

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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Questions

- 1. Please provide information concerning the general circumstances of the Maniyani caste in Kerala.**
- 2. Are there affirmative action programs in Kerala for secondary school teachers?**

RESPONSE

- 1. Please provide information concerning the general circumstances of the Maniyani caste in Kerala.**

According to information from the Kerala government website, as well as the Anthropological Survey of India's 2002 volume of *People of India – Kerala*, Maniyani are also known as Yadava. Very little information was found on Maniyani, while some general anthropological information was found on the Yadava caste in Kerala. A number of sources include the Yadava caste as among the dominant castes at the top of the hierarchy of Other Backward Classes (OBCs); however, this appears to relate to the situation for the Yadava caste in the northern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In a 2005 study Professor Dipankar Gupta states that in the northern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, "the Yadav caste has gained a great degree of political salience". No information was found on the general circumstances of the caste in Kerala ('List of Other Backward Classes in Kerala State' (undated), Kerala Government website <http://www.kerala.gov.in/kpsc/obc.pdf> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 1; Singh, K.S. (ed.) 2002, *People of India – Kerala, Volume XXVII*, Anthropological Survey of India, New Delhi, p. 1592 – Attachment 2; Gupta, D. 2005, 'Caste and Politics: Identity Over System', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol.34, pp.409-427 – Attachment 3).

Yadava caste in Kerala

The Anthropological Survey of India's 2002 volume of *People of India – Kerala* provides information on the various castes and communities in Kerala. This does not have an individual section on a Maniyani caste; however, in the section on the Yadava caste it is stated that: "The Yadava are also known as Erumkar, Maniyani and Gosnagi. A few use the title Nayadu". The survey gives a general overview of the Yadava caste in Kerala (Singh, K.S. (ed.) 2002, *People of India – Kerala, Volume XXVII*, Anthropological Survey of India, New Delhi, p. 1592 – Attachment 2).

With regard to social relations of the Yadava caste in Kerala, the survey states that: "Self-perception of the community and perception of it by other communities is of middle range. They are aware of the *varna* system and some of them place themselves under Vaishya category" (p. 1592) [for an introductory overview of the different *varnas* of the Indian caste system, see the [background section](#) below]. The survey further states that:

Among the Yadava, intercommunity relations are cordial. They traditionally accept and exchange water and food with other communities such as the Izhava and Nayar [Nair]. They share schools, roads and at a few places burial grounds also. They visit the same religious shrines and participate in traditional festivals and festivities with other communities... They participate in political activities and public functions. There is a movement to organise them under the all India Yadava Organisation (Singh, K.S. (ed.) 2002, *People of India – Kerala, Volume XXVII*, Anthropological Survey of India, New Delhi, p. 1596 – Attachment 2).

The Yadava caste (including Maniyani) is included in the List of OBCs found on the Kerala state government website ('List of Other Backward Classes in Kerala State' (undated), Kerala Government website <http://www.kerala.gov.in/kpsc/obc.pdf> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 1).

The Kasargod district website lists the various Hindu castes prevalent in Kasargod, including Yadavas (also known as Maniyanis):

Hindus

Brahmins, Nairs, Ambalavasis, Thiyyas, Yadavas and Kammalas are the major divisions of Hindu community. Thiyyas of the district are known as Belechappad and Poojaris. Yadavas are also known as Maniyanis. There are divisions among the Brahmins such as Shivally, Havyak, Karhada and Kota. Shivally Brahmins consists of Agithaya, Kayarthaya, Kadanbalithaya, Kaikillaya, Ballullaya, Punichithaya etc. Bhats are known as the Havyak Brahmins. The Gouda Saraswatha Brahmins or the Konkinis, can also be seen here, small in number. Nambiar, Kurup etc. are the sub divisions of the Nair community. Kammalas are artisans like Thattan (goldsmith), Perumkollan (blacksmith), Asaris (carpenters) ('Kasargod Culture' (undated), Kasargod District website <http://kasargod.nic.in/profile/culture.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 4).

A 2006 journal article provides information on the Yadava caste in Kannur district in Kerala (Mahendrakumar, M. 2006, 'Yadava – A Pastoral Caste', *Anthropologist*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 83-87 <http://www.krepublishers.com/02-Journals/T-Anth/Anth-08-0-000-000-2006-Web/Anth-08-2-077-146-2006-Abst-PDF/Anth-08-2-083-087-2006-281-Mahendrakumar-M-S/Anth-08-2-083-087-2006-281-Mahendrakumar-M-S-Text.pdf> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 5).

Yadava caste elsewhere

A 2005 study by Professor Dipankar Gupta provides background on the manner in which perceptions of caste relations can vary from one place to another. Gupta also notes that a given locale can host competing accounts of caste relations in terms of the manner in which different caste communities see themselves in relation to one another. According to Gupta, perceptions and relations of caste can be affected by forms of economic and political power as well as by the “purity and pollution issues” espoused by the “Brahmannical version of hierarchy”:

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...Contemporary evidence indicates that caste identities cannot be straitjacketed within an unrelenting hierarchical grid where the status of the pure and the impure are empirically and unproblematically firm in their interactional nexus.

...The fact is that the caste order is characterized by contesting notions of hierarchy and that is why we find competitive assertions of caste identity. These assertions draw symbolic energy and sustenance from origin tales that are specific to each caste and often in direct confrontation with the Brahmannical hierarchy. Nor is it that status concerns in these multiple hierarchies are always linked to purity and pollution issues. They may also be associated with power and wealth, as among the merchant Jain castes, much more directly than what caste purists would have us believe (see Cort 2004). A general insensitivity toward this aspect of caste has led to the overvaluation of the Brahmannical version of hierarchy, both in scholarly works and in popular imaginations. This has also contributed to the general intellectual puzzlement as to how one should conceptualize the relationship between caste and politics because here we have tension and competition in place of ideological acquiescence.

...There are different rankings in different locales depending upon who has the power and the wherewithal to make a particular ranking system, or hierarchy, work to their advantage. In some cases, the Brahmins were able to realize their favored hierarchy in practice; in other cases, it was the Jats, or the Rajputs, or the Marathas, or the Marawas, or the Lingayats, and so on (Gupta, D. 2005, ‘Caste and Politics: Identity Over System’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol.34, pp.409-427 – Attachment 3).

Gupta notes that in the northern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, “the Yadav caste has gained a great degree of political salience” (Gupta, D. 2005, ‘Caste and Politics: Identity Over System’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol.34, pp.409-427 – Attachment 3).

A number of other sources name Yadavs as among the dominant castes at the top of the OBC hierarchy. Again, this appears to relate to the situation for the Yadav caste in the northern states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (Baviskar, B.S. 2007, ‘Repeating Mandal mantra’, *The Tribune* website, 16 September <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2006/20060916/edit.htm#4> – Accessed 5 September 2007 – Attachment 6; Dipankar, G. 2004, ‘Democratic Potentials in Cultural Politics: Caste Based Reservations and the Issues of Citizenship’, Lunds Universitet website, 6-9 July <http://www.sasnet.lu.se/EASASpapers/DipankarGupta.pdf> – Accessed 5 September – Attachment 7).

Professor Gupta also provides some information on the Yadav organisation, All India Yadav Mahasabha (AIYM). This is in the context of describing caste politics and the subsequent proliferation of caste associations across India. Gupta states: “Through *gaurav gathas* (tales of pride) and *jati puranas* (origin tales of jatis or castes), these associations seek to instill a

sense of pride in their primordial identities without which it would be difficult to use caste identities for political aims”. In regard to the Yadav caste, Gupta states:

Yadav associations were established as early as in the opening decades of the twentieth century. In 1933, the formation of the All India Yadav Mahasabha (AIYM) brought together various disparate Yadava associations under one roof. The AIYM traces the history of the Yadavs to Lord Krishna, whose earthly incarnations are many but who is most widely cast in several popular lores as a romantic cowherd. He also plays the role of a sagacious warrior priest in the Bhagvat Gita (a chapter of the Hindu epic, *Mahabharata*), as a supreme exegete of Advaita and the laws of karma. By relating the Yadavs to Krishna, the cowherd, the AIYM is able to portray its followers as descendents of a mighty progenitor with Kshatriya status. This allows them to make the further claim that they are natural politicians as power wielding and herding people come naturally to them. As Michelutti records, the AIYM believes that the Yadavs are not just “natural politicians” (Michelutti 2004), but they are also the best custodians of democracy. Therefore, if one is to keep democracy alive and well, then it is the Yadavs for whom one should vote. The contradiction between caste loyalty and the democratic principle of individualism is calmly glossed over in such assertions (Gupta, D. 2005, ‘Caste and Politics: Identity Over System’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol.34, p. 420 – Attachment 3).

Christian missionary website The Joshua Project provides some basic introductory information on the Yadava caste (‘Yadava of India’ (undated), The Joshua Project website <http://www.joshuaproject.net/peopctry.php?rog3=IN&rop3=111292> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 8).

Caste in Kerala

A June 2009 article found on the Kerala information website, Kerala Tips, states that “caste based divisions are still strong. There is a strong undercurrent of both caste based and religion based politics” (‘Redefining caste system in Kerala – Are you BPL or APL’ 2009, Kerala Tips website, 8 June <http://www.keralatips.org/2009/06/08/redefining-caste-system-in-kerala-are-you-bpl-or-apl/> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 9).

Likewise, a February 2009 report found on the Dalit Voice website states that “Casteism and communalism in Kerala are as serious as any other part of India. Marxists may be ruling the state but those who control it continue to be the upper caste Nairs, Brahmins and Syrian Christians – a micro-minority” (‘Upper caste bid to topple Kerala’s OBC Chief Minister’ 2009, Dalit Voice website, February http://www.dalitvoice.org/Templates/feb_a2009/reports.htm – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 10).

Background information on scheduled castes (SCs) and other backward castes (OBCs)

A May 2007 report produced by the UK House of Commons Library provides the following background on issues relating to caste in India, including the manner in which the various caste identities (*jatis*) are perceived in terms of four strata (*varnas*); the situation of those perceived to be ritually impure, or polluted, and outside the four varnas (the untouchables, Harijans or Dalits); and the manner in which positive discrimination is enacted through the listing of certain caste identities as scheduled castes and other backward castes. The relevant extracts follow:

The Indian caste system is a hierarchical system made up of a multitude of different caste identities (*jatis*). Each caste identity is linked to an occupation, or set of occupations,

traditionally carried out by members of that caste. The caste boundaries are maintained by restrictions on intermarriage between different castes and the status of different caste groups is demarcated by socially enforced restrictions. The different castes are categorised into four groups (varnas) and the 'Untouchables'. In the hierarchical order of the traditional caste system, the four varnas are: (1) the Brahmins – the highest caste, whose traditional occupation is as priests and scholars; (2) the Kshatriyas (traditionally rulers and soldiers); (3) the Vaishyas (traditionally merchants and farmers); (4) the Shudras – the lowest of the four varnas and traditionally the servant class for the three higher varnas.

Beneath the Shudras and therefore outside the caste system are the Adi-Shudras or 'Untouchables', their traditional occupations include leather working, manual scavenging, sweeping, cremation work, removing dead animal carcasses and agricultural labour on other farmers' land. The belief that these groups are ritually impure, or 'Untouchable', has led to multiple forms of discrimination against them, as they have been restricted to certain occupations that are themselves believed to be ritually polluting and have been barred access to many public resources. Today, 'Untouchables' are twice as likely as other castes to work as poorly paid daily wage-labourers, twice as likely to be unemployed and twice as likely to be below the official poverty line. 'Untouchables' are also referred to as Harijans ('children of God'), Dalits ('the oppressed') and Scheduled Castes (referring to their special status in the Constitution). Also outside the caste system and subject to discrimination are the Adivasis, the indigenous or tribal population who are also known as Scheduled Tribes. Castes who are not 'Untouchable' but are still considered to be socially and economically deprived are referred to as Other Backward Classes (OBCs). The OBCs overlap closely with the Shudras – the lowest ranking of the four varnas – but also include some non-Hindu groups, including some Muslims.

According to the latest census, 16.2 per cent of the Indian population belong to the Dalits (Scheduled Castes) and 8.2 per cent to the Adivasis (Scheduled Tribes). Other caste groups are not counted in the census but most estimates suggest that OBCs constitute about half of the Indian population. However, the proportions vary substantially across India with the upper castes forming a higher proportion of the population in North India than in the South (Harrison, T., *et al* 2007, *A political introduction to India*, UK Parliament website, International Affairs and Defence Section – House of Commons Library, 2 May, pp. 43-48 <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2007/rp07-041.pdf> – Accessed 11 October 2007 – Attachment 11).

The 2005 study by Professor Dipankar Gupta provides further comment on the status of OBCs:

When the Indian Constitution provided reservations for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, it also added that in due course of time similar legislations ought to be devised for the Other Backward Castes as well. The population of these so-called Backward Castes is difficult to estimate, and the figures range from 25% to 52% of the total population of the country. In terms of their social and economic standing, they are placed between the traditional elite castes such as Brahmans, Baniyas, Kayasthas, Rajputs, other lower castes, and the SC and STs. The upper castes are about 15% of the population, the SC roughly 17% and the STs make up 7% or so. The Backward Castes make up the rest.

These Backwards are now known as Other Backward Castes (OBC) and, in general, comprise largely peasant and other agrarian communities. These castes are not untouchables but are considered backward as they lack a culture of learning on account of their lowly peasant status. Thus though they did not have to bear the burden of untouchability, their depressed economic position contributed to their general cultural backwardness. In recognition of this fact, the Constitution of India recommended that the state intervene and help these communities by legislating some measures that would break this cycle of poverty and

backwardness (Gupta, D. 2005, 'Caste and Politics: Identity Over System', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol.34, pp.409-427 – Attachment 3).

Question 1 of *Research Response IND32629*, dated 13 December 2007, includes a section giving a comprehensive background on scheduled castes (SCs) and OBCs (RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response IND32629*, 13 December – Attachment 12).

2. Are there affirmative action programs in Kerala for secondary school teachers?

No information was found on affirmative action programs in Kerala for secondary school teachers specifically. According to the May 2007 UK House of Commons Library introduction to politics in India, in the 1990s the central government introduced the reservation policy that 27 per cent of posts in central government services and the public sector should be reserved for OBCs (Harrison, T., *et al* 2007, *A political introduction to India*, UK Parliament website, International Affairs and Defence Section – House of Commons Library, 2 May, pp. 43-48 <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2007/rp07-041.pdf> – Accessed 11 October 2007 – Attachment 11).

The reservation policy for OBCs is a complex and continually evolving issue. Information on the implementation in Kerala of the reservation policy in employment and education was not found in the time available for this response. Some background information on caste access to government reservations is given below.

In relation to higher education, a 2006 article in *The Hindu* states that “Kerala [has] had high levels of quotas for decades” (Hasan, Z. 2006, 'Countering social discrimination', *The Hindu*, 2 June <http://www.thehindu.com/2006/06/02/stories/2006060202711000.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 13).

General information on the Government of India policy on the training and recruitment of teachers, including secondary teachers, is included in a 1997 review of India's education system, found on the Department of Education website:

Teacher education institutions follow the reservation policy of the Government of India with regard to the disadvantaged sections of society like SCs and STs and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). At present, 15 per cent posts in the Education Departments and seats in teacher education institutions are reserved for candidates belonging to the SCs. Likewise, 7.5 per cent posts are reserved for candidates belonging to STs. Recently, 27 per cent posts in all services including teaching have been reserved for candidates belonging to OBCs ('Training and Recruitment of Teachers' (undated) in *Compilation on 50 years of Indian Education: 1947-1997*, Government Of India Ministry Of Human Resource Development Department Of Education website <http://www.education.nic.in/cd50years/r/2Q/A2/2QA20901.htm> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 14).

Caste access to government reservations: OBCs, SCs and Scheduled Tribes (STs)

General information on the reservation policy for OBCs is included in the May 2007 UK House of Commons Library introduction to politics in India:

Despite significant opposition from the upper castes, reservations in public sector jobs have been extended to the OBCs. The Mandal Commission, which was formed by the Janata Government in 1979 to recommend steps to improve the condition of the socially and

educationally backward classes, estimated that the upper castes held 69 per cent of all government jobs and that the OBCs, despite constituting 52 per cent of the population, had a lower representation in all categories of government jobs than the Dalits and Adivasis. As a result, the Commission recommended that 27 per cent of posts in central government services and the public sector should be reserved for the OBCs. However, it was only in 1990 that V.P. Singh's National Front government implemented the Mandal Commission's recommendation that employment reservations be extended to OBCs. Unlike reservations for Dalits and Adivasis, reservations for OBCs are subject to a 'creamy layer' rule to exclude 'socially advanced' people amongst the groups classified as OBCs from the benefits of reservations. In 2006 the current UPA Government announced reservations for OBCs in all publicly funded higher educational institutions, but it sought to minimise upper caste resistance by stipulating that the reservation would be provided by increasing the total number of places available rather than reducing the number of unreserved places (Harrison, T., *et al* 2007, *A political introduction to India*, UK Parliament website, International Affairs and Defence Section – House of Commons Library, 2 May, pp. 45-46 <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2007/rp07-041.pdf> – Accessed 11 October 2007 – Attachment 11).

Dr Kruti Dholakia of the University of Texas provides historical background on the manner in which the development of the scheduled caste (SC), scheduled tribe (ST) and other backward caste (OBC) classifications.

India was a country with highly rigid caste-based hierarchal structure, with ascending order of privileges and descending order of disabilities, which operated for about 3000 years. There was an overwhelming majority in the nation that was still backward – socially, economically, educationally, and politically. These victims of entrenched backwardness comprise the present scheduled castes (SC), scheduled tribes (ST) and other backward classes (OBC). Even though, these classes are generically the “Backward Classes,” the nature and magnitude of their backwardness are not the same.

...The STs were the tribes that had not confirmed to Hinduism in the historical perspective and lived animistic lifestyles. SCs were the lower castes in the caste-hierarchy of the Hindu culture. The Constitution directs in its Article 46 that the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, in particular, of the SCs and STs, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Central to this directive, and other related provisions is reservation, which is a package of constitutional provisions and their intended follow-up programs for the social advancement of the weaker sections.

...The Mandal Commission Report of 1991 was in favor of reservations in higher education and government services for the other backward classes of India. Angry students belonging to the Hindu upper castes, and even the Supreme Court bar association challenged and opposed the implementation of the recommendations of this commission. Even though the rights of SCs and STs had nothing to do with the subject of OBCs in the Mandal Report, certain items affecting them were included as issues in a writ petition filed in the Supreme Court. In spite of all oppositions to the Mandal, reservations in favor of OBCs were upheld to the extent of 27 per cent. Thus, the reservations offered to the SCs and STs were extended to OBCs at a national level in 1993 (Dholakia, K. (undated), 'Reservation Policy for Backward Classes in India', University of Texas website http://www.utdallas.edu/~kruti/reservation_policy_for_backward.pdf – Accessed 5 September 2007 – Attachment 15).

The following extract from a September 2006 *Tribune* article provides background on the manner in which higher and lower castes are distributed across the other backward castes

classification. At the top of the OBC hierarchy, the article includes “the dominant castes” including the Yadavs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The extract follows:

The OBCs are a group of socially and educationally backward castes which are extremely heterogeneous. According to the Mandal report, there are 3,783 such castes. In Karnataka alone, there are over two hundred of them. These castes could be divided into three broad categories.

At the bottom are service and artisan castes such as barbers, carpenters, washermen, water-carriers, potters, blacksmiths and oil pressers. Most of them are landless and illiterate. As the market economy expanded and the “jajmani” system of patronage in villages declined, these castes rapidly lost their traditional livelihood and joined the ranks of agricultural labour. They can’t afford to send their children to school. After a few years in the village primary school, most of these children drop out. Because of their poverty and dependence, they are vulnerable and exploited by the upper layers of the OBCs.

In the middle rung of OBCs, there are shepherds and nomadic castes engaged in rearing livestock, and numerous castes of small and marginal subsistence farmers who survive by cultivating their own small patches of land. They often supplement their income by working as agricultural labourers. Their children rarely go beyond primary school.

At the top of the OBC hierarchy are the dominant castes such as Jats and Gujjars in the northern states of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan, Kunabis (or Marathas) in Maharashtra, **Yadavs and Kurmis in UP and Bihar**, Okkaligas in Karnataka, and Vanniyars in Tamil Nadu. They are, by and large, substantial landowners, numerically preponderant, politically powerful and enjoy high social status. They are the effective rulers in rural India occupying positions in state cabinets, state legislatures, panchayati raj institutions, cooperative sugar factories and cooperative banks (Baviskar, B.S. 2007, ‘Repeating Mandal mantra’, *The Tribune* website, 16 September <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2006/20060916/edit.htm#4> – Accessed 5 September 2007 – Attachment 6).

A July 2004 study by Professor Dipankar Gupta provides background on the distinction between other backward caste status and the scheduled caste status (SC) that is generally given only to untouchables (or Dalits). Gupta states that castes such as Yadavas “are politically the most strident castes and are well represented in many elected bodies as well as in the local administration” in village India. The relevant extract follows:

The Backward Castes are agrarian communities who never suffered discrimination in villages like the SCs did. They did not have as much land as the old feudals had, they occasionally rented land from them, but they did not suffer from the kind of humiliation that burdened the untouchables. After Independence and the abolition of landlordism, this so-called caste of Backwards rose in the rural economic and political hierarchy and many of them became substantial landowners. This is true of castes such as **Jats, Gujjars, Yadavas and Kurmis**. In village India today they are politically the most strident castes and are well represented in many elected bodies as well as in the local administration (Dipankar, G. 2004, ‘Democratic Potentials in Cultural Politics: Caste Based Reservations and the Issues of Citizenship’, Lunds Universitet website, 6-9 July <http://www.sasnet.lu.se/EASASpapers/DipankarGupta.pdf> – Accessed 5 September – Attachment 7).

In relation to India generally, a 2008 journal article on education and caste in India states that it has recently “been reported by the popular press that the share of OBCs in government jobs, which was 13% in 1994 when the quota was implemented, has unbelievably declined to about 5% in the last 12 years...One explanation for this may be that while job opportunities have been limited, the number of OBCs has continued to increase due to inclusion of more

and more castes to the OBC fold” (Chauhan, C. 2008, ‘Education and caste in India’, *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, vol. 28, no. 3, September, p. 226 – Attachment 16).

A recent article in *The Times of India* reports on a recent ruling of the Supreme Court that “SCs, STs and OBCs cannot claim the benefits of reservation if they migrate from one state to another if the caste/tribe to which they belong are not recognized as a reserved community in the adopted state”:

SCs, STs and OBCs cannot claim the benefits of reservation if they migrate from one state to another if the caste/tribe to which they belong are not recognized as a reserved community in the adopted state, the Supreme Court has ruled.

Further, a migrant SC or ST also cannot claim a reserved status in OBC quota in another state, the apex court said.

“Persons belonging to a particular caste or tribe may suffer disadvantages in one state but may not suffer the same disadvantages in the other. Our Constitutional scheme, therefore, seeks to identify the social and economic backwardness of people having regard to the state or union territory as a unit (‘Migrant SC, STs, OBCs not entitled to reservation benefits: SC’ 2009, *Times of India*, 17 August <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/india/Migrant-SC-STs-OBCs-not-entitled-to-reservation-benefits-SC-/articleshow/4903238.cms> – Accessed 18 August 2009 – Attachment 17).

List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:

Google search engine <http://www.google.com>

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

List of Attachments

1. ‘List of Other Backward Classes in Kerala State’ (undated), Kerala Government website <http://www.kerala.gov.in/kpsc/obc.pdf> – Accessed 18 August 2009.
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