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EMERGENCE OF OBCS AS DOMINANT CASTES IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

Present study deals how the OBCs (Other Backward Classes) are becoming dominant castes in independent India. The present study concentrates on rural areas in Ballia, Jaunpur, Lucknow and Rae Bareilly districts of Uttar Pradesh. Initially OBCs were depressed castes/classes of India. But the situations are changing now. Abolition of *zamindari* system, green revolution, high rate of education, increased share in government jobs and emergence of regional political leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia, Charan Singh and Mulayam Singh gave platform to OBCs to uplift their social status.

Despite the fact that the OBCs (Other Backward Classes) constitute the largest chunk of the Indian society, they are the single most neglected social-constitutional category. Social scientists had studied scheduled castes and scheduled tribes a lot but they had ignored OBCs. Only an insignificant number of studies exclusively deal with them. Although they might have figured peripherally in the reports of various national/state level committees/commissions, the OBCs are empirically quite an un-researched group.

Before we move any further let us identify and define the OBCs.

The term 'Backward Classes' is not a new one. It has its own historicity. The term was used first time in British India in the third quarter of nineteenth century to provide certain benefits to educationally poor sections of Muslims and Hindus of lower castes in Mysore. The main beneficiaries as the backward classes were those who were extremely poor and illiterate. Later on, during the present century the outreach of backward classes was extended to include depressed communities, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, and untouchable castes of Hindus. In 1930, three categories of backward classes were identified in the then Bombay state: Depressed Classes, Aboriginal, and Hill tribes and Other Backward Classes. In the Round Table Conference in 1930 and 1931 the welfare programmes and emancipation of backward classes were spearheaded by Ambedkar and Gandhi in conformity with their own approaches, whereas Ambedkar argued for a separate electorate and special

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safeguards for the depressed and backward classes, Gandhiji worked for the removal of the stigma of untouchability by changing the heart of upper castes. In 1932 Poona Pact accepted by both Ambedkar and Gandhi provided for the reservation of the seats and representation in the public services of the classes in proportion to their population (Sharma, 1997).

Sociological definition of OBCs

“It needs to be noted at the outset that before the promulgation of the Indian constitution on 26th January 1950, there was no such social or politico-legal category as the OBCs. It was very vaguely recognized that in the Varna paradigm there was a stratum below the Dwija grouping of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, and Vaishya, referred to as the Shudra, which was historically discriminated and denied many of the privileges available to the Dwija. Within the category of the Shudras, there were two sub-groups, one was treated as ‘untouchable’ whereas the remaining part, although treated degradingly, was ‘assigned’ servicing duties but generally not considered untouchable.” (Verma, 2005: 144).

Constitutional definition of OBCs

“The term ‘OBC’ was widely used by British administration, and had come to mean ‘Other Backward Classes, by the administrative usage. It is used in the constitution of independent India to designate backward classes other than the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Article 15(4) refers to them as ‘socially and educationally backward classes of citizens’, and article 340 as ‘socially and educationally backward classes’. Article 16(4) mentions ‘backward class of citizen’ while article 46 refers to ‘the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people’. There has been an increasing judicial concern with the question of the backward classes (OBCs) ever since special provisions were made for them in the constitution of the independent India. State action for the OBCs had increased and the courts have been called increasingly to pronounce judgments on the appropriateness of methodology of this action.” (Verma & Hasnain, 2005).

However, it is the constitutional obligation of the government under Articles 340(1), 340(2) and 16(4) to promote the welfare of the OBCs. Despite the fact that the term ‘backward class’ has appeared more than once in the Constitution of India, it has not been defined clearly in the Constitution. Thus there was a need to determine backwardness by means of adopting suitable criteria and identify all those who come under the backward classes category.

Dominant Caste

The basis of social stratification in Indian villages is caste system. Various castes are interdependent on each other by the bond of *Jajmani* system.

The relationship between upper castes and lower castes are of land owner and land labour, master and servant, etc. To understand these relationships, unity in village and social change, the concept of dominant caste is important. This concept helps us to understand systems like, political power and judiciary and caste dominance in Indian villages.

The concept of dominant caste comes from the sociological and anthropological literature. M.N. Srinivas (1955)⁵ first defined the term “dominant caste” to refer to the caste in the village which is numerically strong and also wields preponderant economic and political power.

A caste may be said to be “dominant” when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low (Srinivas, 1955:181). According to Srinivas, “A caste is dominant when it is numerically the strongest in the village or local area, and economically and politically exercises a preponderating influence. It need not be the highest caste in terms of traditional and conventional ranking of caste.” He further says, “any caste can be dominant in the area but I never find any untouchable caste be dominant in any area. Sometimes some castes outside the Hindu caste system like Coorgs and Rajgond became dominant because of their population, property and physical power.”

Later Srinivas says, “However, the above definition omits an element of dominance which is becoming increasingly important in rural India, namely, the number of educated persons in a caste and the occupations they pursue. I have called this criterion “Western” (Srinivas 1955: 26), since Western and non-traditional education is the means by which such dominance is acquired. Villagers are aware of the importance of this criterion. They would like their young men to be educated and to be officers in the Government. As officers they are expected to help their kinsfolk, caste folk and co-villagers.

When a caste enjoys all the elements of dominance, it may be said to be dominant in a decisive way. But decisive dominance is not common; more frequently the different elements of dominance are distributed among the castes in a village. Thus a caste which is ritually high may be poor and lacking strength in numbers, while a populous caste may be poor and ritually low”.

Srinivas asserts that to be dominant, a caste must have the following characteristics:

- It must own a sizeable amount of cultivable land.
- It must be of considerable numerical strength.
- It must enjoy a high place in the local caste hierarchy.

Despite all the above factors only ownership of land, numerical strength and high position in caste hierarchy are not sufficient to confer the status of dominant caste. Western education, administrative jobs and political clout and contacts are the new and additional factors of dominance. These are supportive factors in the nepotic network, so important for a dominant caste.

The parameters for dominant caste are:

- (1) Numerical Strength- The main base for a dominant caste is numerical strength. In the village or area, populations of dominant caste should be more in comparison to the other castes. By high numerical strength, they assert their dominance on other castes. Numerically weak castes remain weak in front of the power of the dominant caste. When the dominant caste exploits them numerically weaker castes oppose them.
- (2) Economic and Political Dominance- In the village or area, dominant caste keeps economic and political power. It has maximum land in the village on which other castes work. Rajputs, who were dominant at Senapur of Uttar Pradesh, have 82 per cent land of the village and Baghel Rajputs have all the land of village in Kasendra village of Gujarat (Singh 1998). Dominant caste is in position to lend money to other castes. Thus other castes depend economically on the dominant caste. Economic dependence reinforces and may lead to political dominance. In elections, dominant caste is able to manipulate the votes of the dependent castes. To get and sustain political power sometimes dominant caste may also use muscle power and threaten their dependent castes. In the village, dominant castes are also used by different political parties as vote bank in the elections.
- (3) Relatively higher Status in Caste Hierarchy- For becoming dominant it is necessary that the caste should be in a relatively higher position in caste hierarchy. We hardly get an example of an untouchable caste to be a dominant. Perhaps the barrier of untouchability has been almost unsurmountable.
- (4) Modern Education and New Occupations- They also strive to get education. They adopt new occupations and services. Due to education, they are able to maintain contacts with government officers. Thus education and new occupations are being used by them to sustain their dominance.
- (5) Administration of Justice, Unity and Welfare for the Whole Community- Dominant castes play important role to maintain unity in the village. They do welfare of whole community, solve the dispute and gives justice. Dominant caste respects the norms of other castes. Dominant caste gives unbiased and fair justice. Dominant caste plays important role in public functions and public meetings.

Due to numerical strength, high social status, economic prosperity, political power, etc., a caste becomes dominant. Many scholars have tested and used the concept of dominant caste. Mayer (1960) had further developed this concept. He says that Srinivas had seen dominant caste in reference to their dominance in a village. If any caste is dominant in cluster villages of an area then only it becomes dominant caste of that area or region. By explaining the importance of dominant caste, Dumont (1970) says, "The notion of dominance, or rather of the Dominant Caste, represents the most solid and useful acquisition of the studies of social anthropology in India".

Dumont (ibid) later insisted that dominance arises solely from economic power rather than factors like numerical preponderance, and that this power flows exclusively from control of land. This latter definition of caste dominance is the one used here; dominant caste refers to the caste group which owns the majority of land.

Several other scholars have also mentioned the concept of dominant caste in Indian villages. Chakravarti (1975) in the village Devisar and Sharma in six villages of Rajasthan found Rajputs as a Dominant Caste. Lewis (1958) found Jats as a Dominant Caste in Rampur village of Uttar Pradesh. Shukla (1976) found Yadavs in the village Bharko near Bhagalpur of Bihar and Majumdar (1958) found Thakurs in the village Moahana and Duddhi as Dominant Caste. Rajputs were mentioned as a Dominant Caste in Khalapur by Hitchcock (1966) and in village Ramkheri of the district Devas of Madhya Pradesh by Mayer (1960).

Critique of the Concept of Dominant Caste

Cohn (1954)¹⁶, Pocock (1972) and others criticised the above definition of M. N. Srinivas. They gave examples in which middle level castes in social hierarchy become dominant in certain areas.

Peter Gardner and S.C. Dube (1968) raised objection to the concept of dominant caste. Dube says that it will be meaningful to speak of a 'dominant caste' only when the power is diffused in the group and is exercised in the interest of the whole group or at least a sizeable part of it. When there are pronounced inequalities of wealth, prestige and power between different individuals in a so called dominant caste, and where dominant individuals exploit the weaker elements in their own caste as well as the non-dominant castes it will perhaps be inappropriate to think of it as a dominant caste. Some dominant individuals occupy most of the power in a particular caste, by itself, not enough to characterize the caste as dominant. In addition, intra-caste unity and articulation in terms of power are essential for its emergence as a dominant caste. Where these conditions exist, a caste can become dominant. In their absence, however, the community power structure can be

better understood in reference to *dominant individuals*, *dominant faction*, and their complex alignment.

Srinivas, in his rejoinder, says that “although Dube concedes the existence of ‘dominant individuals’ and ‘dominant faction’ he is hesitant to go the whole hog and concede the existence of dominant caste (1987)”. Here Srinivas’s basic contention is that both ‘dominant individuals’ and ‘dominant faction’ owe their dominance to the fact that they are a part of the dominant caste. It may be observed here that most, if not all, of the leaders of the ‘dominant faction’ hail from the dominant caste except in the areas where there are two rival castes, each striving to establish its dominance.”

Ghanshyam Shah points out the formation of caste associations an important innovation introduced by the ‘dominant group’ of a dominant caste to maintain harmony among the various economic strata within caste structure. It thereby maintains its hegemony as well as protects its own ‘class interests’. The history of caste associations goes back to the late 19th century, although their number has increased after independence. The Sardar Kurmi Kshatriya Sabha of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the Nadar Mahajana Sangam in Tamilnadu, the Gujarat Kshatriya Sabha in Gujarat are some examples of powerful caste associations. “These caste associations projected economic interests of the dominant group as the ‘caste interest’. In order to win over the support of the poorer strata of the castes concerned, the associations generally adopt two strategies. Firstly, in the beginning the leaders of the association invoke the caste ideology based on the concept of purity and pollution. Caste members are exhorted to maintain or improve their caste status. Legends are created glorifying their past. A sense of ‘we-ness’ among the caste members is promoted around rhetoric such as ‘economic backwardness’, ‘economic development’, etc, of the caste members, the caste associations occasionally pass resolutions ventilating grievances of the exploited strata of the caste against the government.”

Despite all the above factors only ownership of land, numerical strength and high place in caste hierarchy are not the only factors that confer the status of dominant caste. Western education, administrative jobs and political clout and contacts are the new and additional factors of dominance.

The present study concentrates on rural areas in Ballia, Jaunpur, Lucknow and Rae Bareli districts of Uttar Pradesh. After a pilot survey of rural-urban areas of above given districts a locality with majority of other backward class group especially Yadav caste was chosen. The required data was collected from a sample of 116 households of Jaunpur, 94 households from Ballia, 98 households of Rae Bareli and 102 households of Lucknow.

The study was undertaken in village Khampur of Jaunpur District, Villages Kuriyapur and Lilkar from District Ballia, village Gondwara of Rae Bareli District and Ahirpurwa of Lucknow District. Village Khampur comes

in Sadar Tehsil of Jaunpur District and is situated along with the bank of river Sai. Its population is 3108. About 55 per cent population of the village are OBCs, 25 per cent Upper Caste and 20 per cent others. Village Kuriyapur and Lilkar come in Sikanderpur tehsil of District Ballia. The population of both villages together is about 2080. Caste composition of the village is, OBCs 65 per cent, Upper Caste 20 per cent and others 15 per cent. Village Gondwara is in Sadar Tehsil of District Rae Bareilly. Its population is 1509. In total population OBCs constitute 45 per cent, Upper Castes 35 per cent and Scheduled Castes 20 per cent. Ahirpurwa is situated in the Bakshi Ka Talab Tehsil of District Lucknow. It has a population of 2409. In total population OBCs are 65 per cent, Scheduled Castes 30 per cent and others 5 per cent.

The present study was conducted in four districts, viz Ballia and Jaunpur taken from eastern Uttar Pradesh and Rae Bareilly and Lucknow from central Uttar Pradesh. The last caste wise census was done in 1931. According to it 41.7 per cent population of Uttar Pradesh were intermediate/backward castes. Upper Castes were 20.0 per cent, Scheduled Castes were 21.0 per cent, and Muslims were 15.0 per cent. Among OBCs, Yadav were 8.9 per cent, Kurmi 3.5 per cent, Jat 1.6 per cent, Gujjar 1.4 per cent, Lodh 0.7 per cent and other OBCs were 16.7 per cent. The OBCs comprise of a number of castes and sub-castes. The OBCs have always been regarded as hard working and contributed to shape the economy and other aspects of Indian society. They have been acknowledged as 'technological communities' of India who not only develop technologies such as iron smelting, cotton cording, oil pressing, horticulture and vegetable growing, meat slaughtering and skinning but maintained and sustained these till machines and modern technology took over. These days some of the OBCs are becoming dominant groups. With the advent of democracy they were able to assert their political dominance in the state and several other parts of the country. The following districts were selected from the angle of huge population of other backward castes.

Let us discuss the parameters which have made OBCs a dominant caste.

Numerical Strength

The main base for a dominant caste is numerical strength. In a village or area, populations of dominant caste remain more as compared to other castes. By high numerical strength, they assert their dominance over other castes. Numerically weak castes remain weak in front of the power of a dominant caste. Sometimes a dominant caste exploits them. In this situation numerically weak castes become antagonistic to them.

According to the 1931 census 41.7 per cent population of Uttar Pradesh was intermediate/backward castes. Upper castes were 20.0 per cent, Scheduled Castes were 21.0 per cent, and Muslims were 15.0 per cent. Among OBCs,

Yadav were 8.9 per cent, Kurmi 3.5 per cent, Jat 1.6 per cent, Gujjar 1.4 per cent, Lodh 0.7 per cent and other OBCs were 16.7 per cent. It comprises a lot of castes and sub castes.

As already stated the present study was conducted in five villages of four districts. These villages may be considered as representative villages. In the studied villages OBC population is above 50 per cent as well as highest in the area. A caste may be said to be “dominant” when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can be more easily dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low (Srinivas, 1955:181).

Relatively Higher Status in Local Caste Hierarchy

For becoming dominant it is necessary that a caste should be occupying relatively higher position in local caste hierarchy. There is hardly an example of an untouchable caste be dominant.

A lower caste despite high population and economic well being may never be dominant because if its place is too low in caste local hierarchy. OBCs are intermediate castes. They are not in the lowest strata of the hierarchy but above the scheduled castes. Hence, they fulfill this criterion for being a dominant caste.

Education

For a caste to be dominant, education is an important determinant. Since independence, promotion of educational opportunities for OBCs has been an important component of the national endeavor. After independence a dramatic change in the education of OBCs is seen.

Education plays an important role in enhancing a person's chance of social mobility. Education is directly related to social mobility. It would not only be overly simplistic but also fallacious, however, to assume that education ignores social differences among individuals and gives everyone an equal chance to climb the ladder of social stratification.

Both the mechanisms of social mobility - sanskritization and westernization - are not mutually exclusive. People participate in both these and try to make the best of both the worlds. To reiterate, sanskritization is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently 'twice born' caste. Generally, such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community. Westernization, on the other hand, refers to changes brought about in the Indian society and culture as a result

of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming changes occurring at different levels - technology, institutions, ideology and values.

The western system of education was also responsible for the spread of egalitarian ideas and modern, scientific rationality. These ideas became the guiding spirit behind the national movement in the fight for equality of opportunities, a source of inspiration for social reforms, and a challenge to traditional values, which supported the caste system.

The study shows that the educational mobility of OBCs across generations has increased significantly and consistently. And in sharp contrast to its image of low social mobility, OBCs shows above average mobility when compared to estimates from similar studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The most striking gaps arise not between castes but between rich and poor, suggesting that at least outright discrimination against backward castes is not widespread. Another critical attribute that matters to schooling is wealth, which has not shown dramatic improvements over the last decade particularly for the other OBCs.

In the present study, educational mobility is seen in OBCs and the situation is encouraging and optimistic as the data shown in the table 1, collected from the respondents of rural areas of Jaunpur, Ballia, Rae Bareli and Lucknow. The data regarding the education are of three age groups, age between 25 to 45, 45 to 65 and age above 65, respectively. Educational mobility is clearly seen in the tables.

Educational advancement has definitely helped the OBCs to achieve empowerment and mobility. Due to increased education they have increased options and have adopted new occupations. Their substantial entry into administration has helped them build up a strong nepotic network that facilitated more and more persons get recruitment in local administration. Increased education has also facilitated effective interaction with the administrative officers. Thus, this increased clout has given rise to a situation where people of other castes, especially of lower castes, are now looking towards them for help. That is how members of several castes, higher and lower, are becoming increasingly dependent upon them.

Economic Status

In a region, dominant caste also wields economic power. It has substantial land in the villages of their influence on which other castes work under them. Dominant caste, because of economic empowerment is able to lend money to other castes. Besides this, they are also in a position to provide sustenance to other castes dependent on them in terms of non-monetary support such as foodgrains, other agricultural produce, lending grazing ground, etc. Economic dependence becomes instrumental to political dominance. In elections, the dominant caste gets the vote of dependent castes. To sustain

political power sometimes the dominant caste uses muscle power and threatens their dependent castes if they apprehend defiance.

In matters of occupational status of OBCs of Uttar Pradesh, there is a shift towards government services and agriculture from agricultural labour and service providers of the upper caste (table 2.). Data regarding the occupation of different age groups of OBCs clearly shows this shift.

About 70 per cent OBCs of age 65 years and above were involved in the professions like construction labour, agricultural labour and other professions like service providers to upper castes, selling dairy products, animal husbandry, etc. Only 3.1 per cent of OBCs were in government service. In next generation, i.e. age group 45 to 65 years, there is six times increase in government services with 12.1 per cent. Also decline in percentage of wage labour, agricultural labour and other small scale professions is seen.

India is an agrarian country. About 58 per cent of its population is involved in agriculture. Therefore, land ownership is an important determinant for economic dominance of a caste. Initially, OBCs were not living in good conditions as compared to upper castes. Therefore, members of OBC families went to the industrial area for working as labour force. Due to weak economic conditions or lack of awareness, OBC families were struggling to satisfy their basic needs. The source of income was animal husbandry and small-scale agriculture and they worked as artisans. The abolition of *zaminadari* system led to a huge change due to acquisition of agricultural land. It was an important reason of social change in rural India.

Jobs in Administration and Police

Jobs in administration and relations with government officials are also an important parameter for a caste being dominant. Due to upward mobility of OBCs in education, especially western education, led to increased representation in government jobs.

Table 3 shows percentage of Yadavs in various government services like in administration, police, teaching, etc.

Let us discuss the share of OBCs in government services (table 3). Before independence, small scale agriculture and providing services to upper castes was their main occupation and means of livelihood. There was very little representation in government service. But things started changing after independence.

Upward intergeneration mobility is seen among the OBCs share in government services after independence. Only 3.1 per cent of OBCs of age 65 years and above were in government services. In next generation, i.e. age group of 45 years to 65 years, the percentage increased to 12.1. In the generation of age group 25 years to 45 years, 24.5 per cent are in government

services. Out of total, OBCs of age 65 years and above worked in government services, only 0.17 were in administrative services, 1.22 per cent in police services. Jobs in police department definitely help an aspiring caste to augment its dominance and also sustaining it. Approximately 1 per cent was in teaching job. In the next generation, i.e. age between 45 years to 65 years, out of total OBCs working in government services 0.31 per cent is in administrative services, 4.23 per cent in police services and 5.08 in teaching services. In the generation 25 years to 45 years, an upward mobility is seen in the government services. Out of total people of this age in government services, 1.88 per cent is in administrative services, 8.48 per cent in police services and 9.80 per cent in teaching services.

The field data indicate that the OBCs are fulfilling all the important indicators for being a dominant caste. This could be possible because of high rate of upward mobility among them in economy, education, occupation and social status.

Table 1
Educational Status OBCs of Age 65 Years and Above (In Percentage)

<i>District</i>	<i>Age Group (in years)</i>	<i>Illite- rate</i>	<i>Prim- ary</i>	<i>Secon- dary</i>	<i>Gradu- ate</i>	<i>Post- Graduate</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Jaunpur	65 and above	71.9	17.5	08.1	01.1	00.8	00.4	100
	45 to 65	47.8	30.1	08.2	06.5	03.6	03.7	100
	25 to 45	41.2	14.7	11.2	13.8	09.7	09.2	100
Ballia	65 and above	76.1	13.4	07.5	01.4	00.6	00.8	100
	45 to 65	50.2	25.7	10.2	06.0	03.4	04.2	100
	25 to 45	36.3	15.1	12.8	15.2	09.6	10.9	100
Rae Bareli	65 and above	74.7	14.6	08.0	00.9	00.8	00.8	100
	45 to 65	52.4	23.2	07.4	05.5	06.1	05.2	100
	25 to 45	41.8	16.9	12.4	13.4	07.2	08.1	100
Lucknow	65 and above	67.8	17.6	09.6	02.6	01.6	00.6	100
	45 to 65	46.8	23.4	08.9	06.8	07.7	06.2	100
	25 to 45	39.9	12.6	09.8	17.3	10.0	10.2	100
Average	65 and above	72.6	15.8	08.2	01.5	00.9	00.6	100
	45 to 65	49.3	25.5	08.7	06.2	05.1	04.8	100
	25 to 45	39.8	14.8	11.5	14.9	09.1	09.5	100

*Source: primary data

Table 2
Occupational Status

<i>District</i>	<i>Age in years</i>	<i>Unemp-loyed</i>	<i>Labour</i>	<i>Agricul-ture</i>	<i>Govern-ment</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
Jaunpur	65 and above	03.9	31.7	20.2	02.6	06.5	34.8	100
	45 to 65	06.5	15.3	30.5	18.2	09.6	19.8	100
	25 to 45	06.7	07.0	18.7	28.3	17.6	21.6	100
Ballia	65 and above	03.7	36.0	18.2	02.3	03.8	35.9	100
	45 to 65	06.8	14.5	37.0	12.8	09.3	19.4	100
	25 to 45	08.1	09.3	22.3	25.2	15.8	19.1	100
Rae Bareli	65 and above	02.3	38.2	13.0	02.6	04.8	39.0	100
	45 to 65	07.0	18.9	32.9	09.6	10.1	21.3	100
	25 to 45	06.3	07.0	22.7	24.9	15.3	23.7	100
Lucknow	65 and above	01.7	29.0	16.0	05.0	07.8	40.4	100
	45 to 65	04.9	17.5	28.0	08.0	12.1	29.4	100
	25 to 45	06.0	07.7	14.6	19.8	20.9	30.9	100
Average	65 and above	02.8	33.7	16.8	03.1	05.7	37.5	100
	45 to 65	06.3	16.5	32.1	12.1	10.2	22.4	100
	25 to 45	06.7	07.7	19.5	24.5	17.3	23.8	100

*Source: primary data

Table 3
Jobs of OBCs in Police and Administration (In Percentage)

<i>Jobs</i>	<i>Age in Years</i>	<i>Average</i>
Government jobs	65 and above	03.1
	Age between	12.1
	45 – 65	
	Age between	24.5
Administration	65 and above	00.17
	Age between	00.31
	45 – 65	
	Age between	01.88
Police	65 and above	01.22
	Age between	04.23
	45 – 65	
	Age between	08.48
Teaching	65 and above	00.90
	Age between	05.08
	45 – 65	
	Age between	09.80
Others	65 and above	00.85
	Age between	02.34
	45 – 65	
	Age between	04.40

* Source: primary data

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