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**TOPIC:** CASTE CENSUS

#### What counts in caste census

### 1. India's New Caste Census Move

- The **Modi government**, traditionally opposed to caste-based enumeration, has now expressed support for a **caste census**.
- This marks a significant shift in BJP's historical stance, where caste politics was seen as a threat to Hindu unity.
- The announcement holds deep symbolic value, indicating formal state recognition of caste-based inequalities after decades of official reluctance.

### 2. Political Strategy Behind the Shift

- The decision is seen as a tactical move to expand BJP's base among non-dominant OBCs (Other Backward Classes) and SCs (Scheduled Castes).
- It reflects the BJP's attempt to counter Mandal-era parties (like RJD and SP) by appealing directly to numerically significant backward groups.
- Comes with the risk of alienating upper-caste voters, who have historically formed BJP's core support base.

### 3. BJP's Historical Stance on Caste

- In the 1990s, BJP opposed the Mandal Commission recommendations, branding caste reservations as divisive.
- Leaders like L.K. Advani launched the Rath Yatra in response to VP Singh's caste mobilization.
- Over time, BJP pivoted to co-opt OBC and Dalit leadership, using both symbolic and electoral strategies to build a broader social coalition.

## 4. Implications of the Caste Census

- Electoral Timing: The announcement coincides with upcoming state elections in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, raising questions about political intent.
- **Internal Tensions**: BJP risks **fracturing its social coalition**, as upper-caste groups may feel threatened by increased caste-based mobilization.



• Domestication of Mandal: BJP seeks to absorb and redirect Mandal-era social justice politics, using its own framework of development and nationalism.

## 5. Societal and Policy Implications

- **Data-Driven Governance**: A caste census could enable **targeted affirmative action**, resource allocation, and representation in proportion to actual demographics.
- Could address the "creamy layer" concerns and help identify truly disadvantaged subcastes within the broad OBC and SC categories.
- Historically, both BJP and Congress governments avoided caste enumeration, fearing social unrest and political complications.

# 6. Concerns and Counterarguments

- Risk of Reinforcing Divisions: Critics fear a caste census could re-solidify hierarchical identities and disrupt national unity.
- Counterpoint: Caste already shapes Indian life—from village layouts to matrimonial alliances. Ignoring it doesn't erase its influence.
- The census can offer **objective insight** into invisible exclusions rather than furthering divisiveness.

#### 7. Lessons from the Mandal Commission Era

- In 1990, the Mandal Commission recommendations (27% OBC reservation) triggered mass protests and altered Indian politics.
- Unintended Outcomes: While BJP initially opposed Mandal, the subsequent Hindutva mobilization (Ram Janmabhoomi) leveraged the upheaval for broader appeal.
- Long-Term Impact: Mandal empowered backward castes and permanently reshaped caste consciousness in Indian politics.

## 8. Structural Challenges

- Internal Fragmentation: Not all OBCs or SCs are equally marginalized. Dominant subcastes often capture a disproportionate share of benefits.
- **Representation Issues**: Without sub-categorization, the **numerical strength** of a caste may not translate into equitable representation.
- Need for Social Justice Framework: The focus should be on backwardness alleviation, not just on numerical quotas or tokenism.

### 9. Alternative Models and Alliances



- Examples like **BSP's Bahujan-Savarna alliances** in UP show that **cross-caste coalitions** are possible even in a deeply stratified society.
- A well-executed caste census could inform more **inclusive coalition-building strategies** that avoid elite capture within caste groups.

### 10. Way Forward

- Data Utilization: The value of the caste census depends on how the data is used—for empowerment or electoral arithmetic.
- Design Matters: The questionnaire structure, categories, and transparency will reflect the sincerity of the government's intent.
- Political Accountability: Success will require institutional follow-up, not just headline-making announcements.

## 11. Broader Policy Impact

- If used effectively, the caste census could lead to evidence-based policymaking, better reservation frameworks, and targeted welfare schemes.
- Has the potential to address systemic exclusions rather than merely benefitting vocal or dominant caste groups.

#### 12. Conclusion

- While the BJP's motives may be strategic, the caste census—if implemented sincerely—can catalyse structural transformation in Indian society.
- Its success will depend on whether it is used to uplift the most marginalized, or simply to reconfigure political alliances.
- Like Mandal, the caste census may have far-reaching effects that go beyond its immediate political context.

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