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भारत सरकार
नई दिल्ली-110 066
MEMBER-SECRETARY
NATIONAL COMMISSION
FOR BACKWARD CLASSES
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NEW DELHI-110 066

DO NCBC Advice No. 75 TN/98

18. 03. 1998

Dear Shri Manavalan,

I am sending herewith the Advice of the National Commission for Backward Classes under Section 9(1) of the National Commission for Backward Classes Act, 1993 for the rejection of the Request for Inclusion of Reddy (Ganjam) in the Central List of Backward Classes for Tamil Nadu, for necessary action by the Central Government under Section 9(2) of the Act.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely

(P.S. KRISHNAN)

Encl: As stated

Shri D.K. Manavalan
Secretary to Govt. of India
Ministry of Welfare
Shastri Bhavan
NEW DELHI

C/C



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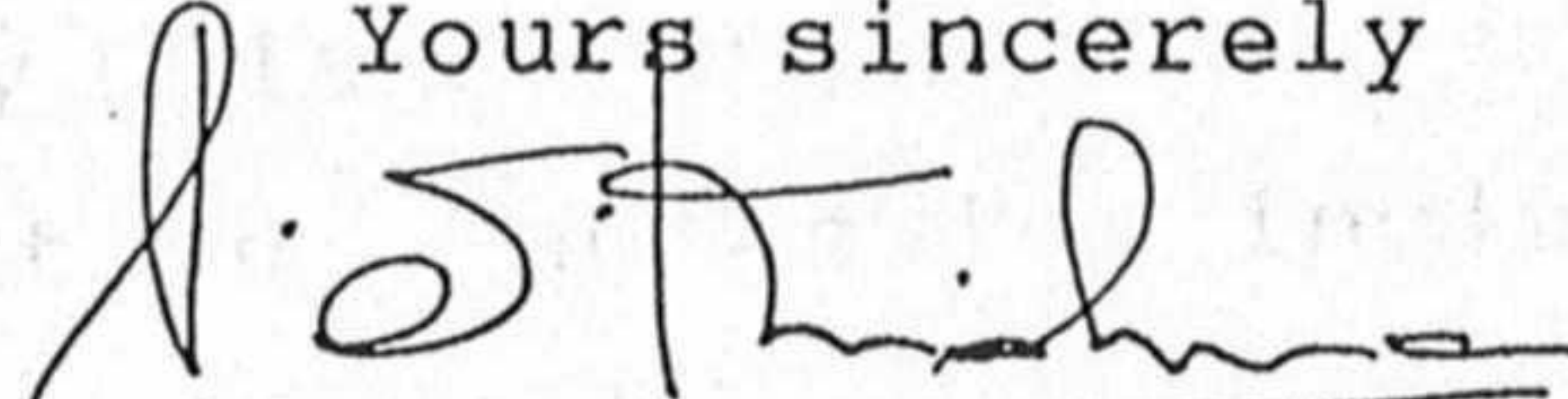
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O/C

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR BACKWARD CLASSES

TAMIL NADU BENCH

FINDINGS

Per Justice Shri P.K.Shyamsundar, Chairperson

Case:- Request for inclusion of Reddy (Ganjam) caste/community in the Central List of Backward Classes for Tamil Nadu.

I. Request

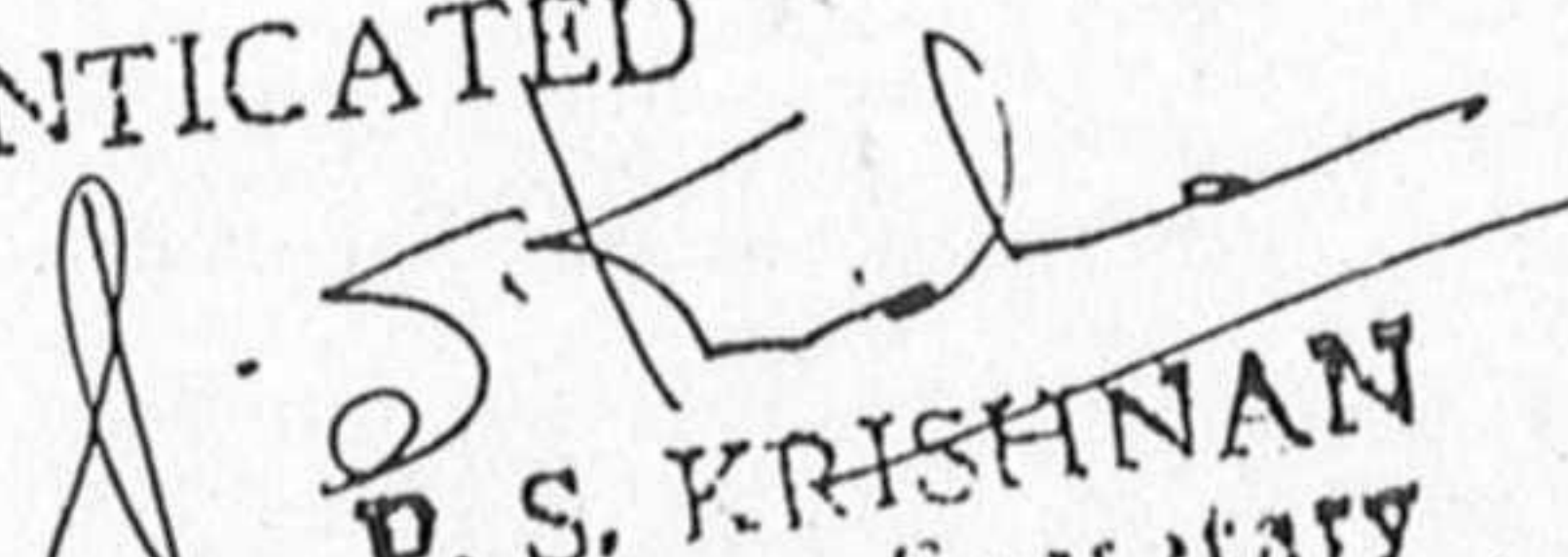
1. This case arises from the Request received in the Commission from Shri K.P.Srinivasaga Perumal, General Secretary, Tamil Nadu Reddy Nalasangam, Madras, and Tamil Nadu State Reddies Federation, Madras for inclusion of Reddy (Ganjam) in the Central List of Backward Classes for Tamil Nadu.

2. Govt. of Tamil Nadu, Backward Classes and Most Backward Classes Welfare Department vide their letter dated 9.11.95 has requested the NCBC to include a number of Castes/Sub-Castes/Communities in the Central list of Backward Classes which includes Reddy (Ganjam) also.

II. Public Hearing

3. A three-Member Bench of the NCBC consisting of Hon'ble Justice P.K.Shyamsundar, Chairperson, NCBC, Shri P.S.Krishnan, Hon'ble Member-Secretary, NCBC and Shri U.P.Singh, Hon'ble Member, NCBC held a Public Hearing in respect of this Request at Chennai on 21.10.1997. At the

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Public Hearing the State Government was represented by Shri P. Shanmugam, Director of Most Backward Classes and Denotified Communities, Shri A. Elangovan, Director of Backward Classes and Minorities and other officers of the Backward Classes Welfare Department. The Community was represented by Shri K. P. Srinivasaga Perumal, General Secretary, Tamil Nadu Reddy Nalasangam, Madras and others.

III. Facts

4. "Reddy (Ganjam)" has been included in the State Backward Classes List at Sl.No. 147 of G.O.No.1564, dated 30.7.1985. This Caste/Community did not find place in Mandal List. Therefore, the Caste/Community was not included in the first-phase Central List of OBCs as it did not fulfil the criteria of commonality i.e. being in State List as well as in Mandal List.

5. The NCBC's Questionnaire filled up and furnished by the Tamil Nadu state Reddies Federation, Madras states that agriculture is their main occupation on which the members of their caste/community depend for their livelihood. Ninety percent of their community are landless manual labourers (both agricultural and non-agricultural). The literacy rate of the community is 10%. The total number of matriculates of the community is 1.5 lakhs and total number of graduates is 0.15 lakhs. Approximately 90% of the people of this Community are living in Katcha houses.

In their representation they have stated that "a caste like ours which was once considered to be forward class become a pauper community needing succour and assistance from the Government even for their existence."

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6. During the Public Hearing the representatives of the caste/community stated that the members of their community had migrated from Orissa and Andhra Pradesh to the erstwhile Madras presidency which then included parts of the present Andhra Pradesh & Orissa, with Telugu as their mother-tongue. Reddy (Ganjam) is a rural community with a total population of about 35 lakhs in the State of Tamil Nadu. Their community is spread over in Tamil Nadu in North Arcot Ramanathapuram, Chidambaranar, and Madurai Districts. It is an agricultural community but due to hardships in dry land farming, climatic conditions, high cost of farming etc, they have taken to agricultural labour. Some of them earn their livelihood, by working as coolies, milk vending, petty trades and labour (both agricultural and non-agricultural). Most of the families of this community live in Katcha houses without any basic amenities. The literacy rate is very low. There is a heavy drop out of boys and girls in the age group of 7-15 from schools due to poverty and illiteracy of parents. Many of the Children of this Community are serving as child labourers in Match and fire works industry. The employment of this community in the State, Central services and Public sector undertakings is negligible. None from this community has been recruited to state or Central Civil Services. There has been no representative in state legislature or in Parliament. None from this community ever occupied high position in Govt. service, Public Sector Undertakings and local bodies. All these factors contributed to deterioration of Social, Educational and economic status of this community.

7. The representatives of the community further submitted that their Community is a backward community and added that Reddy and its sub-castes have been included in the Backward Class List of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Karnataka and Kerala. When the Bench pointed out the non-

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inclusion of "Reddy (Ganjam)" in the Backward Class list of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, the representatives of the community only stated that through out the history of Reddy (Ganjam) they were Socially Backward but they did not say anything about the non-inclusion of "Reddy (Ganjam)" in the Backward Classes list of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. They also stated that earlier they were known as Reddis, though on second thoughts they tried to resile from this statement and said that the name of their community is "Reddy (Ganjam)" only. They further added that they fled from Orissa/Andhra Pradesh to save themselves and their women from Muslims of Bamini Kingdom, leaving everything. As such, even after settling in Tamil Nadu for so many years, they have not progressed socially, economically and educationally.

8. The Report of the Tamil Nadu Second Backward Classes Commission (Ambasankar) states that the entry "Reddy (Ganjam)" represents the Reddis of Ganjam region which now forms part of Orissa state. This is one of the sections of 'Kapu' which is a predominant class in Andhra Pradesh. They are agriculturists. The Report further states "The Reddy Community representatives made respresentation to the First Tamil Nadu Backward Classes Commission for granting concessions to all the Reddis. According to the First Backward Classes Commission the Reddis did not appear to be backward. They also observed that as there were no Ganjam Reddis, it was redundant to keep it in the list as it would pave way for abuses besides causing inconvenience and administrative difficulties. But while reclassifying the list of Backward Classes, the First Backward Classes Commission included this community in the list of Backward Classes. The Government in their order Ms. No. 437, Social Welfare Department, dated 15th May 1972 also approved the list of Backward Classes by including this community.

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9. Submissions are made by the representatives of the community for inclusion of this community in the Central List of Backward Classes commending such action by heavily relying on the fact that the community was placed in the State List for Tamil Nadu on the basis of a recommendation by the First Tamil Nadu Backward Classes' Commission in the year 1969 reiterated again by the Second Tamil Nadu Backward Classes' Commission in the year 1985.

10. Before adverting to the submissions made, as aforesaid, by the representatives of the community, we think it proper to record our views on the precedential value of the two reports of the Backward Classes Commission of the State of Tamil Nadu, both of which purport to ^{or uphold} the claim of Reddy (Ganjam) for placement in the list of Backward Classes. On going through the reports we experienced a sense of dismay and noticed that whereas the report of the First Commission started with genuine reservation and apprehension touching the status of Reddy (Ganjam) for being listed as backwards, nonetheless, the fact remains that the community did ultimately vend its way into the list in the First Commission in the year 1969 and also retained its position in the Second Commission in the year 1985. Both the reports make very strange reading and makes it apparent that very little of harmony of thoughts had contributed to the reports. Whereas we notice that all the members had ranged together and were against the views of the Chairman who appears to have been totally isolated, however, we would like to refrain from any criticism or comment on the turn out indicating the Members and the Chairman being in different camps, it appeared that neither side were in favour of this community (i.e) Reddy (Ganjam) being placed in the list of Backward Classes. But ultimately the community managed to retain its place in the List of Backward classes even in

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the Second Commissions report which appears to be totally subjective and contrary to facts.

11. The entire process and the background of events by which Reddy (Ganjam) or Ganjam Reddy came to figure in the State List of Backward Classes have been graphically brought out in the Report of the First (Sattanathan) Commission for Backward Classes, Tamil Nadu 1970 (Vol II). This has been referred to only briefly in the Second Backward Classes (Ambasankar) Commission, Tamil Nadu. The full text of the observations and the findings of the Sattanathan Commission are enlightening and are therefore, reproduced below (Vide PP.64-66):

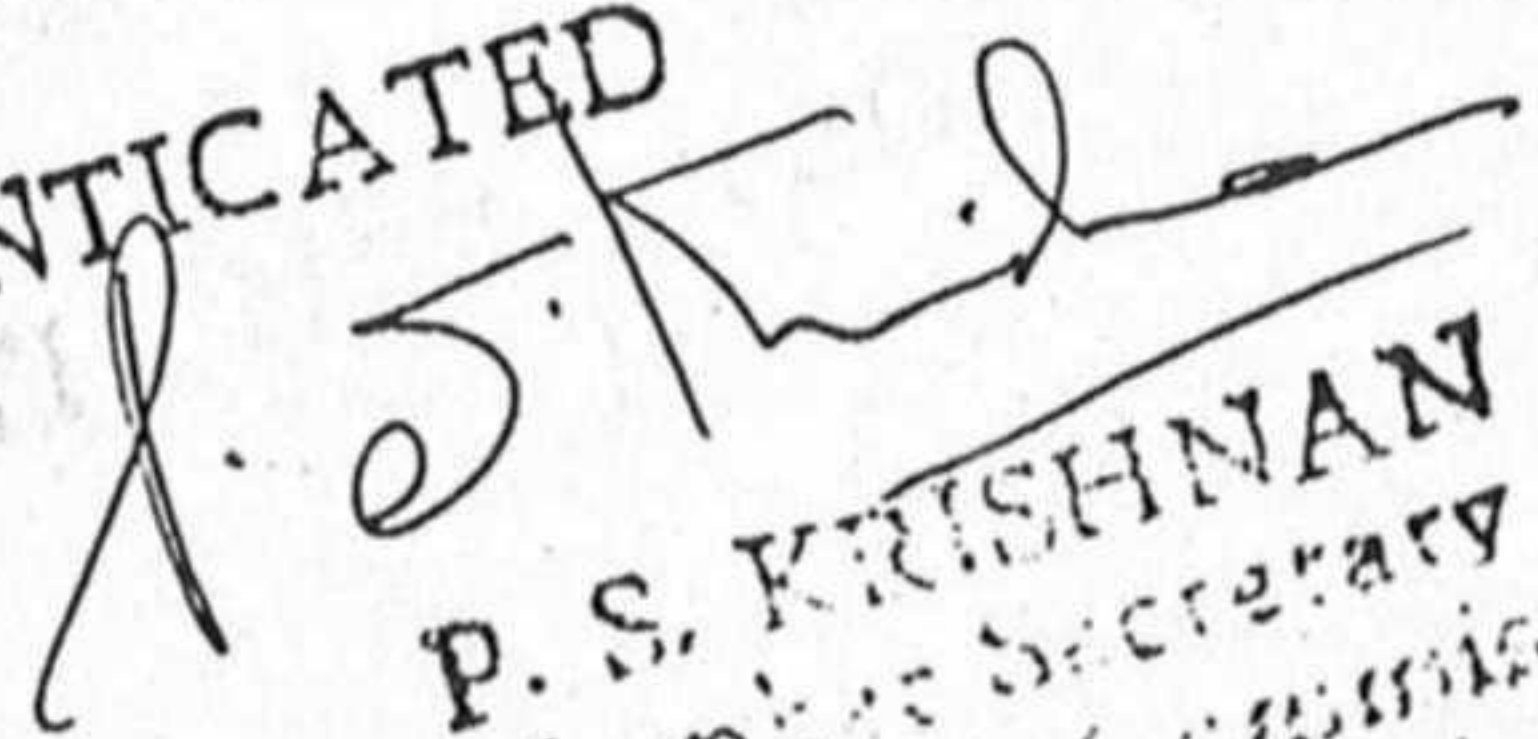
REDDI (GANJAM) :

Item No.120 in the list of Backward Classes in the Notification of the Department of Backward Classes.

Item No.118 in the list of Backward Classes of the Tamil Nadu Public Service Commission.

There is no enumeration either of Reddis or of Ganjam Reddis in 1921 Census. Obviously they have been included in the generic caste name 'Kapu'. In the Tamil districts; 'Kapu' are found almost everywhere, though they are concentrated in a few districts more than in others-vide statistics at the end. The Commission received only one written representation from the Kallikudi Reddi Mahajana Sangam, Tirupparangundram, Madurai. Even that representation did not contain proper replies to the questionnaire. It described only the difficulties their students experience in

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obtaining caste certificates and ended up with the request that the Reddi community people residing in Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts should be declared by the Government as belonging to Reddi (Ganjam) community so that they become automatically entitled to scholarships without production of any proof. This request was made to the Government also in 1969.

Reddis of Ganjam district were included in the list of Backward Classes in G.O. Ms.No.333, Law and Education, dt.10.3.1925. The circumstances that led to the issue of this order make it very clear that it was intended to benefit only a particular class of Reddis residing in Ganjam, which was then a part of the Composite Madras Presidency and not to Reddis in any other districts, either in Tamil parts of the State or otherwise. It must be observed that even in 1921 as was stated above, there were Reddis in Tamil districts and there was no specific order of Government extending this concession to all the Reddis or to such of those Reddis as might have migrated from Ganjam. We were not able to trace any records about subsequent vicissitude of this entry. In their order No.Ms.321, I.L.C., dt.5.10.57, Government laid down that the students belong to Reddi communities of 'Ganjam' and 'Vishakapatnam' districts shall not be granted fresh scholarships from the Harijan Welfare Fund. Representations were subsequently received praying for cancellation of this order. The Kalelkar's Commission mentioned 'Ganjam Reddis' (Ramanathapuram, Madurai and Tirunelveli districts) in the list of Other Backward Classes, and on the basis of this, Government in

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G.O.Ms.No.1247, Home, dt.24.4.64, directed that with effect from the year 1964-65, members of the Ganjam Reddi community shall be eligible to have scholarships from the Harijan Welfare Fund. And the previous order of 1957 was cancelled. However, the entries in the various lists were not amplified to cover the three specified districts. The presumption, nevertheless, that the Reddis, who are entitled to the concessions, must have migrated from Ganjam, can be read into this order. Insistence on this has led to administrative difficulties. Though the number of applicants for scholarships is the highest even now from the Ramanathapuram district, Government concessions are availed of in almost all districts. It must in fairness be said that South Arcot district, where Reddis are a dominant caste, has not been responsible for any sizeable number of applications for scholarships of any kind.

Only two deputations met us to give oral evidence—one at Madurai from the aforesaid Mahajana Sangam and the other at Tirunelveli. Both these deputations admitted that they cannot prove they are 'Ganjam Reddis' and wanted all the Reddis to be given concessions. They also admitted that there is no sub-caste among them and all of them are called Reddiars and there are no records to establish they are of 'Ganjam' origin. It is unfortunate that the representatives of this caste did not care to reply to our questionnaire in proper form. But, taking Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli and Madurai districts, there is no dearth of education amongst them, and, by various tests we have applied to assess the progress, the Reddiars did not appear to be a Backward Community.

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Both on the grounds that these people are not of Ganjam origin and on general grounds, they have not made out a case for retention in the list of Backward Classes. In view of the history of this item, as there are no Ganjam Reddis, it is redundant to keep it in the list, thus keeping the way open for abuse, and causing inconvenience and administrative difficulties.

REDDY (GANJAM) - SCHOLARSHIPS PARTICULARS 1969-70

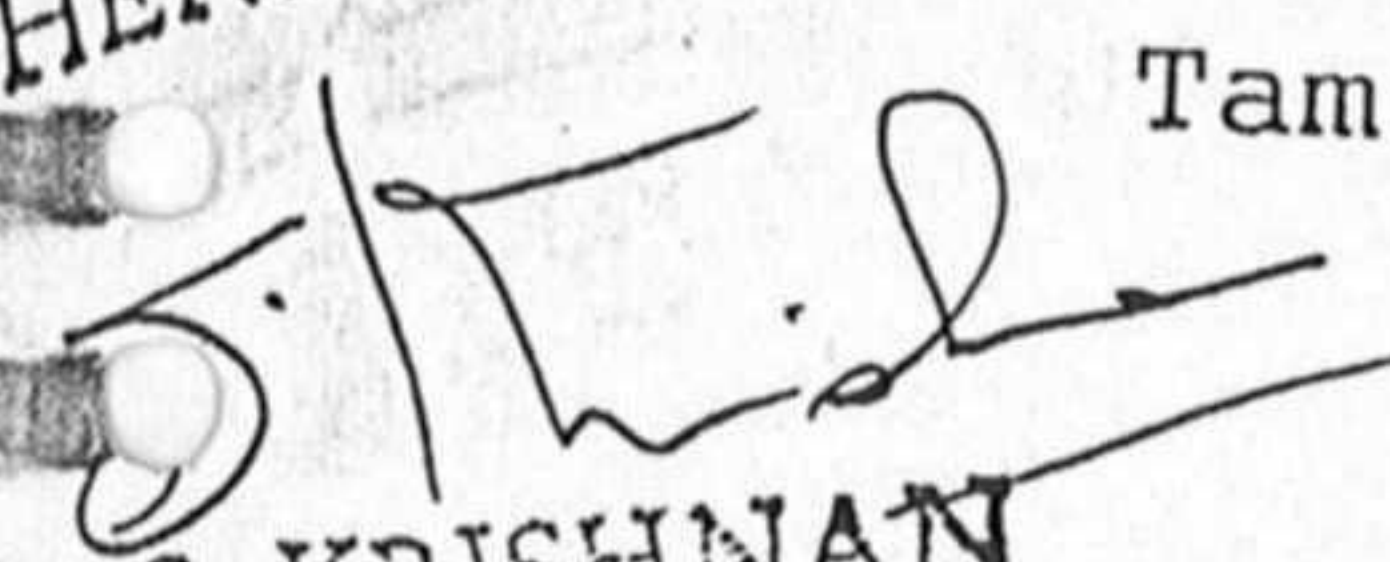
DISTRICTS	Post Matric Resi- dential	Post Matric Non-Resi- dential	Profes- sional Resi- dential	Profes- sional Non-Resi- dential	Limited Scholar- ship
Madras	2	11	9	1	
Chingleput	-	1	-	-	
North Arcot	12	11	-	-	
South Arcot	-	32	-	32	
Thanjavur	6	5	6	-	
Tiruchy	22	35	-	-	
Madurai	85	74	26	15	
Ramanathapuram	314	519	-	-	
Tirunelveli	203	23	-	-	
Kanyakumari	-	-	-	-	
Salem	2	9	-	-	
Coimbatore	2	4	2	-	
Dharmapuri	-	-	-	-	
Nilgris	-	-	-	-	
					(R) (NR)
Total	648	724	43	48	42 12

12. A perusal of the above observations and findings bring out that Ganjam Reddis are not a distinct caste or sub-caste of Reddis. The deputations of the Kallikudi Reddi Mahajan Sangam in their representation admitted

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before the Sattanathan Commission that they cannot prove that they are Ganjam Reddis and wanted all the Reddis to be given concessions. They also admitted before the Commission that there is no sub-caste among them and all of them are called Reddiars and there are records to establish that they are Ganjam or Reddi. Even before the Bench of this Commission they first spoke the truth that they were known as Reddiars before, though on second thoughts they resiled from their statement and claimed that the name of the community is 'Reddy (Ganjam)' only. This brings out that what has happened is a collective mass impersonation. Sattanathan Commission has also brought out that, apparently sniffing out the truth, the State Govt. passed an order in 1957 denying the fresh scholarships to students belonging to Reddi community of "Ganjam" and "Vishakhapatnam" districts but seven years later this order was cancelled in 1964 on the ground of Kaka Kalelkar Commission's Report mentioning "Ganjam Reddy" of Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts". While Kaka Kalelkar Commission deserves all respect as the First Commission at the national level to identifying Backward Classes, and for the very valuable insights in its report, we have to observe that the process of listing the Backward Classes in that list is such that it cannot have independent evidential value regarding the social backwardness of a particular caste when objective data are adverse to such conclusion in any case. The report of the Second Backward Classes (Mandal) Commission brings out the methodological flaws and initial contradictions of the Kalelkar Report, inter alia, affecting the lists prepared by it (para 1.1.3 page 2 Vol I). It is seen that Kaka Kalelkar's statewise lists were based ultimately on the recommendations of the respective State Governments. From this it is obvious that the source of the inclusion of Ganjam Reddi or Reddi (Ganjam) in the Kaalelkar List for Tamil Nadu was the State List itself. Kaka Kalelkar

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13. Sattanathan Commission unequivocally said that there is no dearth of education among the members of this community and by various tests the Reddiars do not appear to be a backward community. They have rejected the case of this community to be included in the list of Backward Classes both on the ground that they are not of Ganjam origin and on general grounds and have gone to the extent of saying that there are no Ganjam Reddis. The commission has also warned that retaining this in the list only keeps it open for abuse, inconvenience and administrative difficulties.

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placed Agricultural Labour in the State. The charts pointed out that most of them lived in Kutcha houses while the advantage of living in pakka houses was given only a very few lucky ones amongst them. Again whether that material was based on any objective source or scientific data gathered by the State Government, is a matter of doubt although the chart produced before us seems to emanate from and on behalf of the Welfare Department, Government of Tamil Nadu. We have not been supplied the basis on which the facts and figures recorded in the chart had been compiled despite pointed queries on our behalf. In that situation we have no option other than rejecting the data sheet produced on behalf of the State Government of Tamil Nadu. Having thus steered clear of the State's endeavour at supporting the claim of the community for a further encore in the Central List of Backward Classes for this caste, we now proceed to evaluate the caste of this Reddy (Ganjam) on an apriori basis de hors the state's support as aforesaid. It is not denied before us that the Reddis in general are a community of prosperous land holders, being also engaged in other avocations resulting in abundance economic productivity. Although this particular community is said to have originated from the erstwhile States of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, the fact that in neither of the two States they were ever identified as a particular ethnic group or community, whether forward or backward is somewhat revealing. If the Reddy (Ganjam) had an identity of its own which is dissimilar or akin to Reddis in common, there would have been some material evidence or literature about their origin and subsequent existence. Apart from the fact that our own endeavours in the direction of securing some ethnic literature pertinent to the community has drawn on a blank, even the memorialists many of whom were well informed did not or were unable to produce any material or literature to support that Reddy (Ganjam) is a single community distinct

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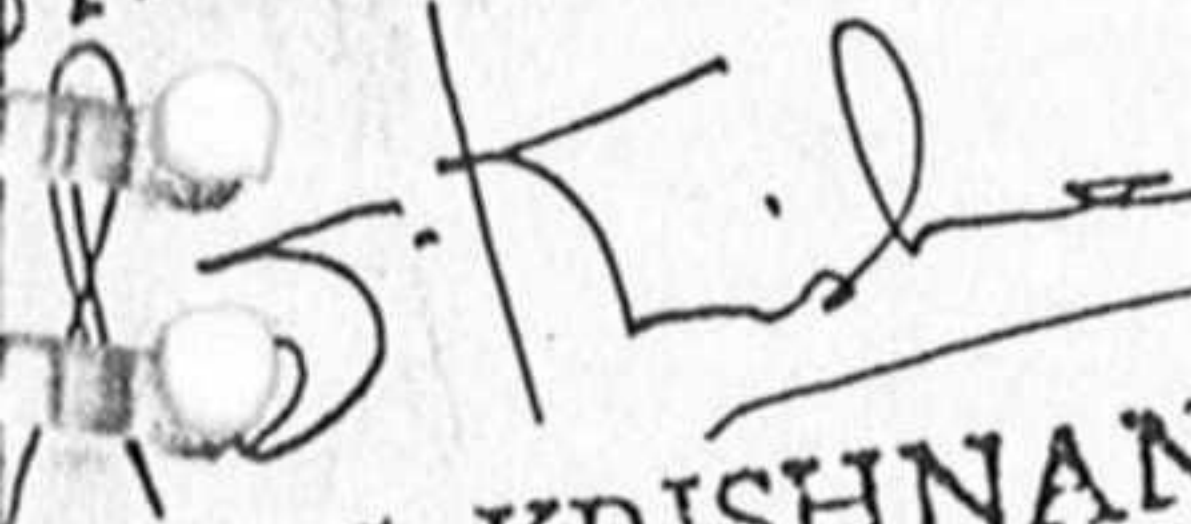
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from any other community in the country. On the other hand, the ethnographers like Thurston and Rangachari do not mention Reddy (Ganjam) anywhere in their books.

15. Edgar Thurston (Castes & Tribes of Southern India Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, First published in 1909) under the head "Kapu" writes- "The Kapus or Reddis are the largest caste in the Madras Presidency, numbering more than two millions, and are the great caste of cultivators, farmers, and Squireens in the Telugu country. In the Gazetteer of Anantapur they are described as being the great land-holding body in the Telugu districts, who are held in much respect as substantial, steady-going yeomen, and next to the Brahmans are the leaders of Hindu Society. In the Salem Manual it is stated that 'the Reddis are provident'. They spend their money on the land, but are not parsimonious. They are always well dressed, if they can afford it. The gold ornaments worn by the women or the men are of the finest kind of gold. Their houses are always neat and well built, and the Reddis give the idea of good substantial ryots. They live chiefly on ragi (grain : Eleusine Coracana), and are a fine, powerful race'. Of proverbs relating to the hereditary occupation of the Reddis, the following may be quoted. 'Only a Reddy can cultivate the land, even though he has to drink for every clod turned over'. 'Those are Reddis who get their living by cultivating the earth'. 'The Reddi who grows arika (Paspalum strobiculatum) can have but one cloth for man and wife.'

"The term Kapu", Mr. H.A.Stuart writes, "means a watchman, and Reddi means a king. The Kapus or Reddis (Ratti) appear to have been a powerful Dravidian tribe in the early centuries of the Christian era, for they have

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C. S. KRISHNAN
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

left traces of their presence at various places in almost every part of India."

IV) Findings:

16. The authoritative statement referred to supra, makes it very clear that Reddis as a community are not socially handicapped and are people of means. But on the other hand, the fact remains that no reference is made specifically or otherwise in their treatises by any of the authors is a strong indication that the Reddy (Ganjam) as a community had secured a separate caste label of its own in contrast to the Reddy community of which this Reddy (Ganjam) has probably been an integral part initially. The projection of Reddy (Ganjam) as a distinct caste on migration to Tamil Nadu State, appears to be an artificial innovation with a view to secure the benefits made available to the genuine backward classes. Apart from the fact that the memorialists were not able to commend to our consideration any material in support of their stand, we also find that the facts and the circumstances lead us to the conclusion that Reddy (Ganjam) as a caste, has failed to establish its entitlement for being listed in the Central List of Backward Classes. We find that Reddy(Ganjam) is not established to be a community which is socially and educationally backward. Accordingly the claim by this Reddy (Ganjam) community for inclusion in the Central List of Backward Classes shall be rejected.

P. K. Shyamsundar 4/3/98 *U.P. Singh* 9/3/98 *P.S. Krishnan*
(Justice P.K. Shyamsundar) (U.P. Singh) (P.S. Krishnan)

VERIFIED
P.S. Krishnan
P. S. KRISHNAN
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

V. Advice of the Commission

17. The Commission considered and agreed in full with the above Findings of the Tamil Nadu Bench and decided to tender the following Advice to the Central Government under Section 9 (1) of the NCBC Act 1993 for action by the Central Government under section 9 (2) of the Act:-

The Request for Inclusion of "Reddy (Ganjam)" in the Central List of Backward Classes for Tamil Nadu be rejected, as it is a socially advanced community.

P. S. Krishnan
9.3.98

P. K. Srinivasan
4/3/98

L. S. Srinivasan
17.3.98

L. S. Srinivasan
9.3.98

R. Srinivasan
11.03.98

AUTHENTICATED

P. S. Krishnan
P. S. KRISHNAN
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes