ganika	Rajapur
Ganjam Reddies (in Malabar Districts)	Reddiars (except in Malabar Districts)
Gatti	Sakkravar (Kavathi)
Gowda	Sourashtras
Hegde	Saliyas
Hindu Nadar	Senai Thalavar (Elavaniar)
Ishuvan (Illuvan)	S.I.U.C.
Jogi	Tholkollans
Kaduppattan	Thottian
Kaikolan	Vaduvans
Kelasi (Kalasi Panicker)	Valans
Kalari Kurup or Kalari Panicker	Velaans
Kammalas or Viswakarmalas (Karuvan, Villasan, Asari, Moo- sari and Thattan, Viswabrahma- manan, Viswabrahmanar)	Vaniyans
Kannadiyans	Vaniyar
Kanisu or Kaniar Panicker, (Kani or Kaniyan (Ganaka) or Kanisan or Kannian)	Vakkaliga
Kavuthiyan	Veerasaivas (Yogis and Yogee- swara)
Kavudiyaru	Veluthedathu Nair (Veluthedan and Vannathan)
Kitaran	Vilakkithala Nair (Vilakkithalavan)
Koteyar	Yadavas (Kolaya, Ayar, Mayar, Maniyani, Eruman and Golla)
Krishnanvaka	
Kerala Mudalis	
Kudumbis	

## APPENDIX V

### D.H.W. List

List of Other Backward Communities/Classes kept by the Department of Harijan Welfare for purposes of Educational Concessions

#### OTHER ELIGIBLE COMMUNITIES

##### A. Communities eligible for educational concessions normally allowed to Scheduled Castes.

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. Chakkamar                | Throughout the State                     |
| 2. Mannan, Vannan, Pathiyan | In the Malabar area of State             |
| 3. Moger                    | In Kasargode Taluk                       |
| 4. Paravan                  | Malabar area excluding Kasargode Taluk   |
| 5. Peruvannan               | Throughout the State                     |
| 6. Pulaya (Cheramar)        | In Malabar area of the State.            |
| 7. Pulluvan                 | Throughout the State                     |
| 8. Thachar                  | Throughout the State except Malabar area |
| 9. Varnavar                 | Throughout the State                     |
| 10. Velan                   | Throughout the State excluding T-C area  |
| 11. Vettuvan                | Throughout the State excluding T-C area  |
| 12. Madiga                  | Kasargode Revenue Division.              |
| 13. Chemman or Chemmar      | Throughout the State                     |
| 14. Perumannan              | In Malabar area.                         |

##### B. Communities eligible for educational concessions normally allowed to Scheduled Tribes.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Marati                                | In Hosdurg Taluk of Cannanore District |
| 2. Malayan (Konga Malayan, Pani Malayan) | Malabar.                               |

#### OTHER BACKWARD COMMUNITIES/CLASSES

##### A. Other Backward Communities in the Erstwhile Travancore-Cochin area of the Kerala State.

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Arayan (Nulayan)            | 8. Chetties (Kottar Chetties, Parakka Chetties, Elur Chetties, Attingal Chetties, Pudukkada Chetties, Iraniel Chetties, Perurkada Chetties, Sripandara Chetties, Thelunku Chetties, and Udayamkulangara Chetties) |
| 2. Arya Vathi                  |   |
| 3. Alwar                       |   |
| 4. Anglo Indian                |   |
| 5. Boyan                       |   |
| 6. Chavalakkaran               |   |
| 7. Chakkala<br>(Chakkala Nair) |   |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 9. Ezhavathi (Vathi)                              | 30. Tholkollan  |
| 10. Jews  | 31. Thondaiman  |
| 11. Kanian alias Ganaka                           | 32. Thottian  |
| 12. Kitara  | 33. Valan   |
| 13. Kumbaran                                      | 34. Veera saiva (Pandaram, Vairavi, Vairagi, Yogeeswarar, Matapathi and Yogi)   |
| 14. Kusavan                                       | 35. Velaan  |
| 15. Kudumbi                                       | 36. Veluthedath Nair  |
| 16. Kalarikurup or Kalari Panicker                | 37. Viswakarmala (Pandy Kammala, Malayala Kammala, Kannan, or Musari, Kalthachan or Kallasari, Kollan, Karuvan, Thachan or Asari, Thattan Vilkurup or Villasam Kammala) |
| 17. Kerala Muthali                                | 38. Vilakkithala Nair   |
| 18. Maravan                                       | 39. Vaniya (Vanika, Vanika-Vaisya, Vaisya Chetti, Vanibha Chetty, Ayiravar, Nagarathar, Vanian)   |
| 19. Mukkuvan                                      | 40. Yadava (Kolayar, Ayar, Mayar, Maniyani and Eruman.)   |
| 20. Muslims (Mappila, Jonakan and Methan)         |   |
| 21. Naicken                                       |   |
| 22. Odan  |   |
| 23. Perumkollan                                   |   |
| 24. Pandithar (Ampattan, Pranopakari and Nasivan) |   |
| 25. Reddiar                                       |   |
| 26. Sakravar (Kavathi)                            |   |
| 27. Salia (Pattarya)                              |   |
| 28. Senaithalavar (Elavania)                      |   |
| 29. Saiva Vellala                                 |   |

B. Other Backward Classes in Malabar area of the Kerala State

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Agamudaiyans (including Thuluva Vellalas) | 18. Dasari                              |
| 2. Agasa                                     | 19. Devadiga                            |
| 3. Ambalakaran                               | 20. Devalkar                            |
| 4. Annadan                                   | 21. Devanga                             |
| 5. Are Mahrati                               | 22. Dhakkada                            |
| 6. Arya (South Kanara)                       | 23. Dommara                             |
| 7. Atagara                                   | 24. Dudekula                            |
| 8. Archukatlavandu                           | 25. Galada Konkani                      |
| 9. Balolika                                  | 26. Gandla                              |
| 10. Bestha                                   | 27. Gangavars                           |
| 11. Bhandari                                 | 28. Ganika (including Nagavamsam)       |
| 12. Billava                                  | 29. Gatti                               |
| 13. Bissoy                                   | 30. Godaba                              |
| 14. Bondil                                   | 31. Gonde                               |
| 15. Boya                                     | 32. Gowda (including Kammala or Kalali) |
| 16. Chaptagara                               | 33. Gudigara                            |
| 17. Chatadi (Chattada Sri-vishnava)          | 34. Hegde                               |

35. Idiga (including Setti Baliya)
36. Isai Vellalar or Melakarar
37. Illuvan (Ezhuvan)
38. Jakkulas (Guntur District)
39. Jandara
40. Jangam
41. Jhetty
42. Jogi
43. Kabbera
44. Kadappatan (Malabar) Ezhuthachan
45. Koikolan (Sengunthar)
46. Kalavanthula
47. Kalingi
48. Kallan (including Esanattu Kallar)
49. Kammalans or Kamsalas or Viswabrahmins or Viswakarmas & Karuvan)
50. Kanisu or Kaniyar-Panikkar, Kaniyan, Kanisan, Kannian or Kani.
51. Kannadiyan
52. Kavuthiyan
53. Kelasi
54. Kharvi
55. Khatri
56. Khodala
57. Kitara
58. Kolaries or Maniyanies
59. Koppalavelamas
60. Korachas
61. Koteyar (Sheragara, Kshatriya of South Kanara)
62. Kulala (Kusavan and Kumbaran, Anthur Nair or Andhra Nair)
63. Kuruba
64. Kurumba
65. Labbai
66. Lambadis
67. Madivala
68. Madugar or Medavar or Vethakkara of Selam District.
69. Mahendra (Medara)
70. Mahratta (Non Brahman)
71. Malayan (Malabar)
72. Male
73. Mangala
74. Mappila (Muslim)
75. Maravar
76. Maruthuvar
77. Melakudi or Kudiyan
78. Modi Banda
- 78 A. Mogaveera
79. Moili
- 79 A. Moniagar
80. Muduva
81. Mukhari
82. Mukkuvan or Mukayan alias Mogayan or Aravan and Arayan in Malabar (including Bovies)
83. Mutracha
84. Muthiryyana
85. Magaran
86. Nakkale
87. Nolkodaya
88. Namdev Maharatta
89. Oddan (Donga)
90. Odda (Vodde or Vadde or Veddai)
91. Odiya
92. Oiulu
93. Omanaite
94. Oriya
95. Padyachi (Villayan Kuppam)
96. Palli
97. Pamula
98. Pangadikara
99. Panniyar or Pannayar
100. Parivara Bunt (of South Kanara)
101. Parkavakulam (Surithiman, Malayaman, Nathaman, Moopannar and Nainar)
102. Patnulkaran
103. Pattanavan
104. Pentias
105. Perika
106. Pichigunta
107. Poraya
108. Pusalavadu

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 109. Puraigiri Khatriya   | 135. Thiyyas of the whole Malabar area.   |
| 110. Perike Baliya  | 136. Thondaman  |
| 111. Parvatharajakulam  | 137. Uppara (Sagara)  |
| 112. Rajapuri (South Kanara)  | 138. Ural Goundan   |
| 113. Reddi (Ganjan)   | 139. Vada Baliya  |
| 114. Rajaka   | 140. Vaduvan (Vadugan)  |
| 115. Ronas  | 141. Vakkaliga  |
| 116. Saiva Vellalas   | 142. Valaiyan   |
| 117. Sadhu Chetti (including Telugu Chetty or 24 Manai Telugu Chetty, Wynadan Chetty)                     | 143. Vaniar (Vanian) (Oilmonger caste all over the State)   |
| 118. Saliyan (Padmasali, Pattusali, Thogata, Karnibhaktula, Senapathulu, Sali, Sale and Karikalabhaktulu) | 144. Vanniyakulakshatriya (In Tamil Districts) including Vanniya, Vanniyar or Vennier-Gounder, Kander or Vannia Gounder and Vannia Kander (Other than Vellala Gounder) belonging to Vanniakulakshatriya Caste, Agnikula Kshatriya (in Telegu Districts) |
| 119. Sedan  | 145. Velakatalavan  |
| 120. Senaithalaivar (Senai-kudayam)   | 146. Veluthadan   |
| 121. Settibaliya  | 147. Virakodi Vellalars   |
| 122. Siviar   | 148. Vathis   |
| 123. Sourashtra   | 149. Yadava (Kolaya, Ayar, Mayar, Muniyani, Eruman and Golla)   |
| 124. Srisayana  | 150. Moovari  |
| 125. Sugalis  | 151. Nadar (Throughout the State)   |
| 126. Thatapu  | 152. Yogi (Malabar)   |
| 127. Tolikula   |   |
| 128. Thogata Veerakshatriya   |   |
| 129. Tholuva Naicker and Vettalakara Naicker  |   |
| 130. Tholkollan   |   |
| 131. Thottiyan  |   |
| 132. Thoriyan   |   |
| 133. Thurpu Kapus   |   |
| 134. Tigala (Tigla)   |   |

## APPENDIX VI

### List of Prosecutions under the untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955

#### For the period from 1956-61

<i>Name of District</i>	<i>Number of cases registered</i>	<i>Number of cases in which the accused were convicted or which were compounded</i>
1. Trivandrum	62	36
2. Quilon	19	12
3. Alleppey	3	..
4. Kottayam	4	2
5. Ernakulam	34	15
6. Trichur	18	5
7. Palghat	10	6
8. Kozhikode	22	1
9. Cannanore	18	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>88</b>

#### For the period from 1961-65

1. Trivandrum	24	11
2. Quilon	2	..
3. Alleppey	3	1
4. Kottayam	3	..
5. Ernakulam	2	..
6. Trichur	2	2
7. Palghat	3	..
8. Kozhikode	7	4
9. Cannanore	21	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>26</b>

## APPENDIX VII

Statement of Number of Students in Different Standards in Schools  
During 1964-65

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Number of students in standards										Total
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1	Scheduled Castes	63035	48105	42335	36523	31592	27861	21754	14970	11989	6407	304571
2	Scheduled Tribes	5005	4355	3630	3282	1919	1695	1405	798	534	464	23087
3	Agasa	81	67	36	36	24	21	15	16	9	11	316
4	Ambalakaran	151	85	100	86	100	170	81	118	91	75	1057
5	Arayas including valan, Mukku- van, Mukkaya, Mogayan, Aravan, Bovies, Kharvi, Nulayan & Arayavathi	8913	6137	5650	4684	3925	3251	2629	2313	2097	1531	41130
6	Aremahatti	223	194	160	129	49	62	48	15	2	1	883
7	Arya including Devanga, Kai- kolan (Sengunthar) Pattarya, Atagara, Saliyas (Padmasali Pattusali, Thogata, Karnibha Katula, Senapathulu, Sali, Sale, Karikalabhakthulu & Chaliya), Sourashtra, Khatri, Patnulkaran	5067	3407	3326	3072	2520	1906	1689	1352	1140	659	24138
8	Ambalayasi including Unni Warrier, Kurukkal, Nambiar (T.C.) Nambissan, Pisharody Pushpa, Unni, Pushpaka, Nambidi, Chakkari, Adikal, Kallattukurup, Poojari	1468	1234	1180	1097	1027	952	869	1015	840	719	10401

9	Bestha	63	..	..	..	..	6	2	3	20	15	6	52
10	Bhandari or Bhondari	63	..	52	..	62	32	28	17	16	13	10	343
11	Boya	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	Brahmins including Tamil Brahmins, Telugu Brahmins, Malayala Brahmins, Bhattathiri, Namboodiri, Nambi, Elayad, Moosad, Moothad, Canarese Brahmin, Embran, Embranthiri Potty, Thulupotty, Other Non-Malayala-Brahmins, Gujarathi Brahmins, Mahrathi Brahmins, Rao, Sarma.	10599	9265	8103	8608	6799	6779	6525	5513	5373	4720	72284	7
13	Ballal	1	1	2	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	8
14	Bengali Hindu	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
15	Balyaya	10	7	3	..	2	..	..	..	10	12	40	40
16	Bod	..	..	..	..	2	2	10	8	7	5	34	34
17	Bouda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
18	Bakal	18	15	10	8	14	23	14	7	9	6	124	124
19	Chakkamar	96	90	73	69	39	29	7	8	21	1	433	433
20	Chavalakkaran	1135	1029	892	777	464	438	409	323	323	205	5995	5995
21	Chakkala	5604	3898	3415	3182	2131	1730	1405	1071	775	498	23709	23709
22	Chetties	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
23	Chemman, Cherupukkuthi, Chemmar	..	1	1	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	170
24	Chalamar	36	40	38	29	17	6	4	..	..	..	..	10
25	Choyi	2	2	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
26	Chokkalim	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	355
27	Devadiga	55	47	55	31	39	36	32	27	20	13	905447	905447
28	Ezhavas including Thiyyas Izhuvan, Illuvan, Billava	176641	140857	123354	115173	91326	78085	64130	51080	40420	24381	905447	905447

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Number of students in standards										Total
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
29	Ezhavathy, Vathy	1082	895	708	720	634	563	526	362	285	183	5958
30	Ezhuthachan, Ezhuthassan including Kaduppattan	3754	2729	2603	2257	2132	1529	1232	857	559	413	18065
31	Ganika, including Nagavamsom	462	362	314	225	223	163	61	121	90	68	2089
32	Gattis	8	6	14	3	12	26	5	6	18	4	102
33	Ganjam Reddies	14	18	13	12	10	6	4	9	7	4	97
34	Galada Konkani	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Gounder (Koundan)	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36	Gupta	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	Gowda	218	166	195	169	164	126	126	162	107	87	1520
38	Hegde	72	64	56	55	48	50	42	18	8	6	419
39	Hindu Nadar	5352	4219	3669	3089	2074	1737	1527	1379	1169	829	25044
40	Hindu Madiyar	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
41	Halu Kuruba	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
42	Jogi	142	117	96	82	68	57	57	68	25	16	728
43	Jangam	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
44	Jhethy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	Jada	6	12	9	13	16	12	4	5	..	1	80
46	Kudumbies (Moopan)	1849	1407	1278	1043	1239	1013	763	603	411	233	9839
47	Kammalas including Viswakarmas Karuvan, Kamsala Viswakarmas, Pandikammala, Malayala Kammala, Kannan, Moosari, Kalthachan, Kallassari, Perumkollan, Kollan, Thattan, Pandithattan, Thachan, Asari, Villasan, Vilkurup, Viswa Brahmins, Kitaran, Chaptagara	22990	20845	16423	14413	12227	11414	8898	7412	5950	3690	124262
48	Kannadiyans	5	5	..	5	7	2	..	4	1	1	30
49	Kelasi or Kalasi Panicker	195	131	144	60	116	105	91	51	37	30	960

✓ 50	Kanisu including Kaniyar-Panicker, Kani, Ganaka, Kanisan or Kaniyan, Kannian Kavudiyaru	2445 3	1999 ..	1792 ..	1574 1	1272 ..	1286 2	1176 ..	929 ..	907 ..	397 ..	13877 6
51	Koteyar (Sheragara Kshatriya of South Canara)	304	231	155	123	140	160	120	206	133	71	1643
53	Krishnanvaka	115	11	10	6	6	12	16	6	3	1	71
54	Kerala Muthali	..	128	63	72	45	41	41	42	27	19	593
55	Kusavan including Kulala, Kumbaran, Odans, Oddan, Donga, Andhra Nair, Anthur Nair, Velaan, Odda (Vodde, Vadde, or Veddai)	3598	3135	2702	2046	1817	1346	1298	785	520	282	17529
56	Kalavanthula	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
57	Koppala Velamas	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	..	..	6
58	Kuruba	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
59	Kalari Kurup or Kalari Panicker	723	639	542	433	836	361	835	176	123	73	4741
60	Kavuthiyan	678	509	567	391	409	306	226	131	115	47	3379
61	Kshatriya including Thampuram, Thirumulpad and Varna	372	284	259	288	295	309	228	194	198	172	2599
62	Komaran	2	6	1	..	..	10	1	..	..	..	20
63	Kaman Panicker	19	21	18	11	9	6	6	..	..	..	90
64	Kallan, including Isanattu Kallar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
65	Kailan	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
66	Lingayats	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	4
67	Maharashtra	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
68	Maruthuvar	50	73	69	43	23	48	29	13	20	14	382
69	Maravan (Maravatt)	233	171	133	114	113	76	63	15	20	16	954
70	Mogaveera	40	31	17	15	16	14	8	5	3	2	151
71	Melakudi or Kudiyan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
72	Moili	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
73	Moovari	10	6	2	6	3	8	3	5	14	1	58
74	Mudaliar	56	26	48	33	28	29	31	4	4	5	264
75	Mooliyas	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
76	Mukhari	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	5	8
77	Maniyan	10	5	7	20	36	21	23	..	14	26	162
78	Malai Panicker	14	3	6	7	..	..	..	1	..	..	31

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Number of students in standards										Total	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	(12)	(13)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(12)	(13)
79	Mukkulan	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4
80	Marvadi	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	6
81	Madivala	..	..	2	..	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	10
82	Naicken including Tholuva Naicker & Vettalakkara Naicker	88	63	66	64	34	6	13	23	11	27	395	395
83	Naidu	149	113	155	122	121	88	47	41	66	51	953	953
84	Nair including Marar, Vettakkatu Nair, Tharakan, Kartha, Kurup, Menon, Moothan, Panicker, Puduval, Mannadiar, Kaimal, Chembotti, Madampi, Thalaya Nair, Nambiar (Malabar area), Marayan, Pallichan, Pulva Nair, Sudran	111434	94390	92257	80684	73804	66465	57982	55614	46211	33798	712639	712639
85	Nedungadi including Vellodi, Eradi, Pandala, Samantha Raja, Samantha, Adiyodi, Kitavu	31	38	34	34	35	41	29	56	59	35	292	292
86	Panniyar or Pannayar	21	37	19	11	2	1	1	3	2	1	98	98
87	Peruvannan (Varanavar)	3046	2415	2156	1762	1525	1491	1181	665	472	282	14995	14995
88	Pulluvan	214	203	158	140	92	84	56	62	35	24	1068	1068
89	Padyachi (Villayankuppam)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
90	Palli	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	4	4
91	Parkavakulam (Surithiman, Malayaman, Nathaman, Moo-panar, Nainar)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
92	Parisaivar, Kambar	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	3
93	Pandisudra, Perumal Pillay, Pillai, Tamil Pillayar, Telegu Pillai, Vettu Pillai	390	234	186	285	151	95	121	114	63	22	1661	1661
94	Paradesi	3	5	1	2	1	..	..	2	1	..	15	15

95	Prayar	21	15	13	18	15	14	7	..	..	..	103
96	Puruzha	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
97	Pandichakkithar	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
98	Panji	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
99	Pulloon	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
100	Pintarar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
101	Parivara Bunt (of South Canara)	330	285	204	200	173	118	102	113	76	74	1675
102	Pittarar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
103	Rajapuri	77	41	51	46	50	22	27	21	9	1	346
104	Reddiars	44	65	15	56	86	80	54	56	51	29	536
105	Sakravar (Kavathy)	115	185	187	113	27	49	23	31	35	21	786
106	Sennai Thalavar, Ilavaniyar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
107	Senaikudayam	4	..	..	..	6	15	13	4	10	18	70
108	Saiva Vellala, Saiva Pillai	95	56	86	44	100	94	88	141	180	151	1035
109	Sindhi	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	15	14	..	2
110	Shetti	5	4	3	9	12	9	10	15	14	9	90
111	Samanthal	5	6	7	..	..	3	2	..	..	..	23
112	Samint	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
113	Sadhu Chetti (including Telegu chetty or 24 Manai Chetty, Wyna-dan chetty)	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
114	Tholkollan	580	345	274	237	165	5	8	6	3	..	29
115	Thottiyar	121	13	14	14	14	104	93	34	29	17	1878
116	Tamil Sundaram	3	3	2	..	7	6	16	18	3	..	219
117	Uppara (Sagara)	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	26
118	Ural Goundan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
119	Vakkaliga	293	238	299	206	101	78	58	18	4	2	1297
120	Veera saivas, Yogi, Matapathi, Yogeswaran Pandaram, Vairagi, Vairavi, Andi Pandaram, Pidurar, Saiva Pandaram	1738	1186	933	1063	1009	869	799	780	470	369	9216
121	Veluthedathu Nair, Veluthedan	3340	2782	2430	2048	1795	1638	1408	834	739	407	17421
122	Vannathan, Rajaka	300	300	219	119	78	71	46	33	29	16	1211
123	Vaduvan, Vadugan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
124	Vilakkithala Nair, Vilakki-thalavan, Ambattan, Pranopakar, Navutheeyan, Pandithar, Nasivam	3802	2901	2996	2668	2129	2061	1665	1141	916	659	20938

[illegible]

costs, Evangelical Church, Yuyomayan, Yahova's witness, Kessel, Knapaya X'ian, Reath X'ian, St. Thomas Mission, Church of God, Church of Christ, Lutheran Mission, Salvation Army, Father Mission, P.R.D.S., Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterians, Church of India, Sabbath Mission, S.D.A., Basel Mission, B.E.M., V.B.S. A., C.C.S.I., Nadar X'ian, Vanian X'ian, Vellala X'ian

143	1525	1150	1059	1109	1334	1218	1297	1158	1204	814	11868
144	134202	105547	87535	72370	46775	33560	23660	18085	13510	8562	543806
145	2	1	1	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	9
146	3	3	2	4	46	45	44	54	60	40	301
147	45	39	24	23	23	16	24	4	6	3	207
	1	..	2	5	1	4	..	2	5	..	20
<hr/>											
Total:											
	746208	606295	543092	484373	408278	351661	293536	241139	200436	130980	4005998

## APPENDIX VIII

## List of Socially and Educationally Backward classes of citizens in Kerala for purposes of Article 15 (4)

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Estimated population of the community in 1961	Estimated population of the Section and educationally backward classes i.e., persons whose family income is less than Rs. 4,200 per annum	Traditional occupation	No. of students in the 1st Standard during 1964-65	No. of students in the Xth Standard during 1964-65	No. of students in the Xth Standard during 1964-65 per thousand population	No. of persons per thousand who have not completed primary education according to Socio-Economic Survey of Households in Kerala
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
I.	Ezhavas including Thiyyas, Ishuvan, Izhuvan, Ilhuvan and Billava	3583979	3439242	Toddy Tapping	176641	24381	6.80	Ezhavas - 707.80 Billava - 839.10
II.	Muslims (all sections following Islam)	3027639	2917433	..	134202	8562	2.83	829.00
III.	Latin Catholics Other than Anglo-Indians	783849	751476	..	18806	3495	4.46	703.40
IV.	Other Backward Christians	98990	95120	..	6164	873	8.82	782.10
	(a) S. I. U. C.	151010	150285	..	14582	1905	12.62	791.00
	(b) Coverts from Scheduled castes to Christianity	250000	245405	..	20746	2778	11.11	786.55
	Total of (a) & (b)							

V. Other Backward Hindus i.e.,		3887	3887	Washermen	81	11	2.83	769.90
1	Agasa	166906	151717	Fishing	8913	1531	9.13	Arayan Mukkuvan 758.20
2	Arayas including Valan, Mukkuvan, Aravan, Bovies, Mogayan, Aravan, Bovies, Kharvi, Nulayan and Arayavathi							811.70 Nulayan/ 858.40
3	Aremahratti	97127	92873	Weaving	223	1	6.78	626.90
4	Arya including Atagara, Devanga, Kaikolan, (Sen- gunthar) Pattarya, Saliyas, (Padmasali, Pattusali, Thogatta, Karnibhakatula, Senapathulu, Sali, Sale, Karikalabhaktulu, Chaliya) Sourashtra, Khatri, Patmul- karan, Illathu Pillai, Illa Vellalar, Illathar				5067	659		Arya 578.90 Devanga 707.90 Kaikolan 704.40 Pattarya 743.70 Atagara 666.60 Saliya 722.90
5	Bestha	..	..	Fishing and Hunting	..	6	..	..
6	Bhandari or Bhondari	1018	1018	Barbers	63	10	9.82	710.30
7	Boya	902	..	Stone brakers	..	..	..	..
8	Boyan	1778	1778	Fishing	96	..	0.56	858.80
9	Chavalakkaran	..	..	Oil pressers	1135	205	1.13	791.70
10	Chakkala (Chakkala Nair)	11531	..	Barbers	55	13	12.65	712.30
11	Devadiga	14467	14236	Oil Pressers,	1082	183	5.72	690.60
12	Ezhavathi (Vathi)	72164	61592	carriers of Salt, Oil etc. Palanquin bearers	3754	413		Ezhutha- chan Kaduppa- tatan 404.90
13	Ezhuthachan, Kaduppattan							
14	Gudigara	..	..	Fishermen	..	..	..	666.60
15	Galada Konkani	..	..	Cultivators	14	4	..	..
16	Ganjam Reddies	..	..					

Sl. No.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
		Name of Community	Estimated population of the community in 1961	Estimated population of the Section of the community included as socially and educationally backward classes i.e., persons whose family income is less than Rs. 4,200 per annum	Traditional occupation	No. of students in the Ist Standard during 1964-65	No. of students in the Xth Standard during 1964-65	No. of students in the Xth Standard during 1964-65 per thousand population	No. of persons per thousand who have not completed primary education according to Socio-Economic Survey of Households in Kerala
17	Gatti		..	..	Pot makers	8	4	..	871.10
18	Gowda		19432	19432	Cattle breeding & cultivation	218	87	4.78	745.90
19	Ganika including vamsom	Naga-	..	..	Oil pressers	462	68	..	596.20
20	Hegde		891	882	Cultivators & cattle breeders	72	6	6.73	724.70
21	Hindu Nadar		94750	93424	Toddy tappers	5382	829	8.75	830.40
22	Idiga including Settibaliga		..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	Jangam		..	..	Priests	..	..	..	..
24	Jogi		..	..	Mendicants	142	16	..	769.60
25	Jhetty		..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Kanisu or Kaniyar-Panicker Kaniyan, Kaniisan, Kannian or Kani, Ganaka		60635	59071	Astrology	2445	397	6.55	640.80

27	Kudumbi	47622	47412	Agricultural Labourers & Fishermen	1849	233	4.89	737.50
28	Kalarikurup or Kalari-Panicker	..	..	Astrology	723	73	..	582.10
29	Kerala Muthali	..	..	Medicine & Barbering	115	19	..	846.70
30	Kusavan including Kulala, Kumbaran, Odan, Oddan (Donga) Odda, (Vodde or Vadde or Veddai) Velaan, Andhra Nair, Anthur Nair	..	..	Workers in Salt pans	3598	282	..	Kusavan 887.40 Kumbaran 888.80 Odan 888.00
31	Kalavanthula	..	..	Pottery	..	..	..	..
32	Kallan including Isanattu Kallar	1139	..	Dancers & Singers	..	..	..	..
33	Kabera	..	..	Cultivation	..	..	..	..
34	Korachas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	Kammalas including Viswakammala, Karuvan, Kammalas, Viswakarmas, Pandikammala, Malayal-Kammala, Kannan, Moosari, Kalthachan, Kollan, Thatan, Pandithattan, Thatchan, Asari, Villasan, Vilkurup, Viswabrahmins, Kitara, Chaptegara	650416	697017	Smithy & Carpentry	22990	3690	5.67	Kammalas 719.10 Perumkollan 745.70 Thachan 797.10 Kitara 695.00 Chaptegara 624.00
36	Kannadiyans	..	..	Cattle breeders & cultivators	5	1	..	..
37	Kavuthiyan	..	..	Barbers	678	47	..	658.30
38	Kavudiyaru	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
39	Kelasi or Kalasi Panikker	..	..	Barbers	195	30	..	800.00
40	Koppala velamas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Sl. No.	Name of Community	Estimated population of the community in 1961	Estimated population of the Section and educationally backward classes i.e., persons whose family income is less than Rs. 4,200 per annum	Traditional occupation	No. of students in the Ist Standard during 1964-65	No. of students in the Xth Standard during 1964-65	No. of students in the Xth Standard during 1964-65 per thousand population	No. of persons per thousand who have not completed primary education according to Socio-Economic Survey of Households in Kerala
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
41	Krishnanvaka	221	221	Cultivators	..	1	4.52	678.20
42	Kuruba	10577	..	Shepherds	..	..	..	..
43	Kurumba	9155	9155	Shepherds	233	16	1.75	818.70
44	Maravan (Maravar)	..	..	Washermen	50	2	..	820.30
45	Madivala	..	..	Barbers, and	..	14	..	825.00
46	Maruthuvar	..	..	Nurses, and	..	..	..	..
				Midwives	..	..	..	..
47	Mahratta (Non-Brahman)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
48	Melakudi (Kudiyan)	..	..	..	40	2	..	..
49	Mogaveera	..	..	Agricultural	..	..	..	..
50	Moili	..	..	labourers	..	..	..	944.60
				Temple	..	..	..	..
				servants	..	..	..	822.20
51	Mukhiari	..	..	Fishing	..	..	..	..
52	Modibanda	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53	Moovari	2803	2803	Servants	10	1	0.36	765.30
54	Moniagar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

55	Naicken including Tholuva Naicker and Vettillakkara Naicker	..	..	Traders	88	27	..	811.10
56	Padyachi (Villayankuppam)	..	..	Agricultural Labourers, Fishing do.	..	..	..	846.20
57	Palli	..	..	Labourers in Salt Pans	21	2	..	..
58	Panniyar or Pannayar	..	..	Agricultural labourers	..	1	..	..
59	Parkavakulam (Surithi-man, Malayaman, Natha-man, Moopanan and Nainar)	..	..	Traders and Cultivators	..	..	..	..
60	Rajapuri	3185	3185	Traders and Cultivators	77	2	0.63	783.80
61	Sakravar (Kavathy)	..	..	Betel Vine cultivators and sellers	..	..	..	..
62	Senaithalaivar, Elavania, Senaikudayam	..	..	Agricultural labourers and Petty traders	4	18	..	..
63	Sadhu Chetty including Telugu Chetty or 24 Manai Telugu Chetty and Wynadan Chetty	10130	..	Leather works	1	..	..	..
64	Tholkollan	..	..	Cultivators	580	17	..	..
65	Thottiyar	..	..	Salt manu- facturers	121	..	..	..
66	Uppara (Sagara)	828	..	Agricultural labourers	..	..	..	948.50
67	Ural Goundan	..	..	Basket makers with bamboo and date leaves	..	..	..	800.00
68	Valaiyan	..	..	Cultivators	300	16	0.91	935.30
69	Vada baliya	17719	17719	Cultivators	293	2	..	..
70	Vaduvan (Vadugan)	17719	..	Cultivators	293	2	..	..
71	Vakkaliga	..	..	Cultivators	293	2	..	..

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
72	Veera Saivas (Pandaram, Vairavi, Vairagi, Yogeeswarar, Matapathi & Yogi)	43156	42543	Agricultural labourers	1738	369	8.55	725.80
73	Veluthedathu Nair including Vannathan, Veluthedan and Rajaka	44607	43755	Washermen	3340	407	9.12	675.00
74	Vilakkithala Nair including Vilakkathalavan, Ambattan, Pranopakari, Pandithar, & Nasivam	61056	59713	Barbers	3802	659	10.79	Vilakki thala Nair Pandithar 673.80 705.50
75	Vaniya including Vanika, Vanika Vaisya, Vaisya Chetty, Vanibha Chetty, Ayiravar Nagarathar, Vaniyan	..	..	Oil Pressers	5027	580	..	683.90
76	Yadava including Kolaya, Ayar, Mayar, Maniyani, Eruman, Golla & Kolaries	..	..	Cattle rearing	1842	205	..	526.60
77	Chakkamar	..	..	..	18	6	..	720.40
78	Chemman, Chemmar	..	..	..	..	..	..	867.20
79	Malayan (Konga Malayan, Pani Malayan) S. C. in Malabar District excluding Kasargode Taluk and S.T. throughout the State except Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
80	Madiga	509	509	Leather works	..	..	..	897.20
81	Mannan, Vannan, Pathiyan —S. C. throughout the State except Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
82	Moger—S. C. in Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
83	Marathi—S.T. in Kasargode Taluk of Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

84	Paravan (S. C. throughout the State except Malabar Districts) excluding Kasargode taluk	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	Peruvannan (Varnavar)	..	..	Washermen	3046	282	..	655.00
86	Perumannan—S.C. throughout the State except Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
87	Pulaya (Cheramar)—S. C. throughout the State except Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
88	Pulluvan	3625	3625	Astrologers, medicine men	214	24	6.62	676.50
89	Thachar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
90	Velan—S.C. throughout the State except Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
91	Vettuvan—S.C. throughout the State except Malabar Districts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Note:— Class IV. "Other Backward Christians" The population of S.I.U.C. given in Col. (3) was worked out from the Census Reports. Population of Scheduled Castes converts cannot be ascertained because they are found to some extent in all denominations of Christianity. It is estimated that the population of S.I.U.C. and Scheduled Castes converts to Christianity together would come to 250,000.

Class V. "Other Backward Hindus". Sl. Nos. 77 to 91 are at present treated as communities eligible for educational concessions normally allowed to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes as per the D. H. W. list. Some of them are now treated as Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in certain parts of the State, in other parts they are treated as Other Backward Classes, and the remaining communities are therefore treated as "Other Backward Classes".

The total population of the communities coming under class V "Other Backward Hindus" whose population has been noted in Col. (3) against the community concerned comes to 1,452,236. The total estimated population of all the communities under class V is 1,700,000. The difference of 2,47,764 is the estimated total population of all the communities under class V whose population has not been specified in Col. (3).

## APPENDIX IX

**Table showing the percentage of candidates (community-wise) selected for the M. B. B. S. and the percentage that would have been selected had there been no reservation of seats (as furnished by the Principal, Medical College, Trivandrum)**

YEAR	Total No. of Seats	Seats for open competition after reserva- tion	Forward Community			Ezhavas			Other Back- ward Hindus			Muslims			Latin Catholics			Other Back- ward Christians			Scheduled Castes & Tribes																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
			A	B	(4)	A	B	(5)	A	B	(6)	A	B	(7)	A	B	(8)	A	B	(9)	A	B	(10)	A	B	(11)	A	B	(12)	A	B	(13)	A	B	(14)	A	B	(15)	A	B	(16)	(17)																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																						
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A. Percentage of seats that would have been secured had there been no reservation of seats.

B. Percentage of seats secured according to selection.

Note:— 1. The numbers in the brackets under 'B' are the percentage of seats secured by merit, the remainder in the total being secured by reservation.

2. The percentage of seats that should be reserved for scheduled castes and tribes on the basis of population (1961 Census) is 10.

## APPENDIX X

Table showing the percentage of candidates (community-wise) selected for the Pre-Medical and the percentage that would have been selected had there been no reservation of Seats (as furnished by the Principal, Medical College, Trivandrum)

YEAR	Total No. of seats	Seats for open competition		Forward Community		Ezhavas		Other Back- ward Hindus		Muslims		Latin Catholics		Other Back- ward Christians		Scheduled Castes & Tribes	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1957-58	100	65	80	49	9	21	5	13	3	11	..	3	3	1	..	2	2
58-59	100	64	81	52	6	18	4	10	5	14	2	(0.5)	2	(0)	2	(0.5)	1
59-60	100	60	74	42	13	(5)	4	(1)	3	(5)	3	(2)	3	(0)	3	(0)	6
60-61	100	63	82	52	8	22	3	10	4	(2)	3	(2)	..	(2)	3	(1)	4
61-62	100	63	81	52	10	(9)	3	(1)	3	(2)	2	(0.5)	..	(0)	3	(0.5)	5
62-63	100	66	83	57	7	(4)	5	(2)	3	(3)	..	(1)	2	(0)	..	(1)	4
63-64	100	63	86	55	7	(4)	3	(2)	3	(3)	1	(0)	..	(0)	1	(0)	4
						(3)	3	(2)	10.5	(2)		(1)	..	(0)			(0)

A. Percentage of seats that would have been secured had there been no reservation of seats.

B. Percentage of seats secured according to selection.

Note:— 1. The numbers in the brackets under 'B' are the percentage of seats secured by merit, the remainder in the total being secured by reservation.  
2. The percentage of seats that should be reserved for scheduled castes and tribes on the basis of population (1961 Census) is 10.

## APPENDIX XI

Statement showing the number of qualified applications, the percentage & c. in respect of Medical College (M.B.B.S. Course) for the periods 1962-63 & 1963-64

(Worked out from the figures furnished by the Principal, Medical College, Trivandrum)

	1962-63		1963-64	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of qualified applications	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of qualified applications
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Ezhavas & Thiyyas	53	18.4	147	20.45
Muslims	25	8.7	77	10.72
Other Backward Hindus	20	7.0	51	7.10
Latin Catholics	7	2.4	16	2.23
Other Backward Christians	4	1.4	26	3.62
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes	6	2.1	17	2.37
Forward Communities	173	60.0	384	53.48
Total	288		718	

## APPENDIX XII

Statement showing the number of seats which each community would have secured had there been no reservation, the percentage, total number of qualified applications in respect of Engineering Colleges for the periods from 1962-63 to 1964-65.

(Worked out from the figures furnished by the Director of Technical Education)

	1962-63				1963-64				1964-65			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	The Number of seats which each community would have secured	had there been no reservation	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications	The Number of seats which each community would have secured	had there been no reservation	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions	Number of qualified applications	The Number of seats which each community would have secured	had there been no reservation	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions
									Percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions	Percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications
												Percentage of population
Ezhavas & Thiyyas	53	7.74	281	11.95	34	5.02	248	11.47	68	10.52	382	13.12
Muslims	22	3.22	190	8.08	20	3.00	195	9.02	30	4.64	339	11.64
Other Backward												
Hindus	29	4.24	169	7.18	25	3.69	171	7.91	34	5.26	212	7.28
Other Backward												
Christians	3	0.44	20	0.85	4	0.59	37	1.71	3	0.46	53	1.82
Latin Catholics	5	0.73	53	2.25	8	1.18	44	2.03	10	1.54	85	2.92
Scheduled Castes &												
Scheduled Tribes	2	0.3	32	1.36	4	0.59	22	1.02	..	..	36	1.23
Brahmins	115	16.83	293	12.46	114	16.83	253	11.70	86	13.31	278	9.55
Nairs	193	28.25	636	27.05	188	27.73	511	23.64	166	25.70	579	19.89
Other Communities	25	3.66	88	3.74	34	5.02	79	3.65	42	6.50	182	6.25
Christians	236	34.55	589	25.05	246	36.33	601	27.81	207	32.04	765	26.28
Total	683		2,351		677		2,161		646		2,911	

## APPENDIX XIII

Statement showing the number of seats which each community would have secured had there been no reservation, the percentage, total number of qualified applications in respect of Polytechnics for the periods from 1962-63 to 1964-65  
(Worked out from the figures furnished by the Director of Technical Education)

	1962-63			1963-64			1964-65						
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
	The number of seats which each community would have secured had there been no reservation	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications	The number of seats which each community would have secured had there been no reservation	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications	The number of seats which each community would have secured had there been no reservation	Percentage of seats on the number of admissions	Number of qualified applications	Percentage of qualified applications on the total of qualified applications	Percentage of population
Ezhavas & Thiyyas	255	15.8	462	17.3	248	15.4	667	17.6	292	17.0	1107	17.8	21.2
Muslims	123	7.6	227	8.5	115	7.1	326	8.6	112	6.5	526	8.5	17.91
Other Backward Hindus	159	9.3	340	12.7	182	11.3	466	12.3	239	13.9	896	14.4	10.05
Other Backward Christians	17	1.1	43	1.6	11	0.7	49	1.3	1	0.1	35	0.6	1.48
Latin Catholics	21	1.4	51	1.9	31	1.9	78	2.6	19	1.1	83	1.3	4.63
Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes	13	0.8	48	1.8	15	0.9	88	2.3	13	0.8	130	2.09	9.64
Brahmins	112	7.0	160	6.0	103	6.4	220	5.8	91	5.3	268	4.30	1.50
Nairs	415	25.7	628	23.4	412	25.5	939	24.8	419	24.5	1476	23.7	15.35
Other Communities	39	2.4	62	2.3	44	2.7	98	2.6	50	2.9	287	3.8	3.45
Christians	455	28.2	655	24.1	448	27.8	863	22.7	475	27.8	1412	22.7	14.79
Total	1,609		2,676		1,609		3,794		1,711		6,220		

## APPENDIX—XIV

### Community-wise population of Kerala as in 1961

In the 1961 and 1951 Census Reports, there are religion-wise statistics but no community-wise statistics, except in regard to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the Census Reports of 1941 there are community-wise statistics for the erstwhile Travancore State and Cochin State, but not for the Malabar area. In the Madras Census Report for 1931 also, the population figures of certain communities are not available. In the decennial increase of population of the various communities from 1901 to 1941 no regular progression was seen. Therefore, the estimated population of the various communities, as in 1961, could not be worked out on the basis of the 10 year increase. The population of "Muslims", "Scheduled Castes", "Scheduled Tribes", "Jains", "Sikhs", the "Buddhists", and "Others" as given in the Census Report of 1961 has been taken. The 1961 population of the different denominations of "Hindus" and "Christians" was worked out from the 1921 and 1941 Census Reports as follows:— The Community-wise population of the Malabar area (Malabar District as defined in Section 5(2) of the States Reorganisation Act) as in 1941 was worked out from the Census Report of 1921 on the assumption that the proportion which the 1921 population of the various communities bears to the total population of the Malabar area in 1921 would, more or less, be the same as the proportion which the 1941 population of the respective communities bears to the total population of that area in 1941. The 1941 community-wise population of the Malabar area thus worked out was added to the actual community-wise population of the Cochin area, furnished in the 1941 Cochin Census Report and the actual community-wise population of the Travancore area (less the population of the 5 ceded Taluks) furnished in the 1941 Travancore Census Report. Thus the 1941 community-wise population of the Kerala area was found out. From that estimate the 1961 population of the different denominations of Hindus was worked out on the basis that the proportion which the 1941 population of a denomination of Hindus in the territory comprised in Kerala, bears to the 1941 total population of Hindus is more or less the same as the proportion which the 1961 population of that denomination of Hindus bears to the 1961 total population of Hindus. Similarly the 1961 population of the different denominations of Christians also worked out. Statement showing the community-wise population of Kerala as in 1961 is given below:—

Note:— There are no census figures showing the increase in population of each community. The 1951-1961 decennial increase in population of Kerala is 24.76%. Therefore, during the period 1961-65, there will approximately be an increase of 8% in the estimated population of each community.

**Population of Kerala according to the Census Report  
1961.**

1. Scheduled Castes	1422057
2. Scheduled Tribes	207996
3. Hindus other than Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes	8652515
4. Christians	3587365
5. Muslims	3027639
6. Budhists	228
7. Sikhs	822
8. Jains	2967
9. Others	2126
<b>Total for Kerala</b>	<b>16903715</b>

**Estimated population of the different denominations of  
"Hindus" in 1961**

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of Community</i>	<i>Estimated Population in 1961</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
1	Arayas including Valan, Mukkuvan, Mukkaya, Mogayan, Aravan, Bovies, Kharvi, Nulayan and Arayavathi	166906
2	Arya including Devanga, Kaikolan (Sengunthar) Pattarya, Atagara, Saliyas (Padmasali, Pattusali, Thogatta, Karnibhakatula, Senapathulu, Sali, Sale, Karikalabhaktulu and Chaliya), Sourashtra, Khatri	97127
3	Ambalavasi including Unni, Warriar, Kurukkal, Nambiar (T.C.) Nambissan, Pisharody, Pushpa unni, Pushpaka, Nambidi, Chakkiar, Adikal, Kallattukurup, Poojari	54149
4	Bunt including Parivar Bunt	51417
5	Brahmins including Tamil Brahmins, Telugu Brahmins, Malayala Brahmins, Bhattathiri, Nambudiri, Nambi, Elayad, Moosad or Moothath, Kanarese Brahmins, Embran, Embranthiri, Potty, Thulu potti, other non-malayala Brahmins, Gujarathi Brahmins, Marathi Brahmins, Rao, Sarma	253704

(1)	(2)	(3)
6	Chavalakkaran	1778
7	Chetties	73932
8	Chakkan	55472
9	Devadiga	11531
10	Ezhavas including Thiyyas, Izhuvan, Ishuvan Illuvan, Billava	3583979
11	Ezhavathy & Vathy	14467
12	Ezhuthachan including Kaduppattan	72164
13	Gouda	19432
14	Gouda Saraswatha Brahmin	53309
15	Hindu Nadar✓	94750
16	Kudumbis (Mooppan)	47622
17	Kammalas✓ including Viswakarmalas, Karuvan, Kamsals, Viswakarmas, Pandi Kammala, Mala- yala Kammala, Kannan, Moosari, Kalthachan, Kallasari, Perumkollan, Kollan, Thattan, Pandi- thattan, Thachan, Asari, Villasam, Vilkurup, Viswa- brahmmins, Kitaran, Chaptegarra	650416
18	Kanisu including Kaniyar Panicker, Kani, Ganaka, Kanisam or Kaniyam, Kaniyam	60635
19	Kusavan including Kulala, Kumbaran, Odans, Oddan, Donga, Andhra Nair, Anthur Nair, Velaan	38260
20	Kuruba	10577
21	Kavuthiyan	9939
22	Kshatriyas including Thampuram, Thirumulpad & Varma	12721
23	Maravan (Maravar)	9155
24	Moovari	2803
25	Nair, including Marar, Vattakkattu Nair, Tharakan, Karthan, Kurup, Menon, Moothan, Panicker, Poduval, Mannadiyar, Kaimal, Chembotti, Madampi, Thalaya Nair, Nambiar, (Malabar area) Marayan, Pallichan, Thuluvu Nair, Sudran	2579660
26	Nedungadi including Vellodi, Eradi, Pandala, Samantha raja, Samantha, Adiyodi, Kitavu	9163
27	Ottanaikken	3944
28	Pulluvan	3625
29	Rajapur	3185
30	Sadhu chetty including Telugu chetty	10130
31	Veera saivas including Yogi, Madapathy, Yoge- waran, Pandaram, Vairagi, Vairavi, Andipandaram, Pidurar, Saiva Pandaram	43156
32	Veluthedathu Nair	44607

(1)	(2)	(3)
33	Vaduvan, Vadugan	17719
34	Vilakkithala Nair, Vilakkithalavan, Ambattan, Prano- pakari, Navuthiyan, Pandithar, Nasivan	61056
35	Vellala, Vellala Pillai, Nanjinattu Pillai, Nanjinattu Vellala	153373
36	Vaisya	5973
37	Vanian, Vaniar	27914
38	Yogi Gurukkal	2549
39	Other denominations of Hindus	240216
Total		8652515

**Estimated population of the different denominations of  
"Christians" in 1961**

1	Anglo Indians	22340
2	S.I.U.C.	98990
3	Latin Catholics	783849
4	Syrian Catholics	1310829
5	Marathomites	282083
6	Jacobites including Orthodox	715461
7	Other denominations of Christians	373813

Total 3587365