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Scheduling the OBCs Among the Muslims in Uttar Pradesh: Discrepancies and Irregularities

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On 9 March 2005, the PMO had issued the Notification for constitution of the High Level Committee under the chairmanship of Justice Rajindar Sachar for preparation of Report on the Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India. (Here onwards will be referred as the Committee) Among its various terms of references, following are related with Muslim Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

“What is the proportion of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) from the Muslim community in the total OBC population in various States? Are the Muslim OBCs listed in the comprehensive list of OBCs prepared by the National and State Backward Classes Commissions and adopted by the Central and State Governments for reservation for various purposes? What is the share of Muslim OBCs in the total public sector employment for OBCs in the Centre and in various States in various years?” (p.3)

Report of the committee states, “Sociological studies on the social structure of Muslims in India have emphasized on the presence of descent based social stratification among them. Features of the Hindu caste system, such as hierarchical ordering of social groups, endogamy and hereditary occupation have been found to be amply present among the Indian Muslims as well”. (Ibid., p. 192) The committee categorizes Muslim castes/communities into three categories i.e. “the Ashraf, (those without any social disabilities), the Ajlafs, (those equivalent to Hindu OBCs) and the Arzals , (those equivalent to Hindu SCs). Since the Constitutional (Scheduled Caste) Order, 1950, popularly known as the Presidential Order (1950), restricts the SC status only to Hindu groups having ‘unclean ’ occupations, their non-Hindu equivalents have been bracketed

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

with the middle caste converts and declared OBC . Thus, the OBCs among Muslims constitute two broad categories. The halalkhors, helas, lalbegis or bhangis (scavengers), dhobis (washermen), nais or hajjams (barbers), chiks (butchers), faqirs (beggars) etc belonging to the 'Arzals ' are the 'untouchable converts ' to Islam that have found their way in the OBC list. The momins or julahas (weavers), darzi or idiris (tailors), rayeens or kunjaras (vegetable sellers) are Ajlafis or converts from 'clean ' occupational castes". (Ibid. p 193)

It is the constitutional obligation of the government under Articles 340(1), 340(2), 15(4) and 16(4) to promote the welfare of the OBCs. Therefore, the first Backward Classes Commission under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar was set up by the government on January 29, 1953. The commission submitted its report on March 30, 1955. But the government has not accepted the recommendations of the commission due to various reasons. (For detail, see A Ramaiah 1992. pp.1203-1207) Second Backward Classes Commission was set up on January 1, 1979. Its chairman being B.P. Mandal, so it is popularly known as Mandal Commission. The commission submitted its report in December 1980. Figures of caste-wise population are not available beyond 1931. So the commission used the 1931 Census data to calculate the number of OBCs . To identify the socially and educationally backward classes, the commission adopted 11 criteria, which could be grouped under three major headings: social, educational and economic. (For detail of these criteria, see Ibid.) The commission has recognized 82 Muslim castes as OBCs.

What is the share of Muslim OBCs in total OBC population of the country? Has Mandal Commission included all Muslim castes and tribes, categorized as criminal and backward in Census of India 1931? Is there correspondence between castes listed as OBCs in Central list and those, which are included in lists of various states?

In regard to these questions following facts can be identified from the report of the Committee:

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

- a). Neither Decennial Census operation in post-independent India provides caste wise information nor listing of castes as backward by Backward Classes Commission of various states is based on any latest, sound and systematic survey. Therefore, no all India estimate can be made from them.
- b). It is, therefore, the committee collected information about Muslim OBCs from 61st round survey of National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). It reports that OBCs constitute 40.7% population of Indian Muslims. But the committee made it very clear that, "At the outset, it must be noted that the NSSO data is self reporting and, particularly so in the case of OBCs, it is contingent on the awareness of the respondents of his/her social status."(Ibid. p. 189) In fact, large number of Muslims, being illiterate and poor do not know about the category of OBCs and, therefore they do not report themselves as OBCs.
- c). Relying on the data provided by the 1931 Census, the Mandal Commission estimated the population of OBC in the country to be 52% and the share of non-Hindu OBCs is 8.40%.
- d). Report of the Committee unambiguously states, "Given the fact that the 1931 base is itself contentious, this estimate needs to be further examined. The Mandal estimate is also unreliable because a large number of castes/communities that were included in the Mandal list have not yet found place in the Central list of OBCs". (Ibid., p. 203)
- e). "The list of OBCs prepared by the state governments have also missed many under privileged castes and communities. There are few groups among Muslims that have found place in the Central list but have not found a place in the State list." (Ibid.,p.201)
- f). There are still a number of Muslim groups that have neither been included in the State list nor in the Central list. Therefore, the committee suggests that, "These

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

groups can be identified using the information collected by Anthropological Survey of India under its People of India Project.” (Ibid., p. 201)

As per the advice of the Committee, this paper aims at exploring discrepancies and irregularities in listing Muslim castes/communities of Uttar Pradesh both in Central and State lists of OBCs.

First we have attempted to identify Muslim castes and tribes of Uttar Pradesh from United Provinces Census of India 1931 . [J.H. Hutton, 1933], (Here onwards will be referred as the Census of India 1931)

Secondly, identified Muslim castes and tribes are matched with those Muslim castes/ communities of Uttar Pradesh which have been studied by Anthropological Survey of India under its People of India Project, launched on 2nd October 1985. [K.S. Singh, 2005]. (Here onwards will be referred as POI) Uttar Pradesh in order to find out discrepancies.

Thirdly, after identifying discrepancies, we have formulated a list of 88 Muslim castes/ communities of Uttar Pradesh, which are matched with castes listed in Central and State list of OBCs. We have found four kinds of discrepancies:

- Discrepancy between Muslim castes and tribes of 1931 and Muslim caste/communities, studied by POI.
- Discrepancy between 88 identified Muslim caste/communities with those listed in Central and State list of OBCs.
- Discrepancy between castes listed in Central and those listed in State lists of OBCs and
- Discrepancy between castes listed in State list with those listed in Central list of OBCs

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

The Census of India 1931, classified castes and tribes of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (present day Uttar Pradesh) into three major categories i.e. Untouchables, Depressed classes and Backward classes. (pp.626-38). The Census states that, “The untouchables and depressed classes are entirely a creation of Brahmanic Hindu society, finding no equivalent in any other religious or social community. Backward classes naturally are met with in all communities”. (p. 626)

Untouchables and Depressed classes have been classified into two sub-categories i.e., a). Untouchables and Depressed and, b) Touchables and Depressed for the reasons untouchables and depressed classes are not identical, as many people believe. “There are untouchables who are in no sense depressed and conversely there are depressed classes who are not untouchables”. (Ibid. p. 627) Sixty six castes and tribes were listed in the category of Untouchables and Depressed and 9 in the category of Touchables and Depressed. In this way 75 castes and tribes were categorized as Untouchables and Depressed classes.

Backward Classes: The Census of India 1931 states that, “The untouchable and depressed classes are of course backward as well but in addition to these there are other tribes and castes both Hindu and Muslim who whilst not being depressed are more conspicuously backward than the average tribe or caste. These can be divided into two:

- i). Criminal tribes
- ii). Other tribes and castes both Hindu and Muslim.” (Ibid., p. 630)

Criminal Tribe: Thirty two castes and tribes have been gazetted as criminal in the whole or in any part of the Province. All of them are regarded as backward classes and classified into two categories i.e.

- (a). untouchables and depressed classes as well as touchable but depressed
- (b). criminal but backward classes.

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Former category includes total number of 17 castes and tribes which are part of 75 castes and tribes listed as Untouchables and Depressed classes, latter includes 15 castes and tribes and are part of backward classes (Detail of which follows). Name of these 15 castes and tribes are as follows:-

1. Banjara
2. Bhawapuria
3. Gandhila
4. Hindu Ghosi
5. Gujar
6. Kewat
7. Kisan
8. Lodh
9. Mallah
10. Meo, Mewati, Mina or Mina Meo
11. Ondhia
12. Rajput Muslim
13. Ranghar
14. Rind
15. Tagabhat

As the Census does not provide information regarding religious affiliation of these communities, except of Muslim Rajput and Hindu Ghosi, we have identified 5 of these communities either distinctively Muslims or common to both Hindus and Muslims on the basis of our knowledge. Names of these Muslim 'criminal' but backward classes are as follows: Banjara, Gujar, Meo, Rajput Muslim and Ranghar.

Other Castes and Tribes:

Imperial Table No. XIV of Census of India 1931(pp.480-82) categorized other castes and tribes of U.P. into three categories i.e. Advanced, intermediate and backward on the basis of their level of male literacy. Caste/tribes having male literacy of 50% and above were included into advanced category whereas those caste/tribes in which male literacy was between 10%-50% categorized as intermediate. Those who constituted the category of backwards had less than 10% male literacy.

Names of the castes/tribes are not arranged alphabetically but in descending order according to their level of male literacy in the following Table 8.1:

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Table 8.1: Classification of Other Castes and Tribes of United Provinces into Three Categories i.e. Advanced, Intermediate and Backward

Advanced	Intermediate	Backward		
Kayastha	1. Vaishya	1. Dhabgar and Gharami	27. Gujar	53. Kumhar
	2. Syed	2. Sainthwar	28. Dhunia	54. Murao
	3. Bhuihar	3. Goshain	29. Silpkar	55. Arakh
	4. Brahman	4. Jat	30. Gidhiya	56. Gadariya
	5. Mughal	5. Bari	31. Turk	57. Bhangi
	6. Sonar	6. Mochi	32. Lodh	58. Badhik
	7. Kalwar	7. Nau Muslim	33. Meo	59. Dom
	8. Shaikh	8. Tharu	34. Mallah	60. Goriya
	9. Rajput	9. Julaha	35. Kathik	61. Kewat
	10. Halwai	10. Kurmi	36. Dharhi	62. Bhar
	11. Tathera	11. Bharbhunja	37. Luniya	63. Bhoksa
	12. Pathan	12. Manihar	38. Saini	64. Agariya group
	13. Kotwar	13. Darzi	39. Ahir	65. Dhobi
	14. Bhat	14. Lohar	40. Bhishti	66. Chamar
	15. Korwa	15. Barhai	41. Kachhi	67. Pasi
	16. Tamboli	16. Teli	42. Kori	68. Baghban
	17. Taga	17. Barai	43. Gond	69. Kapadiya
	18. Kunjra	44. Kahar	70. Bawariya	
	19. Sansia	45. Dusadh	71. Kol	
	20. Koeri	46. Kanjar	72. Bayar group	
	21. Nai	47. Gaddi	73. Saharia	
	22. Mali	48. Ahar	74. Bhil	
	23. Faqir	49. Bahelia	75. Kharot	
	24. Barwar	50. Nat	76. Khairawa	
	25. Qassab	51. Kisan	77. Sanaurhiya	
	26. Habura	52. Beldar		

Source:- Imperial Table No. XIV, U.P. Census of India 1931, pp. 480 - 82

Besides, 77 castes and tribes in the category of backward mentioned in above table 8.1, the Census also categorized 63 those castes and tribes as backward "for whom figures for Imperial Table XIV have not been tabulated". (p. 631) The Census provides information about their religious affiliation, which has not been provided in the case of castes and tribes mentioned in table 8.1 and in the list of criminal tribes. Names of these 63 castes and tribes and their religious affiliation (H for Hindus, M for Muslims and H&M for both Hindus and Muslims) are as follows:

1. Atishbaz (M);
2. Atit (H);
3. Bairagi (H);
4. Baiswar (H);
5. Bargahi (H) (Bargah or Bargaha);
6. Belwar (H);
7. Bhagat (H);
8. Bhand or Naqqal (M);
- 9.

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Bhathiyara (M); 10. Bhotia (H); 11. Bhurtia (H); 12. Bind (H); 13. Bisati (M); 14. Bishnoi (H); 15. Biyar (H); 16. Chai (Chain or Chaini) (H); 17. Chhipi (H&M); 18. Churihar (M); 19. Dafali (M); 20. Dhimar (H); 21. Gandharb (H); 22. Gandhi (H&M) 23. Gharuk (H); 24. Goriya (H&M); 25. Gosain (H); 26. Harjala (H); 27. Hurkia (H); 28. Jhojha (M); 29. Jogi (H); 30. Joshi (H); 31. Kadhera (H); 32. Kamkar (H); 33. Kanchan (H); 34. Kasera (H); 35. Khagi (H); 36. Khangar (H) 37. Kunera (H); 38. Lakhera (H); 39. Mirasi (M); 40. Naik (Hills), (H); 41. Naik (Plains) (H); 42. Nalband (M); 43. Orh (H); 44. Paturia (H); 45. Patwa (H&M); 46. Phansiya (H); 47. Qalaigar (M); 48. Qalander (M); 49. Radha (H); 50. Rain (H&M); 51. Raj (H&M); 52. Ramaiya (H); 53. Rangrez (H&M); 54. Rangszaz (H&M); 55. Saiqalgar (M); 56. Sejwari (H); 57. Singharia (H); 58. Soeri (H); 59. Sorahiya (H); 60. Sunkar (H); 61. Tarkihar (H&M); 62. Tawaif (H&M); 63. Tiyar (H)

We have identified 57 castes and tribes either distinctively Muslims or common to both Hindus and Muslims from the Census of India 1931. Names of these castes are alphabetically arranged in column No. 1 of the following table 8.2. In contrast POI has studied 69 Muslim castes/communities, which are matched with castes and tribes of 1931 in column No. 2 on the basis of occupational similarity.

	Column No. 1	Column No. 2		Column No. 1	Column Two
S.No.	Names of Muslim castes and tribes of United Provinces listed in 1931 census	Names of Muslim Castes/ communities studied by People of India Project (POI)	S.No.	Names of Muslim castes/tribes of United Provinces listed in 1931 census	Names of Muslim communities/ Castes of U.P. listed in the People of India Project
1	Arakh (M)	Iraqi	30	Lohar (H&M)	Saifi
2	Atishbaz (M)	Atishbaz	31	Mali (H&M)	-----
3	Baghban (M)	Baghban	32	Manihar (M)	Manihar
4	Banjara (H&M)	Muslim Banjara	33	Meo (M)	Meo
5	Barahai (H&M)	-----	34	Mirasi (M)	Mirasi

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

6	Bhand or Naqqal (M)	a). Bhand b). Nakkal	35	Mughal (M)	Mughal
7	Bhangi (H&M)	Halalkhor	36	Muslim Rajput (M)	Muslim Rajput
8	Bhathiyara (M)	Bhatiara	37	Nai (H&M)	Muslim Nai
9	Bhat (H&M)	a). Jaga b). Muslim Raibhat	38	Nalband (M)	-----
10	Bhishti (M)	Bhishti	39	Nat (H&M)	Muslim Nat
11	Bisati (M)	Bisati	40	Neo-Muslim (M)	-----
12	Chippi (H&M)	-----	41	Pathan (M)	Pathan
13	Churihar (M)	-----	42	Patwa (H&M)	-----
14	Dafali (M)	Dafali	43	Qalaigar (M)	-----
15	Darzi (M)	Darzi	44	Qalandar (M)	Kalander
16	Dhuniya (H&M)	Behna	45	Qassab (M)	a). Bakar Qassab b). Kasai
17	Dhobi (H&M)	Muslim Dhobi	46	Rain (H&M)	-----
18	Faqir (M)	Faqir	47	Raj (H&M)	-----
19	Gaddi (H&M)	Gaddi	48	Ranghar (M)	Ranghar
20	Gandhi (H&M)	-----	49	Rangrez (H&M)	Rangrez
21	Goriya (H&M)	-----	50	Rangsaz (H&M)	-----
22	Gujar (H&M)	Muslim Gujar	51	Saiqalgar (M)	-----
23	Hurkia (M)	-----	52	Sheikh (M)	Sheikh
24	Halwai (H&M)	Muslim Halwai	53	Syed (M)	Syed
25	Julaha (M)	Momin Ansari	54	Tarkihar (H&M)	-----
26	Jhojha (M)	Jhojha	55	Tawaif (H&M)	-----
27	Kayasth (H&M)	Muslim Kayasth	56	Teli (H&M)	Muslim Teli
28	Kunjra (M)	Kunjra	57	Turk (M)	-----
29	Kumhar (H&M)	-----	X	X	X

discrepancies emerge from the comparison of castes and tribes listed in Census of India 1931, with those castes/communities studied by POI.

a) It is evident from the above table 8.2, that 41 out of 69 Muslim communities studied by POI are matched with 38 Muslim castes and tribes of 1931. It means 28

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Muslims communities (69-41=28) are not matched. Names of these Muslim castes/communities are as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Ahmadiya | 15. Kanmaila |
| 2. Bawarchi | 16. Kasgar |
| 3. Bangali/Bengali | 17. Kingharia |
| 4. Dhari | 18. Lal Begi |
| 5. Dilliwal Shaikh | 19. Madari |
| 6. Garha | 20. Mian |
| 7. Ghassal | 21. Mujavir |
| 8. Ghosi | 22. Muker |
| 9. Hijra | 23. Muslim Banbati/ Bandhmati |
| 10. Irani | 24. Muslim Dhagi |
| 11. Jogi Faqir | 25. Nanbai |
| 12. Kamangar | 26. Putliwale |
| 13. Kamboj | 27. Sai |
| 14. Kankali | 28. Shekhzade |

b). POI has failed to identify and study 19 Muslim castes and tribes listed in Census of India 1931 (57-38=19). If we add these 19 castes and tribes in the list of 69 castes/communities studied by POI we get a list of 88 Muslim castes and communities.

Names of 88 Muslim castes/communities of Uttar Pradesh are alphabetically arranged and presented in Column No. 1 of the following table 8.3. These castes/communities are matched with the castes listed as OBC in the Central list (Column. No. 2) and in State list (Column No. 3)

Sl No.	List of Muslim castes/communities, emerged from 1931 Census and POI project (1985-90) of Uttar Pradesh Column No. 1	Castes listed as in Central List of OBCs Column No. 2	Castes listed in Uttar Pradesh State List of OBCs Column No. 3
1	Iraqi (Rankia)	Kalal, Rankia, Arakh	Rankia, Kalal, Araq
2	Ahmadiya	-----	-----
3	Atishbaz	Atishbaz	-----

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Sl No.	List of Muslim castes/communities, emerged from 1931 Census and POI project (1985-90) of Uttar Pradesh Column No. 1	Castes listed as in Central List of OBCs Column No. 2	Castes listed in Uttar Pradesh State List of OBCs Column No. 3
4	Baghban	Baghban	-----
5	Bakar Qassab	Qassab (Qureshi), Chikwa	Qassab (Qureshi), Chikwa
6	Bangali/Bengali	-----	-----
7	Barhai	Barhai	Barhai
8	Bawarchi	-----	-----
9	Behna	Behna (Naddaf, Dhunia, Mansoori)	Naddaf (Dhunia, Mansoori)
10	Bhand	Bhand	-----
11	Bhatiara	Bhatiara	Bhatiara
12	Bhisthi	Bhisthi (Saqqa, Abbasi)	Bhisthi (Saqqa, Abbasi)
13	Bisati	--	----
14	Chippi	Chippi (Chippe)	Chippi (Chippe)
15	Churihar	---	-----
16	Dafali	Dafali	Dafali
17	Darzi	Darzi	Darzi (Idrisi)
18	Dhari	-----	-----
19	Dilliwal Shaikh	-----	-----
20	Faqir	Faqir	Faqir
21	Gaddi	Gaddi	Gaddi
22	Ghandi	-----	Ghandi
23	Garha	-----	Garha
24	Ghassal	-----	-----
25	Ghosi	Ghosi	Ghosi
26	Goriya	-----	-----

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Sl No.	List of Muslim castes/communities, emerged from 1931 Census and POI project (1985-90) of Uttar Pradesh Column No. 1	Castes listed as in Central List of OBCs Column No. 2	Castes listed in Uttar Pradesh State List of OBCs Column No. 3
27	Halalkhor	Halalkhor	Halalkhor
28	Hijra	-----	-----
29	Hurkia	-----	-----
30	Irani	-----	-----
31	Jaga	-----	-----
32	Jogi Faqir	-----	-----
33	Jhojha	Jhojha	Jhojha
34	Kalander	-----	-----
35	Kamangar	-----	-----
36	Kamboj		Kamboj
37	Kankali	-----	-----
38	Kanmaila	-----	-----
39	Kasai	Kasai	-----
40	Kasgar	Kasgar	Kasgar
41	Kingharia	-----	-----
42	Kunjra	Kunjra	Kunjra
43	Kumhar	Kumhar	Kumhar
44	Lal Begi	Lal Begi	-----
45	Madari	Madari	-----
46	Mali	Mali	Mali
47	Manihar	Manihar	Manihar
48	Meo	Meo	Meo
49	Mian	-----	-----
50	Mirasi	Mirasi	Mirasi
51	Momin Ansari	Momin Ansari, Julaha	Momin Ansari
52	Mughal	-----	-----

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Sl No.	List of Muslim castes/communities, emerged from 1931 Census and POI project (1985-90) of Uttar Pradesh Column No. 1	Castes listed as in Central List of OBCs Column No. 2	Castes listed in Uttar Pradesh State List of OBCs Column No. 3
53	Mujavir	-----	-----
54	Muker	Muker (Mekrani)	Muker (Mekrani)
55	Muslim Banbati/ Bandhmati	-----	-----
56	Muslim Banjara	Banjara	Banjara
57	Muslim Dhagi		Dhagi
58	Muslim Dhobi	Dhobi	Dhobi
59	Muslim Gujar	Gujar	Gujar
60	Muslim Halwai	Halwai	Halwai
61	Muslim Kayasth	Muslim Kayasth	Muslim Kayasth
62	Muslim Nai	Hajjam (Nai), Salmani, Nai,	Hajjam (Nai), Salmani, Nai,
63	Muslim Nat	Nat	Nat
64	Muslim Raibhat	-----	-----
65	Muslim Rajput	-----	-----
66	Muslim Teli	Teli (Rogangar, Teli Malik)	Rogangar, Teli
67	Nakkal	Nakkal	Nakkal
68	Nalband	Nalband	-----
69	Nanbai	-----	Nanbai
70	Neo-Muslim	-----	-----
71	Pathan	-----	-----
72	Putliwale	-----	-----
73	Patwa	Patwa	Patwa
74	Qalaigar	Kalaikar	
75	Rain	Rayeen	Rayeen

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Sl No.	List of Muslim castes/communities, emerged from 1931 Census and POI project (1985-90) of Uttar Pradesh Column No. 1	Castes listed as in Central List of OBCs Column No. 2	Castes listed in Uttar Pradesh State List of OBCs Column No. 3
76	Raj	Raj (Memar)	-----
77	Ranghar	-----	-----
78	Rangrez	Rangrez	Rangrez
79	Rangsaz	-----	-----
80	Sai	Sai	-----
81	Saifi	Lohar	Lohar (Saifi)
82	Saiqalgar	-----	-----
83	Sheikh	-----	-----
84	Shekhzade	-----	-----
85	Syed	-----	-----
86	Tarkhihar	-----	-----
87	Tawaif	-----	-----
88	Turk	-----	-----
		Some other Muslim Castes which are neither included in 1931 Census nor studied by POI but included in Central List of OBCs are as follows:- i) Khumra ii) Sangtarash iii) Sheikh Sarvari (Pirai)	Some other Muslim Castes which are neither included in 1931 Census nor studied by POI but included in state List of OBCs are as follows:- i). Khumra ii) Sangtarash iii) Sheikh Sarvari (Pirai) iv) Meershikar

If one compare castes/communities listed in three columns of the above table 8.3, one would find three major discrepancies.

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

- i). Discrepancy between castes listed in Column No. 1 with those categorized as OBCs in Column No. 2 & 3 and vice-versa.
- ii). Discrepancy between castes listed in Column No. 2 and those in Column No.3 and
- iii). Discrepancy between castes listed in Column No.3 and those in Column No.2

In regard with discrepancy No. (i), the above Table shows that 37 castes of Column No.1 are not included in both Column No. 2 & 3. While 4 castes of column No. 2&3 namely Khumra, Sangtarash, Meershikar, Sheikh Sarvari (Peerai) do not figure in column No.1 (i.e. they are neither listed in Census of India 1931 nor studied by POI.).

The names of 37 castes are as follows:

Ahmadiya, Bengali/Bangali, Bawarchi, Bisati, Churihar, Dhari, Dillwal Sheikh, Ghassal, Goriya, Hijra, Hurkia, Irani, Jaga, Jogi Faqir, Kalander, Kamangar, Kankali, Kanmaila, Kingharia, Mian, Mughal, Mujavir, Muslim Banbati/Bandhmati, Muslim Raibhat, Muslim Rajput, Neo-Muslim, Pathan, Putliwale, Ranghar, Rangfaz, Saiqalgar, Sheikh, Shekhzade, Syed, Tarkhihar, Tawaif, Turk

POI has studied 29 of these 37 castes. Their brief account is given below:-

Ahmadiya : It is a very small community of Uttar Pradesh, indeed, it is a sect. Members of the community are generally educated. Most of them are engaged in cultivation, trade and white-collar occupation. (for detail see POI, Uttar Pradesh 2005. Vol XLII , part I-III, pp. 74-77)

Bengali/Bangali: It is a linguistic community. Members of the community believe in major religion of the state i.e. Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism. However, POI has provided detailed account only of Bengali Hindus. There is urgent need to explore the conditions of the Bengali Muslims in the state. (Ibid. pp. 252-255)

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Bawarchi : They are one of the two endogamous groups which together constitute the Kasai caste. They are professional cooks and call themselves as “Qureshi”. This is a large community, distributed in different parts of Uttar Pradesh. They are often illiterate and cannot earn their livelihood independently (Ibid. pp.220-223)

Bisati: The community has adopted the business of general merchandise. It occupies the middle position in the social hierarchy and the community is found in many parts of Uttar Pradesh and is backward in education. (Ibid. pp 336-339)

Dhari: It is a community of singers. They are found in the districts of central Uttar Pradesh. It is a community of poors, which has unfavourable attitude towards formal education. (Ibid. pp. 438-40)

Dilliwal Sheikh: They are Muslim washerman. It is a very small community, mainly concentrated in the districts of Lucknow, Kanpur, Aligarh and Varanasi. They perceive themselves equal to Qabaria and Qasai communities and superior to Jamadar. It is a community of landless wage earners. (Ibid. pp. 452-454)

Ghassal: It is a microscopic community on the verge of extinction. They are the professional undertakers, who take charge of the dead body. They give the last bath to the corpse. Very poor and illiterate community. (Ibid. pp.535-538)

Goriya: U.P. Census of India 1931 identified Goriya as a community of both Hindus and Muslims, an offshoot of Kahars and Mallahs, the community is associated with the occupation of fishing and cultivating. (P. 632). While POI identified the community only of Hindus and a sub caste of Mallah. Therefore, field investigation is required to probe whether some sections or groups of the Goriya community are still Muslims or they have dissociated themselves from Islam. (Ibid. pp. 552-555)

Hijra: Hijras or Eunuchs were associated with the courts of both Hindu and Muslim Kings and Nobles in the past. Therefore, it is community of both Hindus and Muslims.

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

However most of the Hijras are Muslims. They are generally illiterate and earn their livelihood by singing and dancing. (Ibid. pp. 606-614)

Irani : As the name suggest they have migrated from Iran to India and traditionally associated with the occupation of horse trade and precious stone. They claim themselves Syed and belong to Shia sect. Today they are a marginalised community. “ On the whole their economy is hand-to- mouth with no land to subsit on and no steady source of income... Regarding the development activities related to literacy, health, transport and electricity, it should be pointed out that the community is suffering a great deal on most fronts on account of their nomadic character and abject poverty”. (Ibid. pp 615-617)

Jaga : “The Jaga are a well-known Muslim community. They are also known as Jagawa, Jagabhat, and Bhatt. They believe their origin from those who were engaged as professional singers of praises of great men. Their present day distribution is in Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Farrukhabad, Hardoi, Kanpur and Lucknow districts... the Jagas are landless people and today they are engaged as agricultural labourers and daily wage casual labourers . (Ibid. pp. 662-625)

Jogi Faqir. They are also known as Madariya Faqirs. They trace their origin from various Sufi saints and are divided into many endogamous groups. “It is mainly a landless community and its traditional occupation is to render religious service, religio-medical service and begging. Begging is their common traditional profession which they are now giving up rapidly. Most of the Jogi Faqirs are working as labourers. The community is deprived of education. (Ibid. pp 647- 652)

Kalander: Kalander or Qalander Faqir is a community of poors. They are mainly found in the districts of Mainpuri, Agra Kanpur, Etawah and Lucknow. The community earns its livelihood by performing feats of the animals. (Ibid., pp. 677-682)

Kamangar: It is a little known Muslim community scattered mainly in the urban and semi-urban areas of Uttar Pradesh. Their traditional occupation was to make to make

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

and arrows. Today most of the kamangars are poor daily wage earners and have no access to education. (Ibid. pp. 688-690)

Kankali: The Kankali, a community of musicians, singers and beggars are also known as Kankal and Mangta. They are one of the occupational group of Muslims and belong to Sunni sect. They are landless community. Dancing, singing and begging is their traditional, as well as present, primary occupation. (Ibid. pp. 709-713)

Kanmaila: The Kanmaila is an occupational caste whose members specialize in cleaning the stuffed ears from inside. They usually operate at the railway or bus stations, or on the pavement of the road. They are very poor and illiterate people. (Ibid. pp. 714-717)

Kingharia: It is a community of singers and beggars. They are landless community and their traditional and primary occupation is singing and begging. Labour, hawking and rickshaw pulling are their other means of livelihood. (Ibid. pp. 824-827)

Mian: The Mian is a community title of intermediaries who existed between the nawabs or landlords and the workers in the field. The Malik, Milki, Kidwai and Cowdhary constitute the Mian community. They place themselves in the Ashraf category of Muslims. Land is their major economic resource. These days some of the community members do business and are in government jobs. (Ibid. pp. 968-972)

Mughal: Mughals are both Sunni and Shia. Often these people are referred to by their surnames Mirza and Beg. The Mughal have two divisions called Chughtai and Changezee. They perceive their position as second to Sayyads among the Muslims. They were once known as soldiers of the Mughal army, do not claim to be proficient in any specific occupation, profession or skill. They have taken up variety of works as economic activity. In villages, they do some agriculture, own orchards, specially mango orchards, whereas in towns, they are engaged in trade, handicrafts, viz. Kashdakari

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

(embroidery), carpet weaving, and even in white collar jobs and services in government and non-government organizations. (Ibid. pp. 986-990)

Mujavir: They were traditionally care-takers of shrines and mosques in the past. Today they are professional musicians dealing with various modern instruments such as harmonium, trumpet, clarinet, and dhol. Many of them are self-employed as petty shopkeepers, rickshaw pullers, tailors, barbers, carpenters, ironsmiths and musicians. (Ibid. pp.991-994)

Muslim Banbati/Bandhmati: The Banbati or Bandhmati is a Muslim community and their Hindu counterparts known by the same name are also known as Bandhmati. They traditionally live by making ropes (ban). The community is found in the districts of Saharanpur and adjacent areas in western Uttar Pradesh. Traditionally they are self-employed, which includes rope-making, animal husbandry, poultry and miscellaneous other small jobs. Economic constraints discourage them from allowing their children to complete their school education. (Ibid. pp. 1017-1020)

Muslim Raibhat: The Raibhat is a community of bards whose traditional occupation has been singing Sehra. Occupation of composing and singing Sehra is almost abandoned by the community. Today they are generally engaged in occupation of agriculture labour, masons, wage labourers, shopkeepers, peddlers and repairmen. It is a community of poor and illiterates (Ibid. pp. 1181-1184)

Muslim Rajput: As mentioned in preceding pages Muslim Rajputs had a status of both criminal tribe and backward in 1931 Census. The Muslim Rajputs are distributed at Farrukhabad, Agra, Mainpuri, Etah and Etawah districts of Uttar Pradesh. They send their children to school. The children do not study due to poverty, social problems and sometimes due to non-availability of schools. They are mainly agriculturists. (Ibid. pp. 1057-1060)

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Pathan: The Pathans are numerically large and geographically widely distributed community having no synonyms and titles. The Pathan are divided into 16 sub-groups: Afridi, Bangash, Bakarzai, Barech, Daudazi, Durrani, Ghorgushti, Gauri, Kakar, Khalil, Lodhi, Mohammad, Mohammadzai, Orakzai, Rohilla, and Yusufzai. Their main occupation is agriculture while business is their subsidiary source of earning. Some of them are also in service. (Ibid. pp. 1139-1141)

Putliwale: They are traditional puppeteers, singers and puppet makers. The people are an urban based landless community who traditionally eked out their livelihood through performing puppet shows for their patrons who invite them on the occasions of marriage and some other life cycle rituals. They are forced to keep their children illiterate because of economic reasons inspite of their keenness in making a headway in the field of education. (Ibid. pp. 1163-1165).

Ranghar: The Ranghar Live in the district of Saharanpur, wesatern Uttar Pradesh and the adjacent areas. The community's primary occupation is agriculture. Some of the community members are engaged in business, some are masons, and some are some are non-skilled labourers. (Ibid. pp 1197-1200)

Syed: They are both Shias and Sunnis. They are found scattered through the length and breadth of the state. Being descendants of Prophet Muhammad, the perception of the community is very high and other communities too take them in the same stride. Prior to zamindari abolition, the Saiyid were zamindars, taluqdars and absentee landlords in rural areas whereas in cities they were priests, men of letters, teachers and saints. They never entered into the castes for the purposes of sharecropping. Now, teaching, and public service are the major avenues of their livelihood. (Ibid. pp. 1246-1254)

Sheikh: The word Sheikh is derived from an Arabic word meaning an 'elder' or 'chief' or 'venerable'. They are both Shia and Sunnis. The community includes many sub-groups of Muslims like Abbasi, Ansari (not Momin Ansari), Faridi, Farooqi, Hashmi,

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

Jafari, Qidwai, Qureshi (not Qureshi Qassab), Maliks, Siddiqi, Sulemani, and so on. Their primary occupation is cultivation. Sheikhs of rural areas are lagging behind in education but of urban areas have acquired education and entered into business and white-collar occupations. (Ibid. pp. 1300-1302)

Shekhzade: The term 'shekhzade' literally means 'sons of chief or elder' and denotes pious spiritual guides and religious teachers. They are identified as landlords in the region and were owners of large landholdings during zamindari. Their population is mainly found in Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar districts. Primary occupation of the Shekhzade is settled cultivation. Their other occupations are agricultural labour, wage labour, tonga driving, petty shop-keeping and industrial labour. Due to lack of higher education among the boys and girls, only a few are in government and private services. (Ibid. pp. 1303-1305)

Preceding account of 29 communities shows that 8 of them namely Syed, Sheikh, Mughal, Pathan, Shekhzade, Mian, Irani, and Muslim Rajput appear to have or claim to have noble descent and higher social status. Therefore, one could argue against their inclusion in the list of OBCs. However, their economic and educational condition, especially that of Shekhzade, Irani and Muslim Rajput is so pathetic that they deserve affirmative action.

Although Ahmadiya is a small Muslim community whose member are generally educated and engaged in cultivation and white-collar occupation. They deserve affirmative action because of their peripheral status in the structure of Muslim society.

20 other communities are marginalised. They are illiterate, poor and engaged in such menial occupations like singing, dancing, begging, and performing feats of animals etc. By all criteria, they deserve to be included in the category of most backward.

POI has not identified 8 of the 37 castes mentioned above. Of these 8 castes Churihar (community of glass bangle makers) and Rang saz (community of Dyers) may

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

be placed against the communities of Manihar and Rangrez (categorized as OBCs in both Central and State list) respectively because of their occupational similarities.

Tawaif was the caste of women singers, dancers and prostitutes according to Census of India 1931. It was common to both Hindus and Muslims. The caste might have disintegrated and lost its identity with the decline of feudal lords who were promoters and protectors of the community. However, it is a fact that large numbers of women are still engaged in the occupation of singing, dancing and prostitution. They occupy lowest position in the social hierarchy and their economic and educational condition is worse off. They deserve special measure for their uplift.

The Census of India 1931, did not mention the occupation of Nau-Muslims. As the literal meaning of the word Nau-Muslims is New Muslims. We assume that this community would be consisted of those 'new converts' into Islam, belonged to different castes and tribes and engaged in various occupations. The community might have lost its identity over a period of time either due to its fusion in other community or adoption of some other names for its identity.

Survey team of POI, might have failed to identify Hurkia (the community of musicians and attendant on dancing girls), Saiqalgar (the community of armour and metal polishers), and Tarkhihar (the community of makers of palm leaf ornaments) either due to their small size or obscure identity. Therefore, these communities must be explored. They deserve to be included in the category of most backward as they have been associated with menial occupations.

But it is surprising to note that POI has not identified the community of Turk, which is large in size and well known in many districts of Uttar Pradesh.

Ethnographic accounts of British period explicitly show Turks were originally Banjaras. H.M. Elliot divided the Banjaras of North western Provinces and Awadh into five categories i.e. Turkia, Mukeri, Baid, Labana, Bahrup. (1976, p. 52) First two

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

categories of Banjaras were Muslims while the last three categories were of non-Muslims.

Muslim Banjaras were distributed in different parts of the United Provinces but their concentration was in the area of Tarai, stretching out from Saharanpur in the west through districts of Rampur, Moradabad, Bareilly, Pilibhit to the eastern districts of Bahraich and Gorakhpur. Turkia Banjaras were divided into 36 tribes namely:

“Tumar, Badan, Chakiraha, Chauhan, Gahlot, Dilvari, Aghwan, Bechrari, Durki, Shaikh ,Alvi, Kanothi, Dhanhikaia, Gaddi, Chandaul, Teli, Kaik, Ghor, Gotahni, Titar , Hindia , Burki, Nathamir, Charkhi, Padar, Raha, Marauthia, Khakhara, Kareya, Bahlm, Bhatti, Bandwari, Bargadda, Alia and Khilji". (Ibid., p.53)

In the district of Moradabad, Rampur and adjoining areas many Turkia Banjaras adopted Turk title for them. The Gazetteer of the then Rampur state (or Riyasat Rampur) 1911 reports that;

Turks numbered 32,938 persons, surprisingly large figure, five times as great as the total Turk population of the united provinces. Elsewhere they are found in Nainital, and to a less degree in Bareilly and Moradabad. These Turks are apparently Banjaras...It is a well-known fact that the northern portion of Rampur and the Tarai parganas of Nainital swarm with Banjaras and the supposition that these people prefer the name Turk is strengthened by the appearance of only, 8,102 Banjaras in the state according to 1901 census report. General tradition indicates that all Banjaras were originally Hindus they certainly retain or have adopted many Hindu customs and are strictly endogamous. (p. 49)

Thus Turks deserve to be categorized as OBCs.

As mentioned above 3 castes namely Sangtarash, Khumra and Sheikh Sarvari (Peerai) listed both in column No. 2 & 3 and one caste i.e. Meersshikar listed only in column No. 3 do not figure in column No. 1. It means that these 4 castes have not been listed by Census of India 1931, nor identified by POI. These are Muslim castes, as their names suggests. This discrepancy leads us to say that neither Census of India 1931 nor POI can be final bases for identification of castes and their inclusion in the list of OBCs. It

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

is also important to note that both National and State Backward Classes Commissions do not go by Census of India 1931 in categorization of castes as OBCs, indeed lists of OBCs are open ended.

It is evident from the above table 8.3 that 46 castes (either distinctively Muslims or common to both Muslim and non-Muslim) are listed in column No.2, i.e. Central list of OBCs. 9 of these 46 castes are not mentioned in Column No.3 i.e., in Uttar Pradesh's list of OBCs. Names of these are as follows:

Atishbaz, Baghban, Bhand, Lalbegi, Madari, Nalband, Kalaikar, Raj (Memar), Sai. Therefore, these Muslim castes must be included in the Uttar Pradesh's list of OBCs.

There are 44 castes and their sub-groups in Column No. 3 of above table 8.3. If we compare 44 castes of Column No.3 with 46 castes of Column No. 2, we find that 6 castes namely, Gandhi, Garha, Kamboj, Dhagi, Nanbai, and Meershikar are not listed in Central list of OBCs. Therefore, these castes deserve to be included in the Central List of OBCs.

Conclusion

In the light of these discrepancies, it may be concluded that;

a). Both National and state Backward Classes Commissions do not follow any systematic and objective criteria for the identification and listing of castes. Therefore, not only discrepancies in scheduling castes as OBCs exist but also many castes which deserve for affirmative action, are not categorized as OBCs. For example, many Muslim castes having lowest status in social hierarchy and associated with menial occupations like dancing, singing, begging etc. are not included in the list of OBCs. Therefore, there is urgent need for fresh and comprehensive caste-wise Census based on objective and proper definition of OBCs incorporating social, educational and economic indicators. Backward Class Index (BCI) may be developed for the categorization and classification of castes/communities according to their level of Backwardness.

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

b). OBCs of Uttar Pradesh are treated at par for the benefits of reservations despite the fact they are consisted of various castes having different level of socio-economic and educational condition. A few OBC's castes are prosperous, educated and politically powerful while many are poor, illiterate and powerless. Considering prosperous, educated and powerful on equal footing with those who are poor, illiterate and powerless for the benefits of affirmative action would further promote and consolidate inequalities and defeat the spirit and goal of social justice. Therefore, OBCs must be categorized into sub categories of advanced backward, intermediate backward and most backward on the basis of their socio-economic and educational condition and accordingly their share/quota in 27% reservation may be fixed.

The Committee finds out that, "the Muslim community as a whole is lagging behind Hindu-OBCs. However, overall, the condition of Muslim-OBCs are worse than those of Muslim-Gen. The abysmally low representation of Muslim-OBCs suggests that the benefits of entitlements meant for the backward classes are yet to reach them". (p. 213). It is obvious that Muslim OBCs cannot compete with Hindu OBCs. Therefore, they deserve to be categorized as most backward and accordingly separate quota may be fixed for them.

c). While lists of OBCs categorize castes across religion, this principle is not being followed in case of SCs. Castes of Muslims and Christians having status and occupation like those of non-Muslim and Christian untouchables are deprived of benefits of reservation available to SCs on the ground of their religion. It has frequently been argued that religion cannot be the basis for the benefits of reservation. But the same has been accepted for excluding the Muslims and Christians from Schedule Castes. Is it judicious? This contradiction must be removed in order to make policy of affirmative action inclusive and non-discriminatory. Many castes of Muslims, having the status of Arzals, deserve to be included in SCs.

Islam and Muslim Societies

- a social science journal

d). Governments of both Centre and States must publish annually the list of beneficiaries of reservation policy and their castes, in order to make the policy transparent.

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