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TELANGANA SOCIO, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL, EMPLOYMENT, POLITICAL AND CASTE (SEEEPC) SURVEY - 2024

INDEPENDENT EXPERT WORKING GROUP REPORT - 2025

(Volume-II)

Government of Telangana

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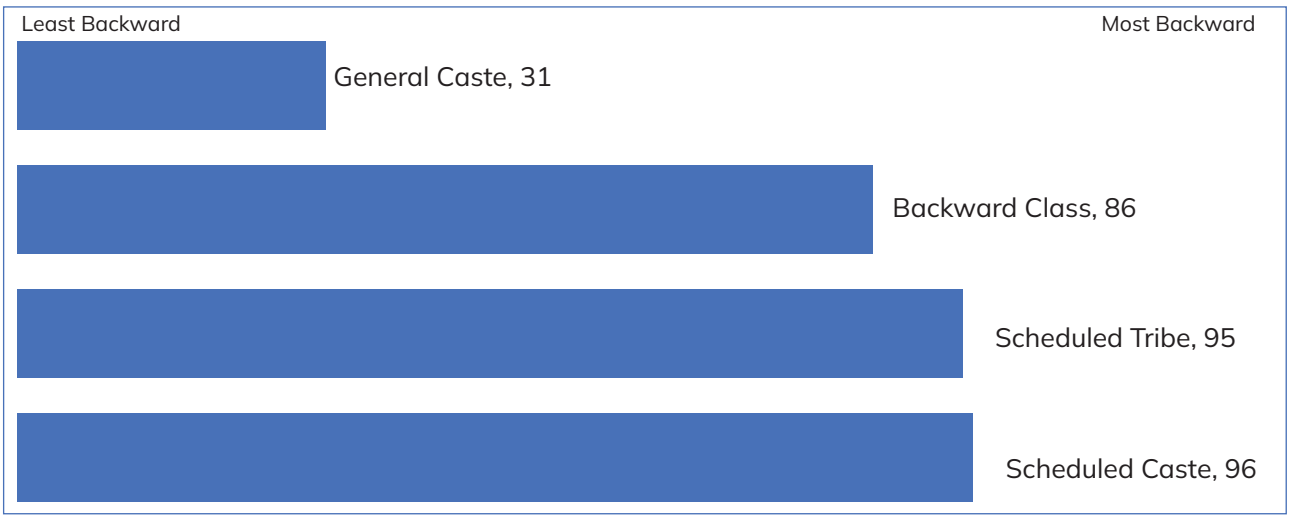
CBI RANKING and SCORES

Using the methodology described in the MEASURING BACKWARDNESS: CBI METHODOLOGY chapter, CBI scores were computed for each of the 242 caste groups as well as the 'No Caste' and 'Others' categories. To reiterate, CBI is a measure of relative backwardness of castes in Telangana and not an absolute measure. For every one of the 42 parameters, each caste was given points based on the quartile they belonged to for that parameter. All of the data used to calculate this is based on self-reported information in the SEEEPC survey and not any official data. So, parameters such as land ownership, income may be subject to 'honesty' biases of different castes but across 3.55 crore (35 million) people, such biases are expected to even or cancel out for the purposes of computing relative backwardness while they may be a significant error for absolute values.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are Thrice as Backward as General Caste

Figure 1: Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (Entire state of Telangana)



SC as a group comes out as the most backward in Telangana with a CBI score of 96. But the STs are almost equally backward with a score of 95. To put these in context, the overall weighted average CBI score for the entire state is 81. The SCs and STs are nearly 15 points more backward than the average person in Telangana. The Backward Classes have a CBI score of 86 which is below the state average. The General Castes have a CBI score of 31, well above the state average indicating much higher levels of development and prosperity relative to others. Recall that higher the CBI score, the more backward a caste is.

135 Castes Accounting for 67% of Population More Backward

As mentioned in the previous section, the weighted average CBI score for the entire state of Telangana works out to 81. 135 out of the 242 castes have a CBI score of more than 81. This suggests that 135 castes can be deemed as more backward than the average caste in Telangana. Of these 135 castes, 69 are Backward Classes, 41 are Scheduled Caste and 25 are Scheduled Tribe. These 135 castes account for 67% of the total population. It can thus be imputed that 67% of the population of Telangana are backward relative to the average person in the state.

The flip side of a ranking framework is that there are castes within the broader group of Backward Class, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes that are better than the state average in terms of backwardness. That is, of the total 133 castes under Backward Class, 69 castes can be construed as more backward while the remaining 64 as less backward. Similarly, 18 out of the 41 designated Schedule Castes and 7 out of 25 Scheduled Tribe castes are less backward than the state average. The table below shows the number of castes and share of the state population in each social group that are below and above the state average in CBI scores. Expectedly, all 18 castes under the General Caste group are well above the state average in CBI scores indicating their relative prosperity.

Table 1 : More and Less Backward Castes: Summary

Group	Total Number of Castes	More Backward (than state average)		Less Backward (than state average)	
		Castes/Tribes	Share of population	Castes/Tribes	Share of population
Backward Class	133	69	40%	64	17%
Scheduled Caste	59	41	17%	18	0.5%
Scheduled Tribe	32	25	10%	7	0.1%
General Caste	18	0	NA	18	12%
Total	**242**	**135**	**67%**	**107**	**29%**

99% of STs, 97% of SCs, 71% of BCs More Backward Than Rest

It is equally striking to observe that 99% of all Scheduled Tribes belonging to 25 out of the 32 ST castes are more backward than the state average. Similarly, 97% of all Scheduled Castes belonging to 41 out of the 59 SC castes are more backward and 71% of all Backward Class people in 69 castes are more backward. And 100% of all General Caste people in all the 18 castes are more developed than the state average.

This is as important a finding of this report as the specific ranking of all the castes. Recall that the share of population of each caste was not a factor in computing their backwardness, yet remarkably the results show that an overwhelming majority of Tribals and Dalits are more backward than the average in the state. This is as much of a vindication of the long-held notion about caste disparities as it is a commentary about the robustness of the CBI framework and the quality of the SEEEPC survey.

List of 135 Castes That Are More Backward Than State Average

The list of all the 135 castes that are more backward (higher CBI score than state average) are listed in the table below along in descending order of their CBI score in each social group and their share of total population. To repeat, the share of population is not a factor in calculating the CBI score.

Table 2 : 135 castes more backward than state average

Caste	CBI Score
Group: Backward Class	
BC-E Turaka Muslim	111
BC-A Pitchiguntla	110
BC-E Pakeerla	110
BC-E Faqir Muslim	108
BC-A Joshinandiwalas	108
BC-A Tholubommalatavaru	107
BC-A Odde	106
BC-E Qureshi Muslim	105
BC-A Mandula	105
BC-E Gosangi	105
BC-E Garadi	103
BC-A Bail	103
BC-A Gotrala	102
BC-A Mehtar Muslim	101
BC-A Odd	101
BC-A Rajannala	100
BC-E Achchukattalavandlu	100
BC-A Valmiki	98
BC-D Mali	98
BC-D Mathura	98
BC-A Sikligar	98
BC-E Dhobi Muslim	97
BC-E Attar	97
BC-A Rajaka	95
BC-A Sonnayila	95
BC-A Pala-Ekari	95
BC-A Kakipadagala	95
BC-A Patamvaru	95
BC-D Mudiraj	94
BC-A Nayi-Brahmin	94
BC-D Arevallu	93
BC-E Shaik Muslim	93
BC-A Poosala	93
BC-A Veeramushti	93
BC-D Hatkar	93
BC-D Uppara	92
BC-A Agnikulakshatriya	92
BC-B Are Marath	92
BC-D Yadava	92
BC-D Kurmi	92
BC-A Ganjikuti	92
BC-B Dudekula	91
BC-B Kuruba Kuruma	91
BC-A Mondivaru	91
BC-E Labbi	91
BC-A Bagothula	91
BC-A Budabukkala	90
BC-B Lodh	89
BC-A Pardhi	89

Caste	CBI Score
BC-B Kasi	89
BC-B Kummara	88
BC-B Blacksmith	87
BC-A Gangiredlavaru	87
BC-A Kunapuli	87
BC-A Chopemari	87
BC-A Medari	86
BC-E Guddi	86
BC-B Vadrangi	85
BC-A Siddula	85
BC-A Kasikapadi	84
BC-A Mondepatta	84
BC-D Arekatika	83
BC-A Gouda	82
BC-A Enooti	82
BC-D KullaKadagi	81
BC-A Katipapala	81
BC-A Patra	81
BC-D Jingar	81
BC-A Pariki	81
Group: Scheduled Caste	
SC Dakkal	116
SC Beda	113
SC Sindhollu	112
SC Mashti	109
SC Byagara	108
SC Jaggali	108
SC Holeya Dasari	107
SC Holeya	107
SC Matangi	106
SC Madasi	103
SC Mang	102
SC Mang Garodi	102
SC Gosangi	101
SC Mala Hannai	101
SC Madiga	100
SC Bindla	100
SC Mahar	99
SC Madiga Dasu	98
SC Dom	98
SC Bavuri	98
SC Dhor	96
SC Chalavadi	95
SC Chachati	94
SC Mala Dasari	93

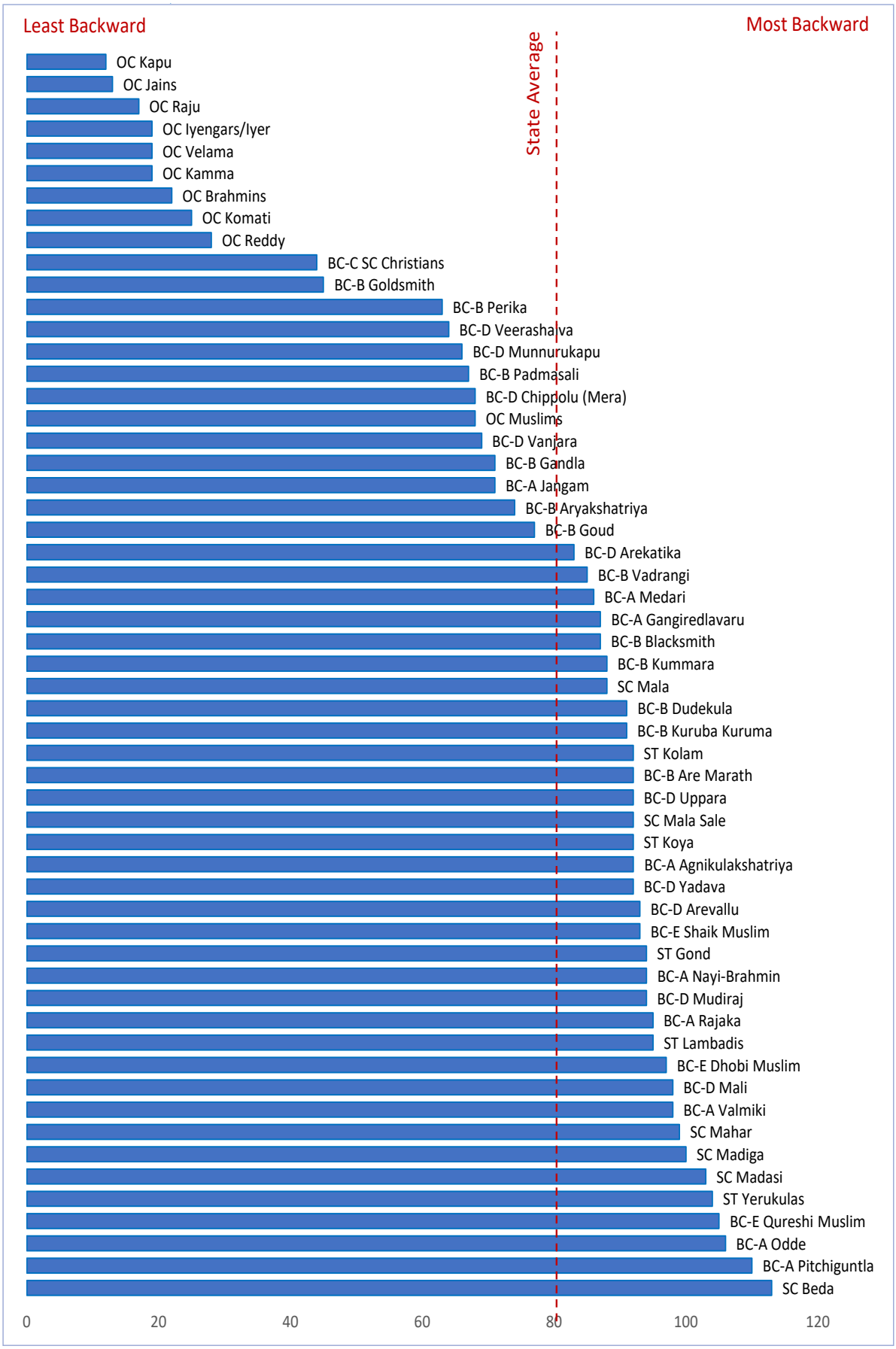
Caste	CBI Score
SC Mala Sale	92
SC Jambuvulu	92
SC Ellamalawar	92
SC Chandala	92
SC Mala Masti	91
SC Malajangam	90
SC Mala	88
SC Aray Mala	88
SC Pamidi	88
SC Chamar	87
SC Manne	87
SC Mala Sanyasi	87
SC Kolupulvandlu	85
SC Mundala	85
SC Mala Dasu	84
SC Anamuk	81
SC Godari	81
Group: Scheduled Tribe	
ST Nakkala	112
ST Chenchu	108
ST Kammara	107
ST Yerukulas	104
ST Thoti	103
ST Savaras	101
ST Nayaks	98
ST Manna	98
ST Kotia	96
ST Porja	96
ST Lambadis	95
ST Andh	95
ST Kondhs	95
ST Gond	94
ST Yenadis	94
ST Mukha	94
ST Koya	92
ST Kolam	92
ST Pardhan	90
ST Rona	85
ST Kulia	84
ST Reddi	84
ST Konda Dhoras	83
ST Konda Kapu	83
ST Gadabas	81

CBI Ranking of 56 Major Castes

As pointed out in the EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (Volume-I), 56 out of the 242 castes with a population of 50,000 or more each account for 90% of the entire population of the state. These 56 major castes combined with 'No Caste' and 'Others' account for 94% of Telangana's population. Hence, for clarity and simplicity reasons, the rest of the report will focus largely on these 56 castes though the CBI analysis has been carried out for all 242 castes of Telangana. To reiterate, the share of population of a caste is not a factor for computing backwardness of the caste and it is immaterial.

The state average line is also shown in dotted red to give a sense for which of these castes are below and above the state average.

Figure 2: Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (56 castes; all income levels; 90% of state population)



Among the 56 major castes that constitute 90% of Telangana's population, at the most backward end of the spectrum are SC Bedas, recording the highest level of backwardness with a CBI score of 113, followed closely by BC-A Pitchiguntlas at 110. Further, BC-A Odde (106), BC-E Qureshi Muslims (105), ST Yerukulas (104), SC Madasis (103) and SC Madiga (100) are not far on the most backwardness spectrum, recording CBI scores above 100 for a state average of 81 . These castes face compounded disadvantages across occupation, education, land ownership and living standards, contributing to their high CBI scores.

On the opposite end, OC Kapus (12), OC Jains (13), OC Rajus (17), OC Velamas, OC Kammas, OC Iyengars/Iyers, OC Brahmins, OC Komatis and OC Reddys are the least backward, reflecting their historical access to land, education, and secure occupations. These groups exhibit the lowest deprivation levels across indicators.

Among these 56 major castes, the CBI distance between the most backward caste and least backward caste is 100 points, revealing an astonishing disparity. It is also noteworthy that the least backward castes are about 60 CBI points below the state average (81) while the most backward castes are at least 30 CBI points above the state average.

Interestingly, some Backward Classes (BCs) like BC-C SC Christians and BC-B Goldsmiths along with a few other BCs show relatively low backwardness, positioned on the less backward side of the state average line. This indicates that not all BC groups are uniformly disadvantaged, and some have made socio-economic progress comparable to certain OC(General Caste) communities.

CBI Ranking of all 242 Castes of Telangana

While this report focuses largely on the 56 castes, as outlined earlier, the CBI analysis was undertaken for all 242 castes and the two groups of 'No Caste' and 'Others'. This covers the entire 3.55 crore (35 million) people's responses that were fed into the CBI model for computation of backwardness scores. The details are presented in APPENDIX 2: CBI SCORE & RANKING OF ALL CASTES.

Table 3: CBI Scores of 242 Castes

Caste	CBI Score
SC Dakkal	116
SC Beda	113
ST Nakkala	112
SC Sindhollu	112
BC-E Turaka Muslim	111
BC-A Pitchiguntla	110
BC-E Pakeerla	110
SC Mashti	109
BC-E Faqir Muslim	108
ST Chenchu	108
SC Byagara	108
BC-A Joshinandiwalas	108
SC Jaggali	108
SC Holeya	107
ST Kammara	107
BC-A Tholubommalatavaru	107
SC Holeya Dasari	107
BC-A Odde	106
SC Matangi	106
BC-E Qureshi Muslim	105
BC-A Mandula	105
BC-E Gosangi	105
ST Yerukulas	104
SC Madasi	103
BC-E Garadi	103
ST Thoti	103
BC-A Bail	103
SC Mang	102
BC-A Gotrala	102
SC Mang Garodi	102
BC-A Mehtar Muslim	101
SC Gosangi	101
SC Mala Hannai	101
ST Savaras	101

Caste	CBI Score
BC-A Odd	101
SC Madiga	100
SC Bindla	100
BC-A Rajannala	100
BC-E Achchukattalavandlu	100
SC Mahar	99
BC-A Valmiki	98
BC-D Mali	98
BC-D Mathura	98
SC Madiga Dasu	98
ST Nayaks	98
SC Dom	98
BC-A Sikligar	98
ST Manna	98
SC Bavuri	98
BC-E Dhobi Muslim	97
BC-E Attar	97
SC Dhor	96
ST Kotia	96
ST Porja	96
BC-A Rajaka	95
ST Lambadis	95
ST Andh	95
SC Chalavadi	95
BC-A Sonnayila	95
BC-A Pala-Ekari	95
ST Kondhs	95
BC-A Kakipadagala	95
BC-A Patamvaru	95
BC-D Mudiraj	94
BC-A Nayi-Brahmin	94
ST Gond	94
ST Yenadis	94
SC Chachati	94
ST Mukha	94

Caste	CBI Score
BC-D Arevallu	93
BC-E Shaik Muslim	93
SC Mala Dasari	93
BC-A Poosala	93
BC-A Veeramushti	93
BC-D Hatkar	93
BC-D Uppara	92
BC-A Agnikulakshatriya	92
BC-B Are Marath	92
ST Koya	92
BC-D Yadava	92
SC Mala Sale	92
ST Kolam	92
BC-D Kurmi	92
SC Jambuvulu	92
SC Ellamalawar	92
BC-A Ganjikuti	92
SC Chandala	92
BC-B Dudekula	91
BC-B Kuruba Kuruma	91
BC-A Mondivaru	91
SC Mala Masti	91
BC-E Labbi	91
BC-A Bagothula	91
BC-A Budabukkala	90
ST Pardhan	90
SC Malajangam	90
BC-B Lodh	89
BC-A Pardhi	89
BC-B Kasi	89
SC Mala	88
BC-B Kummara	88
SC Aray Mala	88
SC Pamidi	88
BC-B Blacksmith	87
BC-A Gangiredlavaru	87
SC Chamar	87

Caste	CBI Score
BC-A Kunapuli	87
SC Manne	87
BC-A Chopemari	87
SC Mala Sanyasi	87
BC-A Medari	86
BC-E Guddi	86
BC-B Vadrangi	85
SC Kolupulvandlu	85
BC-A Siddula	85
ST Rona	85
SC Mundala	85
BC-A Kasikapadi	84
SC Mala Dasu	84
BC-A Mondepatta	84
ST Kulia	84
ST Reddi	84
BC-D Arekatika	83
ST Konda Dhoras	83
ST Konda Kapu	83
BC-A Gouda	82
BC-A Enooti	82
BC-D KullaKadagi	81
BC-A Katipapala	81
SC Anamuk	81
ST Gadabas	81
BC-A Patra	81
BC-D Jingar	81
BC-A Pariki	81
SC Godari	81
ST Bhil	80
BC-D Krishnabalija	80
BC-D Koshti	80
BC-A Theracheerala	80
BC-D Lakkamarikapu	79
ST Goudu	79
SC Mitha	79

Caste	CBI Score
BC-B Budubunjala Bhunjwa	79
BC-A Peddammavandlu	78
BC-D Passi	78
SC Dandasi	78
SC Ghasi	78
BC-B Goud	77
BC-A Dasari	77
BC-A Kepmare	77
SC Bariki	77
BC-E Hajam	77
ST Kattunayakan	77
SC Mehtar	76
BC-E Siddi	75
BC-D Tammali	75
BC-A Kanjara	75
BC-B Aryakshatriya	74
BC-B Nessi	74
BC-A Addapuvaru	74
SC Adi Dravida	72
BC-A Jogi	72
BC-B Brassmith	72
BC-B Neelakanthi	72
ST Jatapus	72
SC Yatala	72
BC-B Gandla	71
BC-A Jangam	71
SC Adi Andhra	71
ST Kondareddis	71
BC-A Dommara	70
SC Arwa Mala	70
BC-B Jandra	70
BC-A Bukka	70
ST Hill	70
BC-D Vanjara	69
ST Bagata	69
BC-D Chippolu (Mera)	68

Caste	CBI Score
OC Muslims	68
BC-B Padmasali	67
SC Panchama	67
BC-D Munnurukapu	66
BC-B Bondili	66
SC Sapru	65
BC-D Veerashaiva	64
BC-B Perika	63
SC Chambhar	63
SC Relli	63
BC-A Kaikadi	63
BC-A Gudala	62
BC-B Karnabhakthulu	62
BC-B Swakulasali	61
BC-A Pambala	61
BC-D Kachi	60
BC-D Govili	60
BC-A Yata	60
BC-D Varala	59
BC-D Sadhuchetty	58
SC Samban	58
BC-B Karikalabhakthulu	56
BC-D Ayyaraka	55
BC-B Devanga	52
SC Valluvan	52
BC-D Sarollu	51
BC-D Aheer	51
BC-A Nokkar	51
SC Samagara	50
BC-B Neeli	49
BC-B Thogata	48
BC-B Goldsmith	45
BC-D Bhatraju	45
BC-D Surya	45
SC Paky	45
BC-C SC Christians	44
OC Marwadis	43

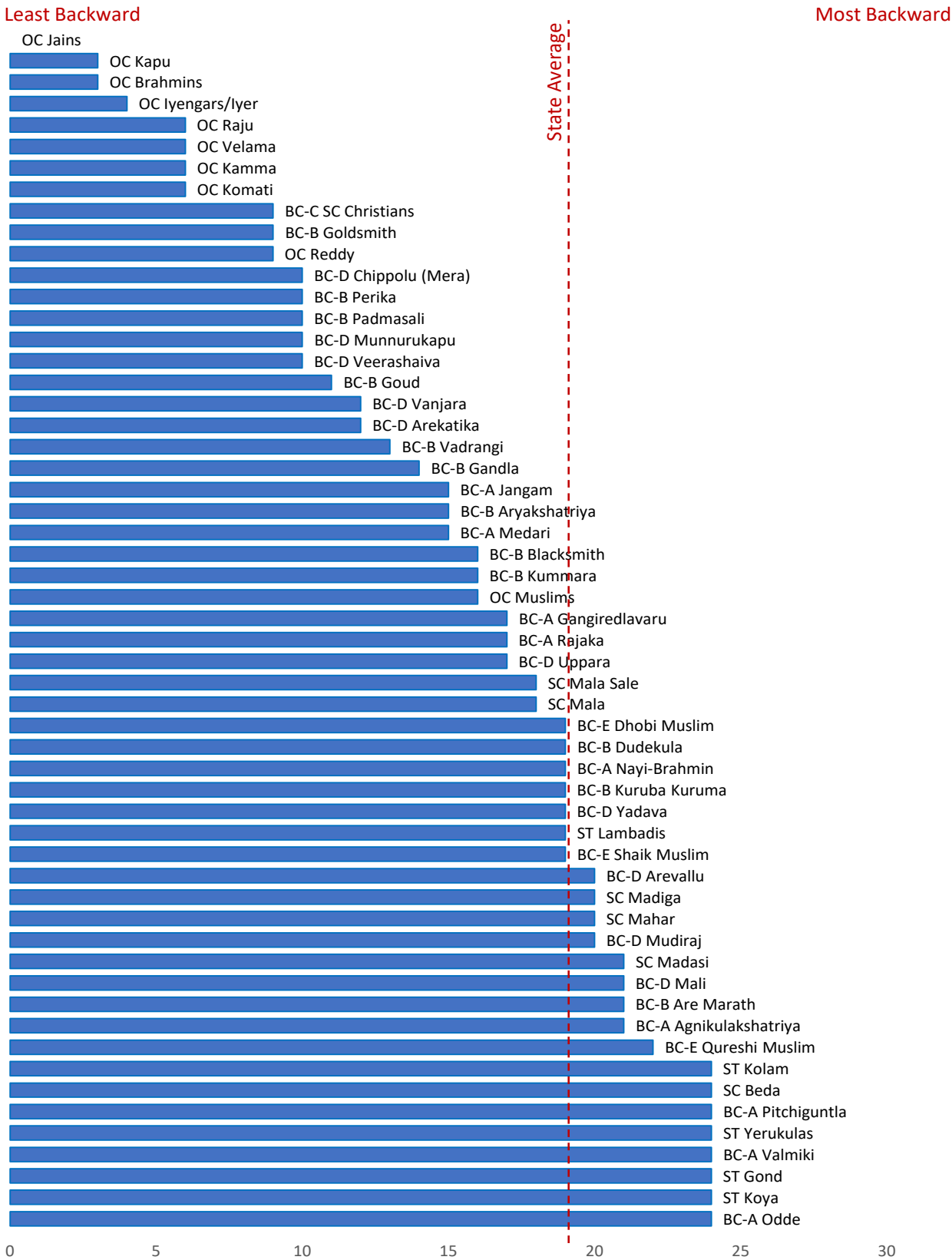
Caste	CBI Score
BC-B Patkar	43
BC-D Rangarez	43
OC Buddhists	43
BC-D Sistakaranam	43
BC-D Satani	42
BC-A Sri	42
BC-A Balasanthu	40
BC-D Nagaralu	40
SC Arundhatiya	39
BC-D Aghamudian	39
OC Sikhs	38
BC-D Sondi	38
BC-A Pamula	37
OC Lingayat	34

Caste	CBI Score
OC Reddy	28
OC Karanam	27
OC Komati	25
OC Patnayaks	25
OC Varma	24
OC Non BC-C Christians	23
OC Brahmins	22
OC Iyengars/Iyer	19
OC Kamma	19
OC Velama	19
OC Raju	17
OC Jains	13
OC Kapu	12

EDUCATIONAL BACKWARDNESS

Education Backwardness Index of 56 Major Castes

Figure 3: Education Backwardness Index (56 subcastes; 90% of state)



The Education Backwardness Index offers critical insights into disparities in educational attainment across 56 major castes, each with a population of over 50,000, that make up 90% of the state's population.

At the top, OC Jains emerge as the least backward, indicating high levels of educational attainment, while at the bottom, BC-A Oddes are the most educationally disadvantaged.

Interestingly, when it comes to Educational Attainment, OC Reddys are about the same as a few Backward Class communities—such as BC-C SC Christians and BC-B Goldsmiths. The data also reveals the educational disadvantage of OC Muslims, who rank below several BC groups.

Notably, BC-A Valmikis, BC-A Pitchiguntlas, BC-E Qureshi Muslims, BC-A Agnikulakshatriyas, BC-B Are Marath, BC-D Malis and BC-D Mudirajs are more educationally backward than most Scheduled Caste (SC) communities, highlighting that educational disadvantage is not confined to SCs alone.

Share of Education Attainment Across Parameters

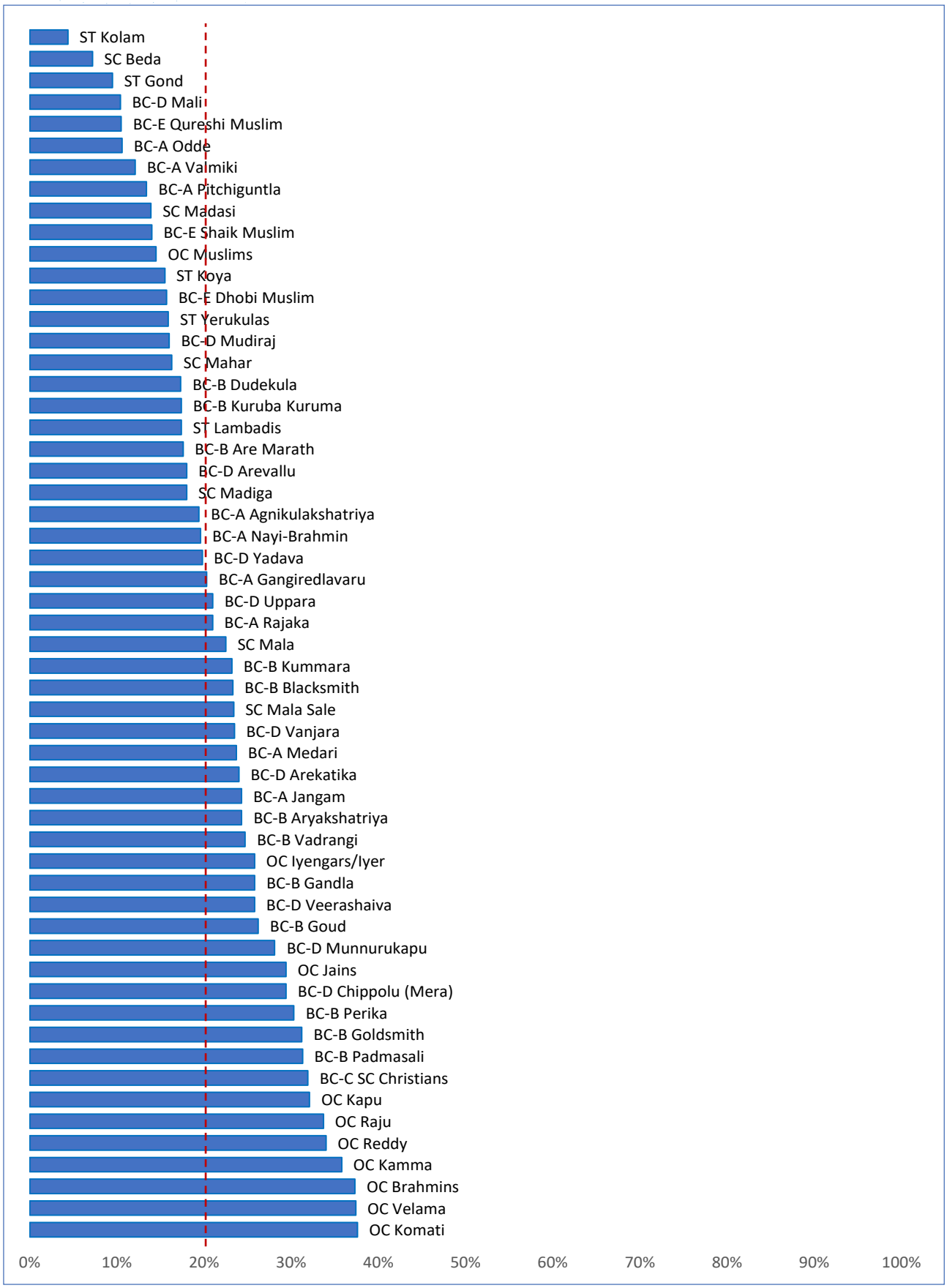
1. School Drop-out

The graph below shows that the ST Koya, ST Gond have the highest number of School drop outs whereas OC Brahmins, OC Iyer/Iyengar, BC-C have the least. This shows lack of access to higher education to the Tribal/Adivasi communites, while largely urban communities have a higher access to the institutions and resources to continue the education.

Figure 4: School Dropout Rate of Children

2. Education Attainment beyond Diploma (Graduates)

Figure 5: Education Attainment beyond Diploma (Graduates)



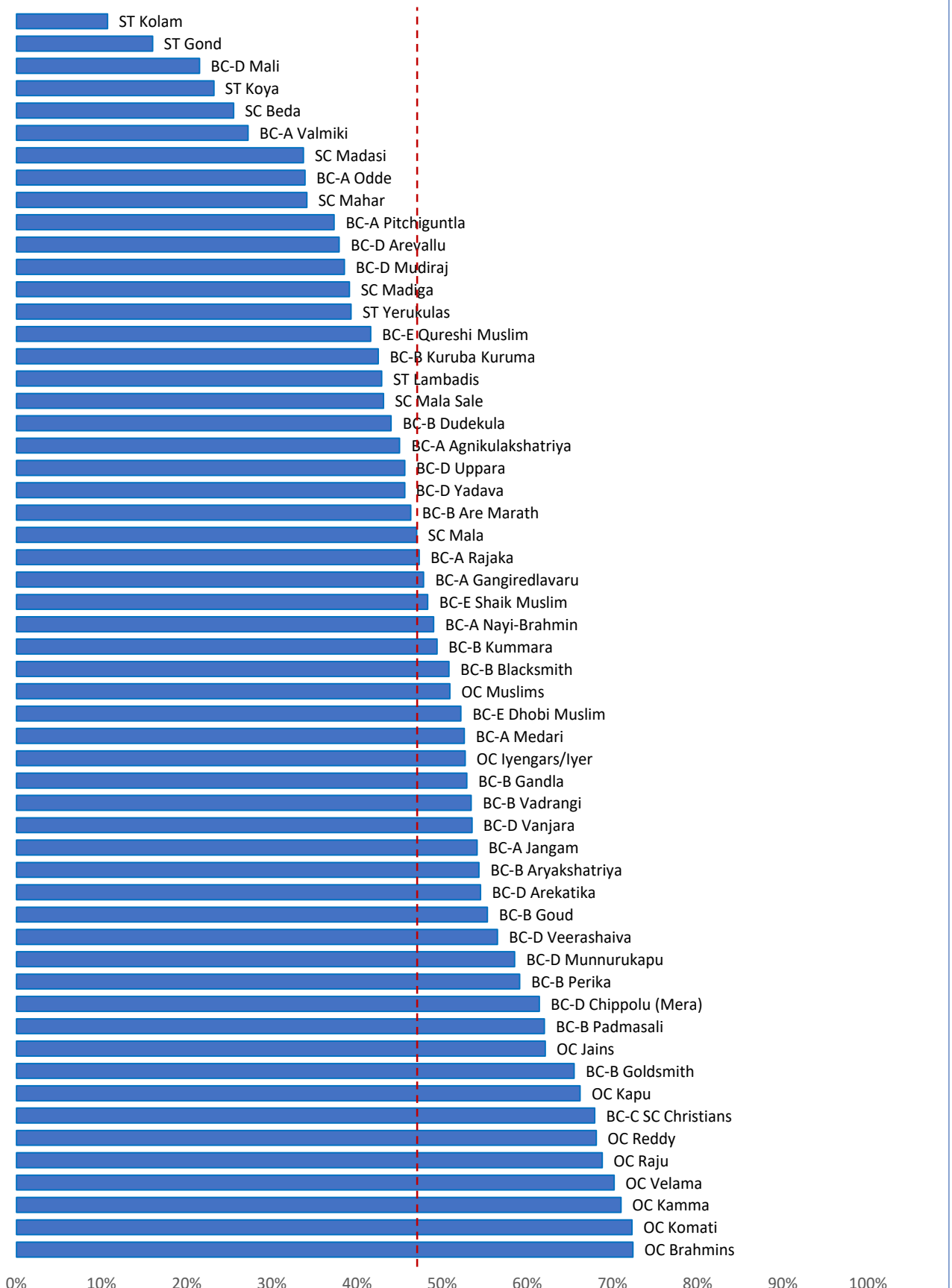
When we break this down and look at higher educational attainment across the 56 major castes, a finer picture emerges. In Telangana, the share of people attaining diploma and beyond is 36.3% on an average. But averages hide more than they reveal.

The gap between the caste having the highest share of higher education attainment is striking: while just 4.4% of ST Kolams hold a diploma or above, reflecting severe higher educational deprivation, an overwhelming 37% of OC Komatis, OC Velamas, OC Brahmins have crossed this threshold. This is close to twice the state average.

Apart from ST Kolams, SC Bedas, ST Gonds, BC-D Malis, BC-E Qureshi Muslims, BC-A Odde, Valmikis, Pitchiguntlas, BC-E Shaik Muslims, SC Madasi and OC Muslims fare the poorest when it comes to higher education attainment, while most General Caste (OCs) including BC castes such as BC-C SC Christians, BC-B Padmasalis, Goldsmiths and Perikas fare better when it comes to higher education attainment.

3. Youth in English Medium

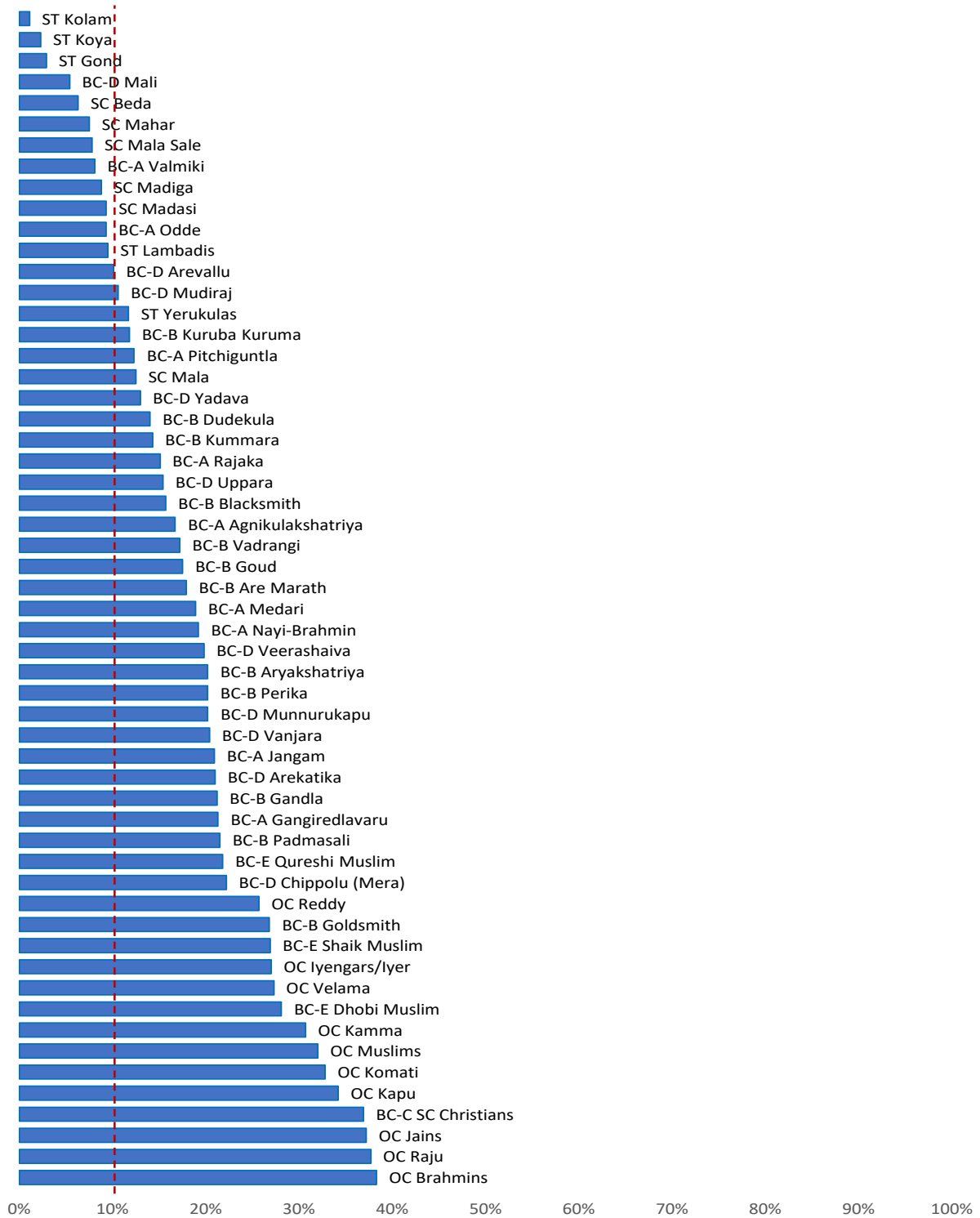
Figure 6: English Medium Education in 56 Major Castes



When we look across the 56 major castes in Telangana, on an average 47% of those under 30 from each caste have studied in English medium. However, the access varies widely with 72% of OC Brahmins and OC Komatis compared to just 11% of ST Kolams. SC Malas have their share about the same as the state average; with most SC and ST castes being below the average of 47%.

4. Access to Non-Government/Private Schools

Figure 7: Private School Access in Children across 56 Major Caste

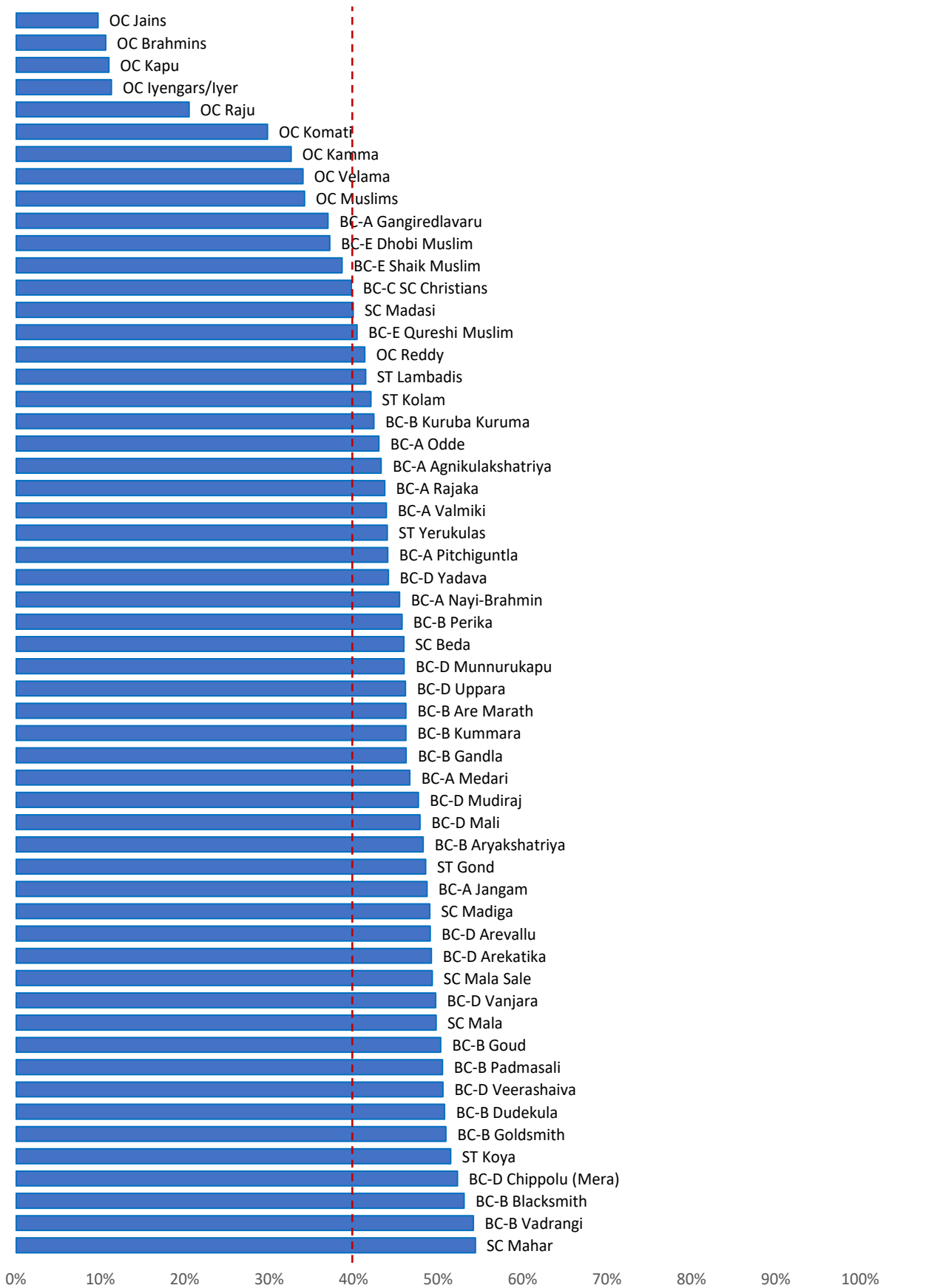


However, when we break it down and look at the 56 major castes, a finer picture emerges. In Telangana, on an average 9.8% of children from each caste go to private or non-government schools. However, OC Brahmins have over 38% of their children going to private schools; while only 1% of ST Kolams have access to the same.

This data highlights the inequitable distribution of educational opportunity and underscores the role of caste and class in shaping schooling access. It suggests the need for strengthening government school systems and ensuring that quality education is not limited by socio-economic status.

5. Studying in State Government Schools

Figure 8: Studying in Government Schools across 56 Major Caste



In Telangana, on average 40% report to study/studied in state government schools. SC Mahars (54%) have the highest share of population from state government schools, while the lowest share is OC Jains (9.7%), followed closely by OC Brahmins, OC Kapus and OC Iyengers/Iyers;

Apart from SC Mahars, BC-B Vadrangis, BC-B Blacksmiths, BC-D Chippolu have more share of educational dependency on government schools when compared to many SC and ST communities.

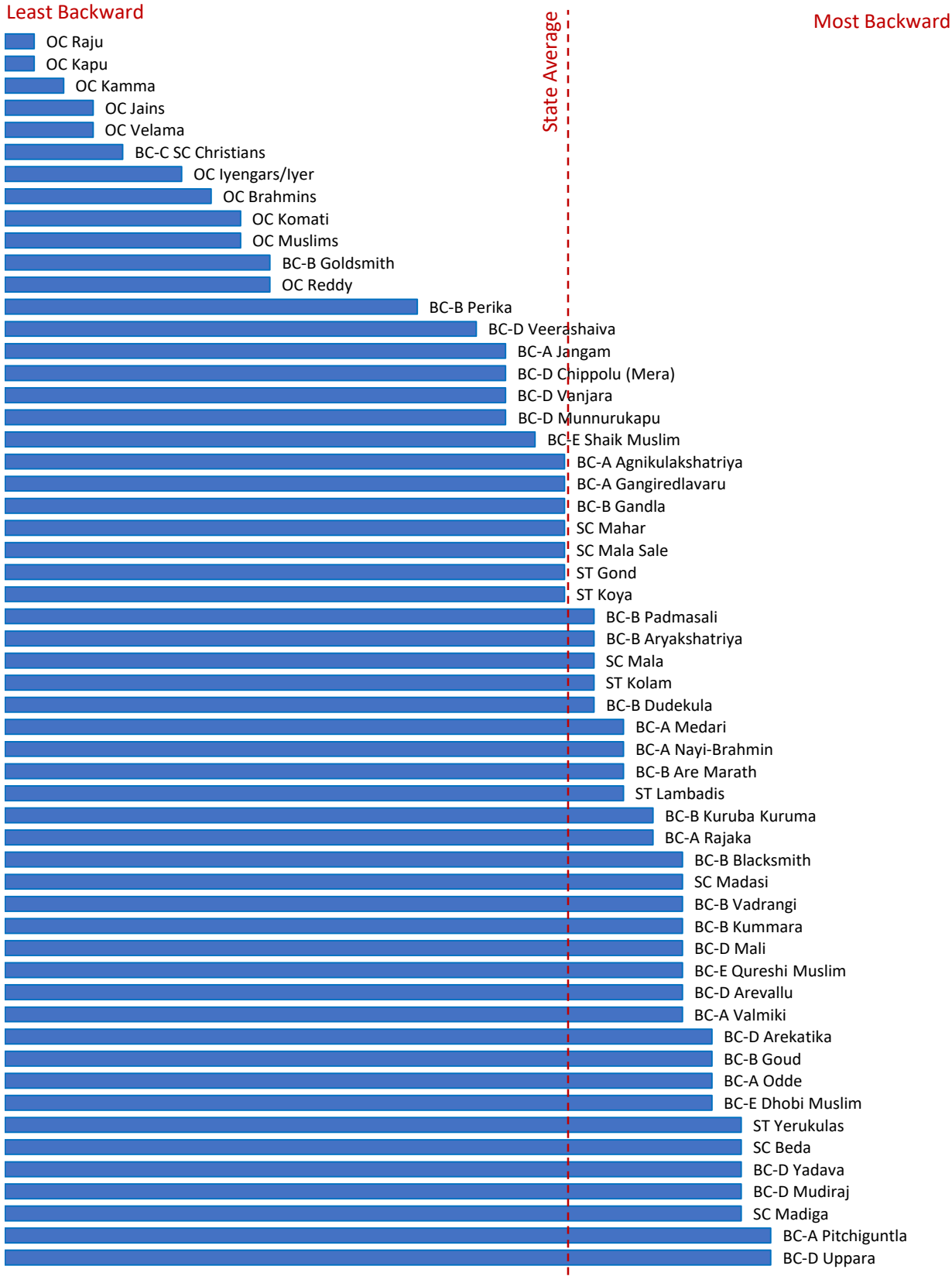
BC-A Gangiredlavaru, BC-E Dhobi Muslims and BC-E Shaik Muslims are among those with the lower share of state government school goers. While OC Reddys and ST Lambadies both have the same share as the state average and are relatively more backward than these BC communities, in this parameter.

This data highlights the inequitable distribution of educational opportunity and underscores the role of caste and class in shaping schooling access. It suggests the need for strengthening government school systems and ensuring that quality education is not limited by socio-economic status.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKWARDNESS

Occupation Backwardness Index of 56 Major Castes

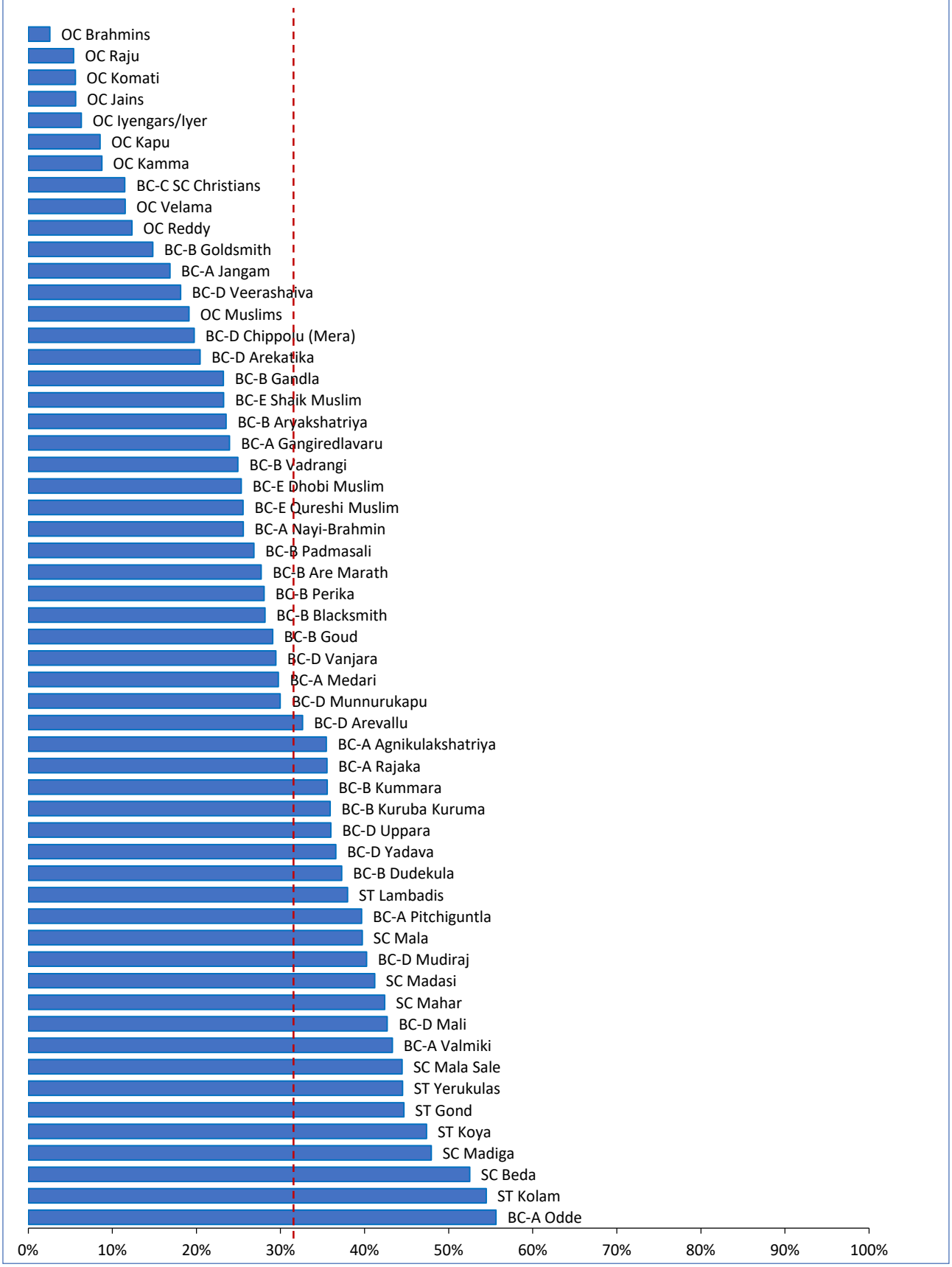
Figure 9: Occupation Backwardness Index
(56 subcastes; 50,000 or more population; 90% of state)



Castes across Occupation Parameters

1. Daily Wage Labourers

Figure 10: Daily Wage Labourers across 56 major castes



In Telangana, on an average, 31.3% of people aged 25–65 are engaged in daily wage work. The BC-A Odde caste records the highest proportion at 55% among the 56 major castes, pointing to severe economic precariousness.

In sharp contrast, only 2.6% of OC Brahmins rely on daily wages, indicating relative economic stability. This stark disparity underscores the deep inequalities in the nature and quality of employment across caste groups.

Many SC and ST communities such as ST Kolam, SC Beda, SC Madiga, ST Koya, ST Gond, ST Yerukulas, SC Mala Sale have the highest share of daily wage labourers in the state. While most OC(General Caste) communities along with BC-B Goldsmith and BC-C Christians have the least share of daily wage workers.

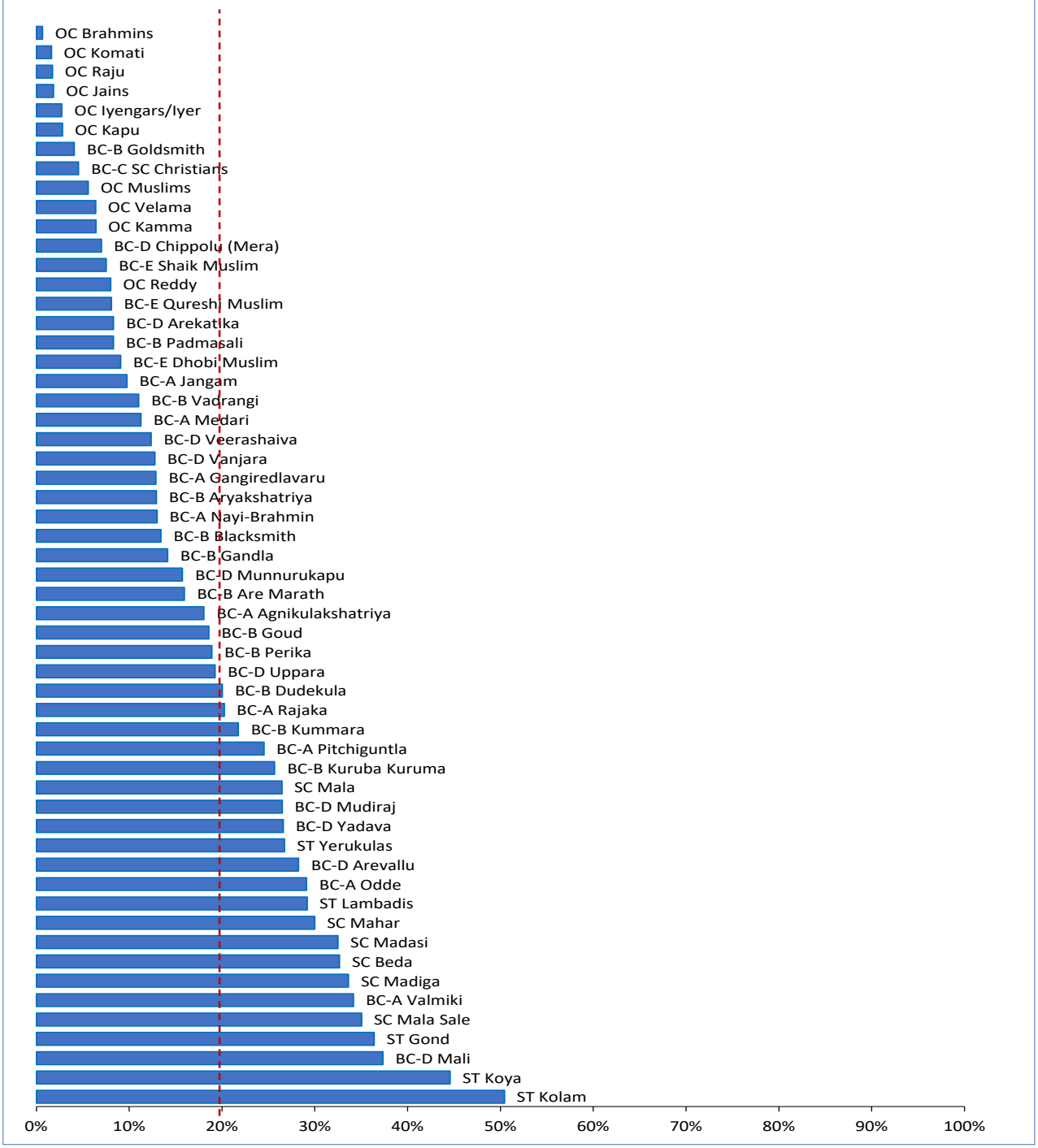
2. Child Labour

Figure 11: Child Labourers across 56 major castes

In Telangana, about 1% of those under 18 were found to be engaged in daily wage work. The incidence is highest among the ST Kolam community at 7.2%, highlighting intense economic hardship and limited access to protective systems, such as education and welfare support. However, given the overall average is about 1%, data hides more than it reveals. When we look at it in absolute terms, 89,000 children under 18 were found to be daily wage workers. Of these 89,000 child labourers, 14% belonged to SC Madigas and 11% belonged to ST Lambadis, who formed the major share of castes engaged in daily wage work.

3. Agriculture Labour

Figure 12: Agriculture Labourers across 56 major castes



The graph highlights the distribution of agricultural labourers across caste groups in Telangana, offering key insights into economic roles and caste-linked occupational patterns. The state average for individuals engaged in agricultural labour stands at 19.4%, but the variation across communities is sharp and telling.

At the extreme end, ST Kolam records the highest share of agricultural labourers at 50.4%, followed closely by other tribal groups such as ST Koya and ST Gond, and several Scheduled Castes like SC Madiga, SC Beda, and SC Mala Sale. These communities have a disproportionately large share of their population dependent on manual, low-wage farm labour, often with little or no land ownership—indicating deep-rooted structural economic marginalization.

Among Backward Classes, BC-A Valmikis, BC-D Malis, and BC-B Kuruba Kurumas also have agricultural labour shares significantly above the state average, reflecting similar patterns of economic vulnerability and reliance on insecure rural employment.

In stark contrast, OC Brahmins have the lowest share, at just 0.7%, followed by other OC(General Caste) groups like Komatis, Rajus, Jains, and Iyengars, all of whom fall well below the state average.

4. MGNREGA Workers

Figure 13: MGNREGA Workers across 56 major castes

The graph illustrates the share of MGNREGA workers across caste groups in Telangana, with a state average of 1% participation. MGNREGA employment typically reflects last-resort livelihood dependency, indicating economic insecurity, lack of regular work, and limited access to better employment opportunities.

The highest share is recorded among SC Mala Sale at 5%, followed by BC-A Oddes at 2.3%—both substantially above the state average. This suggests these communities face acute economic hardship and depend heavily on government-provided manual work for subsistence.

Additionally, most Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and several BC-A and BC-D communities also show participation well above the state average, highlighting their marginalization in the labour market and overdependence on public wage employment.

In stark contrast, OC(General Caste) communities such as Brahmins, Rajus, Jains, Iyengars, Komatis, and Kammas have near-zero participation in MGNREGA, underscoring their economic security and access to better, formal jobs.

5. Daily wage Street Vendors

The graph below shows that the least number of Daily wage Street vendors are among the Aboriginal(Adivasi) tribal communities like ST Kolam, ST Koya, ST Gond likely because of their largely rural concentration and High among BC-B Vadrangi(Carpenter), SC Beda/ Budga Jangam BC-B Padmasali(Weaver), BC-B Goldsmiths,BC-B Blacksmith shows the traditional occupation is still in some way impacting their occupation.

Figure 14: Daily wage Street Vendors

6. Government Jobs

Figure 15: Government jobs across 56 major castes

The graph presents the distribution of professional government jobs across caste groups in Telangana, with a state average of 2.8%. These jobs are markers of social mobility, educational attainment, and economic security, making this indicator a powerful measure of progress.

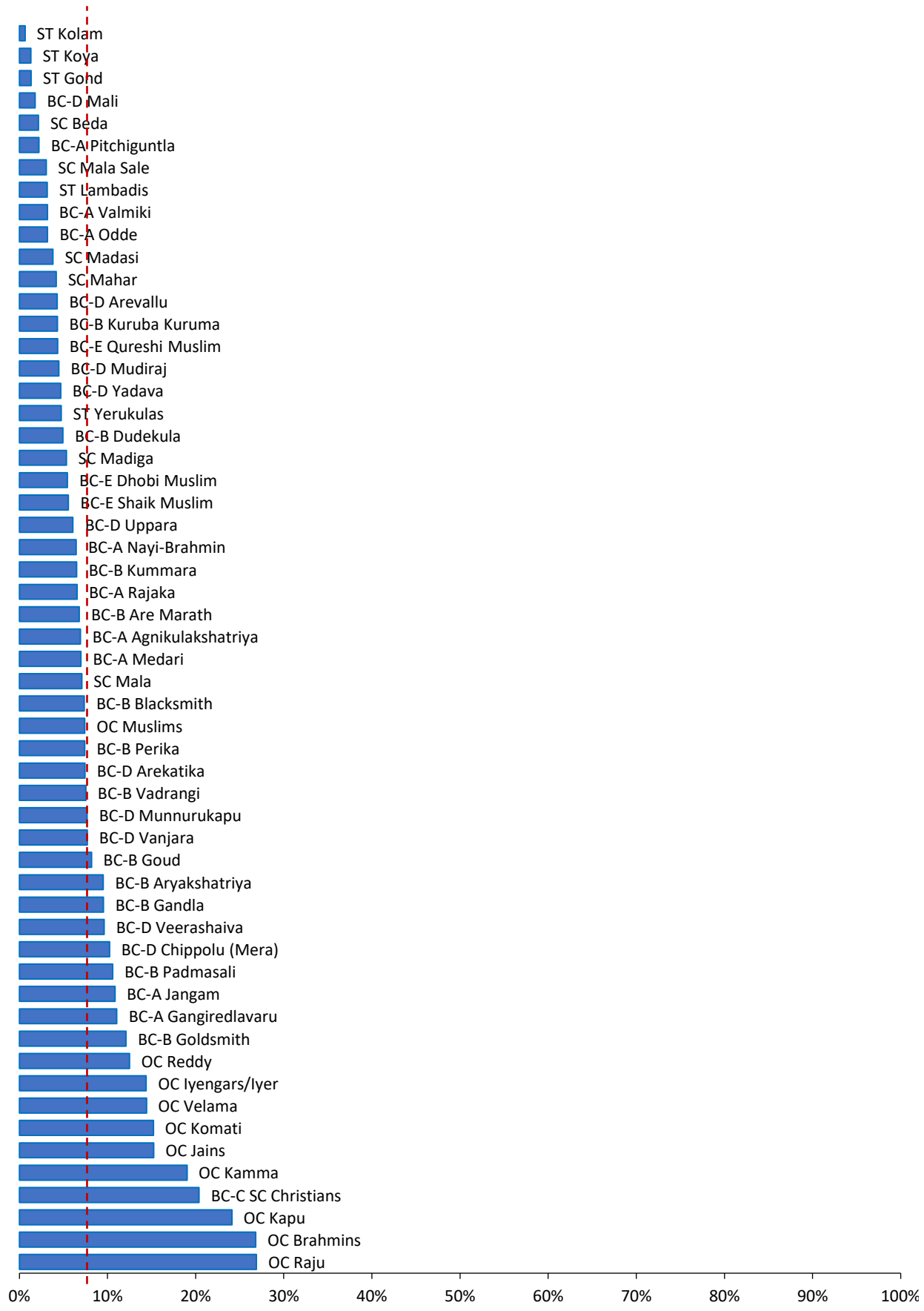
The OC Iyengar/Iyer community is among the highest at 17%, which is over six times the state average, underscoring their historical access to elite education, employment networks, and state institutions.

Other General Castes (OC) like Brahmins, Jains, Raju, and also show above-average representation. However, BC-C SC Christians (7.4%), BC-A Agnilkulakshatriyas, BC-A Jangams have higher share of government job professionals than many OC(General Caste) communities

In contrast, Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes fare poorly. The ST Kolam community has the lowest share at just 0.6%, followed by BC-D Mali, SC Beda, and BC-A Arevallu. Many other SC, ST, and BC-A/D castes fall significantly below the average, indicating limited access to higher education and professional employment pipelines.

7. Private Sector Jobs

Figure 16: Private Sector jobs across 56 major castes



The graph presents the distribution of professional private sector jobs across caste groups in Telangana, with a state average of 7.4%. These jobs typically require higher education and offer better economic mobility, making them a vital marker of upward mobility and access to modern employment networks.

OC Rajus and OC Brahmins lead significantly, with 27% of their populations in professional private jobs, followed closely by OC Kapus at 24% This shows their disproportionate representation in the formal private sector, pointing to historical advantages in education, urban networks, and economic capital.

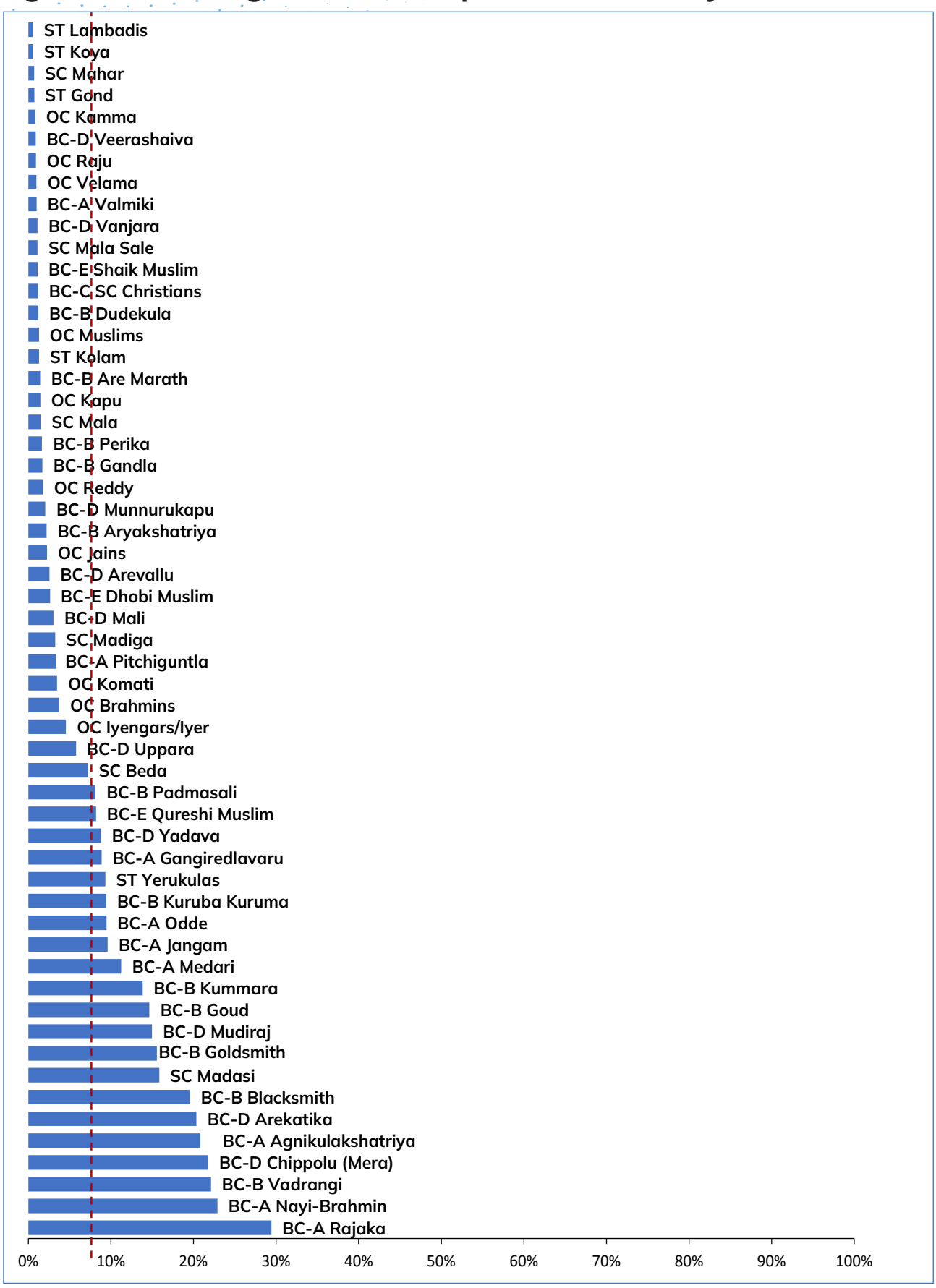
Among Backward Classes, BC-C SC Christians (19%) stand out with a higher share than several OC (General Caste) groups like Komatis and Iyengars, reflecting relatively better access to education and private employment.

At the bottom, ST Kolams (0.6%), ST Koyas, ST Gonds, SC Bedas, BC-D Malis, and BC-A Pitchiguntlas register well below 2%, reflecting limited integration into the formal private economy. This highlights how Scheduled Tribes, many SCs, and marginalized BC groups remain locked out of India's rapidly expanding white-collar economy.

8. Continuing Traditional Occupation

Highest number of people continuing in traditional occupations are menial service occupations BC-A Rajaka(Washing clothes), BC-A Nayi-Brahmin(Barber), BC-A Agnikulakshatriya (Fishing) and artisanal like BC-B Vadrangi(Carpenter), BC-B Blacksmith, BC-D Chippolu(Weave baskets/mats) and least among Tribal communities where there is no specific traditional occupations like ST Lambadis, ST Koya, St Gond.

Figure 17: Continuing traditional occupation across 56 major castes



LIVING CONDITIONS BACKWARDNESS

Living conditions are one of the most fundamental and visible markers of social and economic backwardness. They reflect the quality of life, access to basic services, and overall standard of well-being enjoyed—or denied—by different communities. Unlike income or employment, which can fluctuate, living conditions are shaped over time and provide a long-term, stable indicator of development or deprivation. They offer crucial insights into whether households have access to the essentials needed for a dignified life, such as clean water, sanitation, electricity, adequate housing, and proximity to urban services.

In a deeply hierarchical society like India, caste-based inequalities are physically manifested in where and how people live. Marginalized communities are often relegated to rural areas, urban slums, or isolated hamlets, excluded from mainstream development. These spatial disadvantages compound social exclusion, limiting access to schools, healthcare, jobs, public transport, and civic amenities. Living conditions, therefore, are not just a reflection of economic status, but also of historical and structural discrimination.

To holistically assess living condition backwardness, we use a set of indicators that capture multiple dimensions of household well-being.

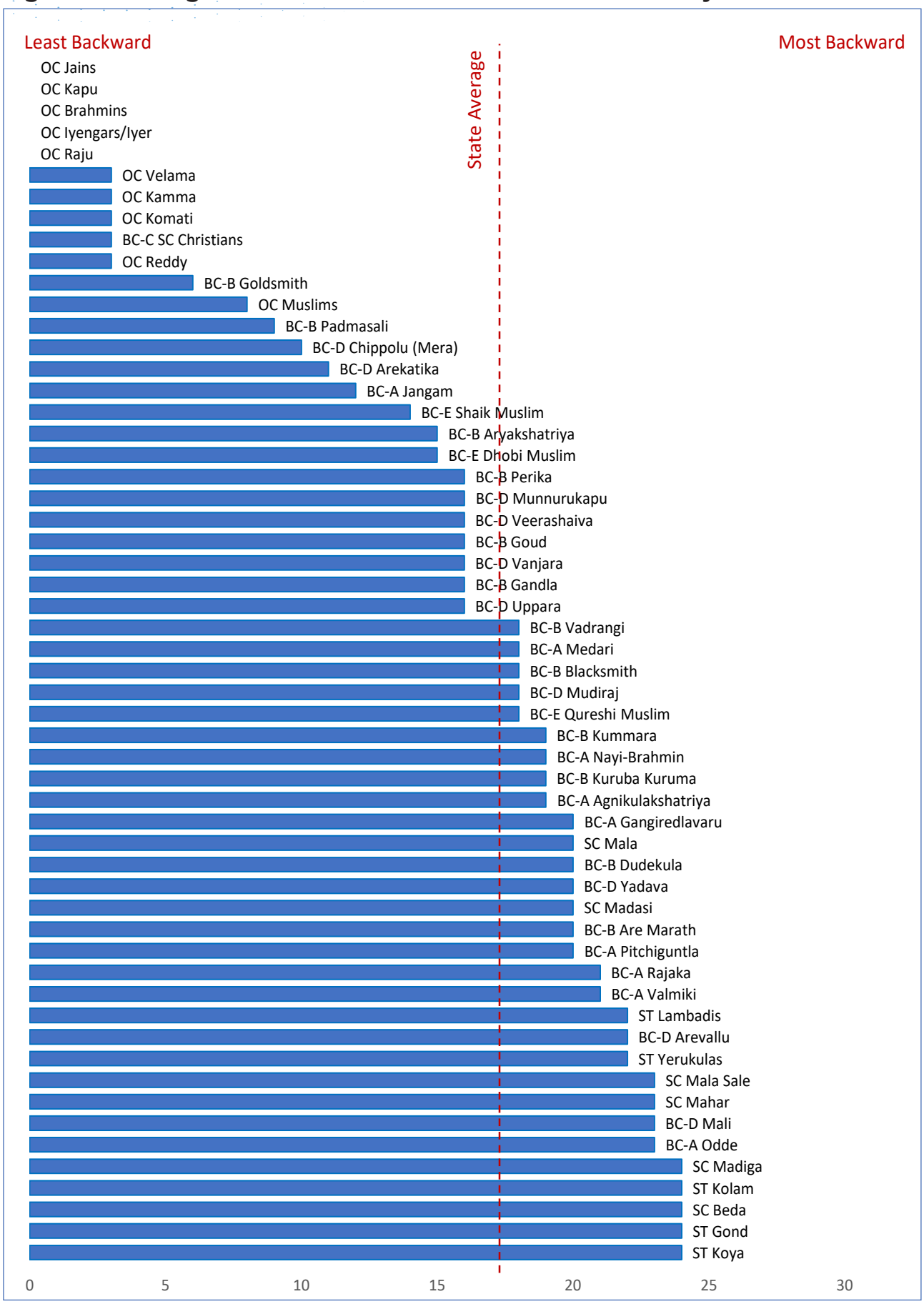
These include:

- The type of settlement a community predominantly inhabits—whether rural, urban, slum, or isolated areas. Communities concentrated in underserved regions often face infrastructural neglect.
- The size of the dwelling, particularly whether households live in less than two rooms, which signals overcrowding and lack of privacy, or in three or more rooms, which reflects housing adequacy and comfort.
- Access to toilets, a basic yet crucial indicator of hygiene, health, and dignity, especially for women and the elderly.
- Access to electricity, which influences every aspect of modern life—from lighting and cooking to education and connectivity.
- Availability of clean drinking water through in-house piped connections, which is essential for health and convenience, and reduces the burden of water collection, especially on women.

These indicators collectively provide a composite view of material living standards and help assess how different caste groups fare in their everyday living environments. Measuring these disparities allows for targeted interventions and equitable resource distribution, ensuring that no community is left behind in the pursuit of dignity, health, and opportunity.

Living Conditions Backwardness Index of 56 Major Castes

Figure 18: Living Conditions Backwardness Index of 56 major castes

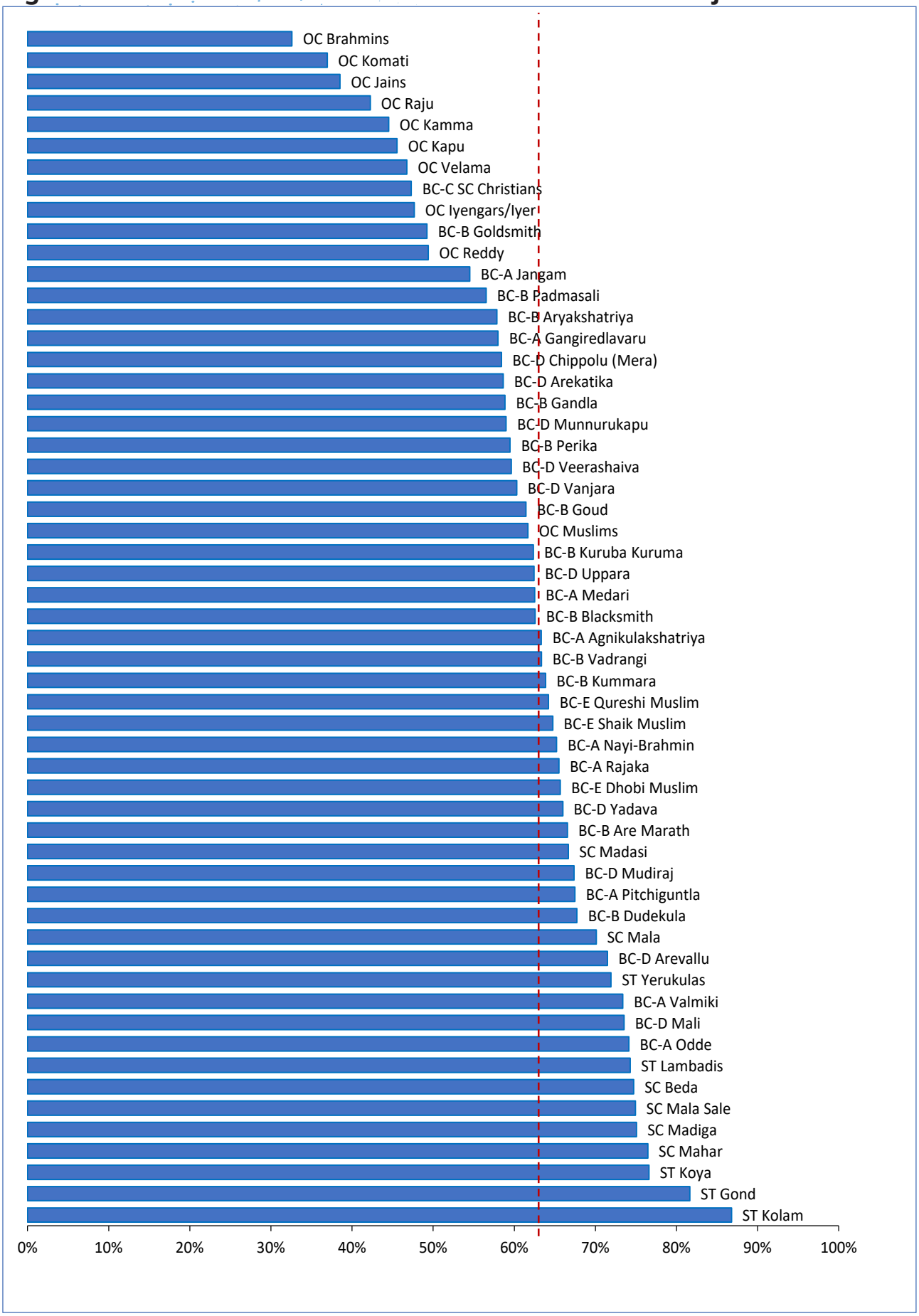


The Living Conditions Backwardness Index reveals stark disparities across caste groups. OC Jains, Kapus, Brahmins and Rajus are the least backward, reflecting better access to housing, sanitation, electricity, and piped water among these General Castes.

At the other end, SC Madigas, SC Beda, ST Kolam, ST Koya, and ST Gond are among the most backward, indicating severe deprivation in basic amenities and infrastructure.

Among BCs, BC-C SC Christians fare about the same as many General Castes (OC) like Velamas, Kammas, Komatis, and Reddys, while other BC groups such as BC-D Mali and BC-D Oddes exhibit the same levels of backwardness as that of SC Mahars and SC Mala Sale.

Figure 19: Households with less than 2 rooms across 56 major castes



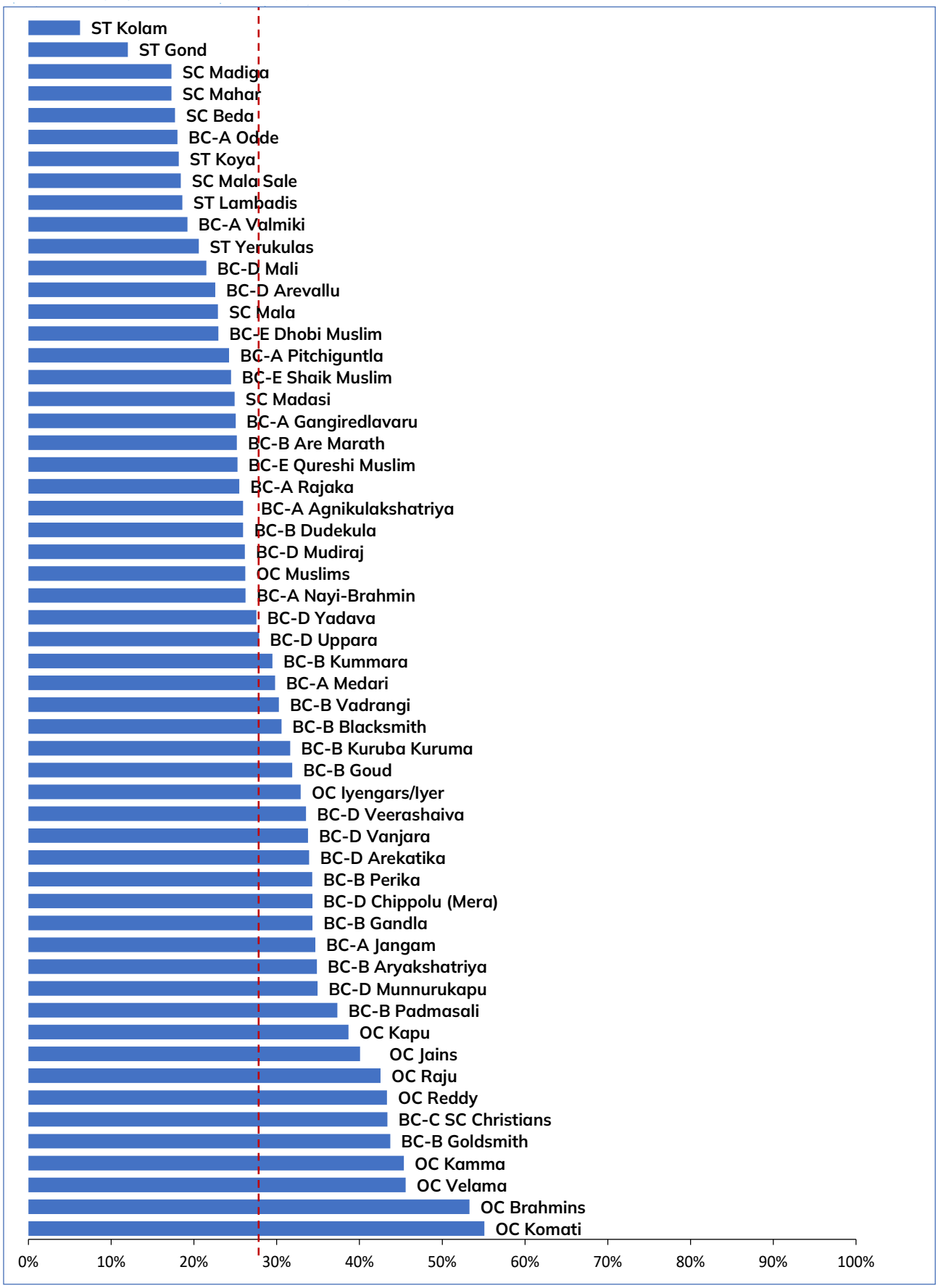
The graph on households with two or fewer rooms is a strong indicator of housing deprivation, overcrowding, and limited space for healthy living. The state average stands at 63.5%, meaning nearly two-thirds of all households in Telangana live in cramped spaces. However, the distribution of this indicator varies sharply across caste groups.

ST Kolam records the highest share at 86%, followed closely by other Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste communities like ST Gond, ST Koya, SC Mahar, and SC Madiga—indicating deep housing vulnerability and marginal living conditions. On the other end of the spectrum, OC Brahmins have the lowest share at 32.6%, followed by OC Komati, OC Jains, OC Raju, and other forward castes, all significantly below the state average.

Most of the Backward Classes (BCs) cluster around the state average, though many BC-A, BC-B, and BC-D communities still fall on the higher end of deprivation. This clear caste gradient demonstrates how more privileged castes enjoy greater access to spacious and secure housing, while marginalised groups remain in severely constrained dwellings. The lack of adequate space in households not only reflects poverty but also limits educational, health, and social well-being outcomes for families—particularly for children and women.

3. Household with more than 3 rooms

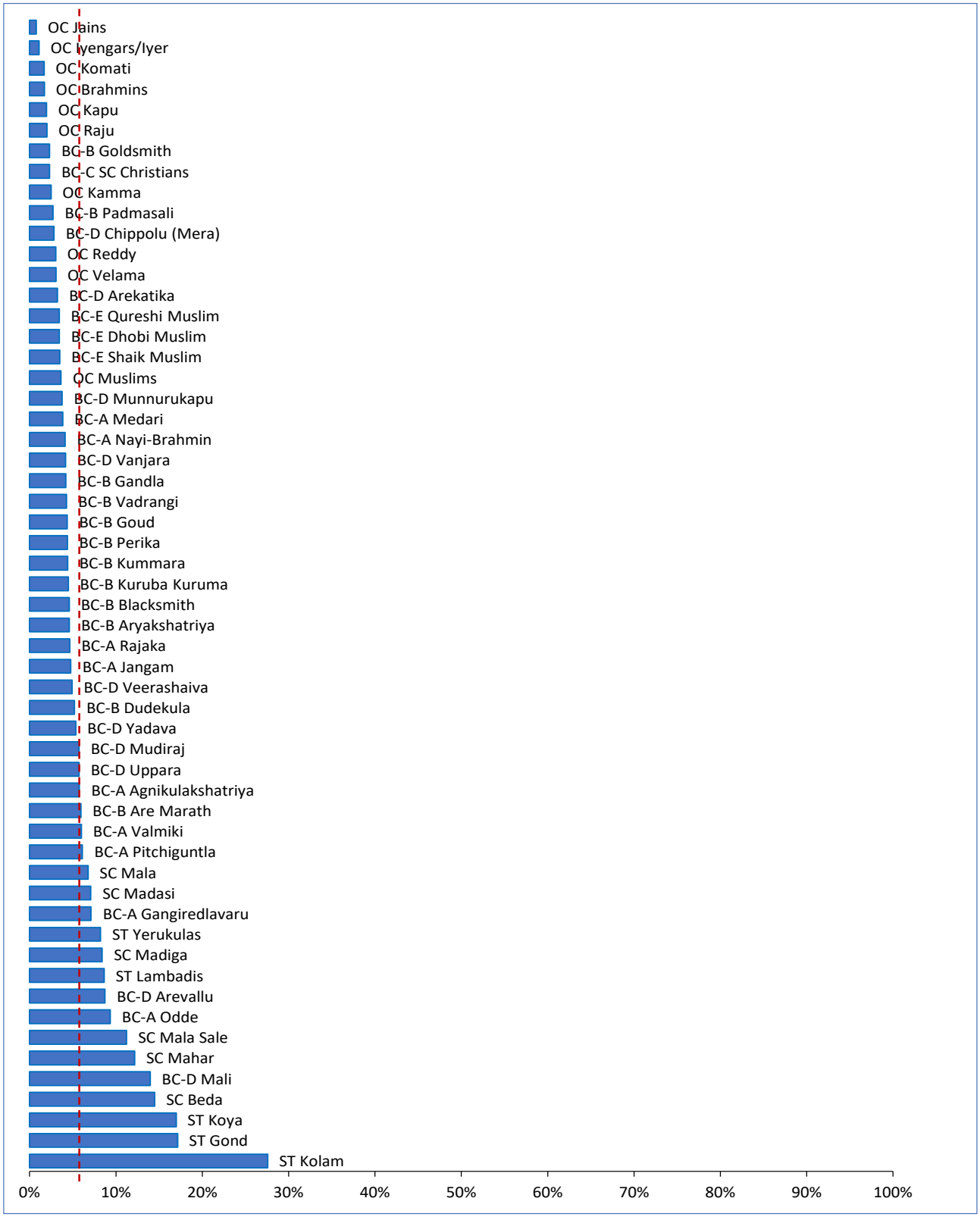
Figure 20: Household with more than 3 rooms across 56 major castes



The graph above shows the households with more than 3 rooms, which shows a high living standard. It can be observed that the OC (General Caste)communities have the higher number of households with more than 3 rooms.

4. Households With No Electricity

Figure 21: Households With No Electricity across 56 major castes



The graph on households with no electricity reveals stark disparities across caste communities in Telangana. With a state average of 5.8%, this indicator points to basic deprivation even in today's electrified age. However, the burden is not shared equally.

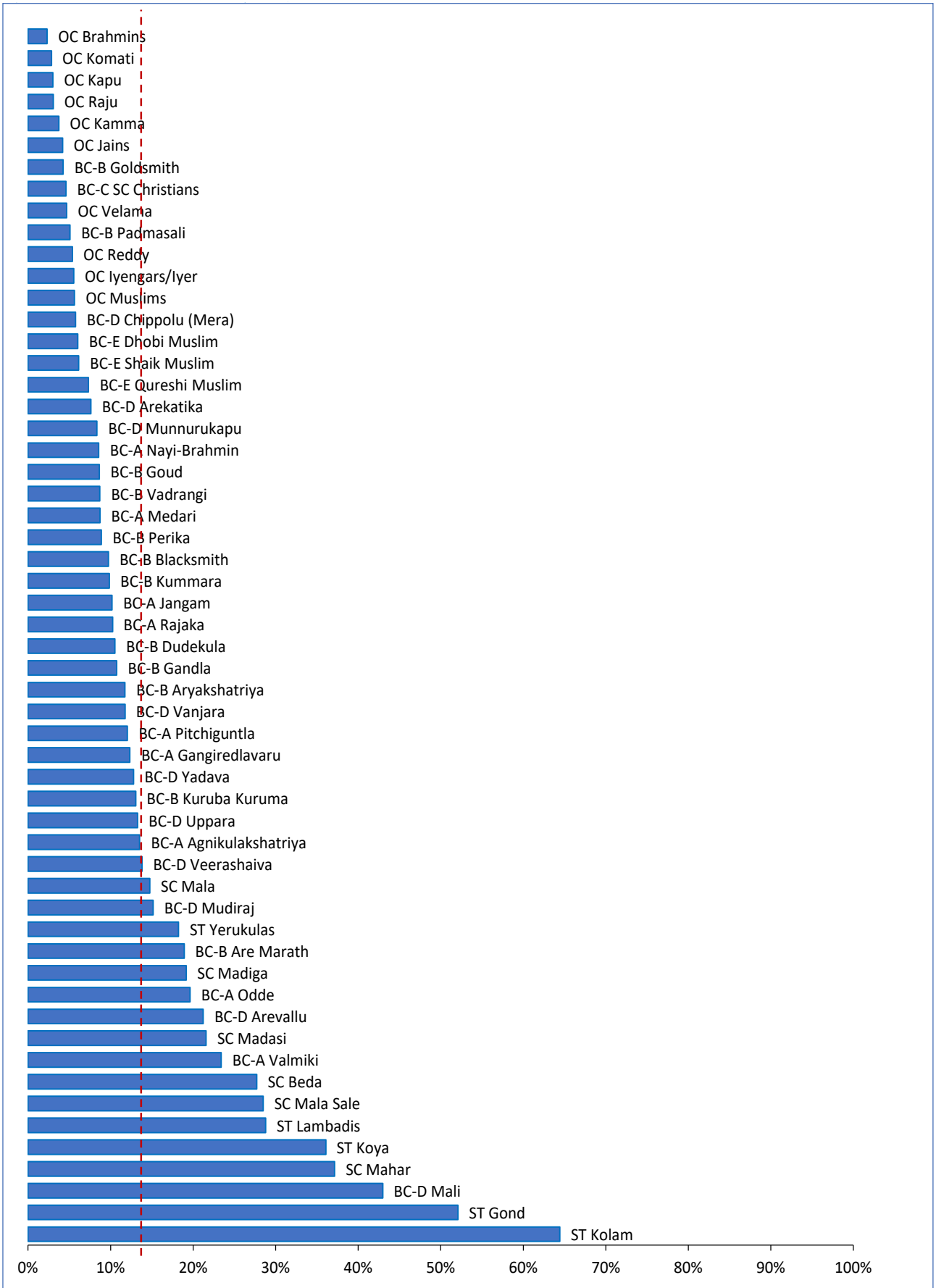
ST Kolam stands out with the highest share of households lacking electricity at 27.6%—nearly five times the state average—indicating acute infrastructural exclusion in tribal areas. Other ST and SC communities, including ST Gond, ST Koya, SC Beda, and SC Mahar, also record very high levels of deprivation, far above the average, reflecting the persistent neglect and remoteness in which many of these communities reside.

In contrast, General Castes report the lowest incidence. OC Jains, Iyengars/Iyers, Komatis, Brahmins, Kapus, and Rajus all show less than 4% of households without electricity—well below the state average—highlighting near-universal access in these relatively privileged groups.

Backward Classes show mixed outcomes. While some BC sub-castes like BC-B Goldsmiths and BC-C SC Christians have low deprivation, others—especially BC-A and BC-D groups—have rates that hover around or exceed the state average.

5. Households having no toilets across 56 major castes

Figure 22: Share of Households having no toilets across 56 major castes



The state average for households without toilets stands at 13.3%, already a concerning figure in a modern context. However, the variation among communities is stark.

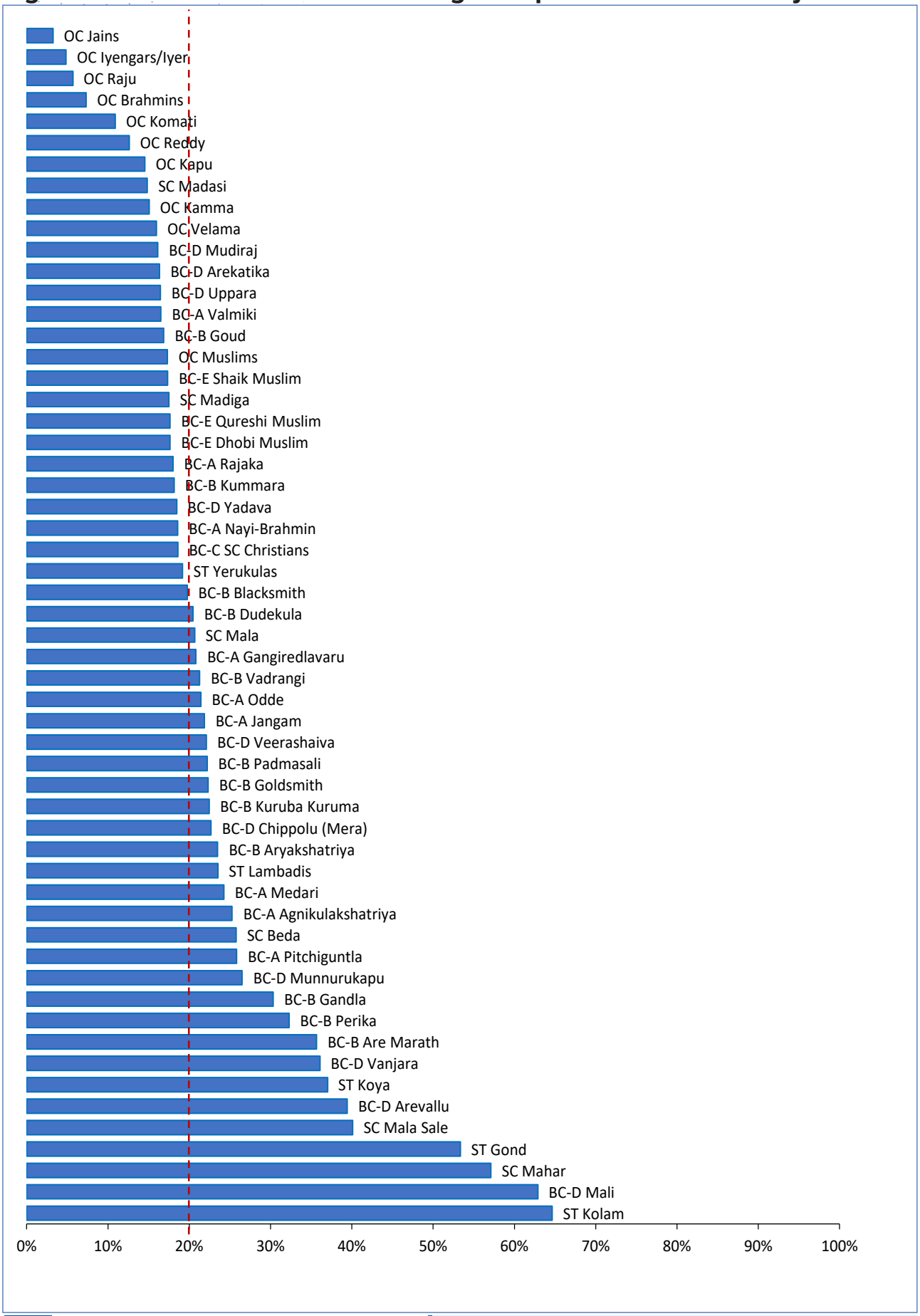
At the extreme end, 64% of households in the ST Kolam community lack access to toilets—nearly five times the state average. ST Gond, BC-D Mali, SC Mahar, ST Koya, and SC Mala Sale also report alarmingly high levels of deprivation. These figures reveal a pattern of chronic neglect of sanitation infrastructure among Scheduled Tribes and several Scheduled Castes and BC-D groups.

On the other hand, OC Brahmins report the lowest share, with just 2.8% of households lacking toilets, followed closely by OC Komatis, Kapus, Rajus, Kammas, and Jains—all well below the state average. This indicates much better access to sanitation among forward castes.

Backward Classes show mixed outcomes. While some sub-groups like BC-B Goldsmiths and BC-C SC Christians report relatively low deprivation, many BC-A and BC-D communities fare poorly and fall well above the state average.

6. Households with No Tap Water

Figure 23: Share of Households having no tap water across 56 major castes



This graph on households with no tap water access across castes in Telangana reveals sharp disparities in basic amenities. The state average stands at 20%, but the gap between castes is significant.

At the bottom end of the spectrum, 64.7% of households in the ST Kolam community do not have access to tap water—over three times the state average. BC-D Malis, SC Mahars, ST Gonds also show very high deprivation levels, highlighting the acute infrastructural backwardness in these communities.

On the other hand, OC Jains have the lowest proportion without tap water at just 3.2%, followed closely by OC Iyengars, Rajus, Brahmins, Komatis, and Reddys. These castes are well below the state average, indicating widespread access to piped water and superior living conditions.

Apart from General Castes (OC), SC Madasis have the least share, much less than OC Kammas, OC Velamas and almost all the major BC castes.

LAND AND ASSETS BACKWARDNESS

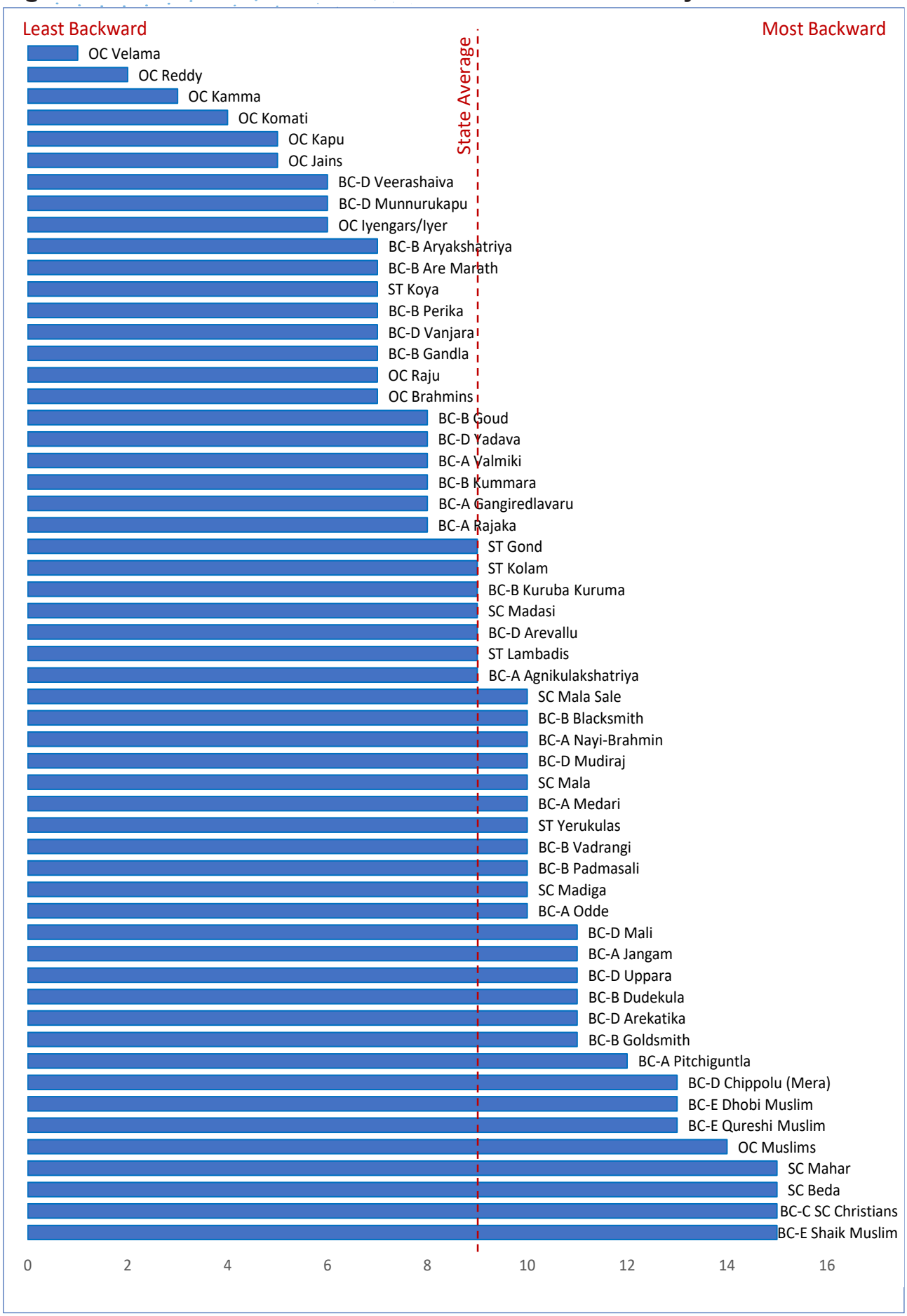
Ownership of land and assets is a fundamental parameter in assessing social and economic backwardness in contemporary society. Unlike income, which can fluctuate over time, land and durable assets represent accumulated wealth, stability, and intergenerational advantage. The presence or absence of such assets reveals the legacy of privilege or exclusion that communities have inherited over time—particularly in contexts like India, where landholding and wealth accumulation have historically followed caste and class lines.

Land ownership is especially significant because it offers not only a source of income through agriculture or rental but also social status, economic security, and bargaining power. Households with larger or irrigated landholdings typically have better access to credit, markets, and state support, while those with no or marginal landholdings are more vulnerable to economic shocks and dependent on manual labor.

To holistically capture land ownership patterns, we assess the communities of Telangana along six key indicators: the proportion of households with land, the average irrigated land per household, and the distribution of landholding size—categorized into small (<5 acres), medium (5–20 acres), and large (>20 acres) holdings. These provide insights into not just land access but also the quality and productivity of the land owned.

In addition to immovable assets, we also examine key movable assets such as ownership of refrigerators and cars. These serve as markers of both basic living standards and discretionary purchasing power.

Figure 24: Land and Assets Backwardness Index of 56 major castes



This graph presents the Land and Assets Ownership Backwardness Index in Telangana, reflecting disparities in ownership of land and durable assets across 56 major castes.

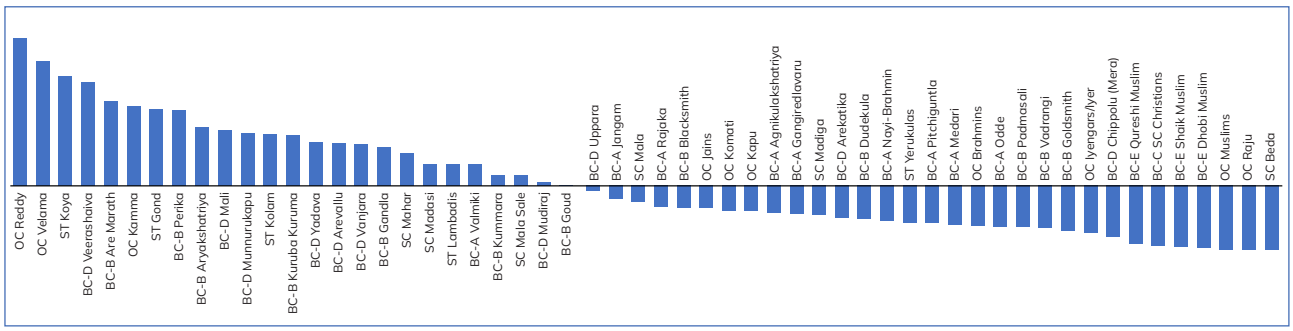
At the top of the index, OC Velamas, OC Reddys, OC Kammas, OC Komatis, OC Kapus, and OC Jains exhibit the least backwardness. These castes traditionally have strong agrarian and trading backgrounds, ensuring substantial land and asset ownership. Notably, even some BC castes such as BC-D Veerashaivas and BC-D Munnurukapu appear on the relatively less backward side, faring better than some General Castes OC Iyengars, OC Rajus and OC Brahmins, indicating better economic status.

On the other extreme, BC-E Shaik Muslims, BC-C SC Christians, BC-D Chippolu (Mera), BC-A Pitchiguntla, BC-D Arekatika, BC-D Dudekula, and SC Madigas are among the most backward in land and asset ownership. Their position reflects both historical exclusion and economic marginalisation.

An interesting anomaly is the OC Muslims, whose score lies above the state average, show significant asset backwardness despite being a general category. Conversely, a few BC communities like BC-D Veeshwasahaiva and BC-D Munnurukapus perform better than expected, with a score on par and below than General Castes.

Land Ownership Distribution Across Major Castes

Figure 25: Share of Total Land Ownership across Castes



This graph depicts the relative share of total land ownership by caste groups in Telangana compared to their share of population. Bars rising above the baseline indicate that the caste owns a disproportionately higher share of land than its population share, while bars falling below the baseline show a lower share of land relative to their population size.

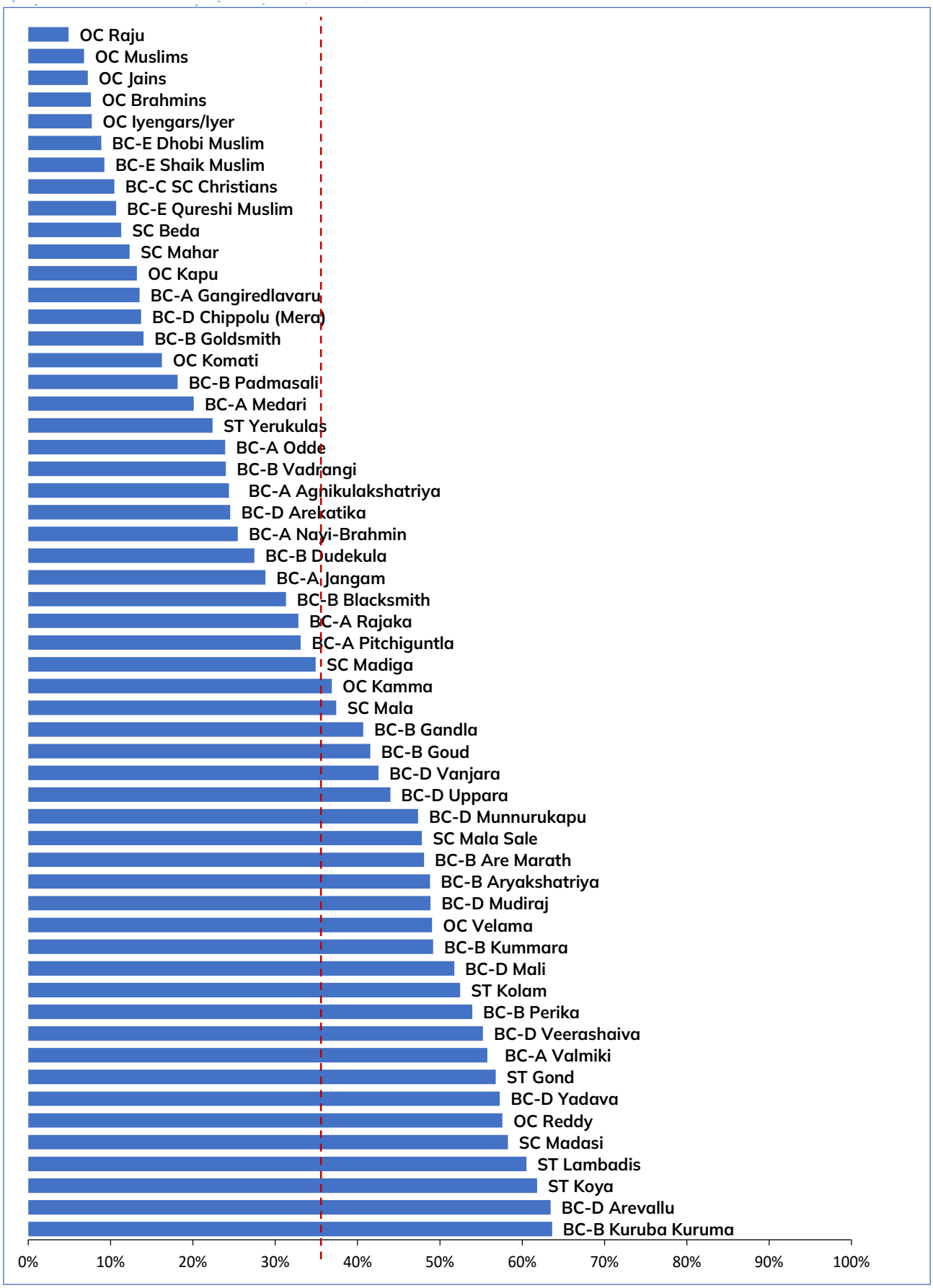
At the top, OC Reddys own the highest share of total land relative to their population indicating historical advantages in land accumulation followed by OC Velamas and ST Koya. In contrast, communities like SC Bedas, and OC Muslims have much less land ownership compared to their population share, reflecting their historical marginalization from land assets.

Table 4: Caste wise share of Land & Population (Green indicates higher share of Land vis-a-vis share of Population)

Caste	Share of total land	Share of population
OC Reddy	13.5%	4.8%
BC-D Yadava	8.7%	5.7%
ST Lambadis	8.6%	6.8%
BC-D Mudiraj	7.8%	7.4%
SC Madiga	6.5%	10.3%
BC-D Munnurukapu	6.4%	3.9%
BC-B Goud	4.6%	4.6%
BC-B Kuruba Kuruma	3.6%	2.2%
SC Mala	3.3%	4.1%
ST Koya	2.8%	1.2%
ST Gond	2.1%	1.1%
BC-A Rajaka	2.1%	2.8%
OC Kamma	2.0%	1.0%
BC-E Shaik Muslim	2.0%	7.9%
BC-B Padmasali	1.7%	3.3%
BC-B Kummara	1.4%	1.2%
BC-A Valmiki	1.3%	1.0%
BC-B Perika	1.2%	0.6%
BC-D Veerashaiva	1.1%	0.5%
OC Velama	1.0%	0.4%
OC Komati	1.0%	1.4%
BC-A Agnikulakshatriya	1.0%	1.5%
BC-A Odde	0.9%	1.8%
BC-A Nayi-Brahmin	0.7%	1.2%
BC-B Vadrangi	0.5%	1.1%
SC Mala Sale	0.5%	0.5%
BC-B Are Marath	0.5%	0.2%

Caste	Share of total land	Share of population
OC Brahmins	0.5%	0.9%
BC-D Arevallu	0.5%	0.3%
OC Kapu	0.5%	0.7%
BC-B Dudekula	0.4%	0.8%
BC-D Mali	0.4%	0.2%
OC Muslims	0.4%	1.8%
ST Kolam	0.4%	0.2%
BC-B Blacksmith	0.3%	0.5%
BC-D Uppara	0.3%	0.3%
BC-B Goldsmith	0.3%	0.7%
ST Yerukulas	0.3%	0.5%
BC-B Aryakshatriya	0.3%	0.2%
BC-D Vanjara	0.3%	0.2%
SC Mahar	0.2%	0.2%
BC-B Gandla	0.2%	0.2%
SC Madasi	0.2%	0.2%
BC-D Arekatika	0.2%	0.3%
BC-A Gangiredlavaru	0.2%	0.3%
BC-A Jangam	0.1%	0.2%
BC-A Medari	0.1%	0.2%
SC Beda	0.1%	0.5%
BC-D Chippolu (Mera)	0.1%	0.3%
OC Jains	0.1%	0.1%
BC-E Dhobi Muslim	0.1%	0.4%
BC-E Qureshi Muslim	0.1%	0.3%
BC-A Pitchiguntla	0.1%	0.1%
OC Iyengars/Iyer	0.1%	0.1%
BC-C SC Christians	0.1%	0.2%
OC Raju	0.0%	0.2%

Figure 26: Households owning land across 56 major castes



The above graph shows the trend of how many people have said to own any land for 56 Castes. And the graphs below show the trends of land ownership Castewise in owning irrigated land, households owning land less than 5 acre, 5-20 acre and above 20 acres respectively.

Figure 27: Share of land owned that is irrigated

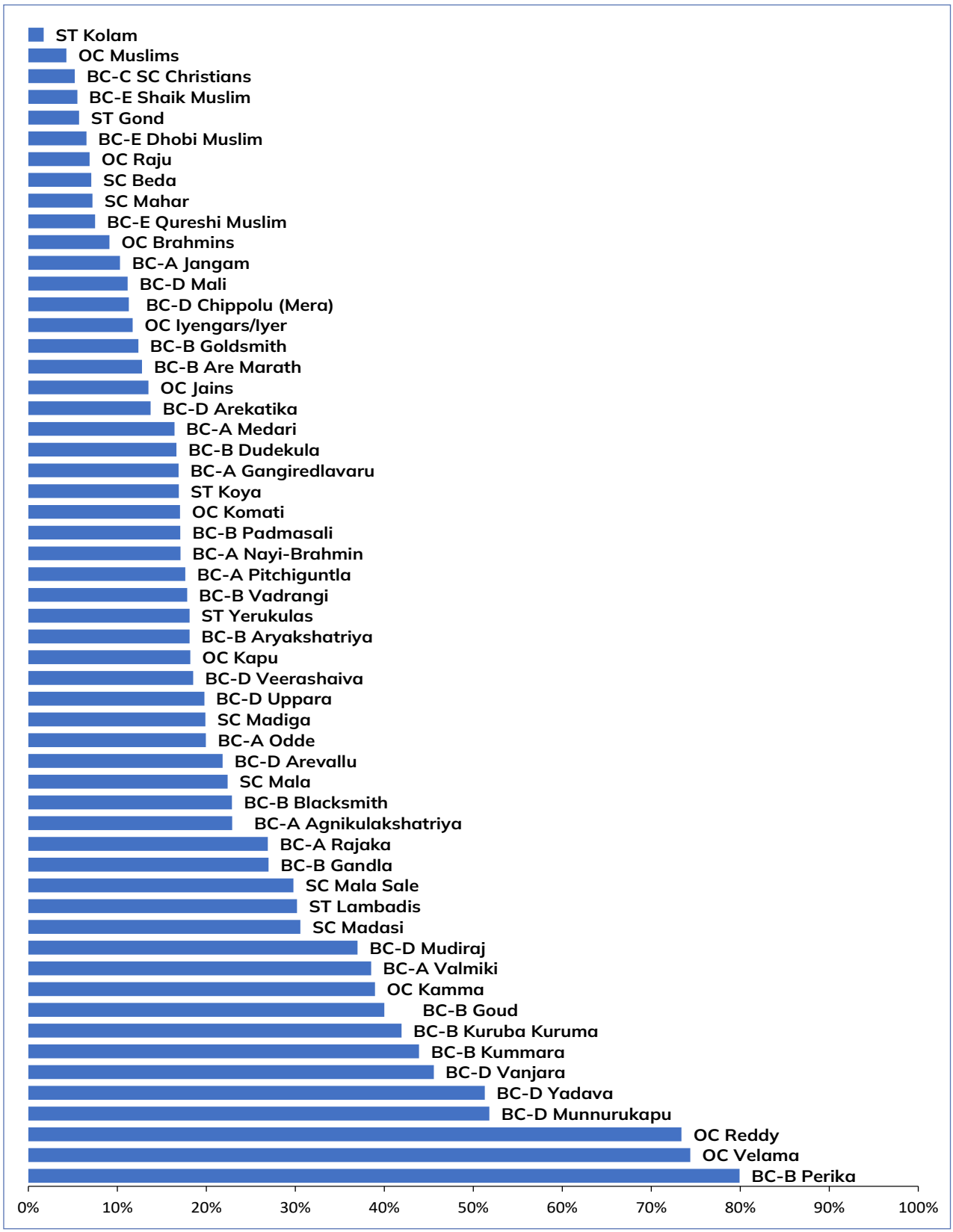


Figure 28: Share of land less than 5 acres

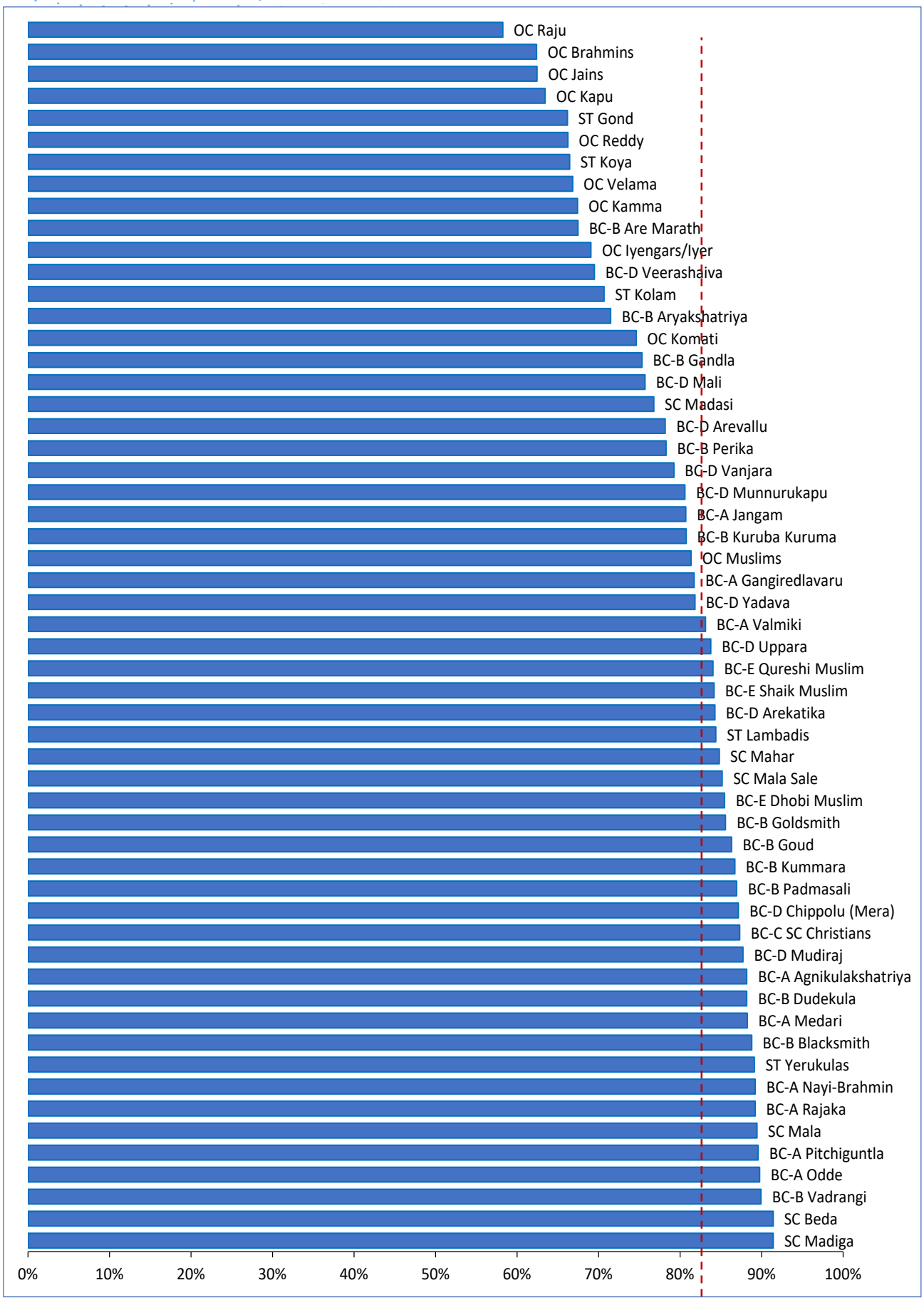


Figure 29: Share of land between 5-20 acres

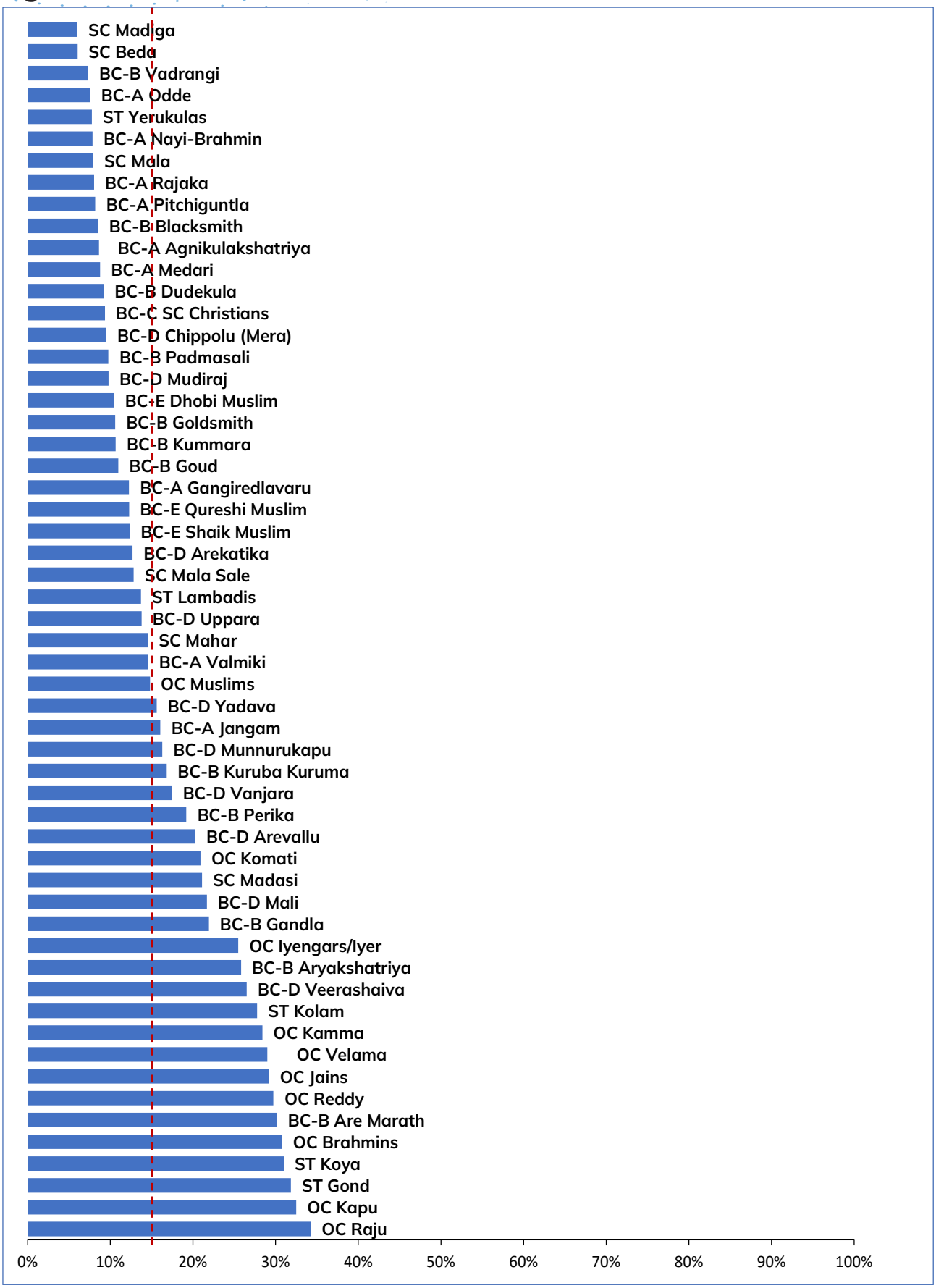


Figure 30: Share of land more than 20 acres

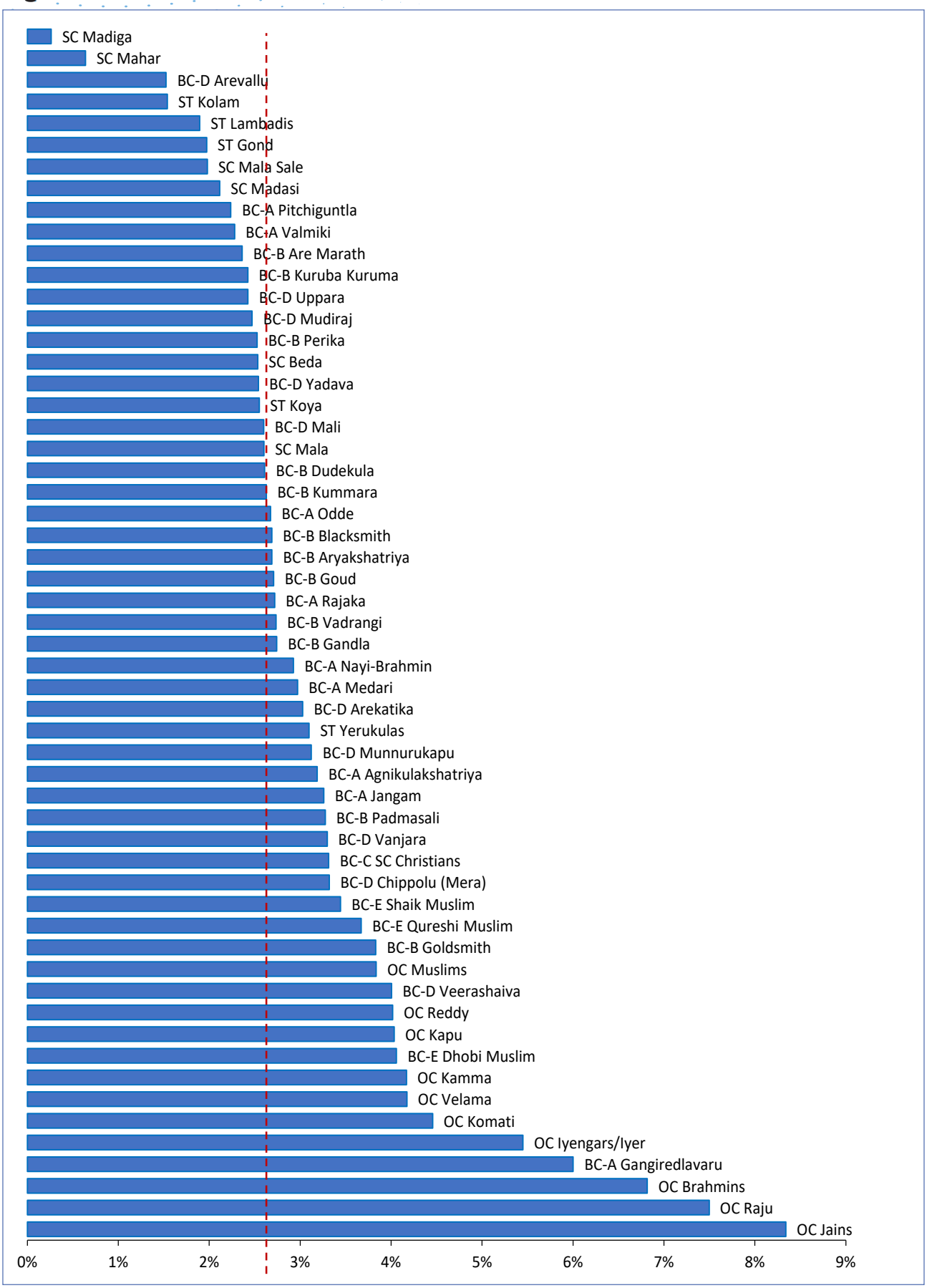
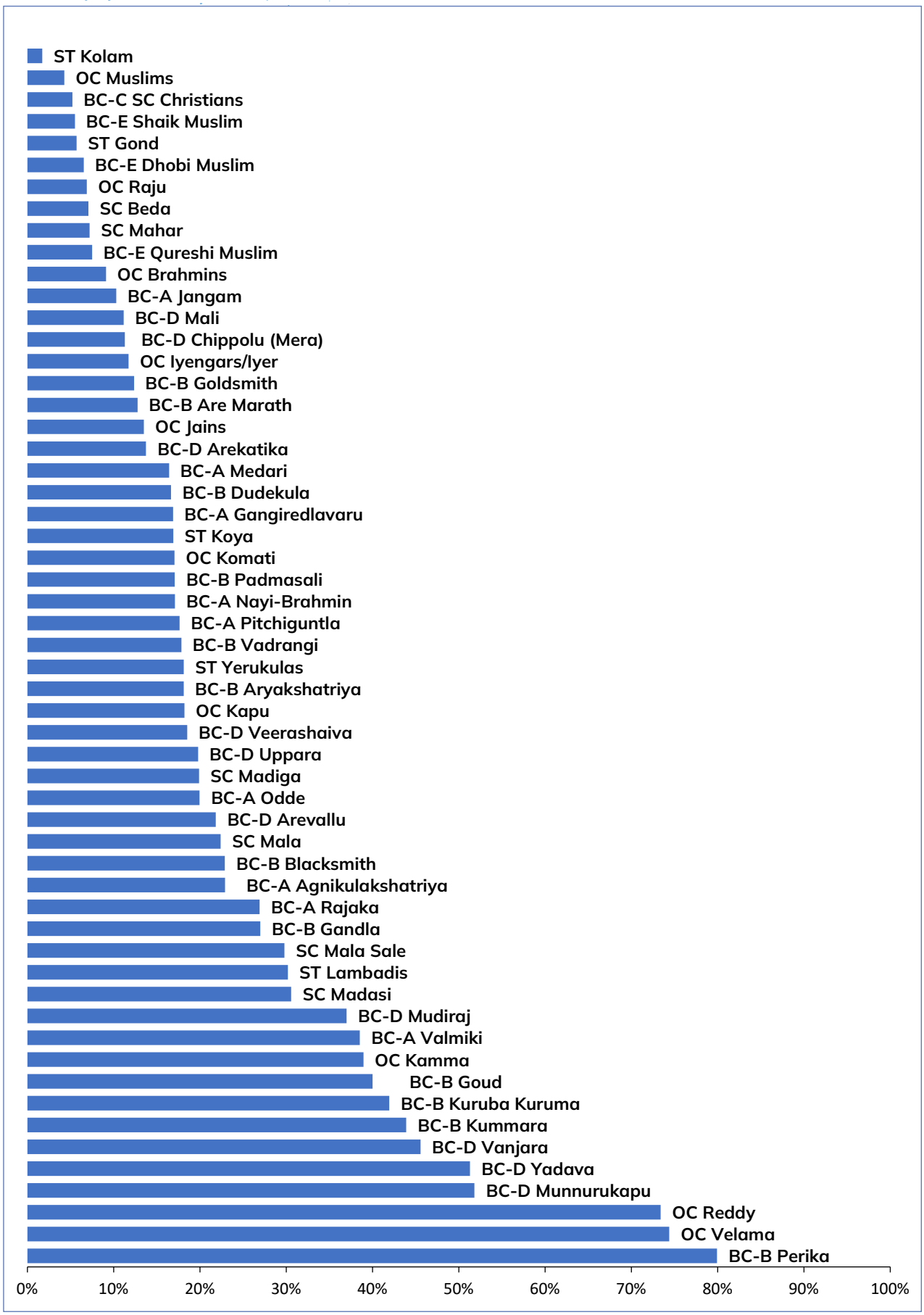
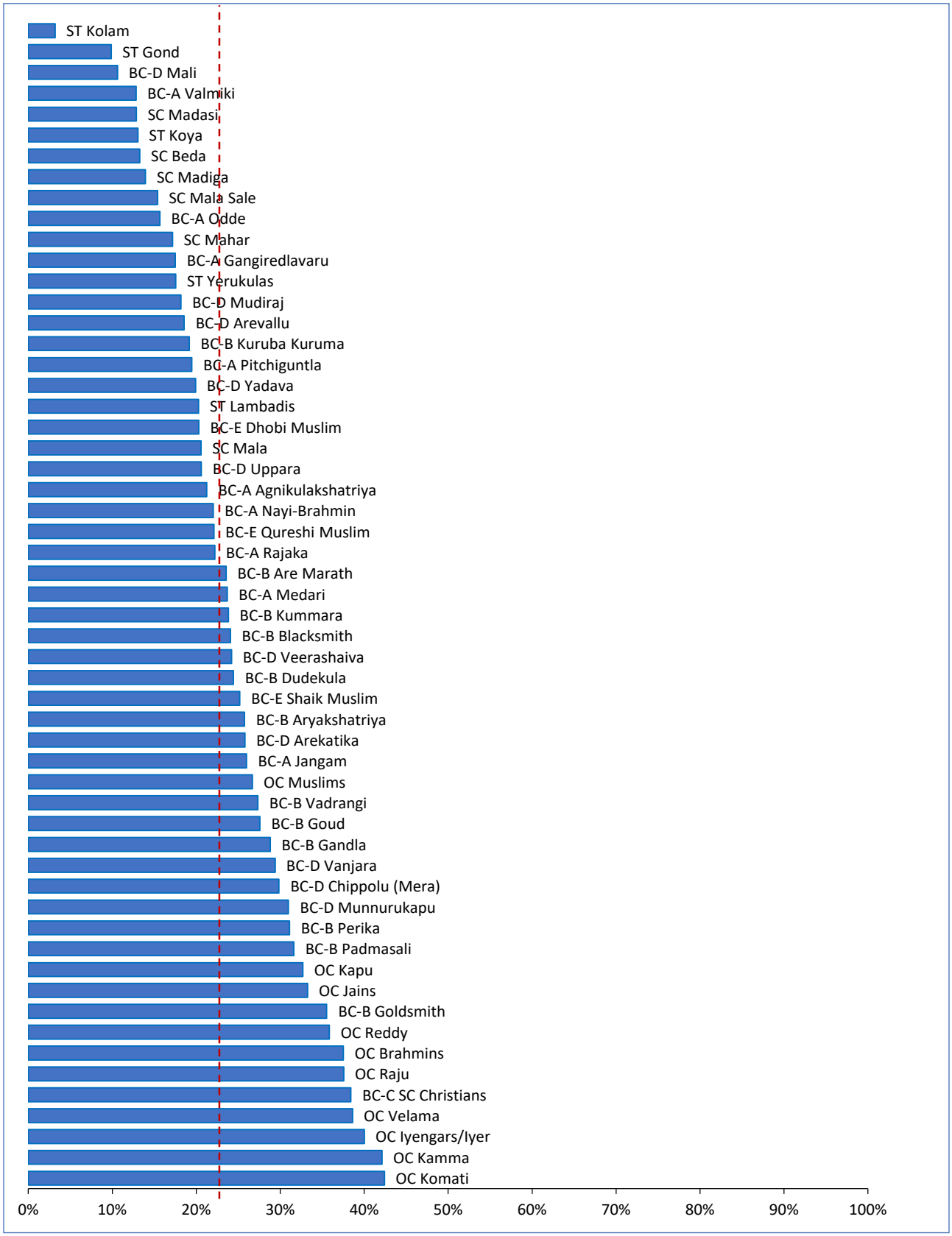


Figure 31: Average size of irrigated land owned per family (acre)



The state average of irrigated land owned per family is 0.7 acres. It can be observed that largely all the castes except for BC-B Perika, OC Velama and OC Reddy own less than the state average for owning irrigated land.

Figure 32: Share of Households with Refrigerator across 56 major castes



This graph on refrigerator ownership across castes in Telangana highlights deep inequalities in access to essential household appliances that reflect economic well-being, infrastructure access, and standard of living. The state average stands at 22.6%, but inter-caste variations are substantial.

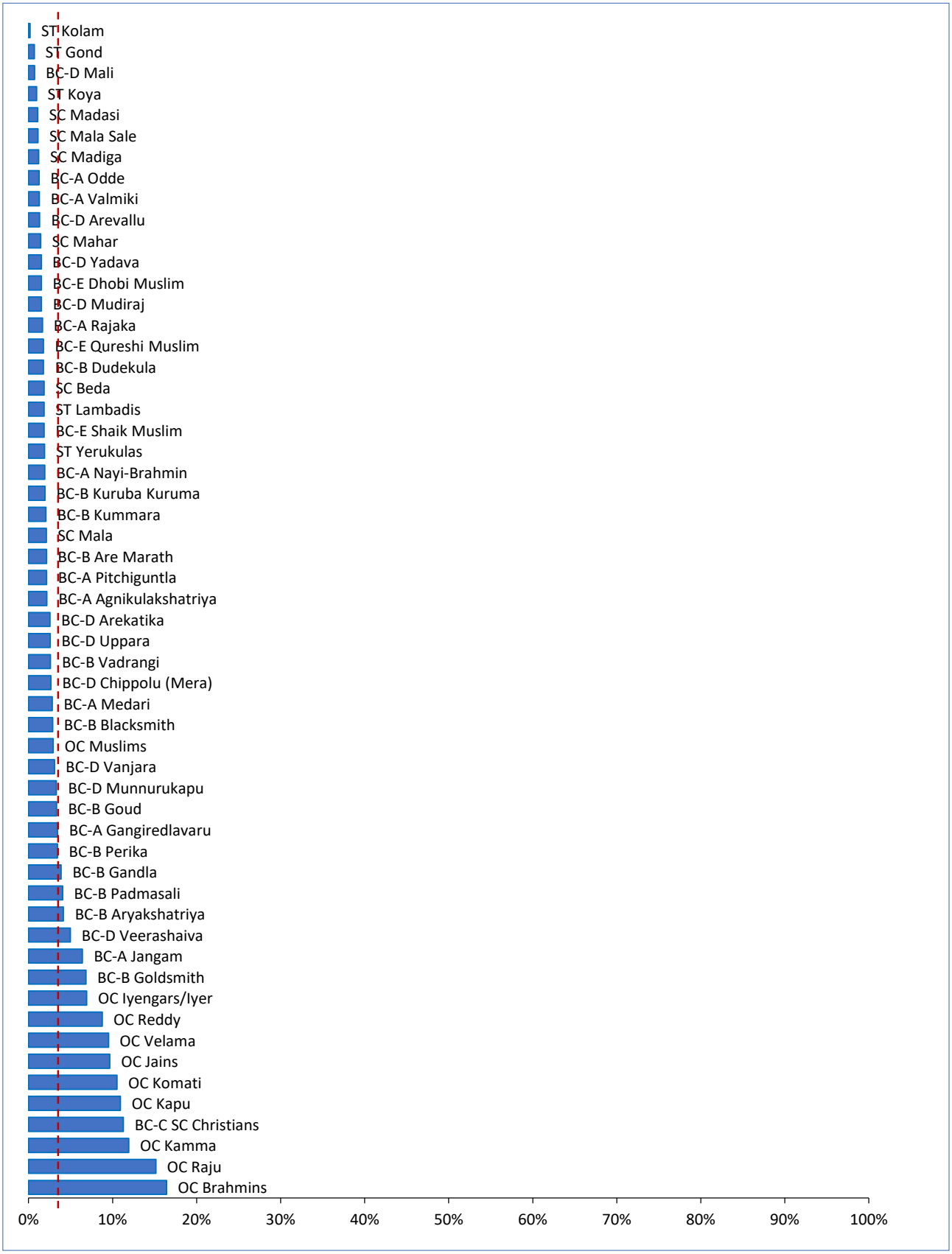
OC Komatis and Kammas lead with 42% of households owning a refrigerator—nearly double the state average. Other General castes such as OC Iyengars/Iyers, Velamas, Reddys, Brahmins, Rajus along BC-C SC Christians also rank among the highest, underscoring their relatively secure economic status and access to electricity and modern appliances.

At the bottom end, ST Kolams have the lowest ownership at just 3.2%, followed closely by ST Gonds and BC-D Malis. Several Scheduled Castes such as SC Valmikis, Madigas, and Beda also fall significantly below the state average. Their low refrigerator ownership reflects persistent poverty, limited access to electricity, and inadequate food storage options—factors that directly affect nutrition and quality of life.

Backward Classes show a wide spectrum. While BC-C SC Christians and BC-B Goldsmiths fare better than average, most BC castes such as BC-A Rajaka, BC-E Qureshi Muslims, BC-A Nayi Brahmins are below the state average.

Share of Other Caste (OC) Households owning a car is 3 times that of OBC and about 5 times that of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs)

Figure 33: Share of Households owning Car across 56 major castes



This graph on household car ownership across castes in Telangana serves as a telling marker of economic privilege, mobility, and access to luxury goods. With the state average at 3.2%, the disparity between caste groups is stark.

OC Brahmins have the highest share (16.4%) of households owning a car—over five times the state average. Other General Castes such as Rajus, Kammas, Kapus, Komatis, Velamas, and Jains also register high car ownership, indicating their relative affluence and economic security. Even BC-C Christians and BC-B Goldsmiths fare above or near the average, reflecting upward mobility in select Backward Classes.

In contrast, car ownership is nearly absent among the most deprived communities. ST Kolams record the lowest figure at just 0.2%, while other tribal groups such as ST Gonds and ST Koyas also remain significantly below average. Scheduled Castes (SCs) such as SC Madigas, SC Mala Sale, SC Madasis, and SC Bedas, along with BC-D Malis, BC-D Arevallus, BC-A Oddes and BC-A Valmikis, also exhibit extremely low car ownership rates, signaling limited disposable income and economic exclusion.

DISCRIMINATION AND GENDER

Measuring backwardness along the lines of Gender parameters are essential for assessing the backwardness of a community because they reveal how inclusive and progressive the society truly is. It is often said that the status of women reflects the overall maturity, equity, and development of a civilization. A community that denies women access to education, autonomy, health, and economic opportunities is likely to be socially and structurally backward in other dimensions as well.

Measuring factors such as the gender ratio, prevalence of female child marriage, and women's educational attainment sheds light on whether women enjoy dignity, freedom, and equal rights. These indicators show if women have the power to make decisions about their own lives—including marriage, education, career, and bodily autonomy—or if they remain bound by traditional restrictions.

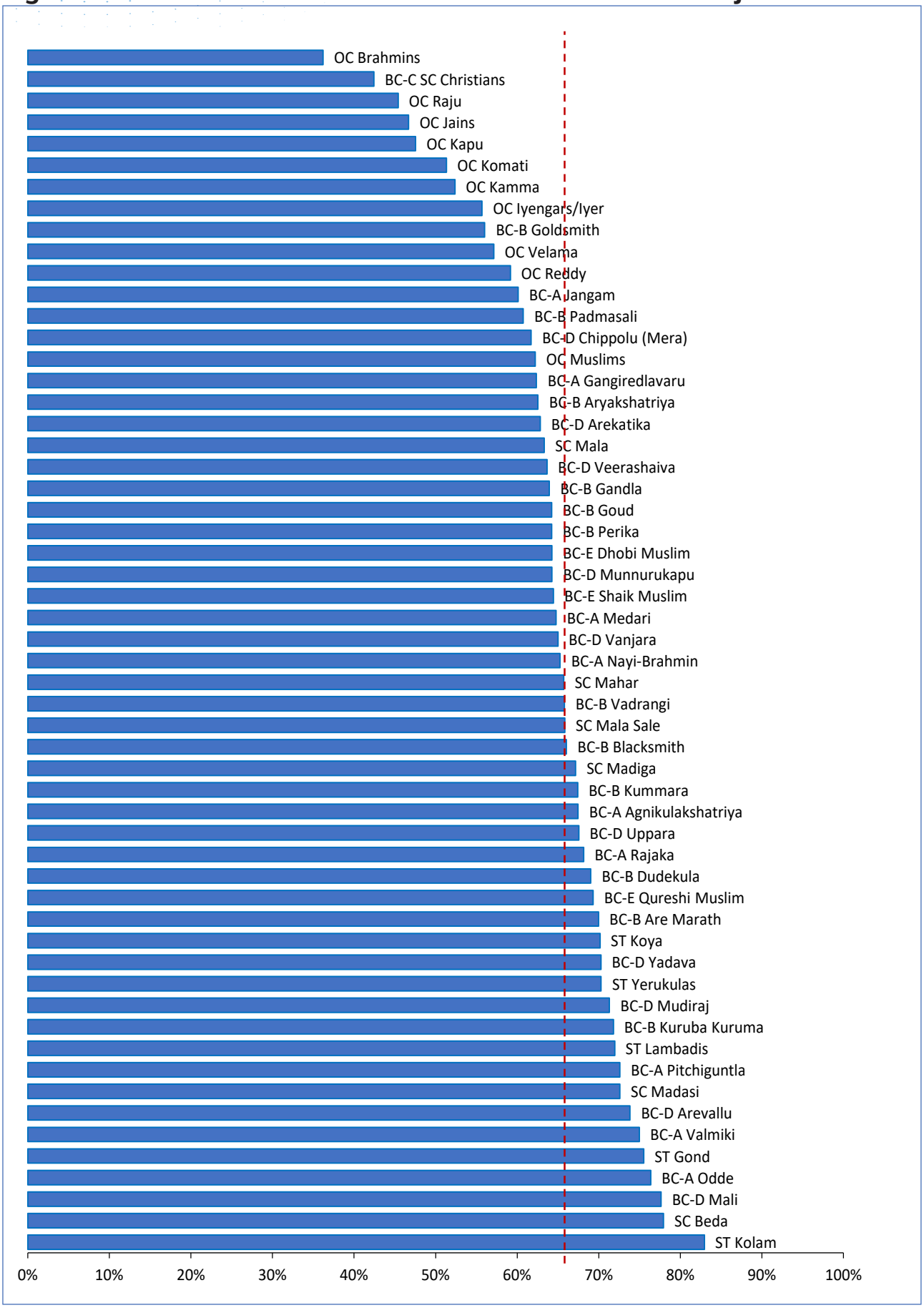
Further, a community where women are financially independent, better educated, and socially empowered is more likely to experience overall progress and well-being. Thus, gender is not just one of many dimensions—it is central to understanding the depth and nature of backwardness within any social group.

In Telangana, the average female-to-male ratio stands at 0.98. Interestingly, ST Gonds, ST Koyas, SC Malas and SC Madigas report a ratio greater than 1, while OC Iyengars/Iyers, OC Jains, OC Rajus and OC Muslims have a ratio much less than the state average of 0.98

With regards to girl child marriages in Telangana, 5% of girls or in other words 2.16 lakh girls below the age of 18 were found to be married. Among the major castes, the highest share of married girls below 18 were surprisingly among OC Iyengars/Iyers (21.2%)- which is 5 times the state average and OC Jains (11%) twice the state average.

Women Studied Below 10th

Figure 34: Share of Women studied below 10th across 56 major castes



This graph highlights the educational attainment of women across various castes in Telangana, specifically focusing on the share of women who have not studied beyond the 10th standard. The state average stands at 65.5%, which means nearly two-thirds of all women in Telangana have not progressed past secondary education.

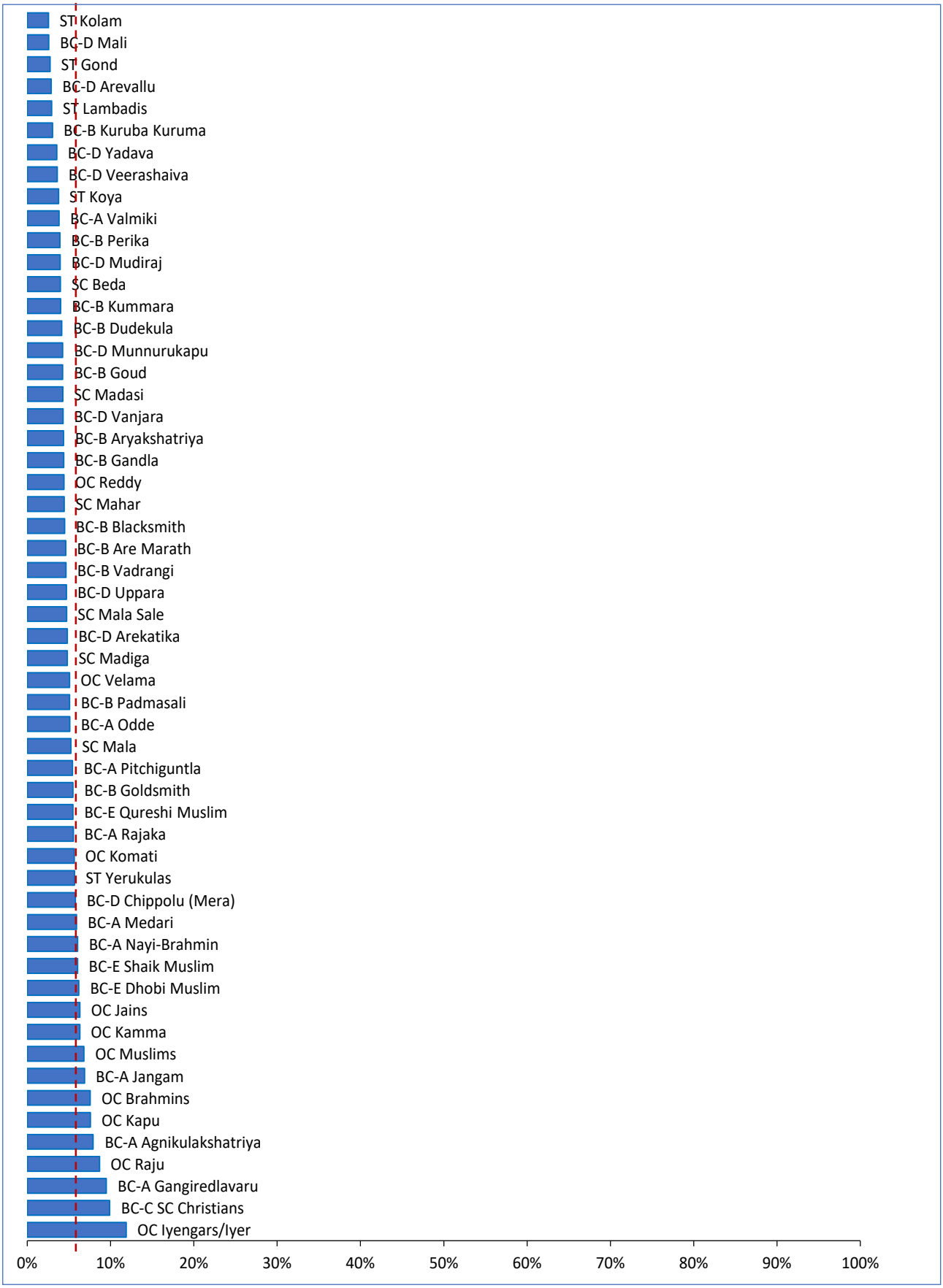
At the extreme end of backwardness, ST Kolam women report the highest share at 83%, signaling extremely poor educational access and outcomes among tribal girls. Other marginalized communities such as SC Bedas, BC-D Malis, BC-A Oddes, and ST Gonds also show very high shares of women not studying beyond 10th, underlining systemic barriers to education.

On the other hand, the lowest proportions are seen among OC Brahmins (36.2%), indicating better educational attainment and access. They are closely followed by OC Rajus, OC Jains, OC Komatis, OC Kammas, and OC Iyengars/Iyers, all of whom fall significantly below the state average, reflecting their historically privileged socio-economic position. BC-C SC Christians, BC-B Goldsmith, following the overall trend and are relatively better on educational attainment in women.

Interestingly, most SC and ST groups are above the state average, reflecting continued educational deprivation, while a few exceptions like SC Mala women perform better than the state average, indicating intra-group diversity. This suggests targeted educational interventions are necessary for specific sub-castes to bridge this educational gap.

Inter-Caste Marriages

Figure 35: Share of Households with Inter-Caste Marriages across 56 major castes



Inter-caste marriages in India, including Telangana, remain a sensitive reflection of the society's rigid social fabric. Typically, marriages are arranged within the same caste or community by family members, preserving long-standing social hierarchies. However, inter-caste marriages indicate the weakening of such barriers and signal growing social mobility, especially in terms of individual agency, with women exercising greater freedom in choosing their partners.

The graph highlights an interesting pattern. OC Iyengers/Iyers report the highest share of households (12%) with inter-caste marriages, followed by BC-C SC Christians (9.9%) and OC Rajus (8.7%). This points towards these communities, particularly Iyengers/Iyers, breaking traditional matrimonial norms—possibly influenced by high urbanization, education, and exposure.

Similarly, BC-A Gangiredlavaru and BC-A Agnikulakshatriyas also show a higher share of inter-caste marriages, along with OC Kapus and OC Brahmins. A significant factor could be urban residency—over 90% of OC Brahmins reside in urban areas, where caste barriers in marriage tend to be more flexible.

On the other hand, castes like ST Kolam (2.6%), BC-D Mali (2.6%), and ST Gonds (2.8%) are among those with the least share of inter-caste marriages. This could be attributed to their relative geographical isolation, low exposure to urban influence, and adherence to traditional norms.

A surprising insight is that dominant land-owning groups such as OC Velamas (5.1%) and OC Reddys (4.4%) have far lower rates of inter-caste marriages, well below the state average. This suggests that despite socio-economic privilege, these groups retain strong caste-based matrimonial boundaries—reflecting both societal rigidity and limited personal agency, especially for women in marriage decisions.

This graph clearly illustrates that while economic progress and urbanization can loosen caste barriers in marriage for some, deep-rooted caste identities continue to shape marital patterns in much of Telangana's society.

Girl Child Marriage

Child Marriage among girls ranges from 2% among OC Kapu being the least to 8% in BC-A Gangiredlavaru shows that girls marrying under the age of 18 is very much prevalent in all the communities however it is higher among OC Muslim, BC-E Shaik Muslim.

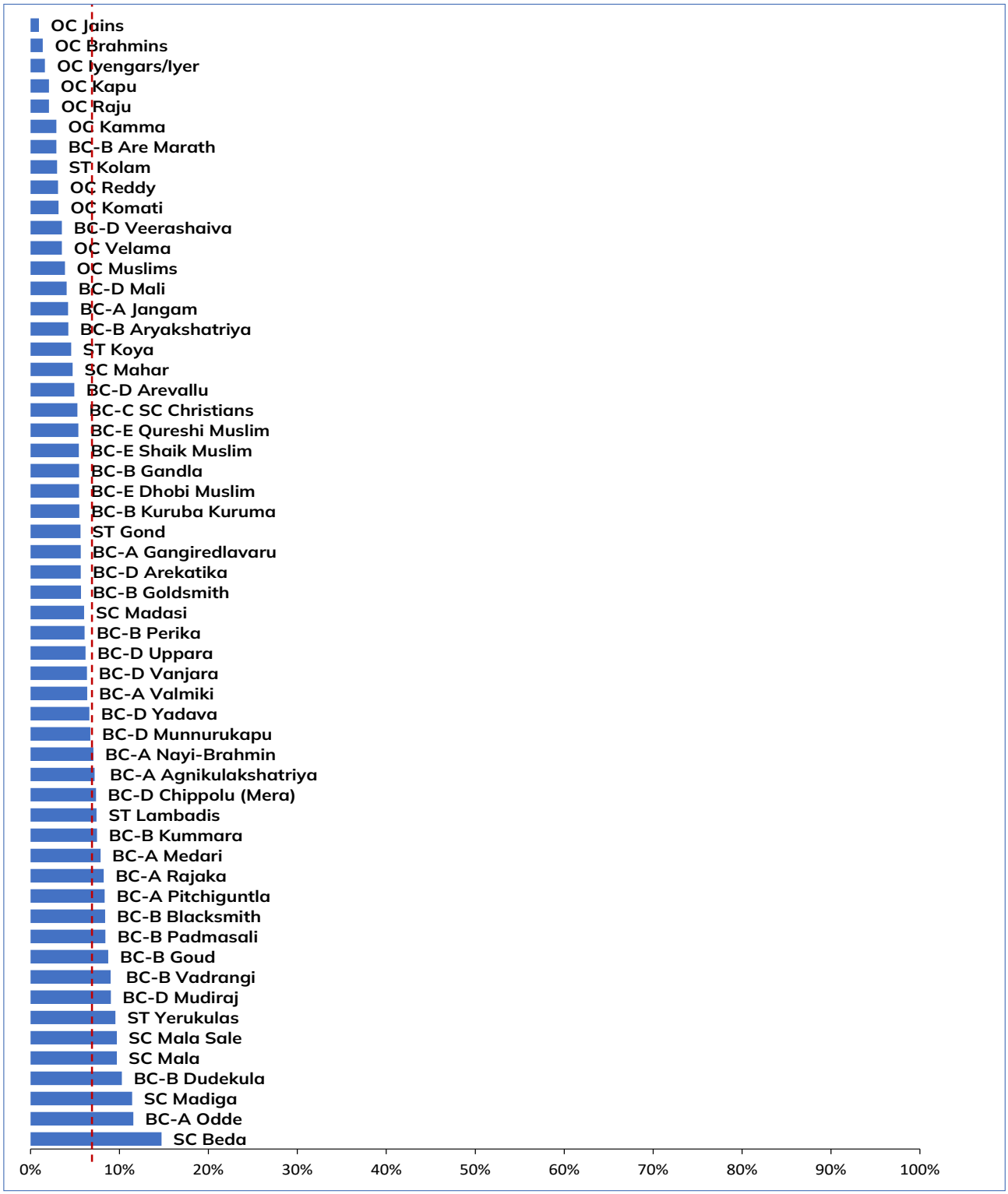
Figure 36: Share of households with girl child marriage

ACCESS TO FINANCE

Households with loans for marriage or medical expense

The graph below shows the loans availed by all the Castes for either marriage or a medical expense. It can be seen in the trend largely SC, ST, OBCs are being pushed into debt by a sudden Medical expense or for a wedding in the family.

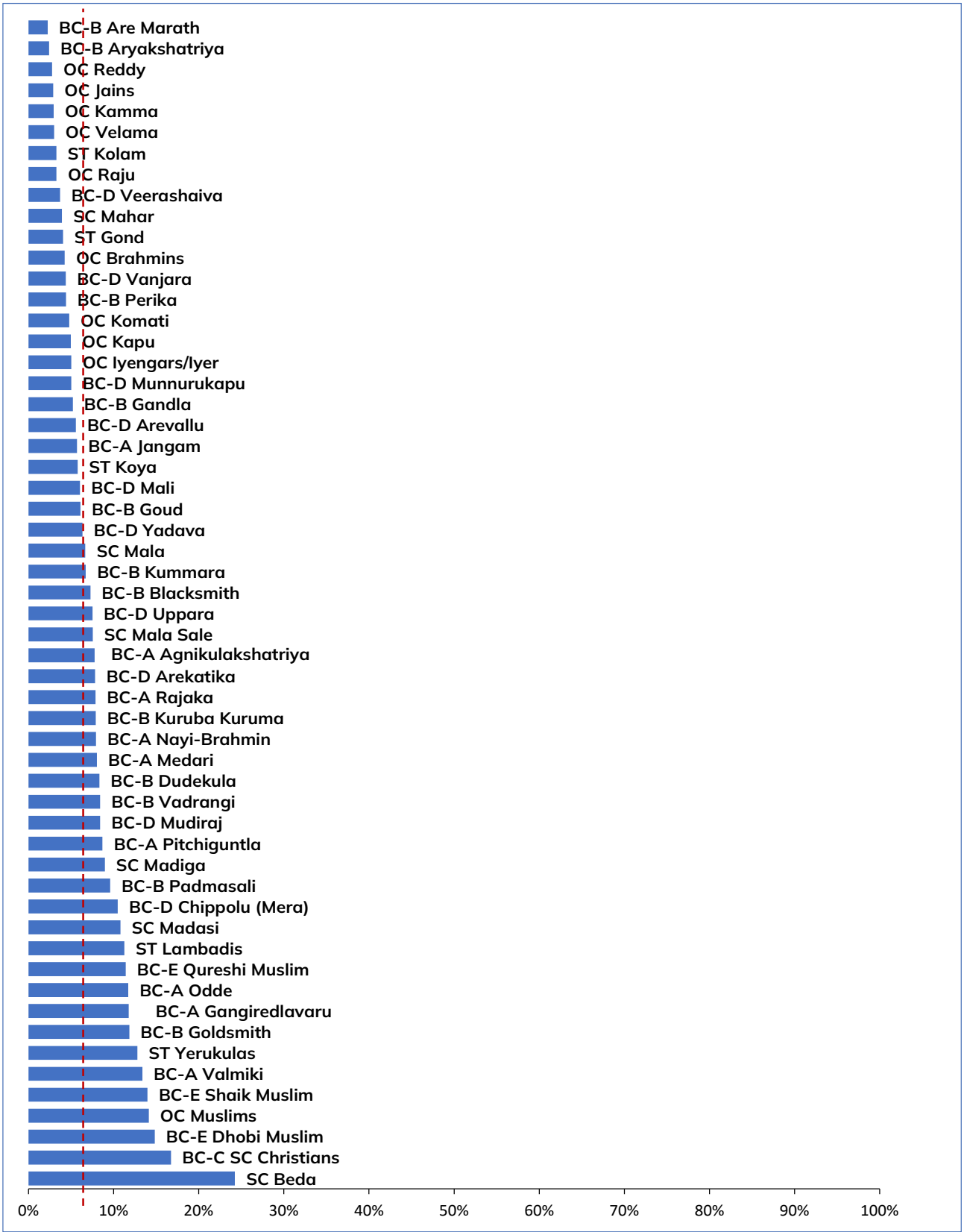
Figure 37: Households with loans for marriage or medical expense



Households with loans from money lender

The below graph shows the Castewise trend of dependency on informal money lenders for loans instead of institutional credit, shows the lack of access to formal credit avenues

Figure 38: Households with loans from money lender



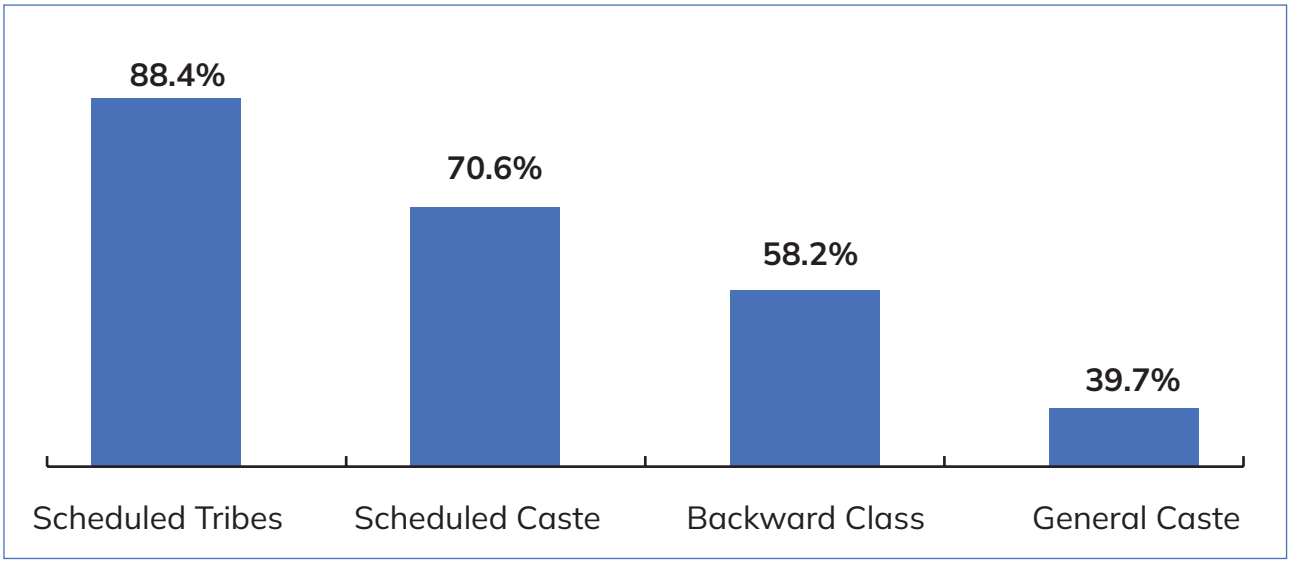
Rural – Urban Divide

The SEEEPC Survey's disaggregated data enables a closer understanding of how the geographical rural-urban divide intersects with caste-based disparities in the state.

Demographic Spread

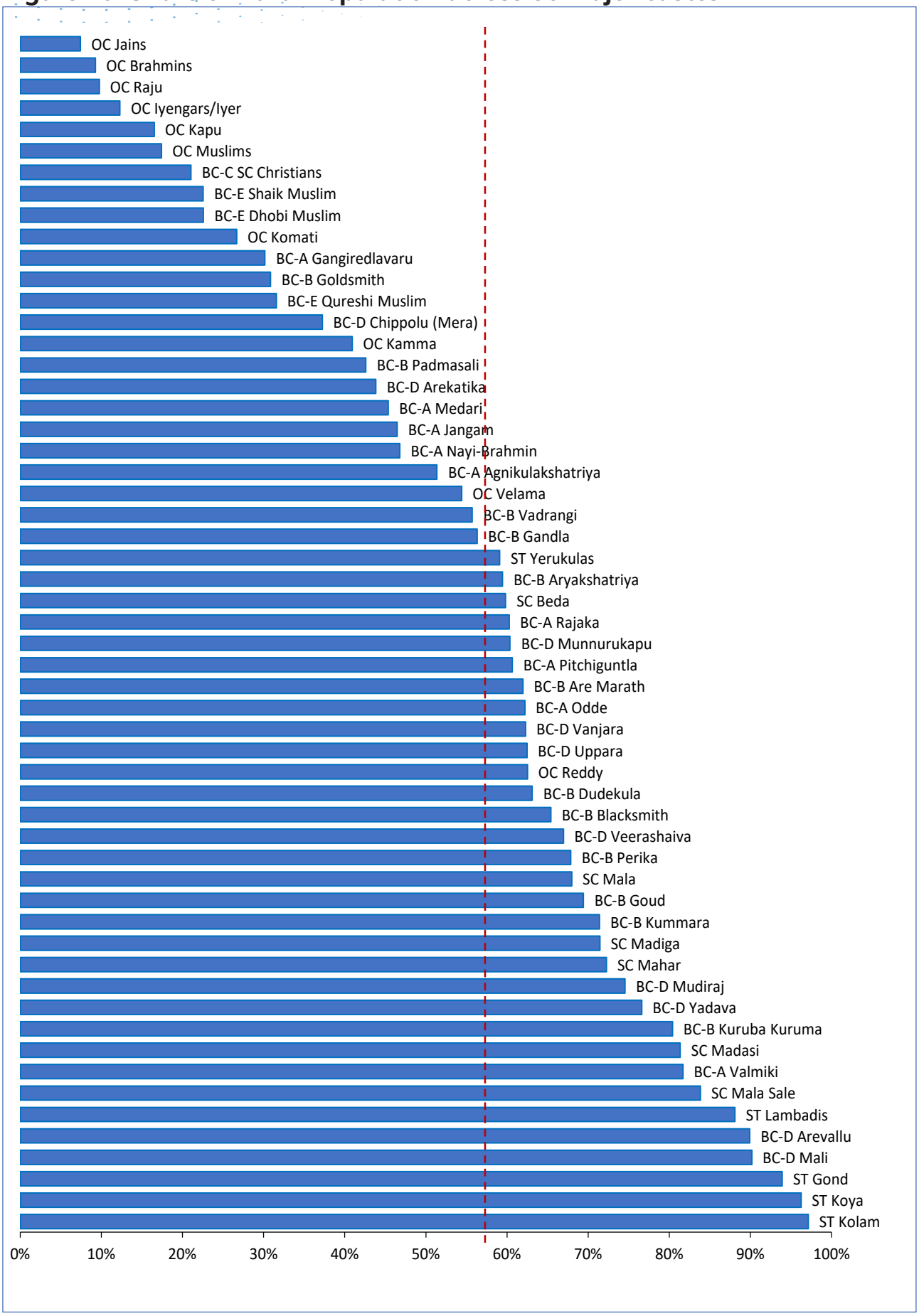
The SEEEPC Survey data confirms that Telangana continues to exhibit a predominantly rural demographic profile, though patterns of urbanisation vary considerably across caste groups. State-wide, approximately 40% of the population resides in urban areas, a figure consistent with Census estimates. However, this aggregate masks sharp intra-caste differences in spatial distribution.

Figure 39: Share of Rural Population by Social Category



It is clear that there is a sharp caste divide in the rural population. 92% of all people in rural Telangana are either from the Backward Class or Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe while these groups account only for 80% of all people in urban Telangana. These groups continue to be concentrated in agrarian and village-based settings, with livelihoods closely tied to agriculture and informal rural economies. The significant variation in urban-rural distribution across caste categories highlights the spatial dimension of social inequality in Telangana. These patterns shape access to services, education, employment, and welfare, and are therefore essential to understanding broader disparities explored in this chapter.

Figure 40: Share of Rural Population across 56 major castes



It is also noteworthy that certain caste groups appear to exhibit shifts in their spatial distribution compared to earlier Census patterns. Business- and service-oriented groups such as Komatis, Rajakas, and Gouds also show higher urban shares than historically recorded, suggesting gradual migration and occupational shifts. Among the ST communities, while Kolam, Koya, and Gond remain deeply rural, the Lambadis display partial urban migration, especially among younger cohorts—a shift consistent with known patterns of mobility. These dynamics underscore the evolving nature of caste and spatial stratification in contemporary Telangana.

Is Geography 'Casteless'?

One of the enduring intellectual clashes between economists and sociologists is the 'place' versus 'identity' conflict. Neo-classical economists believe that a person's geography or place is the most significant driver of development and progress or lack thereof. Classical sociologists hold the view that one's social identity is the more important determinant. In simple terms, what matters more to development and prosperity – who you are born to or where you are born in?

The other way to ask this question is – does one's caste matter less in rural areas vis-à-vis urban? SEEEPC survey provides a very rich dataset to test this question through a CBI analysis of urban and rural geographies. That is, within rural Telangana, is the distance in backwardness between the least and most backward castes lower than the distance in urban Telangana?

Using the SEEEPC dataset where every person's geographical location was geolocated to a Gram panchayat or a ward categorised as urban or rural, a CBI framework was constructed for the 35 million people across rural and urban separately grouped by caste. We see the exact same pattern in backwardness among social groups of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, Backward Class and General Caste that we observe in the overall state or just in urban Telangana. To put it simply, there is no difference in caste based backwardness between rural and urban geographies.

Table 5: Caste-based backwardness between Rural and Urban Geographies

Caste	Rural CBI
Scheduled Caste	56
Scheduled Tribes	47
Backward Class	42
General Caste	17

Caste	Urban CBI
Scheduled Tribes	57
Scheduled Caste	55
Backward Class	49
General Caste	13

In rural Telangana, the most backward social group of Scheduled Castes are 3.5 times more backward than the General Caste while in urban areas, the most backward are the Scheduled Tribes that are more than 4 times backward than General Caste. So while the distance of backwardness is larger in urban areas than in rural areas, there is a significant difference among social groups in backwardness in rural and urban areas. In other words, in rural or urban areas, caste still matters.

Figure 41: Rural - Composite Backwardness Index (CBI)

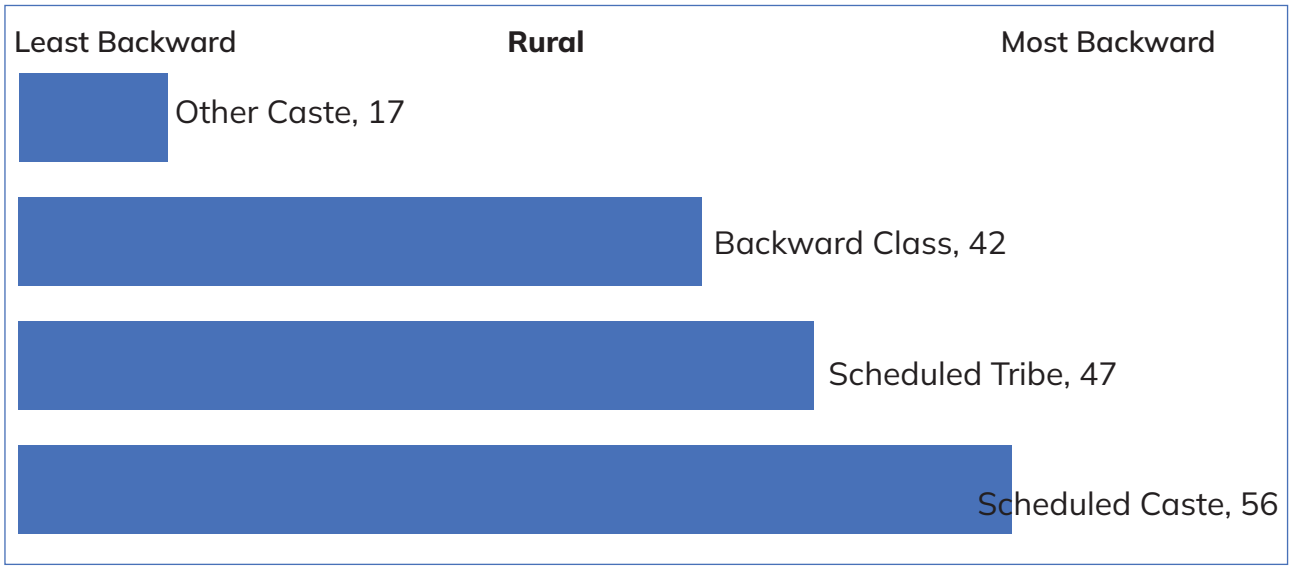
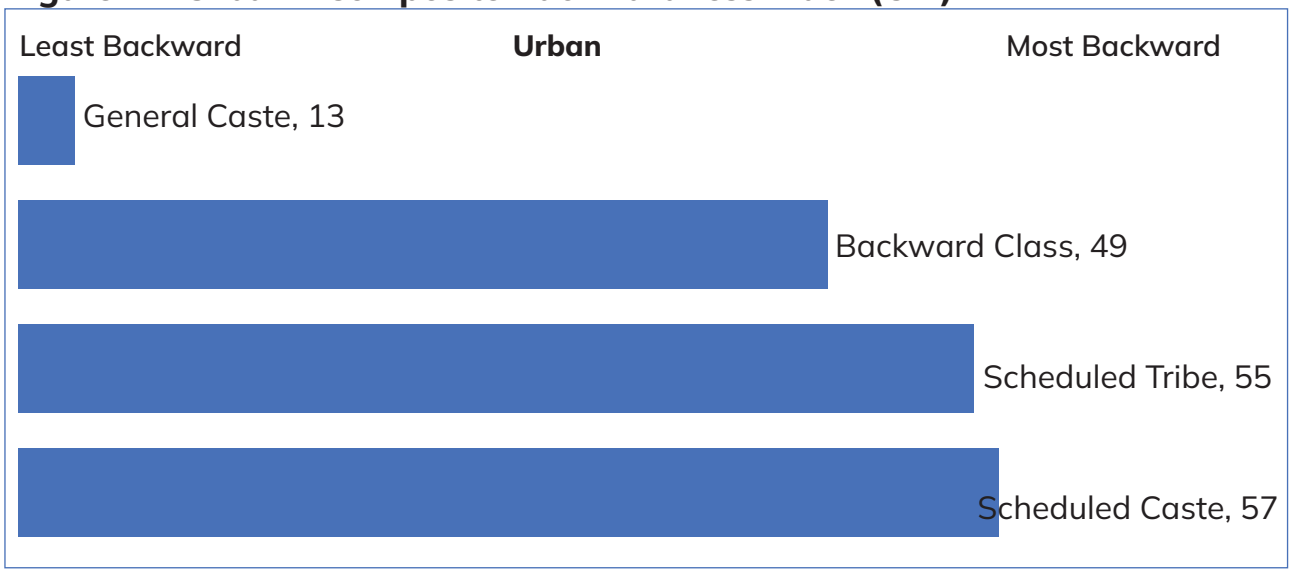


Figure 42: Urban - Composite Backwardness Index (CBI)



To be sure, there are inter-group variations that are interesting to observe. The Scheduled Tribes in urban areas are much more backward than the Scheduled Tribes in rural areas while there is no difference for the Scheduled Castes among urban and rural areas. Not surprisingly, the more developed General Caste are better off in urban areas than in rural areas which is the opposite of what one observes with the Backward Classes.

Figure 43: Rural Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (56 castes)

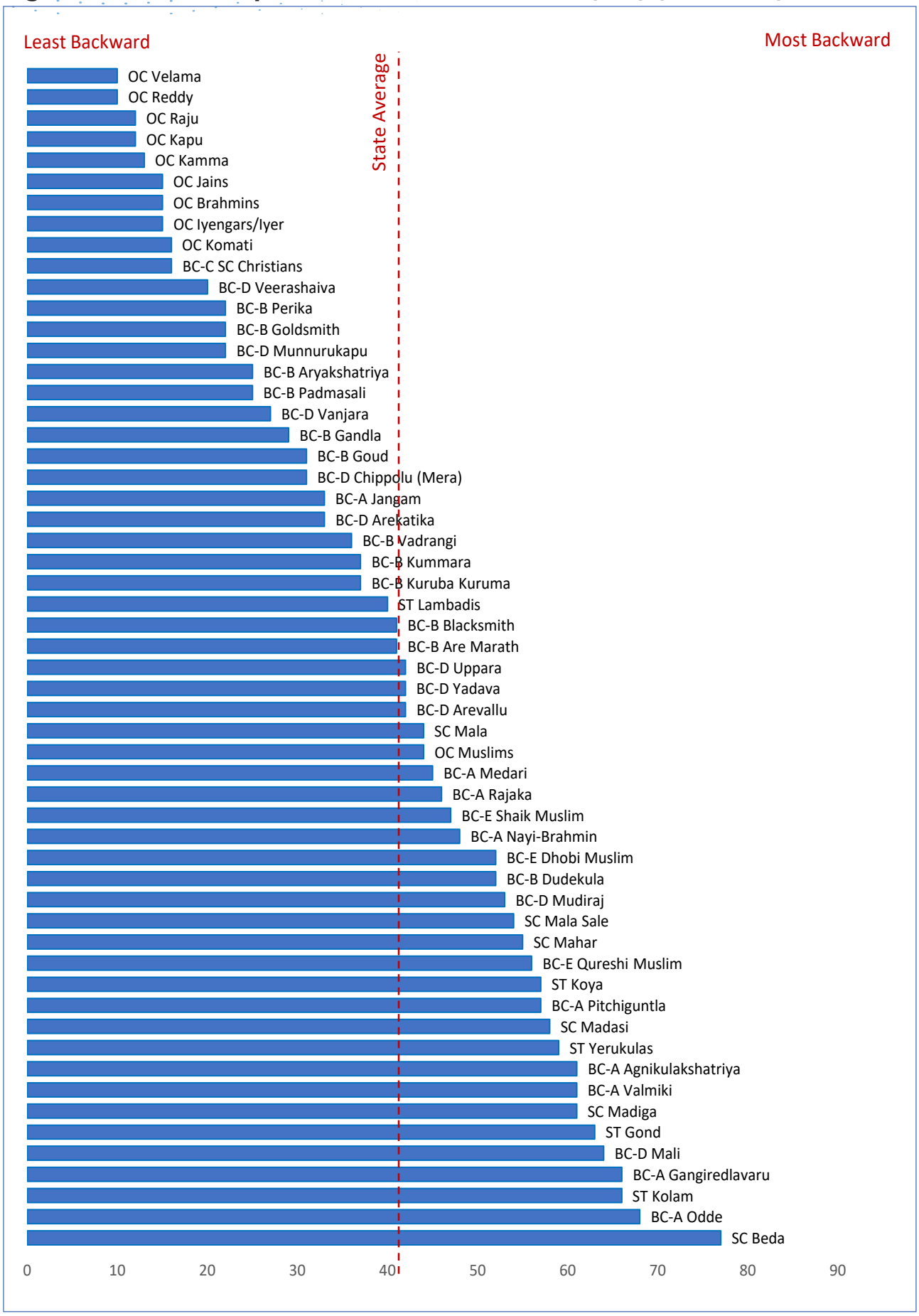
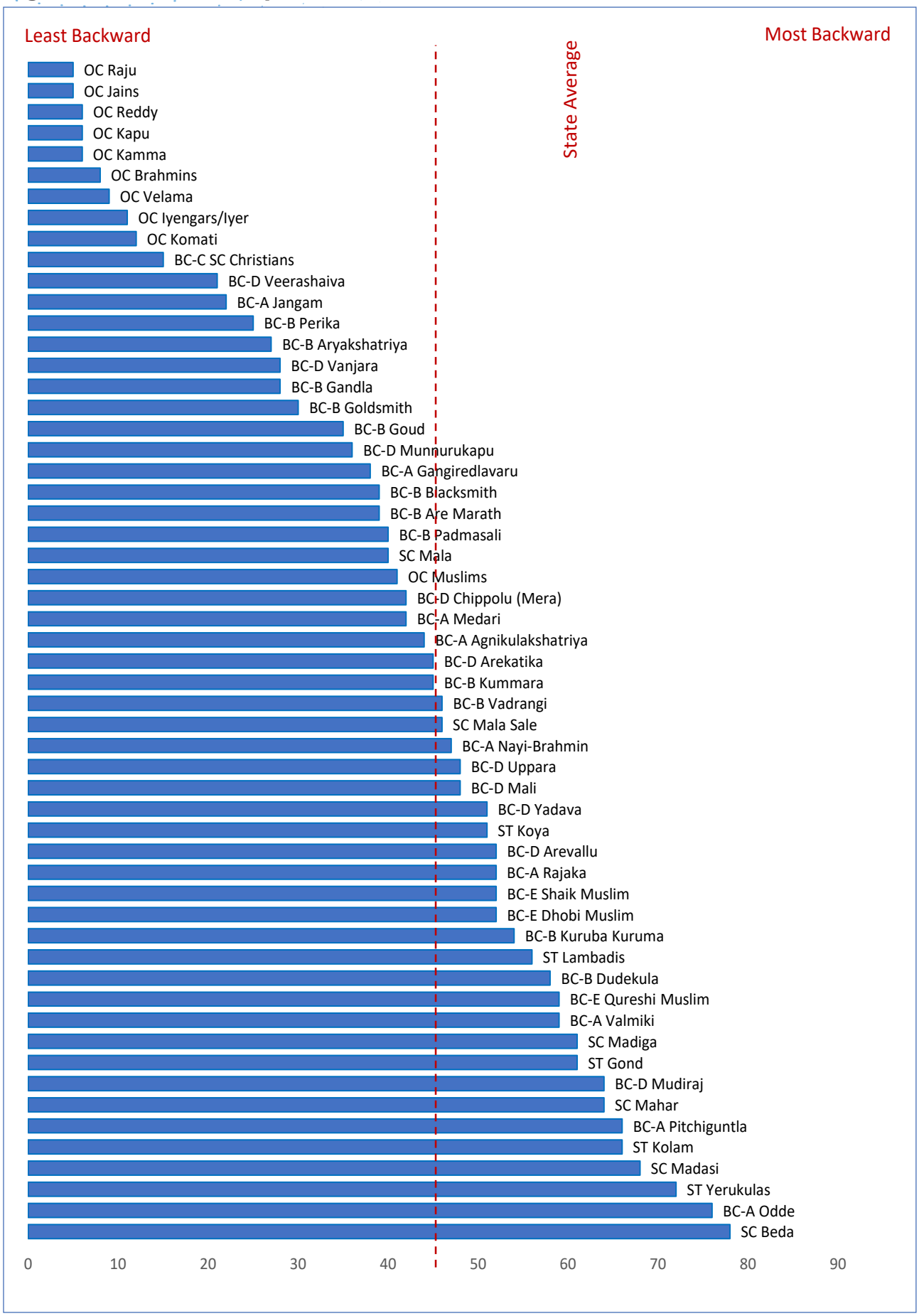


Figure 44: Urban Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (56 castes)



Rural – Urban Backwardness Gap

It is generally expected that people living in rural areas are more backward than those in urban areas. How wide is this backwardness gap and does this vary by caste? In other words, are all castes better off in urban areas than in rural areas or does this differ for each caste depending on their occupation, land ownership and other economic and social conditions?

The CBI framework offers critical insights to answer this question. The table below shows the 'Rural – Urban Backwardness' gap as measured by the difference in Rural CBI score and Urban CBI score for each caste. If the difference is large then it conforms to the notion that people in rural areas are much more backward than their urban counterparts of the same caste. But if the difference is zero or negative, then it means that there is either no difference in backwardness between rural and urban folks of that caste or in some castes, the urbanites are more backward than their rural counterparts. This can be due to various factors such as worse living conditions in urban areas than in rural areas, less land assets in urban areas, worse occupational conditions etc.

Table 6: Caste Wise Rural - Urban Backwardness Gap

Caste	Gap
BC-A Gangiredlavaru	28
BC-A Agnikulakshatriya	17
BC-D Mali	16
BC-A Jangam	11
OC Jains	10
SC Mala Sale	8
OC Brahmins	7
OC Kamma	7
OC Raju	7
ST Koya	6
OC Kapu	6
SC Mala	4
OC Komati	4
OC Iyengars/Iyer	4
OC Reddy	4
BC-A Medari	3
OC Muslims	3
ST Gond	2
BC-A Valmiki	2

Caste	Gap
BC-B Are Marath	2
BC-B Blacksmith	2
BC-A Nayi-Brahmin	1
BC-B Gandla	1
BC-C SC Christians	1
OC Velama	1
ST Kolam	0
SC Madiga	0
BC-E Dhobi Muslim	0
SC Beda	-1
BC-D Vanjara	-1
BC-D Veerashaiva	-1
BC-B Aryakshatriya	-2
BC-E Qureshi Muslim	-3
BC-B Perika	-3
BC-B Goud	-4
BC-E Shaik Muslim	-5
BC-B Dudekula	-6
BC-A Rajaka	-6

Caste	Gap
BC-D Uppara	-6
BC-A Odde	-8
BC-B Kummara	-8
BC-B Goldsmith	-8
BC-A Pitchiguntla	-9
SC Mahar	-9
BC-D Yadava	-9
SC Madasi	-10
BC-D Arevallu	-10

Caste	Gap
BC-B Vadrangi	-10
BC-D Mudiraj	-11
BC-D Chippolu (Mera)	-11
BC-D Arekatika	-12
ST Yerukulas	-13
BC-D Munnurukapu	-14
BC-B Padmasali	-15
ST Lambadis	-16
BC-B Kuruba Kuruma	-17

Interestingly and perhaps not surprisingly, rural people among General Caste are more backward than urban General Caste people but among castes such as Lambadi tribes, Kuruba Kuruma backward class, Mudiraj backward class, Madasi Scheduled Caste and others, the urban folks are more backward than their rural counterparts. So, it is clearly not the case that for every caste, urban folks are less backward than rural folks and the reasons for this difference could be historical and varied.

Education Disparities

Education remains one of the important pathways of urban advantage, but the SEEEPC data shows that urban residence does not automatically equalize educational outcomes across caste groups. While urban areas provide more extensive schooling infrastructure, private institutions, and coaching avenues, caste-linked disparities remain deeply embedded within both urban and rural spaces.

For dominant OC(General Caste) groups such as Brahmins, Komati and Reddy urban location amplifies pre-existing educational advantages. These groups show consistently higher participation in English-medium schooling, lower illiteracy rates, and higher progression into higher education. Urban residence allows these groups to fully leverage the educational opportunities available in metropolitan centers like Hyderabad and district urban centers.

However, for many SC and ST groups—including Madiga, Lambadi, Kolam, and Koya—the shift to urban residence only partially mitigates disadvantages. While urban children from these groups fare better than their rural counterparts, significant gaps in higher education attainment, English-medium schooling, and skill acquisition persist even within urban contexts. Thus, while geography improves access, historical social positioning continues to limit full convergence in educational outcomes.

Importantly, even in rural areas, some non-SC/ST groups such as Komati and some OBCs report better educational indicators, further underscoring how caste positioning interacts with geography. For highly rural ST groups such as Kolam, Koya, and Gond, educational deprivation remains most acute, with large segments still concentrated at low literacy and primary levels.

In sum, the SEEEPC data suggests that while urbanization facilitates educational mobility for some, it has not been sufficient to erase the caste-linked educational hierarchy. Urban-rural disparities in education are significant but must be understood as operating within this layered structure of inherited advantage and exclusion.

Employment and Occupation Patterns

Urban residence substantially reshapes employment opportunities in Telangana, yet caste-linked segmentation continues to structure occupational outcomes even within cities. The SEEEPC data reveals that while urban settings offer access to formal sector professional jobs(Government and Private), business avenues, and professional occupations, the degree to which caste groups access these opportunities remains highly uneven.

For OC (General Caste) groups such as Brahmins, Komati, Reddy, and No Caste, urban residence provides a significant employment advantage. These groups report higher participation in salaried government jobs, private sector employment, business ownership, and professional services. The urban labour market allows them to benefit from historical educational advantages, professional networks, and asset accumulation that predate urbanization.

In contrast, for many SC and ST groups—including Madiga, Lambadi, Kolam, Koya, and Valmiki Boya—urban employment largely continues to concentrate in informal work, daily wage labour, low-skill service sector jobs, and marginal self-employment. A considerable segment of these groups are engaged as daily wage workers or vendors in urban marketplaces and low-end services, reflecting their limited access to formal sector positions. Although urban residence reduces dependence on agriculture, it does not automatically ensure access to stable, well-paying, or formal employment for these groups. Thus, even within urban labour markets, caste-linked occupational stratification persists.

Rural employment remains overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture and informal sector work across most caste groups, but particularly so for SC and ST communities. Among highly rural groups such as Kolam, Koya, Gond, and Lambadi, dependence on smallholder farming, forest-based livelihoods, NREGA-supported wage employment, and casual labour remains dominant. Child labour

also remains a concern in certain rural pockets, particularly among low-income SC and ST groups, where household economic pressures force children into work at early ages.

Occupational continuity across generations is particularly pronounced among ST and some OBC groups, where many households continue their traditional caste-linked livelihoods such as forest gathering, artisanal work, shepherding, and semi-skilled rural crafts. While these occupations provide subsistence, they often limit upward mobility in both rural and urban contexts.

Income Disparities

The SEEEPC data reveals that income disparities remain one of the sharpest reflections of the urban-rural divide. Urban households are far more concentrated in higher income brackets, while rural households remain over-represented in lower income categories. This income stratification interacts closely with caste location, occupational access, and spatial mobility.

In rural Telangana, a large proportion of households remain concentrated in the lowest income bracket, earning below ₹1 lakh annually. SC and ST groups—particularly Madiga, Lambadi, Kolam, Koya, and Valmiki Boya—record high concentrations in this bracket even within rural areas. This reflects persistent dependence on casual labour, subsistence agriculture, and low-return informal work. Even among OBC groups in rural regions, a significant share remains in the sub-₹1 lakh bracket.

Urban residence shifts a larger share of households into higher income bands. In urban areas, a sizable proportion of households fall into the ₹1–5 lakh annual income bracket, reflecting greater access to salaried work, business income, and private sector employment. This shift is most pronounced for OC(General Caste) groups—Brahmins, Komati, and Reddy who display strong representation in both the ₹1–5 lakh and above ₹5 lakh brackets.

The highest income tier—above ₹5 lakh annual income—shows clear concentration among urban OC (General Caste) groups, as well as select upwardly mobile OBC subgroups. For most SC and ST groups, even urban residence rarely translates into significant representation in this highest bracket, underlining the persistence of caste-linked ceilings even within urban economies.

Income tax filer data further highlights these disparities. No Caste and OC(General Caste) groups dominate among tax paying households, while SC, ST, and many OBC households are largely outside the formal income tax net, even in urban locations. This reflects the limited penetration of high-paying formal sector jobs and significant reliance on low-taxed or untaxed informal sector livelihoods.

While urban residence enhances income security for many households, its benefits remain highly uneven across caste groups. Economic security, asset accumulation, and wealth consolidation continue to correlate strongly with caste positioning, despite spatial mobility. Urbanisation provides opportunities for upward movement, but existing inequalities continue to shape who fully benefits from this transition.

Land Ownership

Land ownership remains one of the clearest markers of rural wealth and economic security, but its relevance shifts significantly in urban contexts. The SEEEPC data underscores how land assets remain highly concentrated among certain groups, both in terms of incidence of ownership and average landholding size.

In rural Telangana, land remains the primary productive asset. A substantial proportion of rural households report some form of land ownership. However, significant caste-linked disparities persist. OC(General Caste) groups—particularly Reddy, Velama, and segments of No Caste households—report higher rates of land ownership, larger average landholdings, and greater access to irrigated land. Among OBC groups, landholding patterns are more mixed: communities such as Munnurukapu, Goud, and Yadava exhibit moderate land ownership, while many others remain largely landless or possess only marginal plots.

For SC and ST groups—including Madiga, Mala, Lambadi, Kolam, and Koya—land ownership remains limited both in incidence and size. Many households from these groups are either landless or own very small plots, often rainfed and vulnerable to climatic variability. Irrigated land access is even more restricted, further constraining income stability and agricultural productivity.

Average irrigated land per household among SC and ST groups remains considerably lower than OC(General Caste) and upper OBC groups. In rural areas, land continues to serve as both a productive resource and a form of social security, passed down generationally and often tied to historical patterns of caste-based exclusion from landholding.

In urban areas, land ownership becomes far less relevant as a source of direct income or livelihood. For urban households, land largely takes the form of residential plots, apartments, or small commercial spaces. Even here, OC (General Caste) and upper OBC groups are disproportionately represented among urban property owners, while many SC, ST, and low-income OBC households occupy rental or informal housing without significant asset ownership.

The rural-urban transition thus reflects a structural shift: while land is the

dominant asset in rural economies, its economic salience diminishes in urban settings where wage income, business ownership, and financial assets become the primary drivers of wealth accumulation. However, because land continues to serve as a multigenerational asset, households with historical land access—largely OC(General Caste) and select OBC groups—enter urban economies with stronger capital buffers, enhancing their capacity for upward mobility.

Housing Conditions and Amenities

The SEEEPC data highlights sharp differences in the material quality of life between urban and rural households, reflected in both asset ownership and access to basic amenities. While urban residence substantially improves housing conditions for many, significant gaps remain across caste and income groups.

Asset ownership patterns show clear urban advantages. A higher proportion of urban households report ownership of consumer durables such as refrigerators and personal vehicles, which serve as indicators of material comfort and economic surplus. OC(General Caste) and select upper OBC groups in urban areas show the highest rates of refrigerator and car ownership, while most SC, ST, and low-income OBC households report much lower levels of durable asset ownership even within cities. In rural areas, these assets remain relatively rare across all groups, but particularly scarce among SC and ST households.

Housing quality also differs significantly between urban and rural settings. Urban households are more likely to reside in pucca (permanent) housing structures with multiple rooms, while many rural households—particularly among SC and ST groups—continue to live in smaller, semi-permanent or temporary structures with limited living space. Access to housing with an adequate number of rooms remains limited for many rural households, reflecting both income constraints and land scarcity.

Basic amenities such as sanitation, electricity, and drinking water continue to exhibit rural-urban gaps. Urban households report higher access to in-house toilets, consistent electricity supply, and tap water connections. In contrast, many rural households—especially among SC and ST groups—continue to lack these basic facilities. Open defecation remains more prevalent in rural areas lacking toilet infrastructure, and tap water access remains uneven across many rural habitations. Electricity access, while improving, still exhibits quality and reliability issues in remote rural settlements.

Thus, even as urban residence improves material living standards for many households, caste-linked inequalities remain visible within cities. For SC and ST households in both rural and urban locations, material deprivation in housing

quality and basic amenities often compounds other forms of socio-economic disadvantage. Urbanisation improves the overall quality of life but does not fully eliminate deeply rooted caste-linked disparities in living conditions.

Migration and Mobility

Migration to other countries offer another layer of differentiation between urban and rural households, revealing both economic aspirations and structural opportunities for mobility. The SEEEPC data indicates that the presence of household members working outside India remains relatively limited overall but shows a clear urban concentration.

Urban households report a higher incidence of international migration, reflecting better access to networks, capital, documentation, and skill levels required for overseas work. OC (General Caste) groups, select upper OBC communities, and certain Muslim groups have higher representation among households with members abroad. These households often benefit from remittances, which supplement household incomes and contribute to asset accumulation, housing improvement, and educational investments.

In contrast, rural households—particularly among SC, ST, and many OBC groups—report significantly lower levels of international migration. The limited overseas migration from rural areas reflects barriers such as lower educational attainment, skill deficits, lack of documentation, and fewer transnational community networks.

While international migration remains limited overall, its urban concentration reflects a growing divide in exposure to global labour markets and remittance-driven mobility. For households able to access these opportunities, overseas employment serves as a pathway for wealth accumulation and status mobility, further widening gaps with households that remain entirely dependent on local or regional labour markets.

Political Representation

The SEEEPC data reveals a somewhat counter-intuitive but consistent pattern: political participation and civic engagement are often stronger in rural Telangana than in urban areas. Rural households report higher levels of electoral participation, involvement in local governance, and engagement with political processes.

In rural areas, political activity is closely tied to village-level governance structures, such as gram panchayats, mandal-level committees, caste associations, and welfare committees. These institutions create a high degree of direct interface between the state and citizens. Rural households — including SC, ST, and OBC groups — often participate actively in local elections, public meetings, and

grievance forums, using political processes as a channel to access state resources and welfare programs.

Urban political representation shows a different profile. While urban OC(General Caste) groups, select upper OBCs, and professional classes have higher presence in formal political leadership positions, such as elected offices, party leadership roles, and urban local bodies, the general level of everyday political participation is lower. Many urban households — particularly among migrant, lower-income, and rental populations — report limited engagement with civic or political organizations, reflecting both occupational pressures and weaker community linkages.

Thus, while urban residence offers access to higher levels of political office for certain groups, rural areas continue to exhibit more widespread political participation at the grassroots level. The political sphere remains one of the few domains where disadvantaged caste groups in rural areas exercise relatively greater representation, particularly through the reservation framework in local self-governance.

Social Discrimination and Integration

The SEEEPC data provides important insights into the patterns of social integration and persistence of caste-based discrimination across rural and urban Telangana. Two indicators — incidence of inter-caste marriages and experiences of discrimination in visiting places of worship — serve as useful proxies to examine these dynamics.

Inter-caste marriages remain limited across both rural and urban settings, but urban areas report slightly higher incidence of such marriages. Urban residence, with its greater occupational diversity, anonymity, and exposure to varied social networks, creates somewhat more space for inter-caste relationships, particularly among younger generations and better-educated households. However, even in urban areas, inter-caste marriages remain relatively uncommon, indicating the continuing strength of endogamous practices across most caste groups.

Experiences of caste-based discrimination in religious spaces remain more prevalent in rural areas. The SEEEPC data indicates that rural SC and ST households report higher instances of being denied entry or facing restrictions in visiting temples and other places of worship. These practices reflect the persistence of localised caste hierarchies and social norms in village settings, where community structures are more rigid and surveillance is stronger. In urban areas, such overt forms of discrimination are reported less frequently, partly due to greater institutional oversight, weaker community enforcement of caste boundaries, and

relatively more diverse social environments.

Nevertheless, the presence of caste-linked discrimination in both settings underscores the durability of social hierarchies despite economic, educational, and spatial mobility. While urbanisation has led to some erosion of overt practices, full social integration remains limited, with caste continuing to shape patterns of marriage, association, and access to religious and social spaces.

Access to Credit and Welfare

The SEEEPC data on household-level credit access highlights important differences between rural and urban areas, reflecting both the structure of livelihoods and the design of welfare interventions.

In rural Telangana, credit access is closely tied to agricultural and welfare-linked borrowing. A significant proportion of rural households report availing crop loans, reflecting the centrality of agriculture to rural livelihoods and the presence of targeted state-supported agricultural credit programs. Crop loan penetration is higher among OBC and OC(General Caste) cultivator households, while SC and ST households, due to limited land ownership, report lower incidence of crop loans but greater dependence on informal borrowing and welfare-linked assistance.

Loans for marriage, medical expenses, and personal emergencies are reported across both rural and urban areas but are relatively more frequent in rural households, where access to health insurance, savings, or alternative financial buffers remains limited. Such borrowing often reflects vulnerability to sudden financial shocks, pushing households into informal or high-interest debt cycles.

In contrast, business loans are more commonly reported in urban areas. Households engaged in trade, services, or small-scale entrepreneurship have greater access to formal banking channels, government schemes for self-employment, and micro-enterprise financing. OC(General Caste) and select OBC groups in urban areas show higher uptake of business loans, reflecting better documentation, collateral, and creditworthiness.

The pattern of credit access thus reflects both the occupational structure and institutional biases of credit systems. While rural areas benefit from targeted crop loan schemes, urban households are better positioned to access business and commercial credit. Across both settings, caste-linked disparities persist in access to formal credit, with SC and ST households reporting lower participation in institutional lending and greater exposure to informal credit markets.

The SEEEPC data highlights how urban-rural disparities operate across multiple dimensions, with caste continuing to structure the degree to which households benefit from spatial mobility.

Sectors with Largest Urban-Rural Gaps

The largest rural-urban gaps are observed in education, income, housing, and occupational structure. Access to higher education, formal sector employment, higher income bands, and pucca housing with durable amenities is strongly concentrated in urban households. The penetration of English-medium schooling, professional jobs, and consumer durables like refrigerators and cars remains highly urban-centric, especially among OC(General Caste) and select OBC groups.

	Rural	Urban
Social Discrimination		
Discriminated to visit place of worship	3.8%	8.2%
Families with inter-caste marriage	3.3%	8.7%
Education		
Illiterate Children	3.0%	5.5%
School Dropout rate of Children	2.4%	1.8%
Population studied only upto primary	39.4%	36.4%
Intermediate Education	61.1%	50.0%
Population with diploma or above	18.0%	23.4%
Children attending state govt school	49.5%	25.6%
Children attending private school	8.5%	11.6%
Youth studied in English medium	39.8%	57.0%
Occupation		
Daily Wage Labourers	41.2%	17.7%
Child Labour	1.3%	0.5%
Daily Wage vendors	4.1%	5.4%
MGNREGA Workers	1.6%	0.0%
Agricultural Labourer	30.0%	0.5%
Continuing Traditional Occupation	8.8%	3.9%
With professional government jobs	1.5%	4.7%
With professional private sector jobs	3.8%	12.4%
Own medium or large business	0.01%	0.05%
Income		
Annual Income>0; <1 lac	89.9%	62.1%
Annual Income>1 lac; <5 lac	9.0%	28.9%
Annual Income>5 lac	1.1%	8.9%
Income Tax payer	3.8%	19.3%
Living Conditions		
Households with refrigerator	18.5%	28.4%
Households with car for personal use	1.6%	5.3%
Households with no toilet	19.7%	4.5%
Households with no electricity	7.9%	2.9%
Households with no tap water	22.1%	16.7%
Financial Condition		
Loans for marriage or medical expenses	8.5%	4.9%
Loan borrowed from money lender	9.0%	3.6%

IS POVERTY 'CASTELESS'?

"There is no caste, only poverty" is a popular refrain among a section of leaders and thinkers in India. Their argument is that poor families across all caste groups are equally backward and oppressed and that caste disparity is not a significant factor in this section of society. In other words, income or lack of it is the main driver of backwardness and not an individual or a family's social identity. Then there is the other school of thought that believes caste remains a significant factor of backwardness, regardless of income levels. While this debate has been ongoing for some time, there has been no scientific or scholarly evidence to settle it one way or the other. The 2024 SEEEPC dataset of Telangana presents a unique opportunity to empirically test this hypothesis in a scientific manner.

Methodology for Testing 'Casteless Poverty'

Question number 27 in the SEEEPC survey asked respondents for their annual income. Respondents could choose from an array of twelve different income ranges, from less than fifty thousand rupees to more than a crore. To empirically test the hypothesis that poverty trumps caste and caste based inequity and backwardness are insignificant among the poor, a CBI analysis was done using the SEEEPC dataset of only those individuals that reported less than rupees one lakh as their annual income, defined as extreme poor.

1.1 crore (11 million) people reported an income less than one lakh rupees per year, which is 31% of the total population surveyed under SEEEPC. Expectedly, there were people from all castes that reported income in this range – 63.4 lakh Backward Class people, 21.5 lakh Scheduled Castes, 14.3 lakh Scheduled Tribes and 9.2 lakh people in General Caste. Since this is self-reported income, it could well be the case that there may have been under-reporting for either fear of losing out on subsidies for the poor or tax harassment for high earners. But statistically, if such misreporting was uniformly distributed across all castes, then for the purposes of calculating relative backwardness among all these poor people, these misreporting errors will smooth out in the aggregate analysis.

Four Castes Account for 40% of All Extreme Poor

Just four out of the 242 castes – Madigas of Scheduled Caste, Lambadis of Scheduled Tribe, Mudiraj and Yadavas of Backward Class constitute roughly 40% of the 1.1 crore extremely poor people with less than one lakh rupees annual income in Telangana. These four castes account for 33% of the total population of the state but 40% of the extreme poor, clearly implying that these castes have a greater share of such poor people. Overall, the Backward Classes, Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribe social categories have a much greater share of the poor with incomes less than one lakh rupees a year than the General Caste category. Just this basic fact points to a correlation between oppressed castes and poverty, an unsurprising and established notion.

Share of Poor Versus Share of Total

Table 7: Share of poor versus share of total

	Share of Poor Population	Share of Total Population
Backward Classes	58.4%	56.4%
Scheduled Caste	19.7%	17.5%
Scheduled Tribes	13.2%	10.4%
General Caste	8.5%	11.9%

However, the main hypothesis to test is whether there are significant disparities and differences in backwardness between the General Caste poor and the BC/SC/ST poor. This was tested using 14 different social, education, employment and living conditions parameters to compare lives of all those that reported income of less than one lakh rupees a year across social categories and castes. The findings are stark. Caste is as much a factor among the poor as it is among the prosperous sections of society.

For example, even among poor families, nearly 40% of children in General Caste are able to study in private schools versus only 3% of Scheduled Tribe children, 5% of Scheduled Caste children and 15% of Backward Class children are able to. A similar pattern is observed among children in poor families studying in English medium schools across various social categories versus all children in the whole state. This shows that while economic poverty causes backwardness, even among the poor, the disparities between General Caste and other castes are stark and significant.

Are CBI Scores Similar for All Extreme Poor or Is There A Caste Difference Even Among Them: Empirical Evidence

The table below presents a sample set of 13 indicators of backwardness among the poor (less than 1 lakh rupees income) versus people of all income levels by social group. In nearly every indicator ranging from education attainment to households with refrigerator, toilets and electricity to daily wage workers, child labour to inter-caste marriage and financial liabilities, the Backward Class, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe poor are worse off than the General Caste poor.

It is clear from the table below, expectedly, the poor across all identities including the General Caste are worse off in backwardness indicators than the average of people from all income levels. But it is striking that living conditions – houses with no toilet and electricity – are worse for the non-poor than the poor. Counter-intuitively, the poor seem to own a higher share of land than the non-poor and that may be because a larger majority of them live in rural areas than urban where land ownership is higher, even if it means dry or fallow land. It is abundantly clear from the table below that despite higher land ownership and better living conditions in rural Telangana than urban, the caste disparities even among the poor are as stark as the disparities among the non-poor.

Table 8 : Backwardness among poor and their Social Category

	Only poor with <1 lac annual income				All income levels			
	Backward Class	Scheduled Class	Scheduled Tribe	General Caste	Backward Class	Scheduled Class	Scheduled Tribe	General Caste
Education								
Household members with diploma or above	13%	12%	10%	23%	20%	19%	16%	32%
Children studying in private school	13%	6%	5%	34%	17%	10%	8%	30%
Children studying in English medium	23%	17%	13%	49%	48%	41%	37%	66%
Occupation								
Share of daily wage workers	50%	65%	52%	25%	32%	46%	41%	11%
Share of child labourers	0.3%	0.7%	1.2%	0.1%	0.8%	1.2%	1.8%	0.2%
Land								
Households owning Land	44%	40%	62%	49%	36%	35%	58%	34%
Living Conditions								
Households with refrigerator	22%	14%	16%	34%	24%	16%	18%	36%
Living in rural areas	72%	80%	92%	62%	58%	71%	88%	40%
Households with no toilet	7%	12%	19%	4%	11%	19%	33%	4%
Households with no electricity	3%	5%	6%	2%	5%	8%	11%	3%
Financial Liabilities								
Households with loan for marriage and medical expense	9%	12%	7%	4%	7%	11%	7%	3%
Borrowing from money lender	5%	6%	7%	3%	9%	9%	10%	5%
Social Discrimination								
HH with inter-caste marriage	4%	4%	3%	5%	5%	5%	3%	6%

If one were to apply the same framework of CBI used to calculate backwardness across all castes in Telangana, to only the 31% of people that reported income less than Rupees one lakh, the picture seems remarkably similar. That is, the relative backwardness ranking of the 56 castes among only the poor people of Telangana is strikingly similar to the relative backwardness ranking of these castes among all people.

The first chart below compares CBI scores of General Caste, Backward Class, Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Castes of only the poor. The second chart does the same comparison of all people of Telangana. Notice how the disparity in

relative backwardness is similar in both charts, even if Scheduled Caste is the most backward among only the poor while Scheduled Tribes are the most backward in the overall state.

Figure 45: Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (< 1 lac annual income)

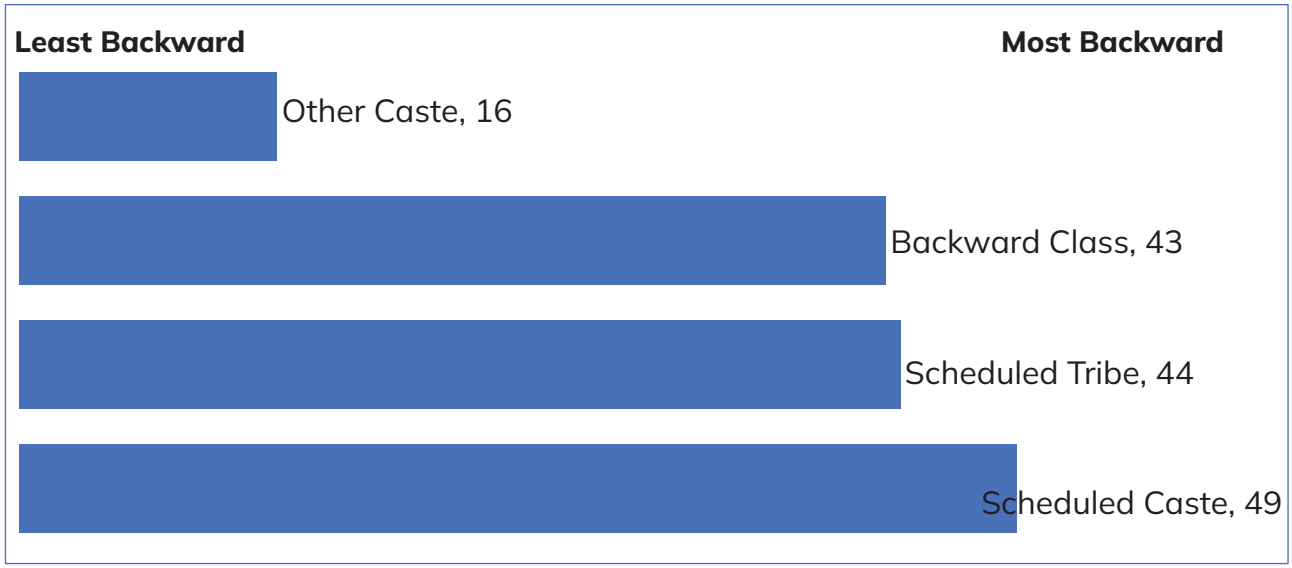
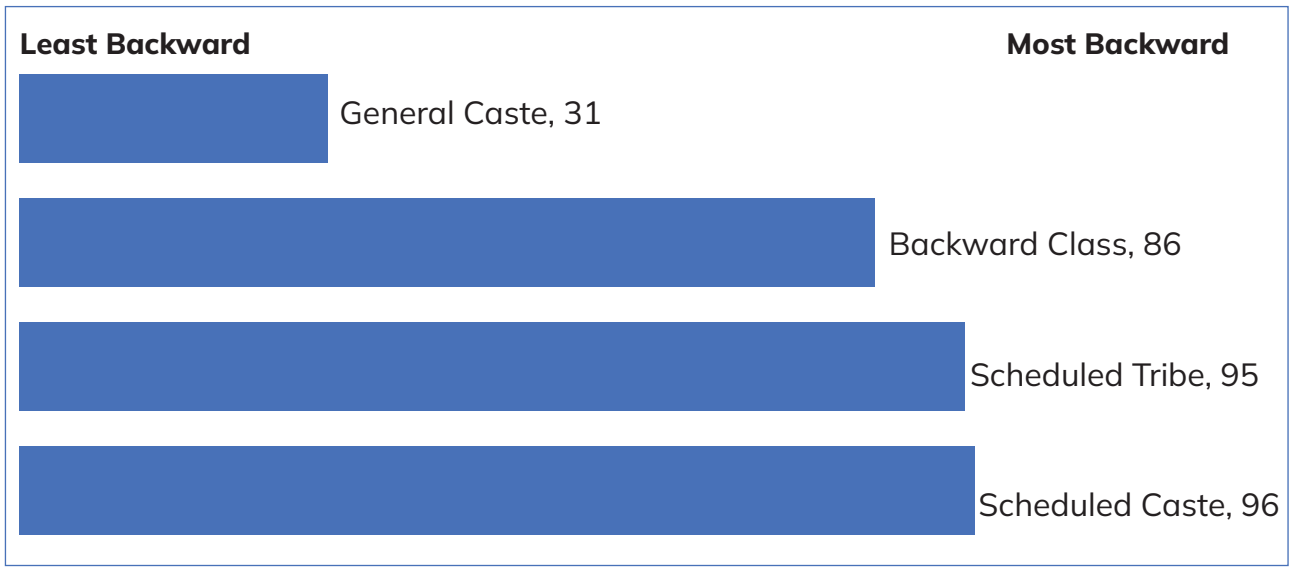


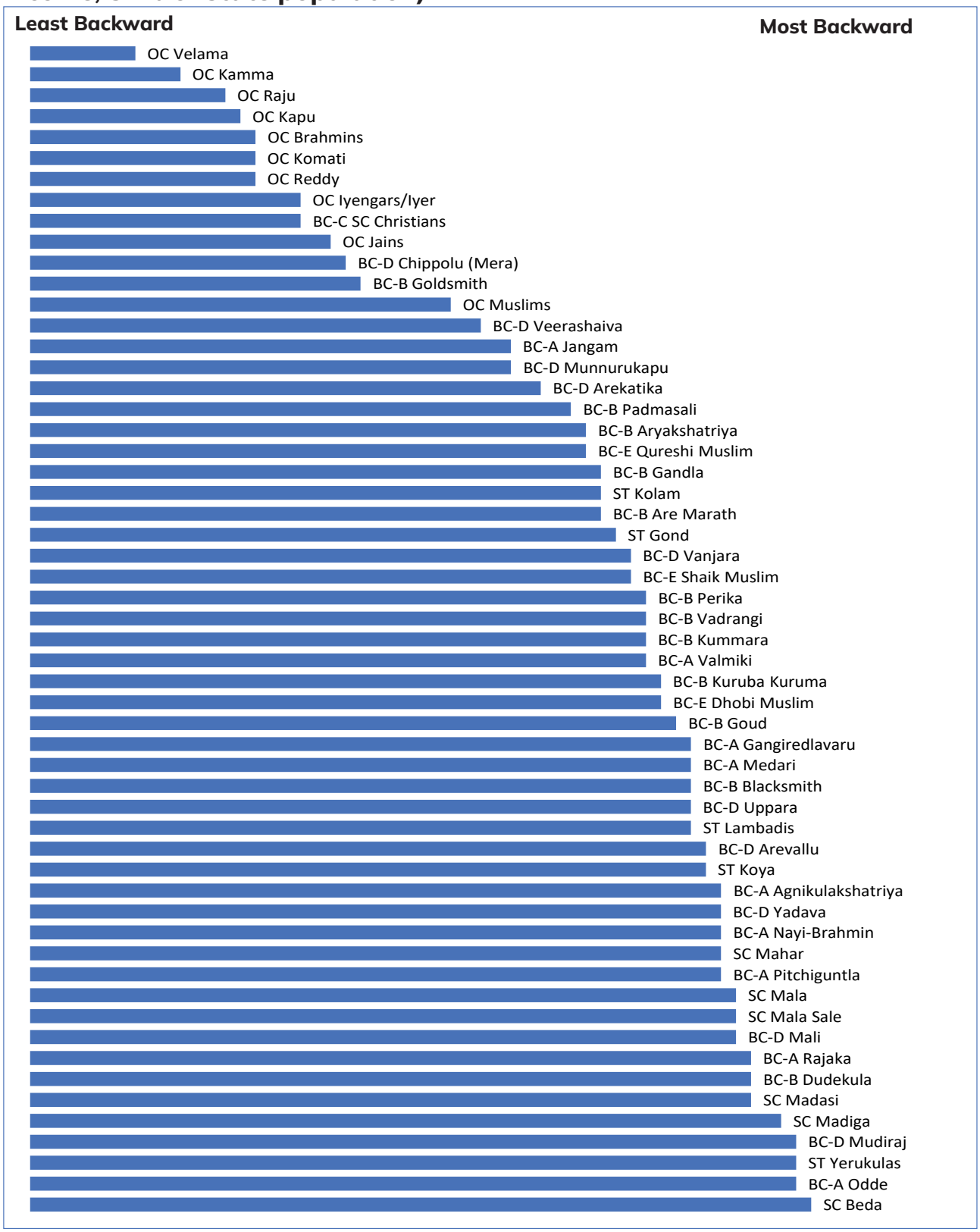
Figure 46: Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (Entire state of Telangana)



To put it simply, if four different families in Telangana, one each from Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste, Backward Class and General Caste are very poor and roughly earn the same amount, there is a high likelihood that the poor family from Scheduled Caste is much more backward in many other livelihood parameters than the family from Scheduled Tribe who are more backward than the family from Backward Class who in turn are more backward than the poor family from General Caste.

One could further drill down into the 56 specific castes that we have used for detailed analysis in this report to see how only the poor (reported annual income of less than one lakh) in these 56 castes rank on CBI scores vis-à-vis their ranking in the entire state.

Figure 47: Composite Backwardness Index (CBI) (56 castes; <1 lac annual income; 31% of state population)



It is quite striking that the 12 least backward castes of these 56 castes are exactly the same in both among the extreme poor and in the overall state. Conversely, nine of the 12 most backward castes among the poor are also ranked the most backward among all. It is almost like the CBI rankings of these 56 castes from most backward to least are nearly the same among the extreme poor as well as among all people. There is a clear ordinal caste based ranking of backwardness even among the extreme poor and surprisingly (or not) it mirrors the ranking of caste backwardness in the overall state.

This analysis is perhaps the first rigorous empirical test of caste backwardness among the poor vis-à-vis the more prosperous sections of society and it clearly shows that caste is a big and significant factor across both. While there are some differences in the backwardness rank of castes among the extreme poor compared to the overall population, the larger aggregate trend mirrors each other as if almost income or poverty is not a factor in caste based backwardness. Of course, this is just a preliminary analysis and a first step in answering the question – is poverty casteless objectively and scientifically. This finding pushes us to a conclusion that poverty is not casteless and may in fact be equally caste ridden. It is our hope that there will be more scholarly research using the SEEEPC dataset to either confirm or reject this finding.

APPENDIX 1: ABBREVIATED NAME OF CASTES

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Addapuvaru	Addapuvaru	1,566	0.004%	74
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Agnikulakshatriya	Agnikulakshatriya, Palli, Vadabalija, Bestha, Jalari, Gangavar, Gangaputra, Goondla, Vanyakulakshatriya (Vannekapu, Vannereddi, Pallikapu, Palliredi) Neyyala, Pattapu	5,27,119	1.5%	92
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Bagothula	Bagothula/ Bhagavathula	2,102	0.01%	91
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Bail	Bail Kammara/ Ghisadi/ Gadiya Lohar	7,217	0.02%	103
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Balasanthu	Balasanthu, Bahurupi	40,156	0.1%	40
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Budabukkala	Budabukkala	32,740	0.1%	90
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Bukka	Bukka Ayyavars	8,547	0.02%	70
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Chopemari	Chopemari	6,365	0.02%	87
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Dasari	Dasari (formerly engaged in Bikshatana i.e., Beggary)	32,196	0.1%	77
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Dommara	Dommara	41,836	0.1%	70
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Enooti	Enooti/ Yenetivallu	2,471	0.01%	82
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Gangiredlavaru	Gangiredlavaru	92,430	0.3%	87
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Ganjikuti	Ganjikuti/ Ganjikutivaru	1,393	0.004%	92
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Gotrala	Gotrala	5,739	0.02%	102
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Gouda	Gouda Jetti	23,018	0.1%	82
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Gudala	Gudala	3,747	0.01%	62
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Jangam	Jangam (whose traditional occupation is begging)	55,112	0.2%	71
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Jogi	Jogi	37,940	0.1%	72
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Joshinandiwalas	Joshinandiwalas	9,445	0.03%	108
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Kaikadi	Kaikadi	1,658	0.005%	63
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Kakipadagala	Kakipadagala	2,001	0.01%	95
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Kanjara	Kanjara – Bhatta	1,967	0.01%	75
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Kasikapadi	Kasikapadi / Kasikapudi	25,828	0.1%	84
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Katipapala	Katipapala	19,991	0.1%	81
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Kepmare	Kepmare or Reddika	21,835	0.1%	77
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Kunapuli	Kunapuli	23,378	0.1%	87
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Mandula	Mandula	28,568	0.1%	105
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Medari	Medari or Mahendra	77,645	0.2%	86
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Mehtar Muslim	Mehtar (Muslim)	47,134	0.1%	101
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Mondepatta	Mondepatta	2,014	0.01%	84
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Mondivaru	Mondivaru, Mondibanda, Banda	16,355	0.05%	91
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Nayi-Brahmin	Nayi-Brahmin/Nayee-Brahmin (Mangali), Mangala and Bhajantri	4,33,785	1.2%	94
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Nokkar	Nokkar	1,558	0.004%	51
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Odd	Odd/ Od/ Oad	4,049	0.01%	101

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Odde	Odde (Oddilu, Vaddi, Vaddelu), Vaddera, Vaddabhovi, Vadiyaraj, Waddera	6,43,571	1.8%	106
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Pala-Ekari	Pala-Ekari, Ekila, Vyakula, Ekiri, Nayanivaru, Palegaru, Tolagari, Kavali	4,346	0.01%	95
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Pambala	Pambala	5,608	0.02%	61
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Pamula	Pamula	35,833	0.1%	37
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Pardhi	Pardhi (Nirshikari)	9,303	0.03%	89
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Pariki	Pariki Muggula	2,100	0.01%	81
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Patamvaru	Patamvaru/ Masaiahlu	1,444	0.004%	95
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Patra	Patra	5,037	0.01%	81
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Peddammavandlu	Peddammavandlu, Devaravandlu, Yellammavandlu, Mutyalammavandlu, Dammali / Dammala / Dammula / Damala	20,447	0.1%	78
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Poosala	Poosala	40,710	0.1%	93
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Rajaka	Rajaka (Chakali, Vannar)	9,95,972	2.8%	95
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Rajannala	Rajannala, Rajannalu	7,549	0.02%	100
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Siddula	Siddula	2,099	0.01%	85
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Sikligar	Sikligar/ Saikalgar	9,996	0.03%	98
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Sonnayila	Sonnayila/ Sannayila/ Sannayollu	4,959	0.01%	95
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Sri	Sri Kshatriya Ramajogi/ Ramajogi/ Ramajogula	3,133	0.01%	42
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Theracheerala	Theracheerala/ Telsoori/ Baikani	1,686	0.005%	80
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Tholu bommalatavaru	Tholubommalatavaru/ Boppala	2,044	0.01%	107
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Valmiki	Valmiki Boya (Boya, Bedar, Kirataka, Nishadi, Yellapi /Yellapu, Pedda Boya), Talayari, Chunduvallu	3,59,230	1.0%	98
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Pitchiguntla	Vamsha Raj / Pitchiguntla	50,021	0.1%	110
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Veeramushti	Veeramushti (Nettikotala), Veerabhadreeya	18,038	0.1%	93
Backward Class	BC-A	BC-A Yata	Yata	1,854	0.01%	60
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Are Marath	Are Marathi, Maratha (Non-Brahmins), Arakalies and Surabhi Natakalavallu	87,540	0.2%	92
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Aryakshatriya	Aryakshatriya, Chittari, Giniyar, Chitrakara, Nakhas	56,875	0.2%	74
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Blacksmith	Blacksmith	1,65,726	0.5%	87
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Bondili	Bondili	31,079	0.1%	66
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Brassmith	Brassmith	13,464	0.04%	72
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Bududunjala Bhunjwa	Bududunjala/Bhunjwa /Bhadbhunja	2,468	0.01%	79
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Devanga	Devanga	30,116	0.1%	52
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Dudekula	Dudekula, Laddaf, Pinjari or Noorbash	2,69,699	0.8%	91
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Gandla	Gandla, Telikula, Devathilakula	53,866	0.2%	71
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Goldsmith	Goldsmith	2,48,965	0.7%	45

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Goud	Goud [Ediga, Gouda (Gamalla), Kalalee, Gounda, and Srisayana (Segidi)	16,30,187	4.6%	77
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Jandra	Jandra	17,245	0.05%	70
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Karikalabhakthulu	Karikalabhakthulu, Kaikolan or Kaikala (Sengundam or Sengunther)	3,215	0.01%	56
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Karnabhakthulu	Karnabhakthulu	3,616	0.01%	62
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Kasi	Kasi / Silpis	4,001	0.01%	89
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Kummara	Kummara or Kulala, Salivahana	4,31,363	1.2%	88
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Kuruba Kuruma	Kuruba or Kuruma	7,95,822	2.2%	91
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Lodh	Lodh/ Lodhi/ Lodha	15,238	0.04%	89
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Neelakanthi	Neelakanthi	9,722	0.03%	72
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Neeli	Neeli	7,156	0.02%	49
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Nessi	Nessi or Kurni	13,804	0.04%	74
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Padmasali	Padmasali (Sali, Salivan, Pattusali, Senapathulu, Thogata Sali)	11,82,252	3.3%	67
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Patkar	Patkar (Khatri)	28,356	0.1%	43
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Perika	Perika (Perika Balija, Puragiri kshatriya)	2,30,851	0.6%	63
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Swakulasali	Swakulasali	8,345	0.02%	61
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Thogata	Thogata, Thogati or Thogataveerakshatriya	21,474	0.1%	48
Backward Class	BC-B	BC-B Vadrangi	Vadrangi / Vadla	4,07,927	1.1%	85
Backward Class	BC-C	BC-C SC Christians	Scheduled Castes converts to Christianity and their progeny	70,664	0.2%	44
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Aghamudian	Aghamudian, Aghamudiar, Agamudivellalar and Agamudimudaliar (including Thuluva Vellalas)	2,515	0.01%	39
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Aheer	Aheer/ AheerYadav	4,539	0.01%	51
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Arevallu	Are, Arevallu and Arollu	1,10,693	0.3%	93
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Arekatika	Arekatika, Katika, Are-Suryavamshi	1,03,572	0.3%	83
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Ayyaraka	Ayyaraka	2,215	0.01%	55
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Bhatraju	Bhatraju	21,423	0.1%	45
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Chippolu (Mera)	Chippolu (Mera)	1,04,979	0.3%	68
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Govili	Govili/ Govlii/ Gouli/ Gavli	3,903	0.01%	60
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Hatkar	Hatkar	17,977	0.1%	93
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Jingar	Jingar	4,479	0.01%	81
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Kachi	Kachi	4,503	0.01%	60
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Koshti	Koshti	2,636	0.01%	80
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Krishnabalija	Krishnabalija (Dasari, Bukka)	10,708	0.03%	80
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D KullaKadagi	KullaKadagi/ KulleKadigi/ Chittepu	23,137	0.1%	81
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Kurmi	Kurmi	41,346	0.1%	92
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Lakkamarikapu	Lakkamarikapu	34,784	0.1%	79

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Mali	Mali (Bare, Barai, Marar and Tamboli)	83,854	0.2%	98
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Mathura	Mathura	43,998	0.1%	98
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Mudiraj	Mudiraj, Mutrasi, Tenugollu	26,39,027	7.4%	94
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Munnurukapu	Munnurukapu	13,75,018	3.9%	66
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Nagaralu	Nagaralu	1,954	0.01%	40
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Passi	Passi	5,587	0.02%	78
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Rangarez	Rangarez or Bhavasara Kshatriya	26,086	0.1%	43
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Sadhuchetty	Sadhuchetty	1,858	0.01%	58
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Sarollu	Sarollu/ Soma Vamsha Kshatriya	5,288	0.01%	51
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Satani	Satani (Chattadasrivaishnava)	31,454	0.1%	42
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Sistakaranam	Sistakaranam	4,587	0.01%	43
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Sondi	Sondi / Sundi	1,411	0.004%	38
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Surya	Surya Balija (Kalavanthula), Ganika	6,843	0.02%	45
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Tammali	Tammali (Non-Brahmins) (Shudra caste)	11,140	0.03%	75
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Uppara	Uppara or Sagara	1,24,148	0.3%	92
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Vanjara	Vanjara (Vanjari)	62,023	0.2%	69
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Varala	Varala	3,939	0.01%	59
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Veerashaiva	Veerashaiva Lingayat / Lingabalija	1,73,192	0.5%	64
Backward Class	BC-D	BC-D Yadava	Yadava (Golla)	20,18,725	5.7%	92
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Achchu kattalavandlu	Achchukattalavandlu, Singali, Singamvallu, Achchupanivallu, Achchukattuvaru, Achukatlavandlu	4,539	0.01%	100
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Attar	Attar Saibulu, Attarollu	15,419	0.04%	97
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Dhobi Muslim	Dhobi Muslim/ Muslim Dhobi/ Dhobi Musalman, Turka Chakla or Turka Sakala, Turaka Chakali, Tulukka Vannan, Tsakalas, Sakalas or Chakalas, Muslim Rajakas	1,26,438	0.4%	97
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Faqir Muslim	Faqir, Fhakir Budbudki, Ghanti Fhakir, Ghanta Fhakirlu, Turaka Budbudki, Darvesh, Fakeer	46,418	0.1%	108
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Garadi	Garadi Muslim, Garadi Saibulu, Pamulavallu, Kani-Kattuvallu, Garadollu, Garadiga	14,204	0.04%	103
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Gosangi	Gosangi Muslim, Phakeer Sayebulu	21,337	0.1%	105
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Guddi	Guddi Eluguvallu, Elugu Bantuvallu, Musalman Keelu Gurralavallu	2,416	0.01%	86
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Hajam	Hajam, Nai, Nai Muslim, Navid	9,783	0.03%	77
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Labbi	Labbi, Labbai, Labbon, Labba	2,681	0.01%	91
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Pakeerla	Pakeerla, Borewale, Deera Phakirlu, Bonthala	14,697	0.04%	110
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Qureshi Muslim	Qureshi, Kureshi/ Khureshi, Khasab, Marati Khasab, Muslim Katika, Khatik Muslim	1,00,619	0.3%	105
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Shaik Muslim	Shaik/ Sheikh	27,95,727	7.9%	93
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Siddi	Siddi, Yaba, Habshi, Jasi	16,672	0.05%	75

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Backward Class	BC-E	BC-E Turaka Muslim	Turaka Kasha, Kakkukotte Zinka Saibulu, Chakkitakanevale, Terugadu Gontalavaru, Thirugatigantla, Rollaku Kakku Kottevaru, Pattar Phodulu, Chakketakare, Thuraka Kasha.	46,428	0.1%	111
General Caste	OC	OC Iyengars/Iyer	Ayyangars / Iyer	52,724	0.1%	19
General Caste	OC	OC Brahmins	Brahmins	3,35,806	0.9%	22
General Caste	OC	OC Buddhists	Buddhists	8,874	0.02%	43
General Caste	OC	OC Non BC-C Christians	Christian (other than BC-C)	34,096	0.1%	23
General Caste	OC	OC Jains	Jains	51,623	0.1%	13
General Caste	OC	OC Kamma	Kamma / Chowdary	3,67,715	1.0%	19
General Caste	OC	OC Kapu	Kapu / Naidu	2,42,321	0.7%	12
General Caste	OC	OC Karanam	Karanam	13,106	0.04%	27
General Caste	OC	OC Komati	Komati / Vaishya / Gupta / Shetti	5,08,813	1.4%	25
General Caste	OC	OC Raju	Kshathriya / Raju	60,471	0.2%	17
General Caste	OC	OC Lingayat	Lingayat	8,577	0.02%	34
General Caste	OC	OC Marwadis	Marwadies	49,040	0.1%	43
General Caste	OC	OC Muslims	Muslims (other than BC-E)	6,32,782	1.8%	68
General Caste	OC	OC Patnayaks	Patnayaks	8,420	0.02%	25
General Caste	OC	OC Reddy	Reddy	17,10,244	4.8%	28
General Caste	OC	OC Sikhs	Sikhs	9,142	0.03%	38
General Caste	OC	OC Varma	Varma	5,628	0.02%	24
General Caste	OC	OC Velama	Velama	1,43,523	0.4%	19
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Adi Andhra	Adi Andhra	38,499	0.1%	71
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Adi Dravida	Adi Dravida	42,699	0.1%	72
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Anamuk	Anamuk	10,536	0.03%	81
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Aray Mala	Aray Mala	33,686	0.1%	88
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Arundhatiya	Arundhatiya	7,237	0.02%	39
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Arwa Mala	Arwa Mala	24,364	0.1%	70
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Bariki	Bariki	16,016	0.05%	77
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Bavuri	Bavuri	3,074	0.01%	98
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Beda	Beda (Budga) Jangam	1,90,120	0.5%	113
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Bindla	Bindla	28,757	0.1%	100
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Byagara	Byagara, Byagari	31,805	0.1%	108
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Chachati	Chachati	2,891	0.01%	94
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Chalavadi	Chalavadi	7,722	0.02%	95
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Chamar	Chamar, Mochi, Muchi, Chamar-Ravidas, Chamar- Rohidas	24,560	0.1%	87
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Chambhar	Chambhar	7,990	0.02%	63
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Chandala	Chandala	1,003	0.003%	92
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Dakkal	Dakkal, Dokkalwar	5,058	0.01%	116
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Dandasi	Dandasi	5,547	0.02%	78
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Dhor	Dhor	3,474	0.01%	96
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Dom	Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano	11,550	0.03%	98
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Ellamalawar	Ellamalawar, Yellammalawandlu	1,520	0.004%	92

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Ghasi	Ghasi, Haddi, Relli, Chanchandi	1,709	0.005%	78
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Godari	Godari	1,271	0.004%	81
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Gosangi	Gosangi	25,217	0.1%	101
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Holeya	Holeya	1,133	0.003%	107
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Holeya Dasari	Holeya Dasari	18,717	0.1%	107
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Jaggali	Jaggali	1,989	0.01%	108
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Jambuvulu	Jambuvulu	19,526	0.1%	92
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Kolupulvandlu	Kolupulvandlu, Pambada, Pambanda, Pambala	5,760	0.02%	85
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Madasi	Madasi Kuruva, Madari Kuruva	53,367	0.2%	103
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Madiga	Madiga	36,57,551	10.3%	100
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Madiga Dasu	Madiga Dasu, Mashteen	36,949	0.1%	98
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mahar	Mahar	58,822	0.2%	99
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala Dasari	Mala Dasari	47,690	0.1%	93
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala Dasu	Mala Dasu	18,076	0.1%	84
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala Hannai	Mala Hannai	6,803	0.02%	101
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala Masti	Mala Masti	5,742	0.02%	91
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala Sale	Mala Sale, Netkani	1,70,254	0.5%	92
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala Sanyasi	Mala Sanyasi	1,901	0.01%	87
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mala	Mala, Mala Ayawaru	14,71,514	4.1%	88
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Malajangam	Malajangam	13,007	0.04%	90
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mang	Mang	18,830	0.1%	102
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mang Garodi	Mang Garodi	2,295	0.01%	102
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Manne	Manne	11,874	0.03%	87
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mashti	Mashti	3,182	0.01%	109
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Matangi	Matangi	935	0.003%	106
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mehtar	Mehtar	8,927	0.03%	76
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mitha	Mitha Ayyalvar	7,486	0.02%	79
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Mundala	Mundala	554	0.002%	85
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Paky	Paky, Moti, Thoti	3,412	0.01%	45
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Pamidi	Pamidi	516	0.001%	88
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Panchama	Panchama, Pariah	531	0.001%	67
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Relli	Relli	3,289	0.01%	63
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Samagara	Samagara	2,758	0.01%	50
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Samban	Samban	399	0.001%	58
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Sapru	Sapru	316	0.001%	65
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Sindhollu	Sindhollu, Chindollu	8,434	0.02%	112
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Valluvan	Valluvan	1,603	0.005%	52
Scheduled Caste	SC	SC Yatala	Yatala	847	0.002%	72
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Andh	Andh, Sadhu Andh	37,900	0.1%	95
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Bagata	Bagata	6,080	0.02%	69
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Bhil	Bhil	15,164	0.04%	80
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Chenchu	Chenchu	35,683	0.1%	108

Group	Cate-gory	Short Name	Caste	Popu-lation	Share of Total Population	CBI Score
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Gadabas	Gadabas, Bodo Gadaba, Gutob Gadaba, Kallayi Gadaba, Parangi Gadaba, Kathera Gadaba, Kapu Gadaba	5,084	0.01%	81
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Gond	Gond, Naikpod, Rajgond, Koitur	3,81,895	1.1%	94
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Goudu	Goudu (in the Agency tracts)	9,769	0.03%	79
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Hill	Hill Reddis	2,179	0.01%	70
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Jatapus	Jatapus	2,788	0.01%	72
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kammara	Kammara	5,567	0.02%	107
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kattunayakan	Kattunayakan	2,232	0.01%	77
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kolam	Kolam, Kolawar	83,832	0.2%	92
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Konda Dhoras	Konda Dhoras, Kubi	7,735	0.02%	83
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Konda Kapus	Konda Kapus	1,338	0.004%	83
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kondareddis	Kondareddis	2,946	0.01%	71
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kondhs	Kondhs, Kodi, Kodhu, Desaya Kondhs, Dongria Kondhs, Kuttiya Kondhs, Tikiria Kondhs, Yenity Kondhs, Kuvinga	2,358	0.01%	95
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kotia	Kotia, Bentho Oriya, Bartika, Dulia, Holya, Sanrona, Sidhopaiko	2,497	0.01%	96
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Koya	Koya, Doli Koya, Gutta Koya, Kammara Koya, Musara Koya, Oddi Koya, Pattidi Koya, Rajah, Rasha Koya, Lingadhari Koya (ordinary), Kottu Koya, Bhine Koya, Rajkoya	4,28,142	1.2%	92
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Kulia	Kulia	1,171	0.003%	84
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Manna	Manna Dhora	5,080	0.01%	98
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Mukha	Mukha Dhora, Nooka Dhora	870	0.002%	94
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Nakkala	Nakkala, Kurvikaran.	12,519	0.04%	112
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Nayaks	Nayaks (in the Agency tracts)	16,510	0.05%	98
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Pardhan	Pardhan	27,165	0.1%	90
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Porja	Porja, Parangiperja	645	0.002%	96
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Reddi	Reddi Dhoras	1,043	0.003%	84
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Rona	Rona, Rena	1,197	0.003%	85
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Savaras	Savaras, Kapu Savaras, Maliya Savaras, Khutto Savaras	5,193	0.01%	101
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Lambadis	Sugalis, Lambadis, Banjara	24,04,056	6.8%	95
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Thoti	Thoti	7,407	0.02%	103
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Yenadis	Yenadis, Chella Yenadi, Kappala Yenadi, Manchi Yenadi, Reddi Yenadi	7,642	0.02%	94
Scheduled Tribe	ST	ST Yerukulas	Yerukulas, Koracha, Dabba Yerukula, Kunchapuri Yerukula, Uppu Yerukula	1,84,721	0.5%	104
No Caste	OC	OC No Caste	No Caste	11,96,482	3.4%	41
Others	OC	OC Others	Others	1,74,002	0.5%	33

APPENDIX 2: CBI SCORE & RANKING OF ALL CASTES

Caste	CBI Score
SC Dakkal	116
SC Beda	113
ST Nakkala	112
SC Sindhollu	112
BC-E Turaka Muslim	111
BC-A Pitchiguntla	110
BC-E Pakeerla	110
SC Mashti	109
BC-E Faqir Muslim	108
ST Chenchu	108
SC Byagara	108
BC-A Joshinandiwalas	108
SC Jaggali	108
SC Holeya	107
ST Kammara	107
BC-A Tholubommalatavaru	107
SC Holeya Dasari	107
BC-A Odde	106
SC Matangi	106
BC-E Qureshi Muslim	105
BC-A Mandula	105
BC-E Gosangi	105
ST Yerukulas	104
SC Madasi	103
BC-E Garadi	103
ST Thoti	103
BC-A Bail	103
SC Mang	102
BC-A Gotrala	102
SC Mang Garodi	102
BC-A Mehtar Muslim	101
SC Gosangi	101
SC Mala Hannai	101
ST Savaras	101
BC-A Odd	101
SC Madiga	100
SC Bindla	100
BC-A Rajannala	100
BC-E Achchukattalavandlu	100
SC Mahar	99

Caste	CBI Score
BC-A Valmiki	98
BC-D Mali	98
BC-D Mathura	98
SC Madiga Dasu	98
ST Nayaks	98
SC Dom	98
BC-A Sikligar	98
ST Manna	98
SC Bavuri	98
BC-E Dhobi Muslim	97
BC-E Attar	97
SC Dhor	96
ST Kotia	96
ST Porja	96
BC-A Rajaka	95
ST Lambadis	95
ST Andh	95
SC Chalavadi	95
BC-A Sonnayila	95
BC-A Pala-Ekari	95
ST Kondhs	95
BC-A Kakipadagala	95
BC-A Patamvaru	95
BC-D Mudiraj	94
BC-A Nayi-Brahmin	94
ST Gond	94
ST Yenadis	94
SC Chachati	94
ST Mukha	94
BC-D Arevallu	93
BC-E Shaik Muslim	93
SC Mala Dasari	93
BC-A Poosala	93
BC-A Veeramushti	93
BC-D Hatkar	93
BC-D Uppara	92
BC-A Agnikulakshatriya	92
BC-B Are Marath	92
ST Koya	92
BC-D Yadava	92

Caste	CBI Score
SC Mala Sale	92
ST Kolam	92
BC-D Kurmi	92
SC Jambuvulu	92
SC Ellamalawar	92
BC-A Ganjikuti	92
SC Chandala	92
BC-B Dudekula	91
BC-B Kuruba Kuruma	91
BC-A Mondivaru	91
SC Mala Masti	91
BC-E Labbi	91
BC-A Bagothula	91
BC-A Budabukkala	90
ST Pardhan	90
SC Malajangam	90
BC-B Lodh	89
BC-A Pardhi	89
BC-B Kasi	89
SC Mala	88
BC-B Kummara	88
SC Aray Mala	88
SC Pamidi	88
BC-B Blacksmith	87
BC-A Gangiredlavaru	87
SC Chamar	87
BC-A Kunapuli	87
SC Manne	87
BC-A Chopemari	87
SC Mala Sanyasi	87
BC-A Medari	86
BC-E Guddi	86
BC-B Vadrangi	85
SC Kolupulvandlu	85
BC-A Siddula	85
ST Rona	85
SC Mundala	85
BC-A Kasikapadi	84
SC Mala Dasu	84
BC-A Mondepatta	84
ST Kulia	84
ST Reddi	84

Caste	CBI Score
BC-D Arekatika	83
ST Konda Dhoras	83
ST Konda Kapu	83
BC-A Gouda	82
BC-A Enooti	82
BC-D KullaKadagi	81
BC-A Katipapala	81
SC Anamuk	81
ST Gadabas	81
BC-A Patra	81
BC-D Jingar	81
BC-A Pariki	81
SC Godari	81
ST Bhil	80
BC-D Krishnabalija	80
BC-D Koshti	80
BC-A Theracheerala	80
BC-D Lakkamarikapu	79
ST Goudu	79
SC Mitha	79
BC-B BudubunjalaBhunjwa	79
BC-A Peddammavandlu	78
BC-D Passi	78
SC Dandasi	78
SC Ghasi	78
BC-B Goud	77
BC-A Dasari	77
BC-A Kepmare	77
SC Bariki	77
BC-E Hajam	77
ST Kattunayakan	77
SC Mehtar	76
BC-E Siddi	75
BC-D Tammali	75
BC-A Kanjara	75
BC-B Aryakshatriya	74
BC-B Nessi	74
BC-A Addapuvaru	74
SC Adi Dravida	72
BC-A Jogi	72
BC-B Brassmith	72

Caste	CBI Score
BC-B Neelakanthi	72
ST Jatapus	72
SC Yatala	72
BC-B Gandla	71
BC-A Jangam	71
SC Adi Andhra	71
ST Kondareddis	71
BC-A Dommara	70
SC Arwa Mala	70
BC-B Jandra	70
BC-A Bukka	70
ST Hill	70
BC-D Vanjara	69
ST Bagata	69
BC-D Chippolu (Mera)	68
OC Muslims	68
BC-B Padmasali	67
SC Panchama	67
BC-D Munnurukapu	66
BC-B Bondili	66
SC Sapru	65
BC-D Veerashaiva	64
BC-B Perika	63
SC Chambhar	63
SC Relli	63
BC-A Kaikadi	63
BC-A Gudala	62
BC-B Karnabhakthulu	62
BC-B Swakulasali	61
BC-A Pambala	61
BC-D Kachi	60
BC-D Govili	60
BC-A Yata	60
BC-D Varala	59
BC-D Sadhuchetty	58
SC Samban	58
BC-B Karikalabhakthulu	56
BC-D Ayyaraka	55
BC-B Devanga	52
SC Valluvan	52

Caste	CBI Score
BC-D Sarollu	51
BC-D Aheer	51
BC-A Nokkar	51
SC Samagara	50
BC-B Neeli	49
BC-B Thogata	48
BC-B Goldsmith	45
BC-D Bhatraju	45
BC-D Surya	45
SC Paky	45
BC-C SC Christians	44
OC Marwadis	43
BC-B Patkar	43
BC-D Rangarez	43
OC Buddhists	43
BC-D Sistakaranam	43
BC-D Satani	42
BC-A Sri	42
BC-A Balasanthu	40
BC-D Nagaralu	40
SC Arundhatiya	39
BC-D Aghamudian	39
OC Sikhs	38
BC-D Sondi	38
BC-A Pamula	37
OC Lingayat	34
OC Reddy	28
OC Karanam	27
OC Komati	25
OC Patnayaks	25
OC Varma	24
OC Non BC-C Christians	23
OC Brahmins	22
OC Iyengars/Iyer	19
OC Kamma	19
OC Velama	19
OC Raju	17
OC Jains	13
OC Kapu	12

APPENDIX 3: 56 CASTES : LEVELS OF BACKWARDNESS

Figure 48: SC Beda

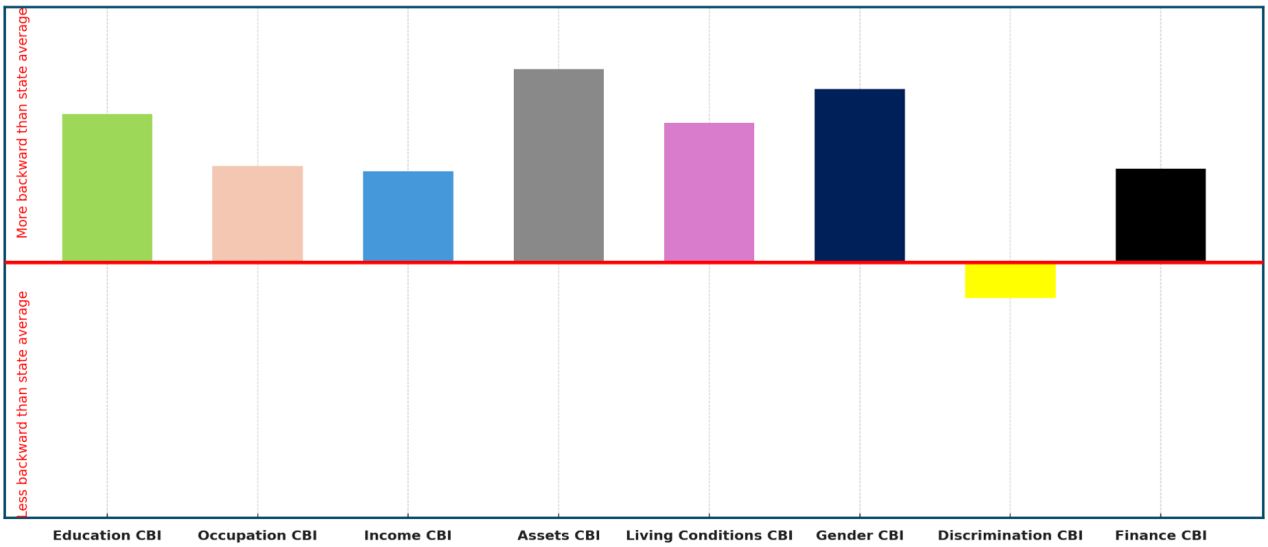


Figure 49: BC-A Pitchiguntla

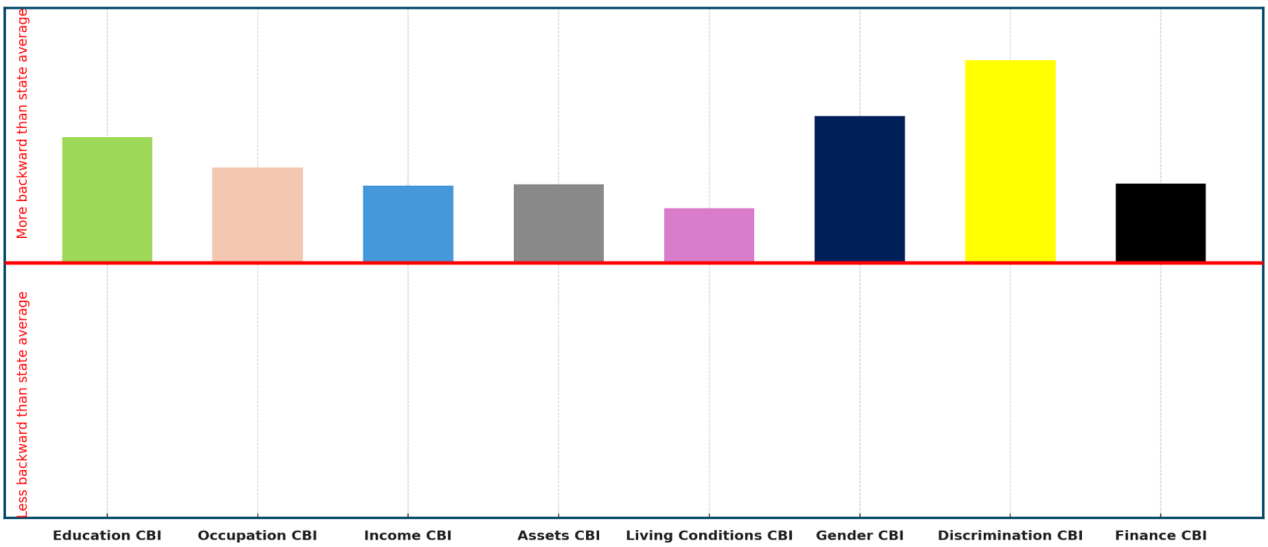
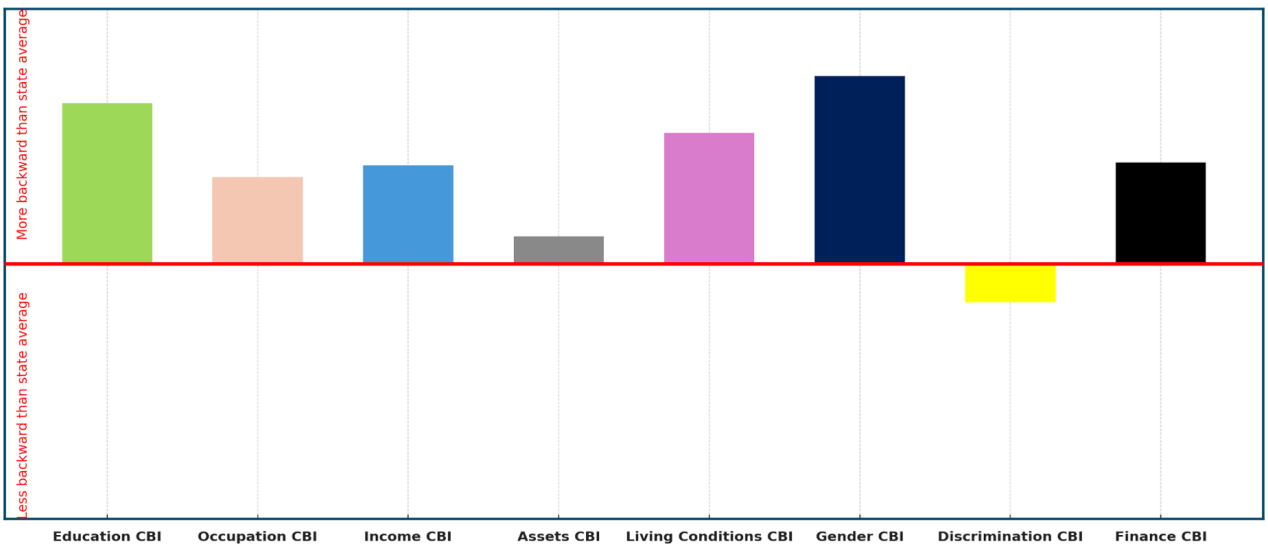


Figure 50: BC-A Odde



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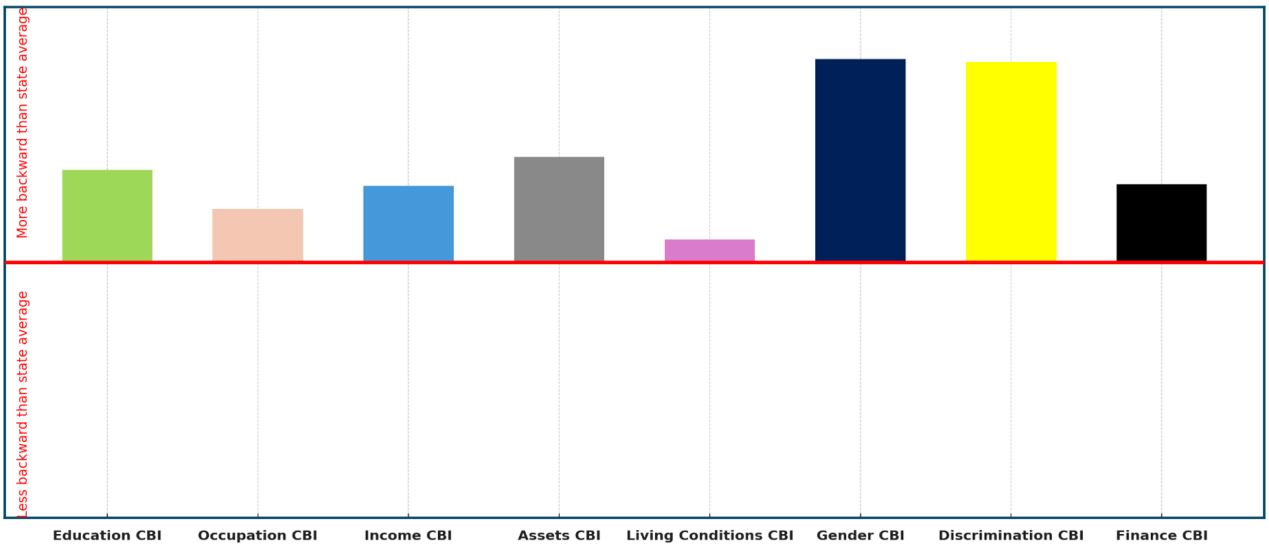

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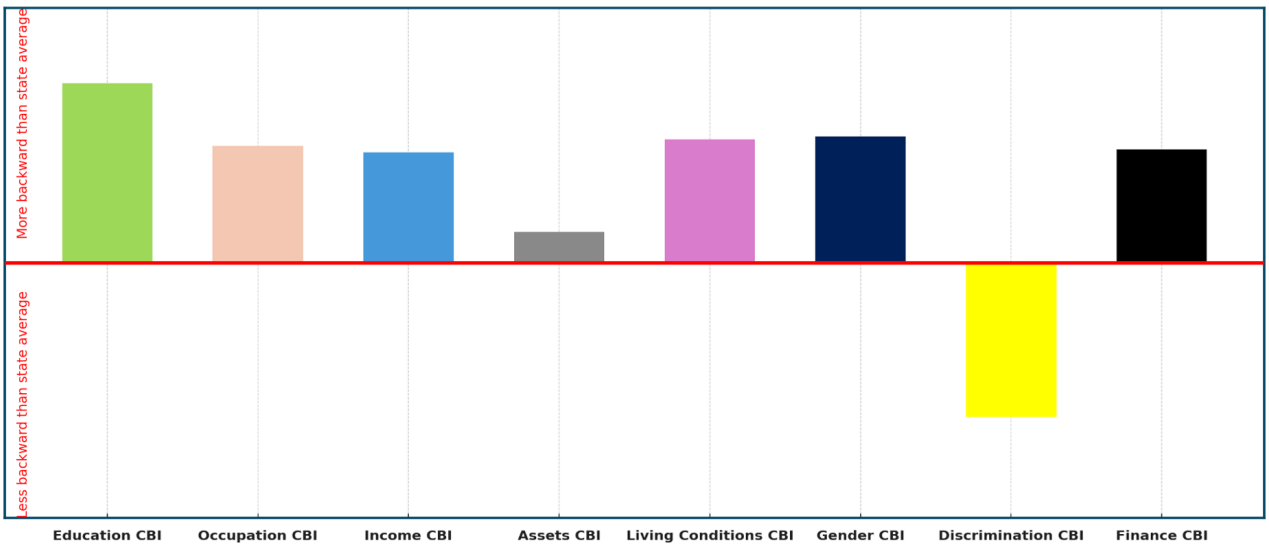

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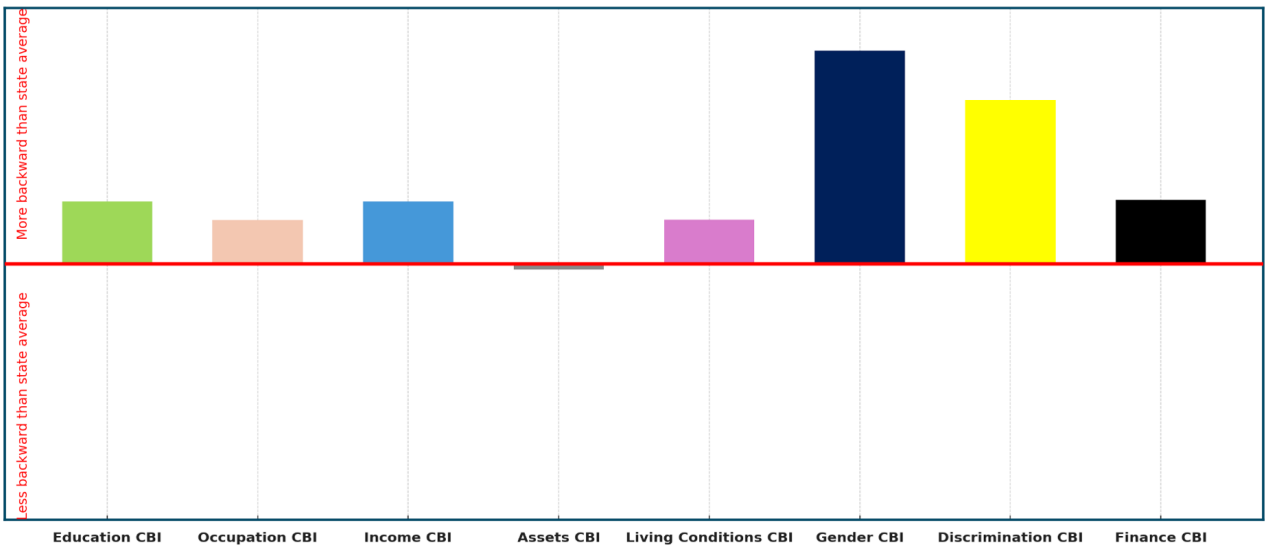

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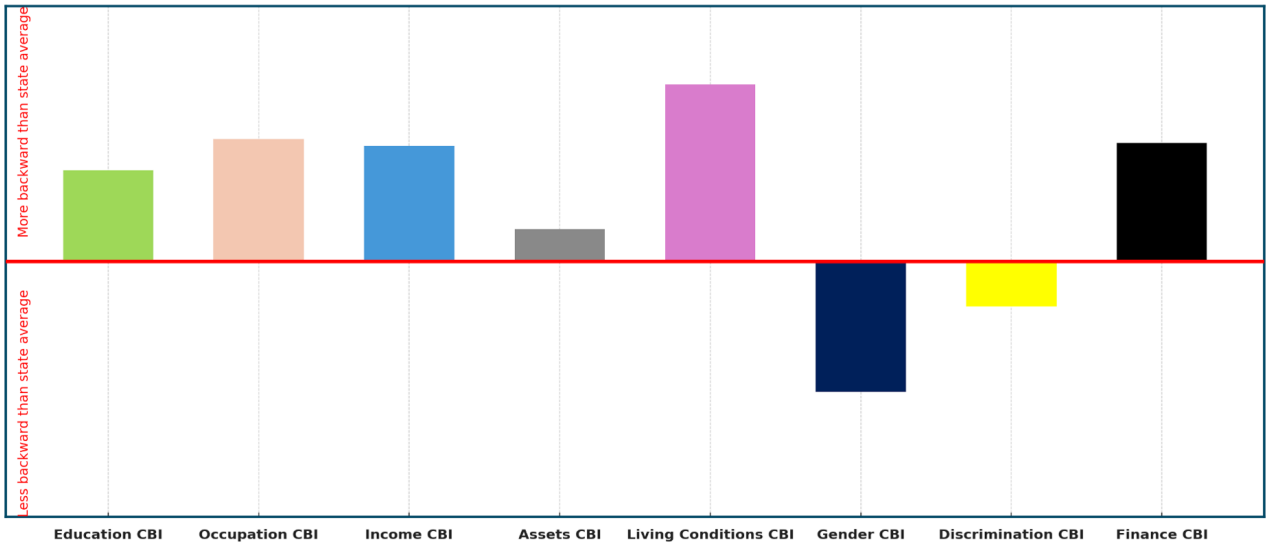

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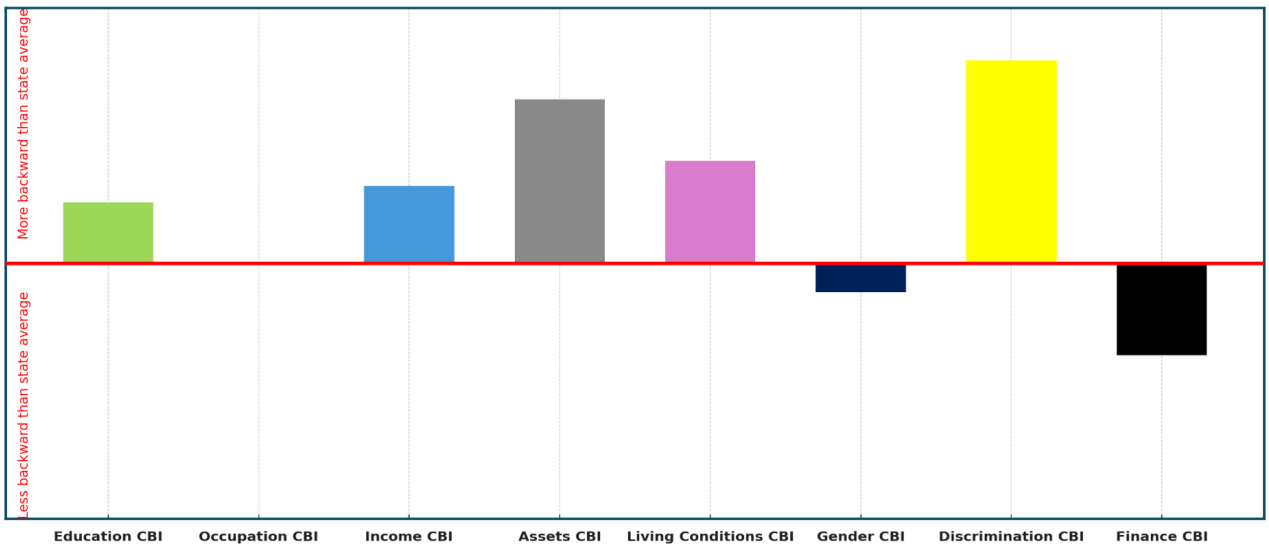

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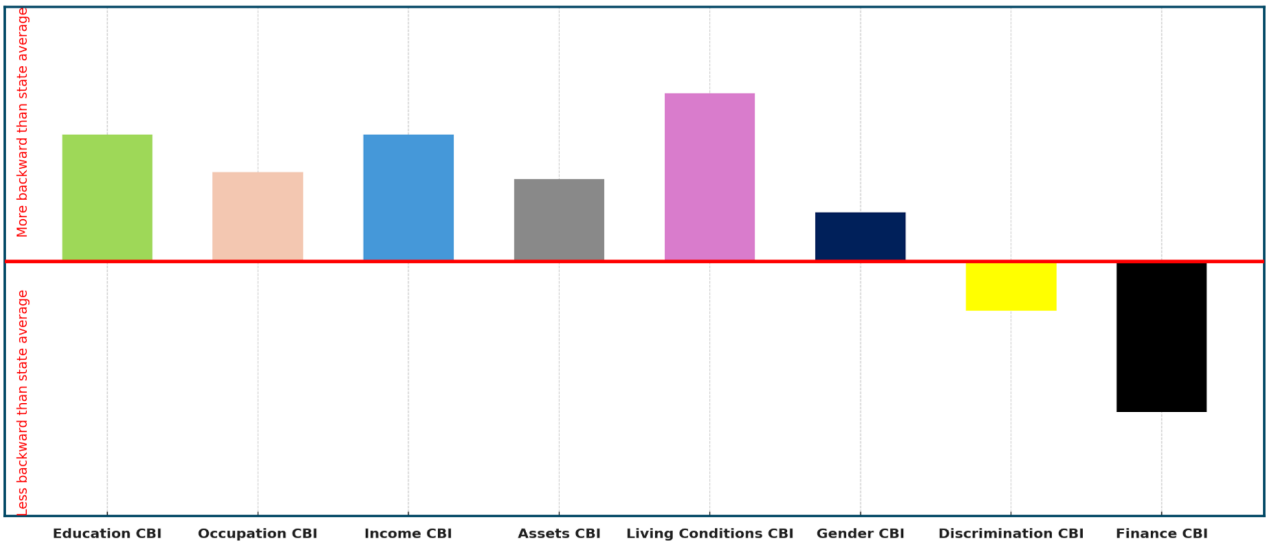

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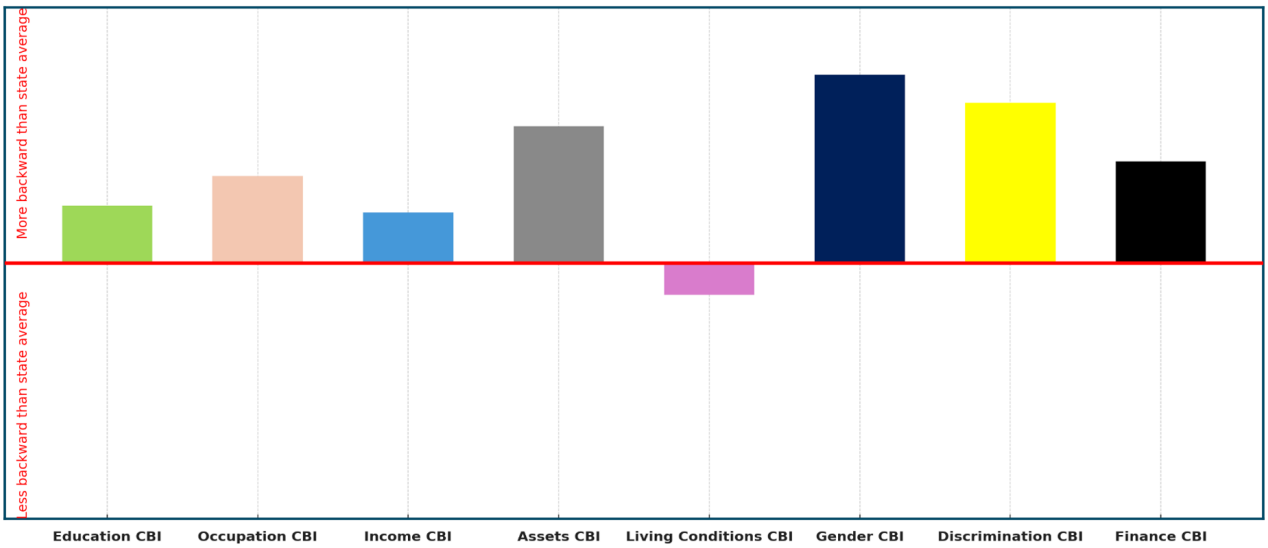

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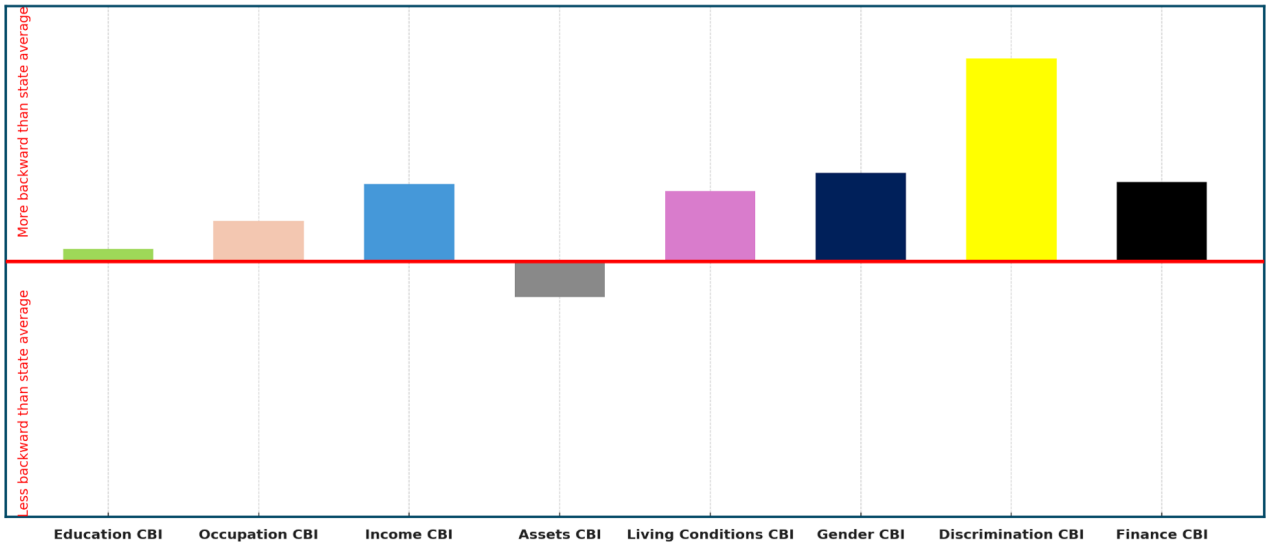

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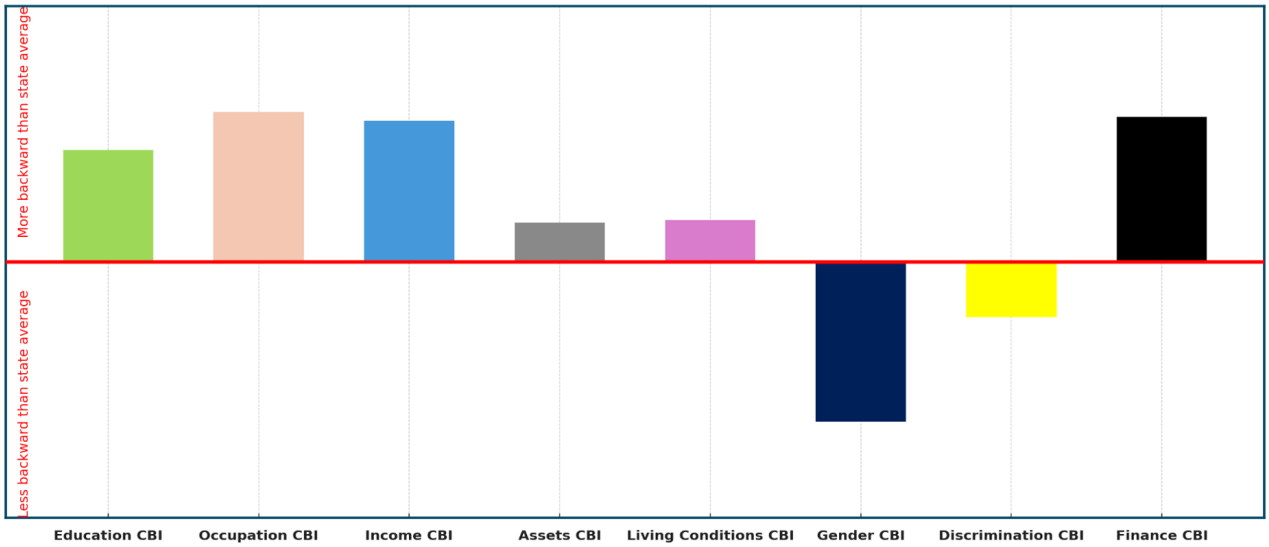

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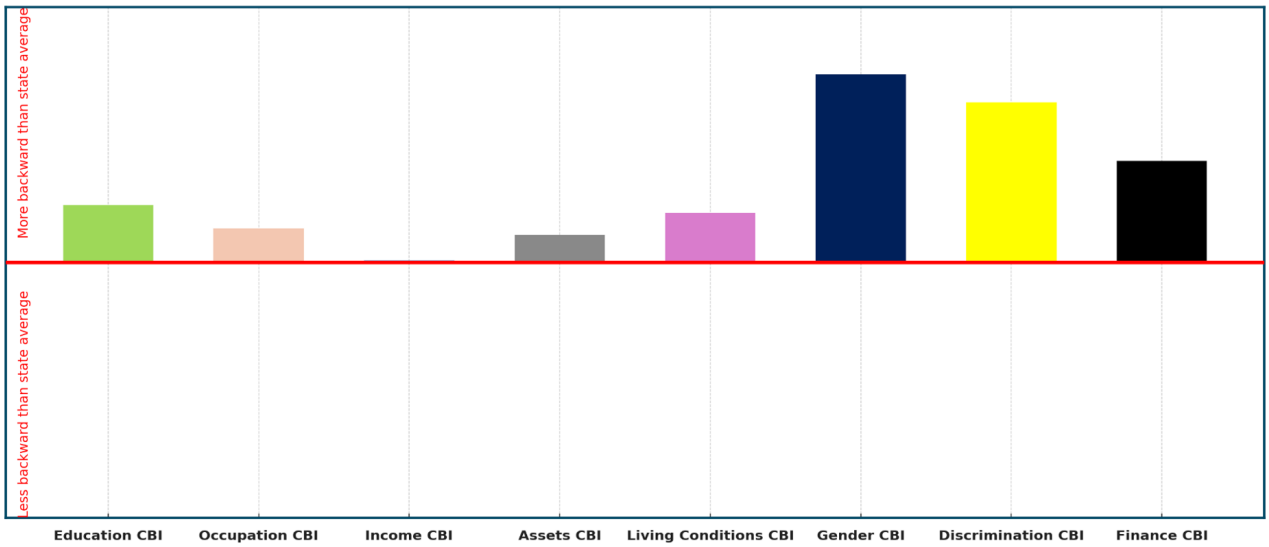

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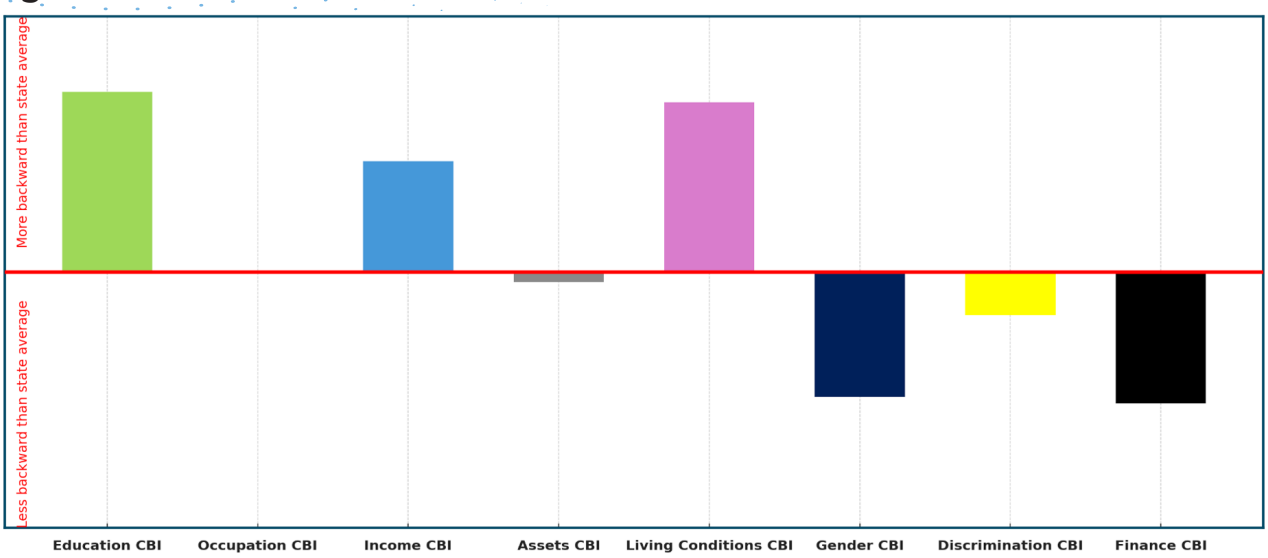

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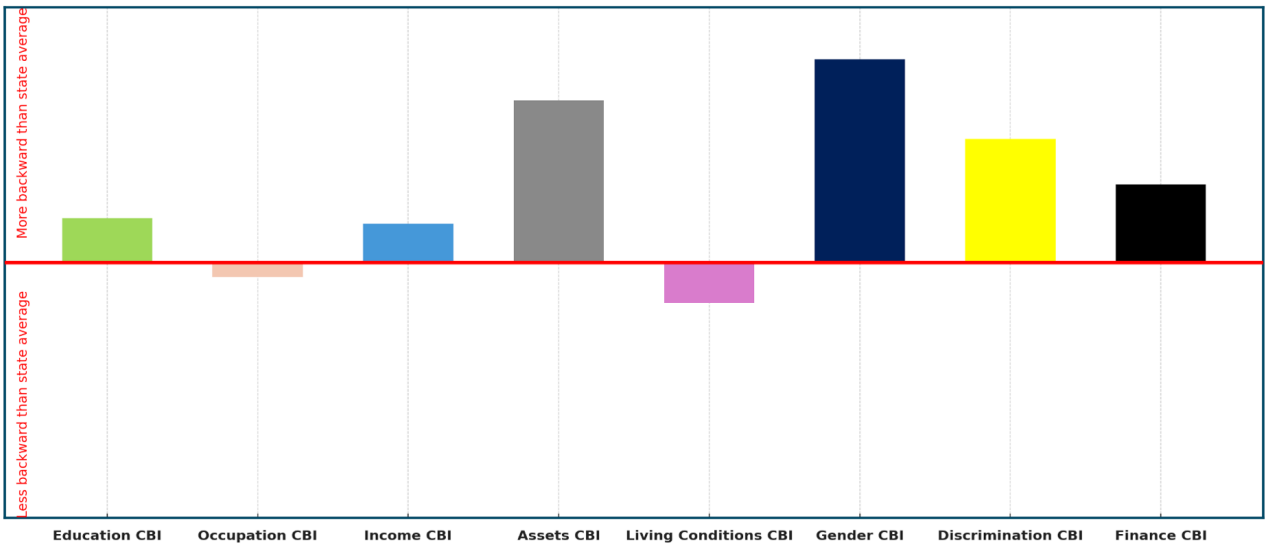

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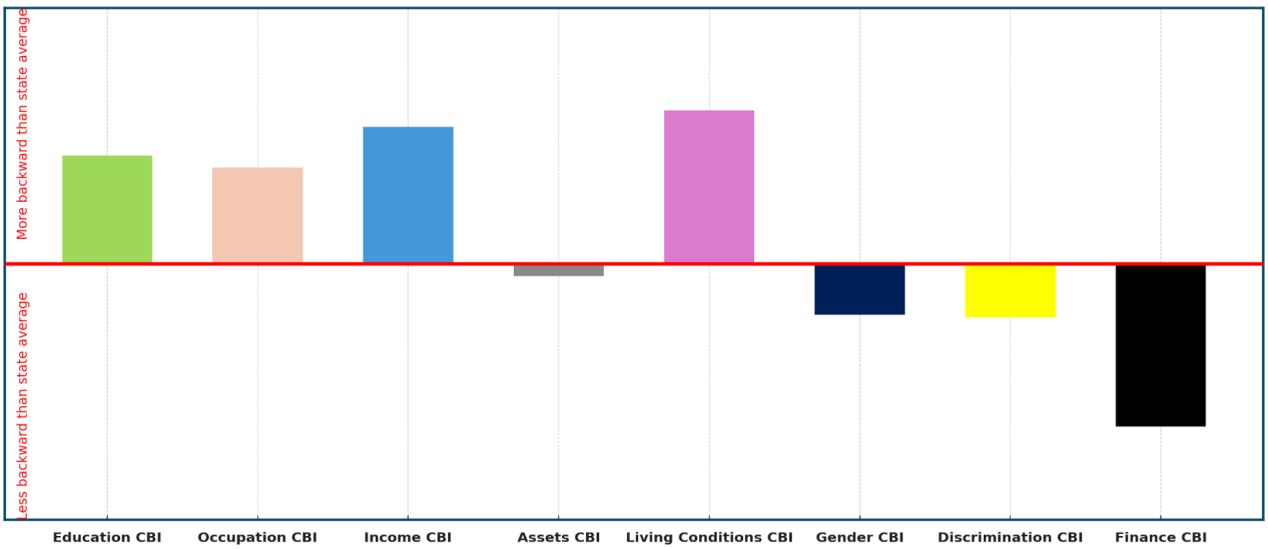

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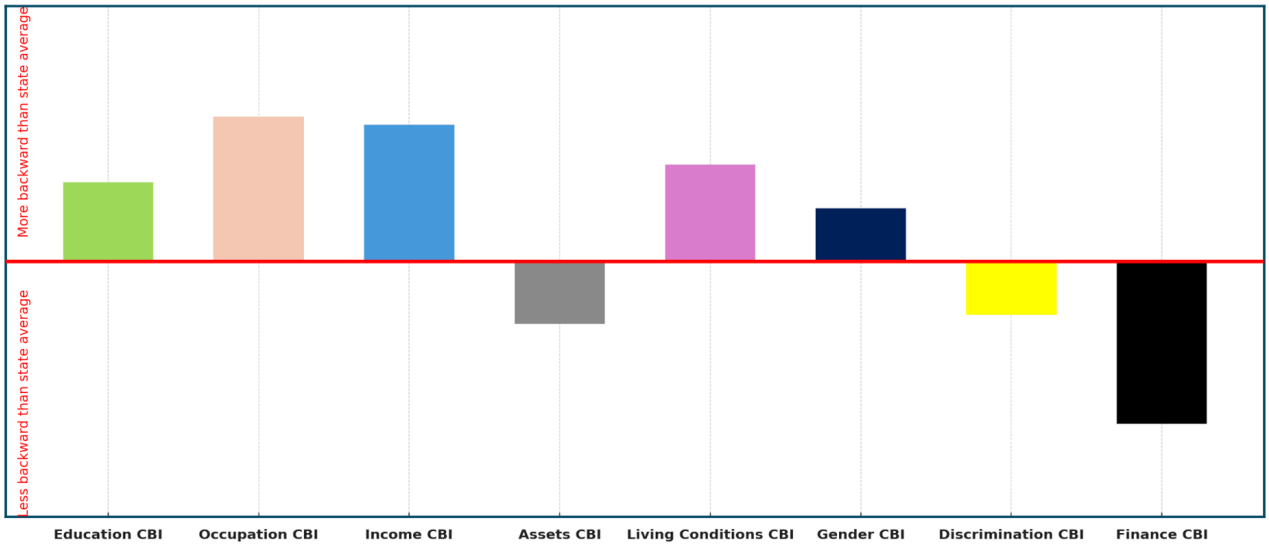

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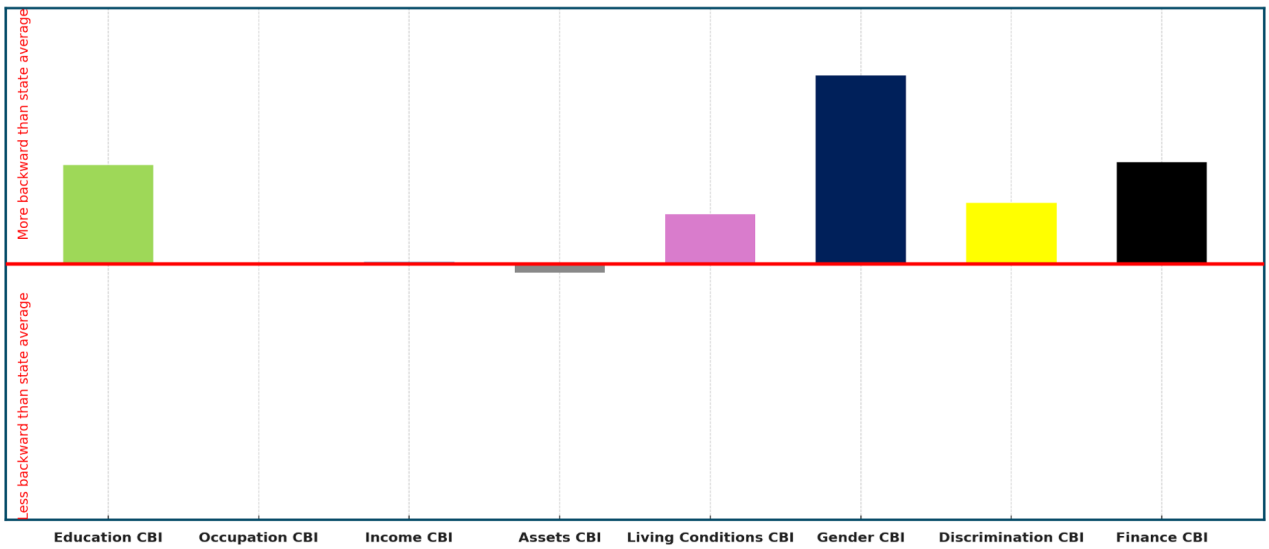

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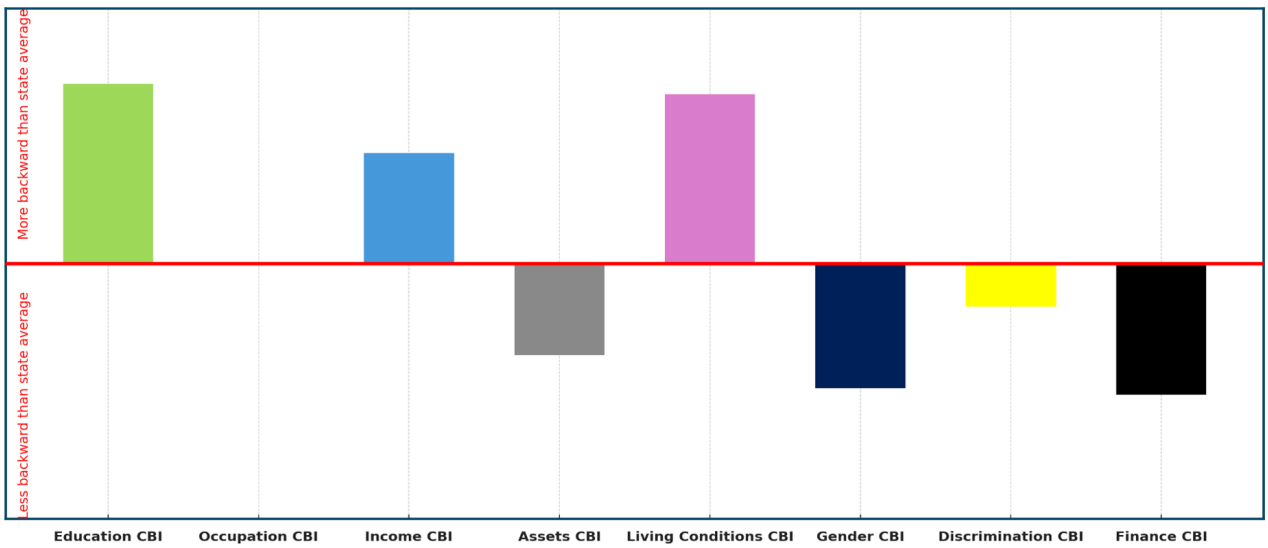

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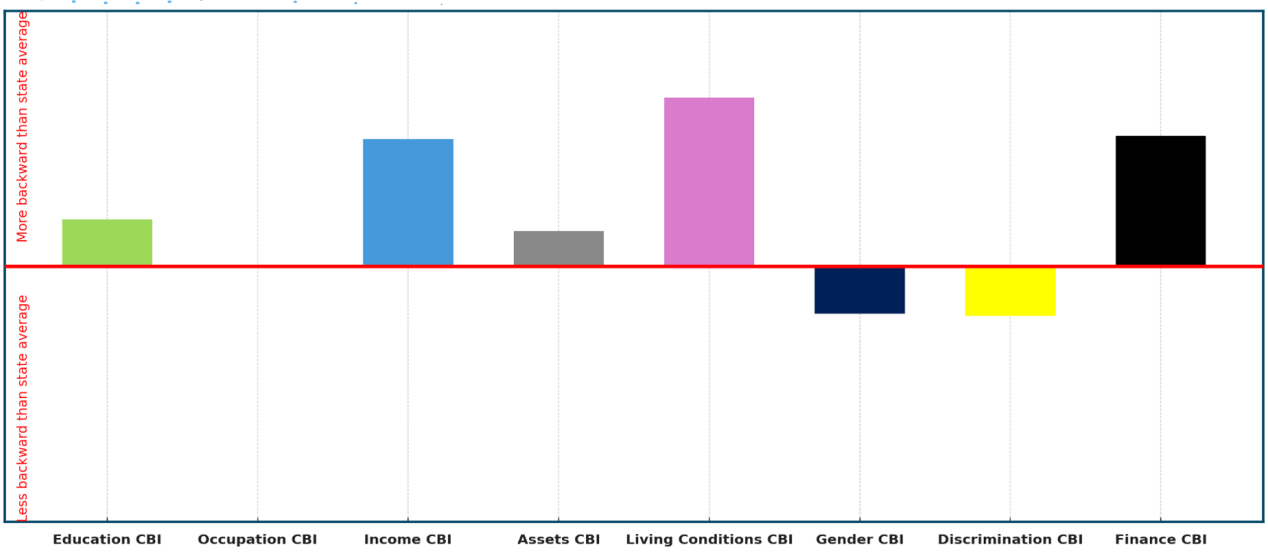

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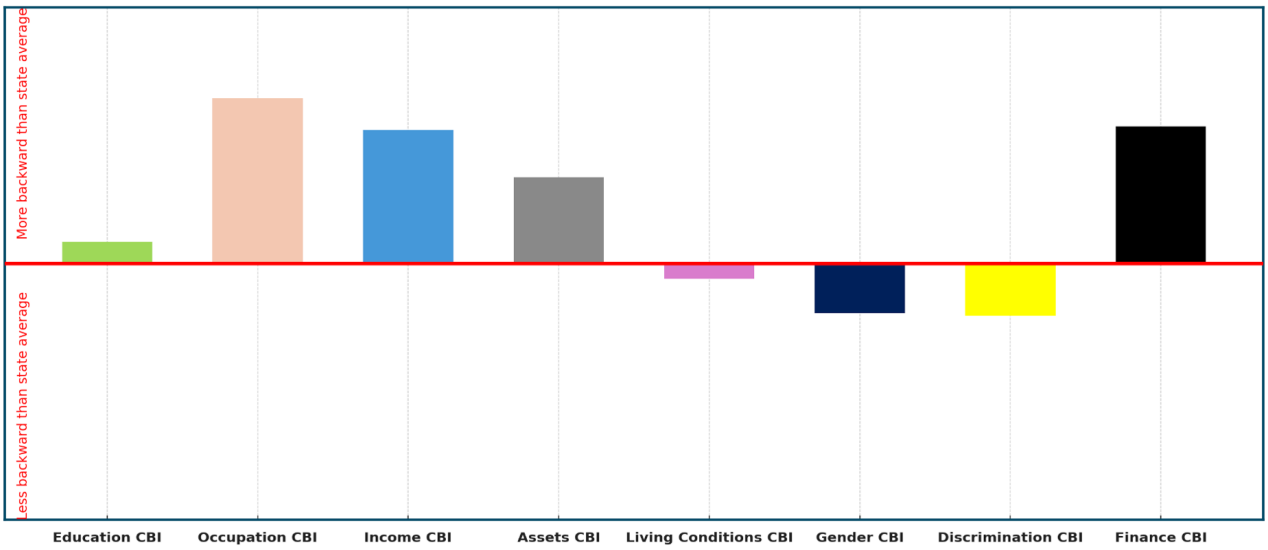

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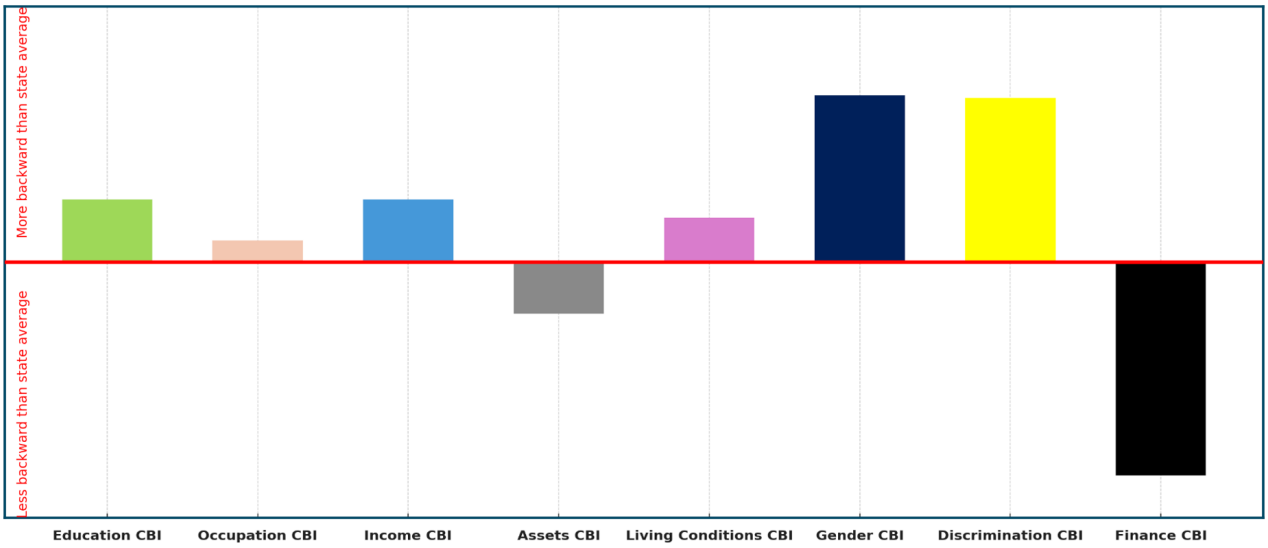

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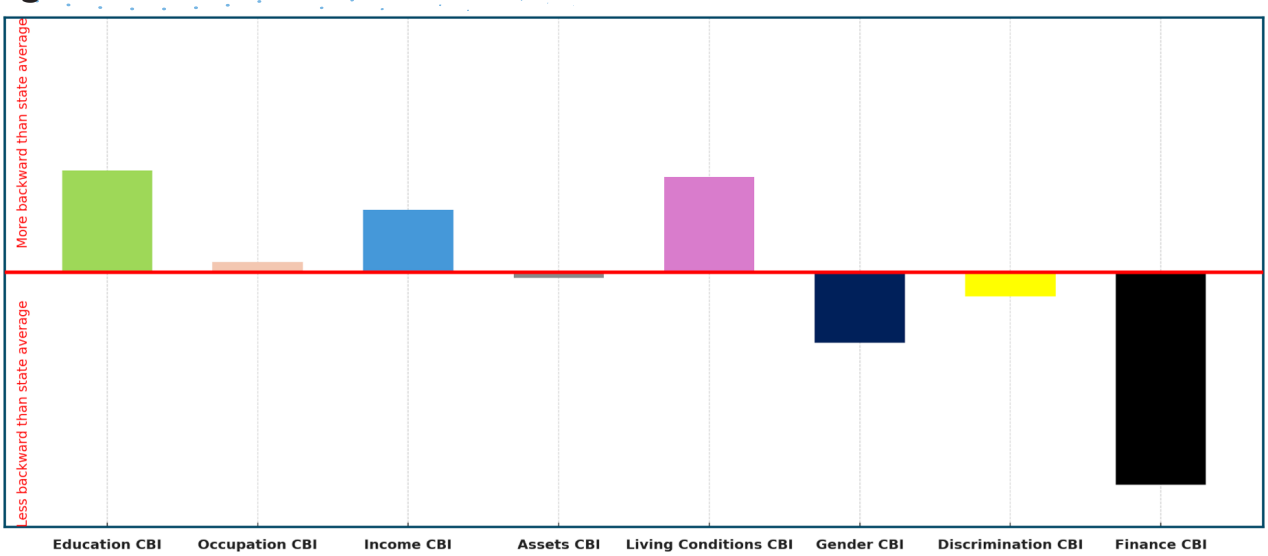

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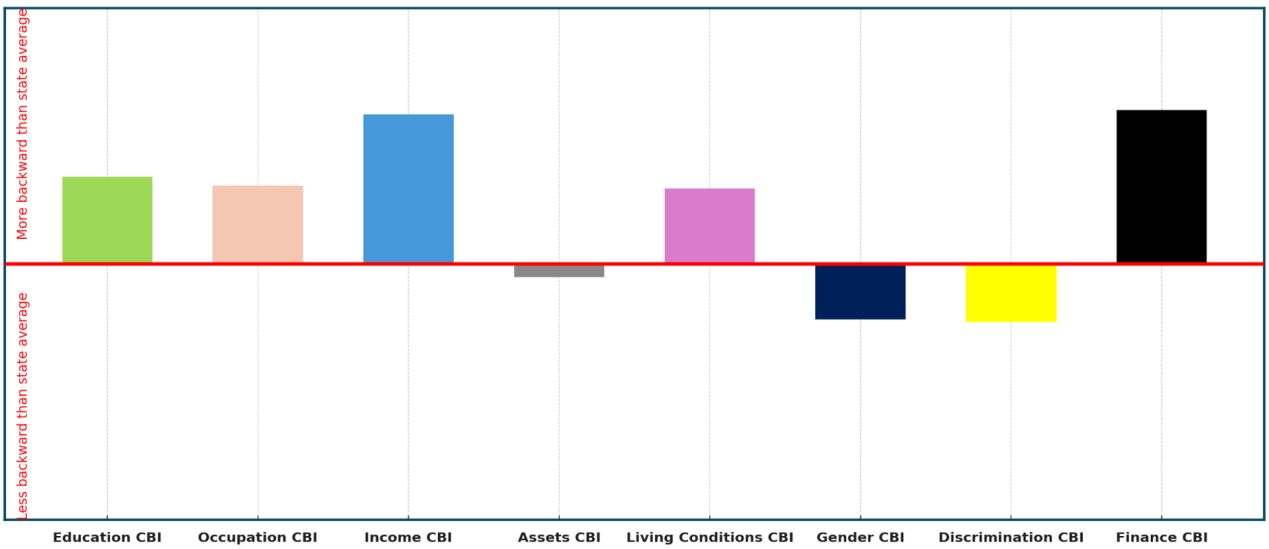

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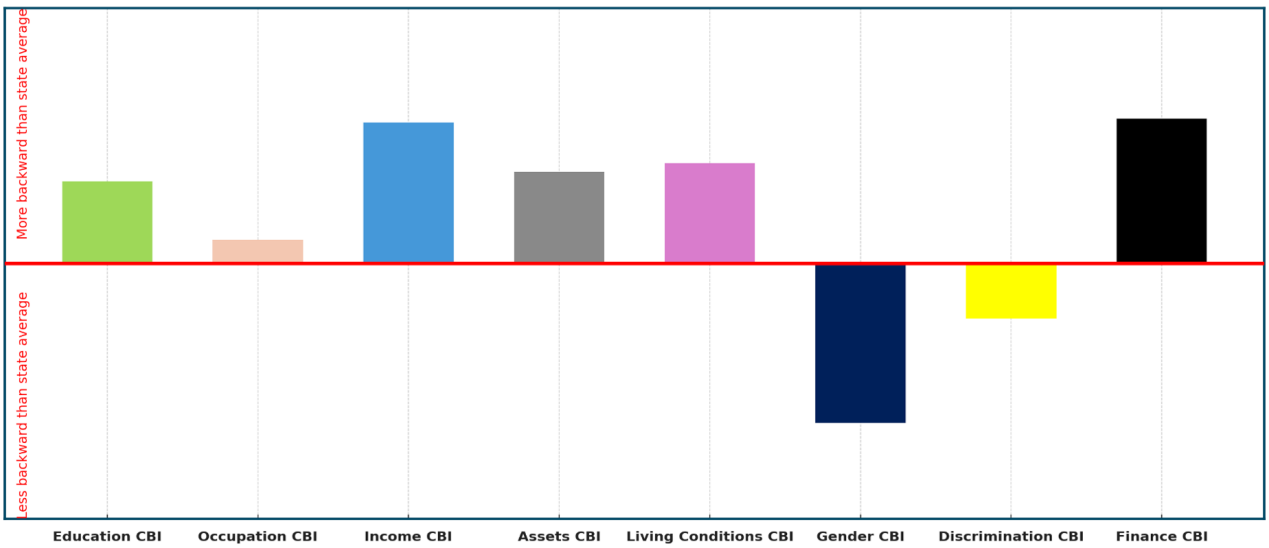

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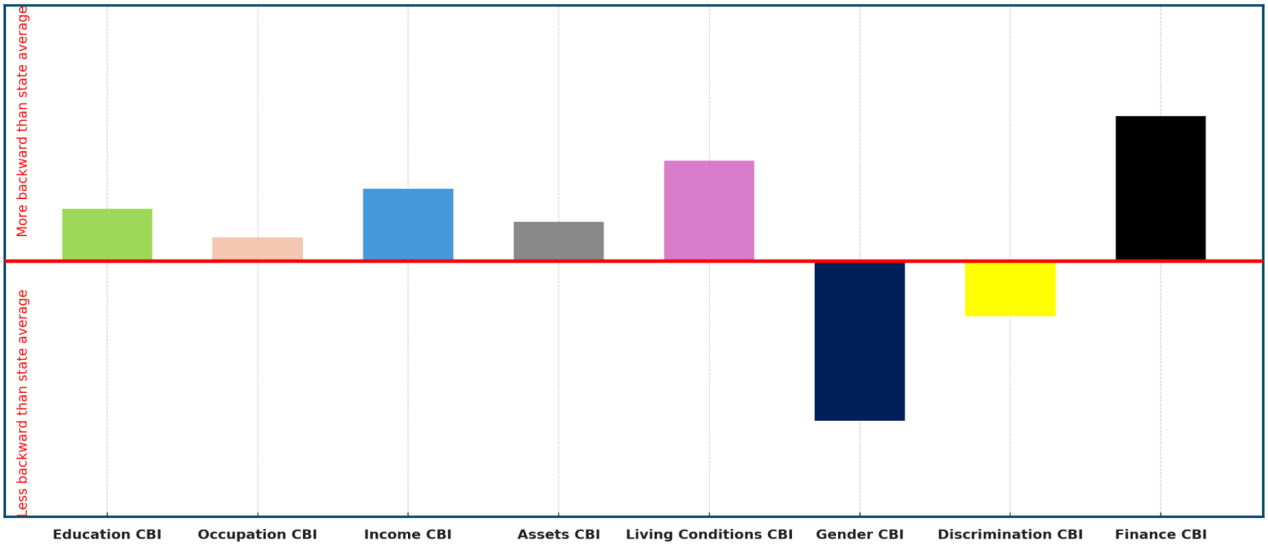

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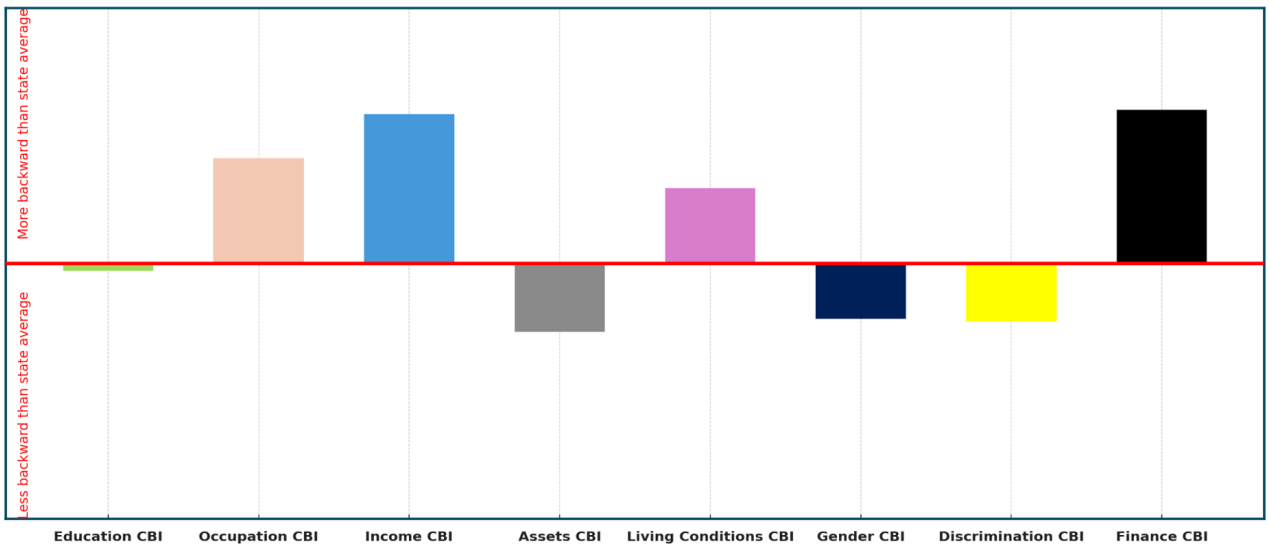

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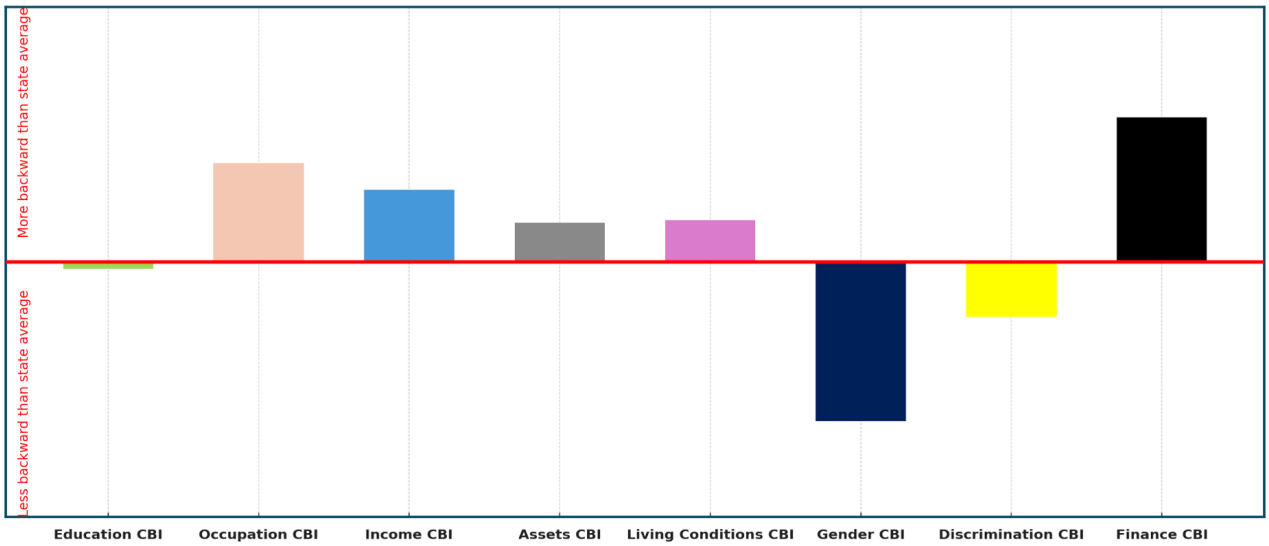

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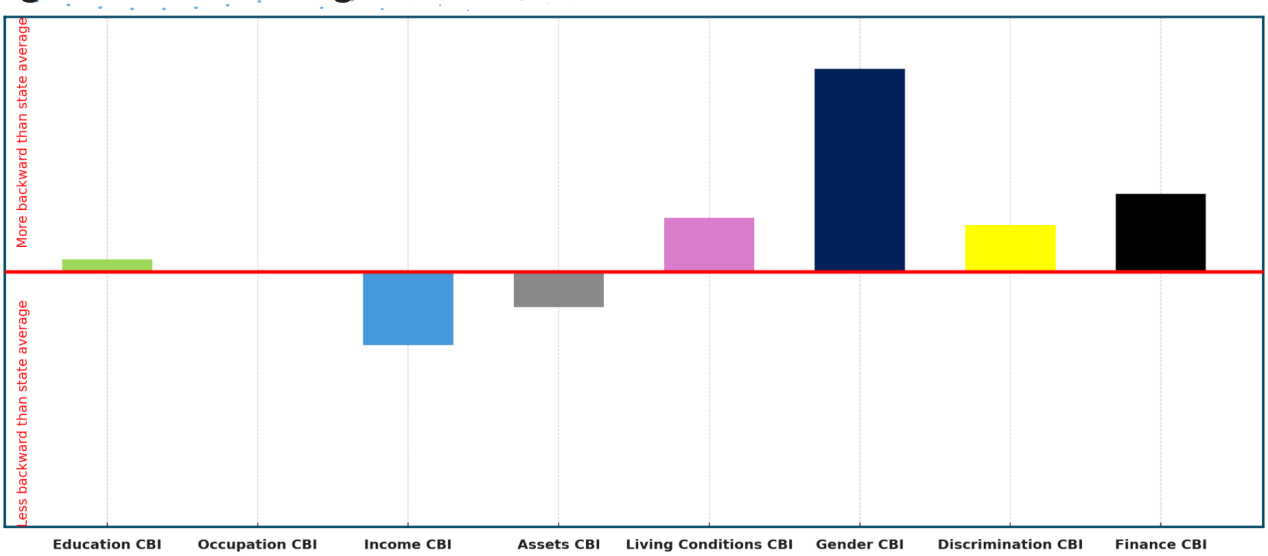

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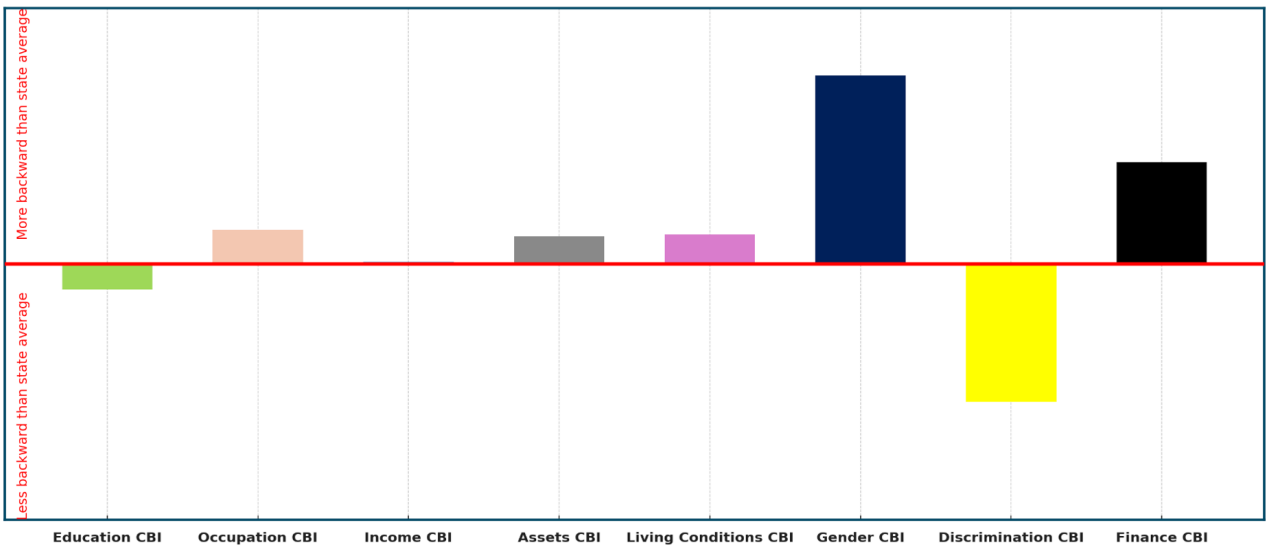

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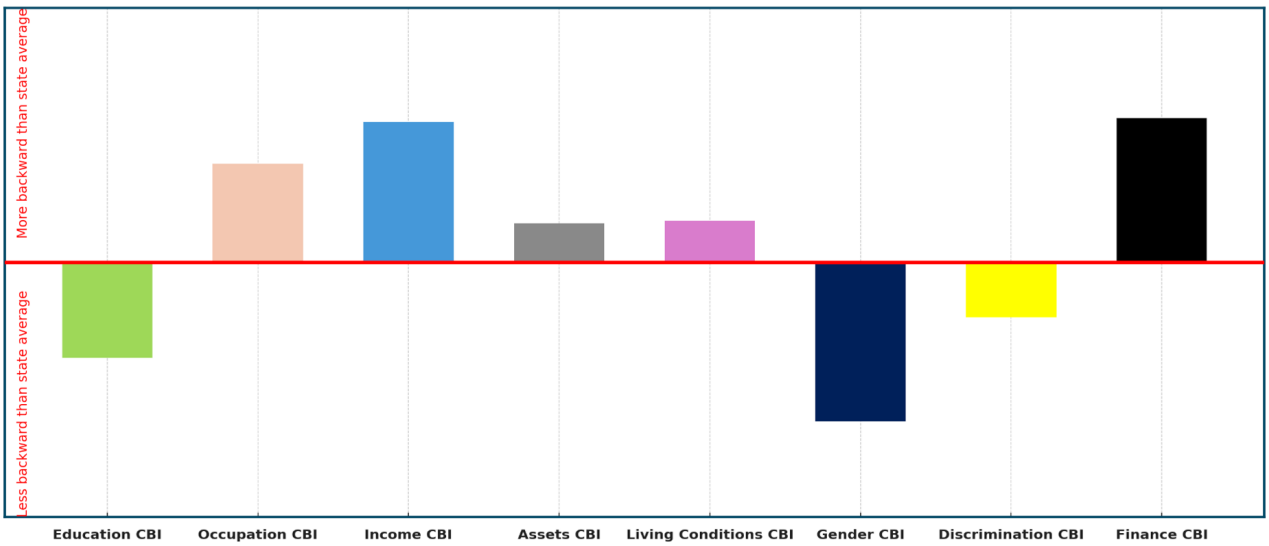

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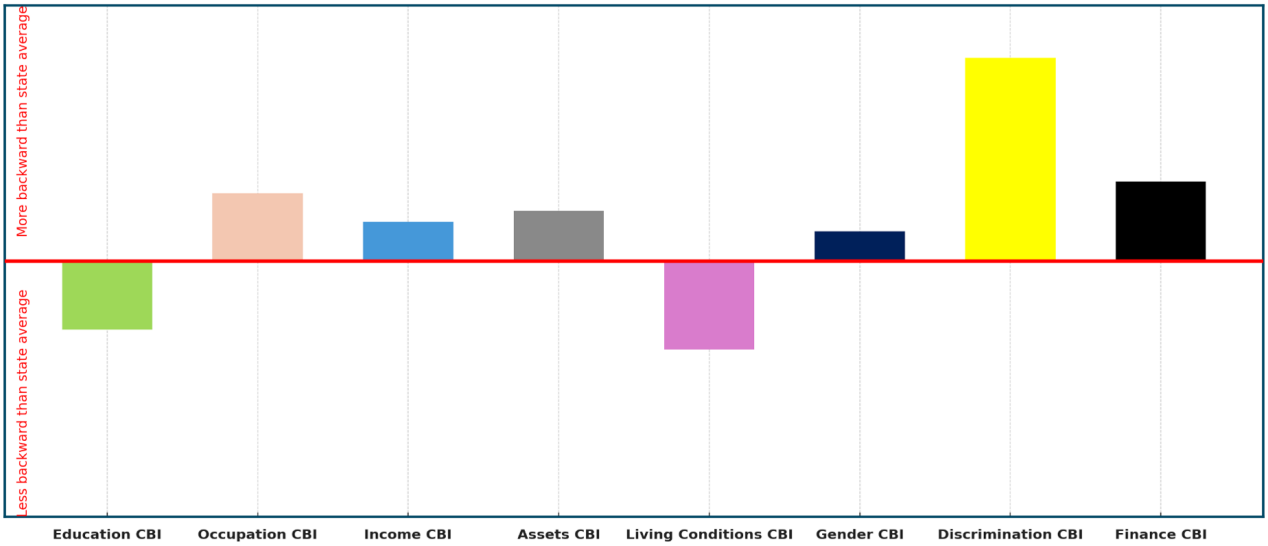

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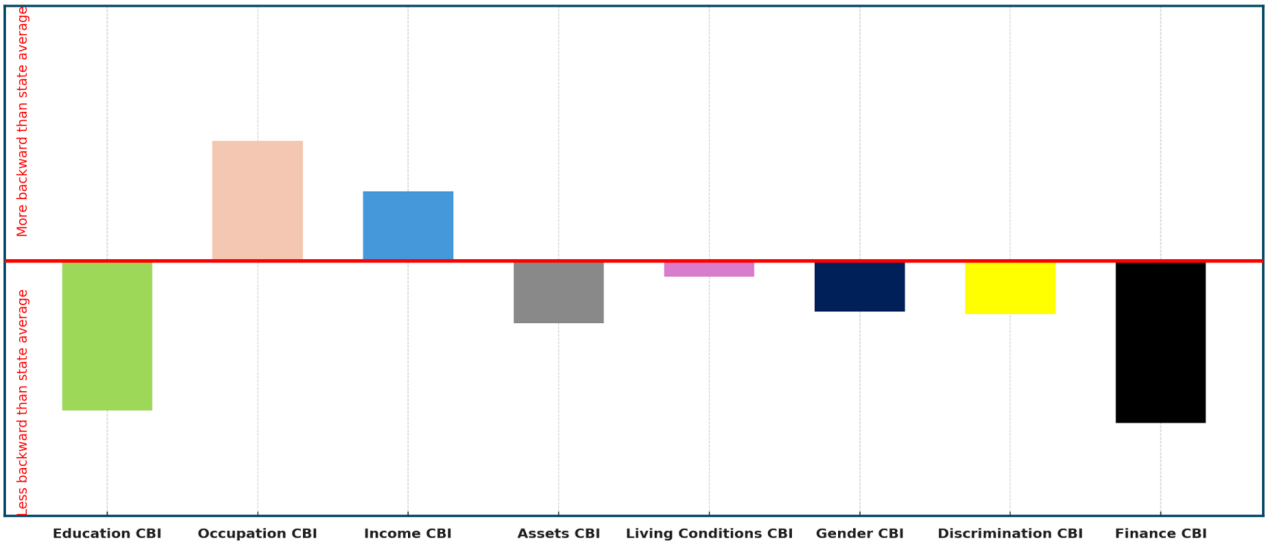

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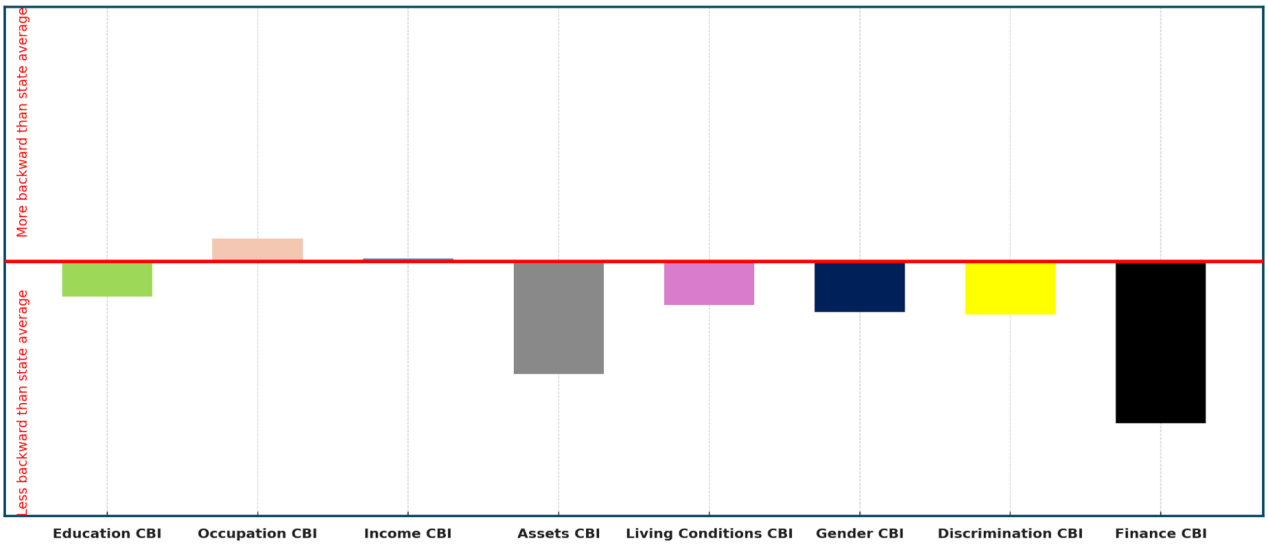

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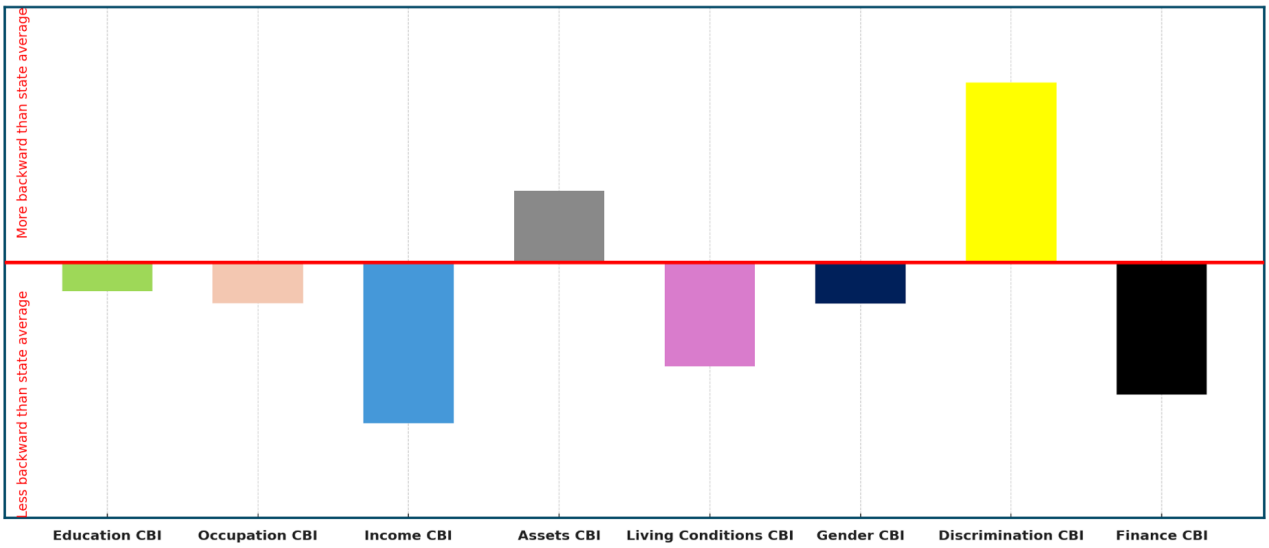

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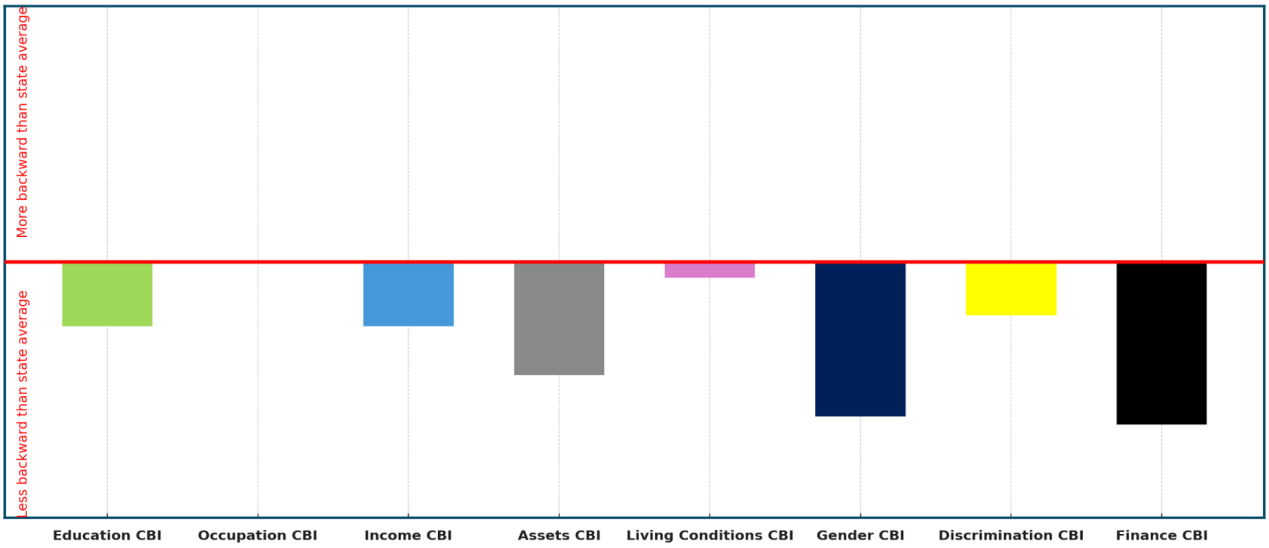

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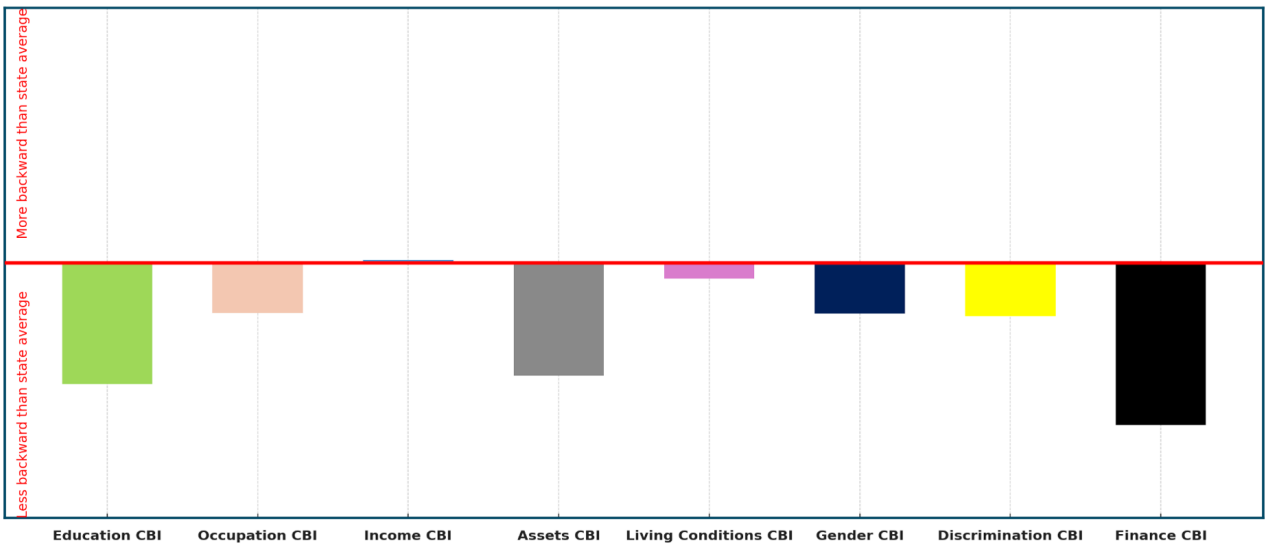

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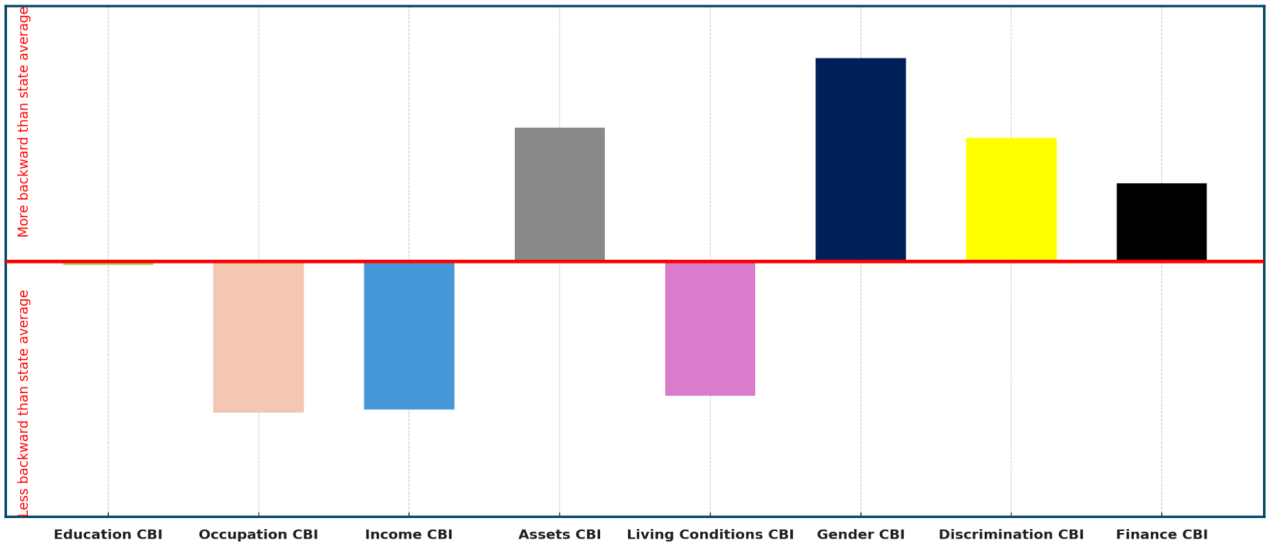

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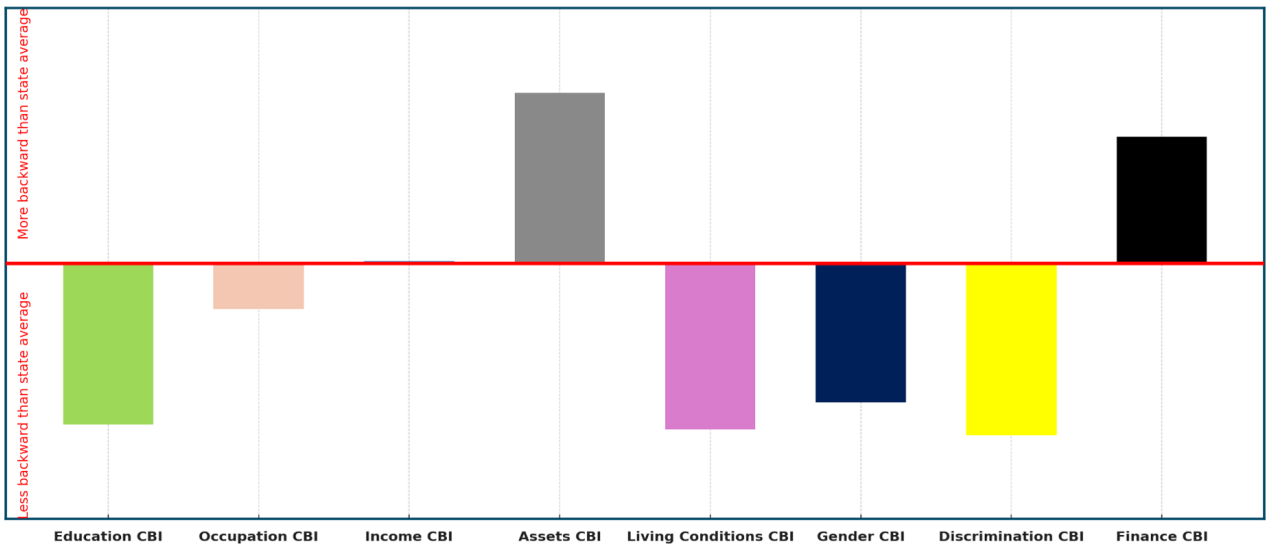

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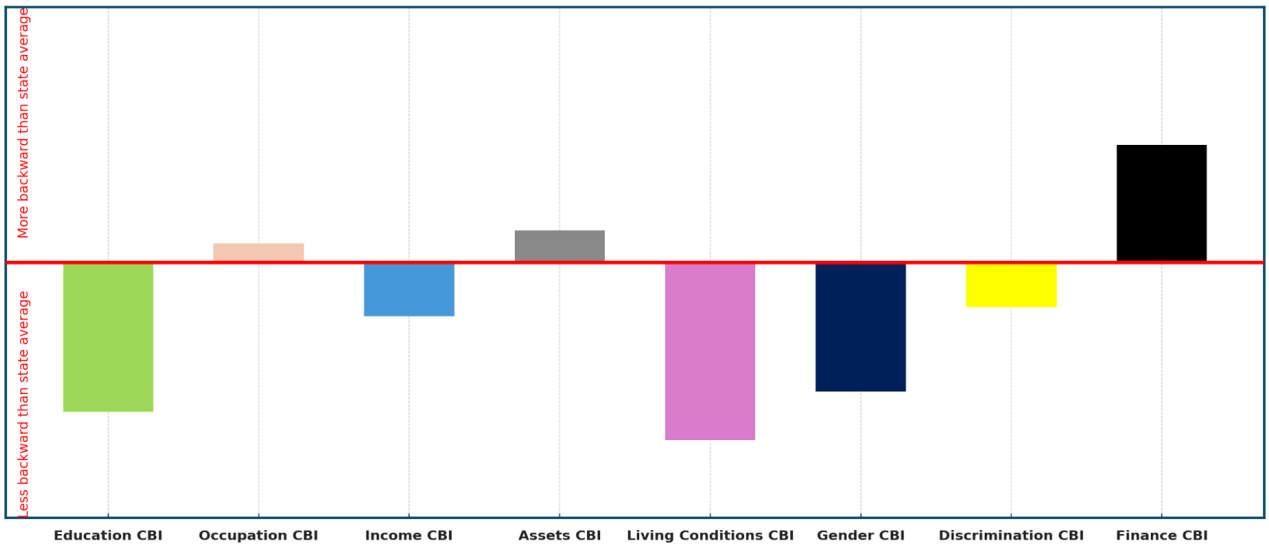

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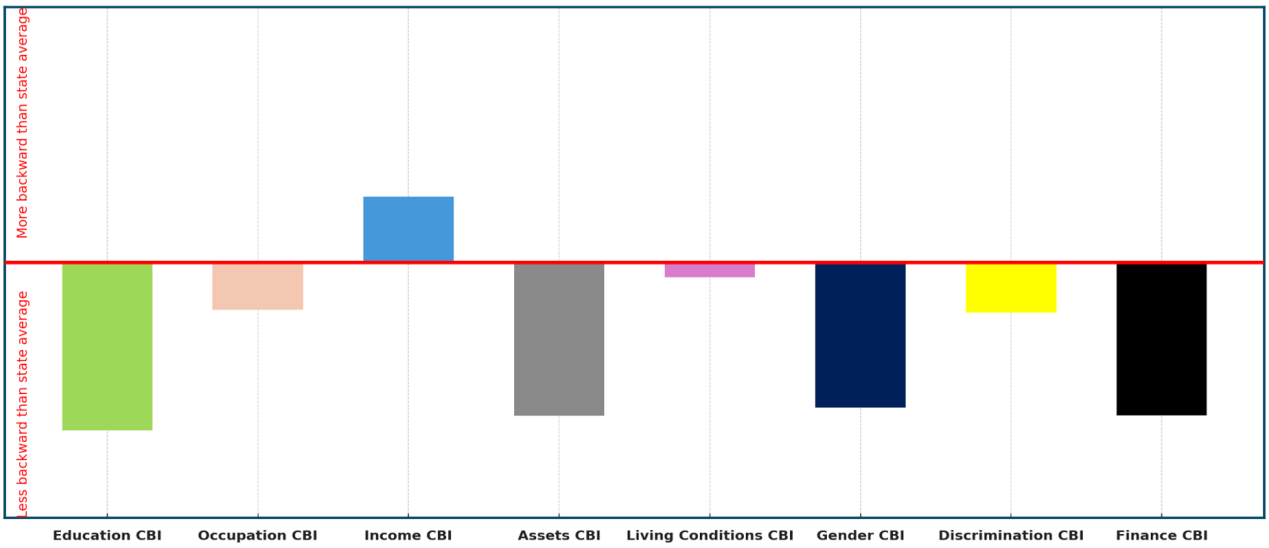

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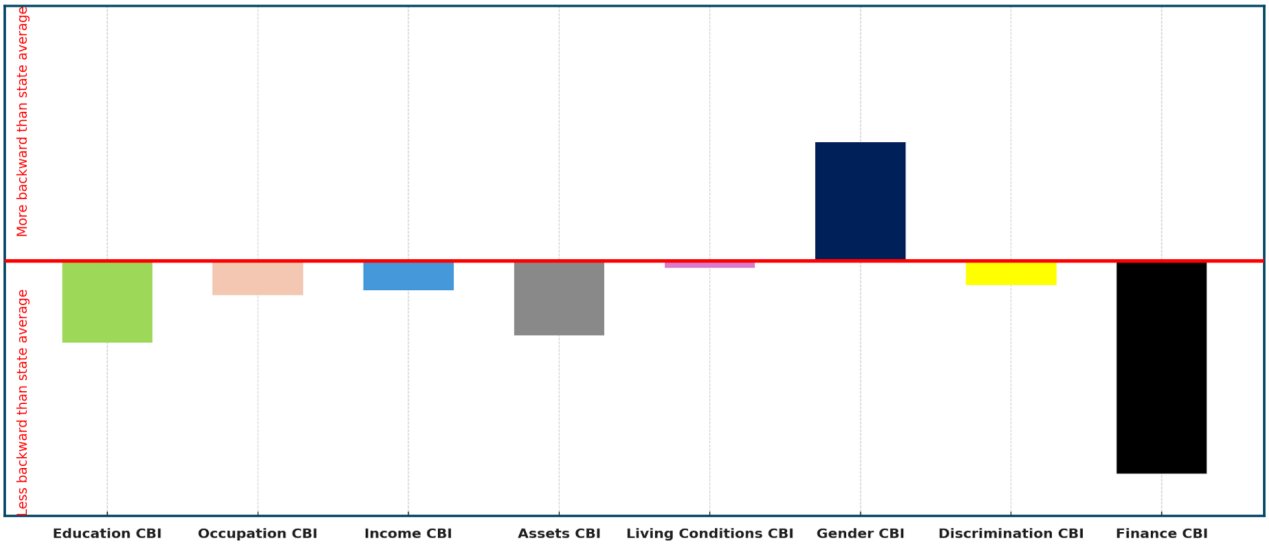

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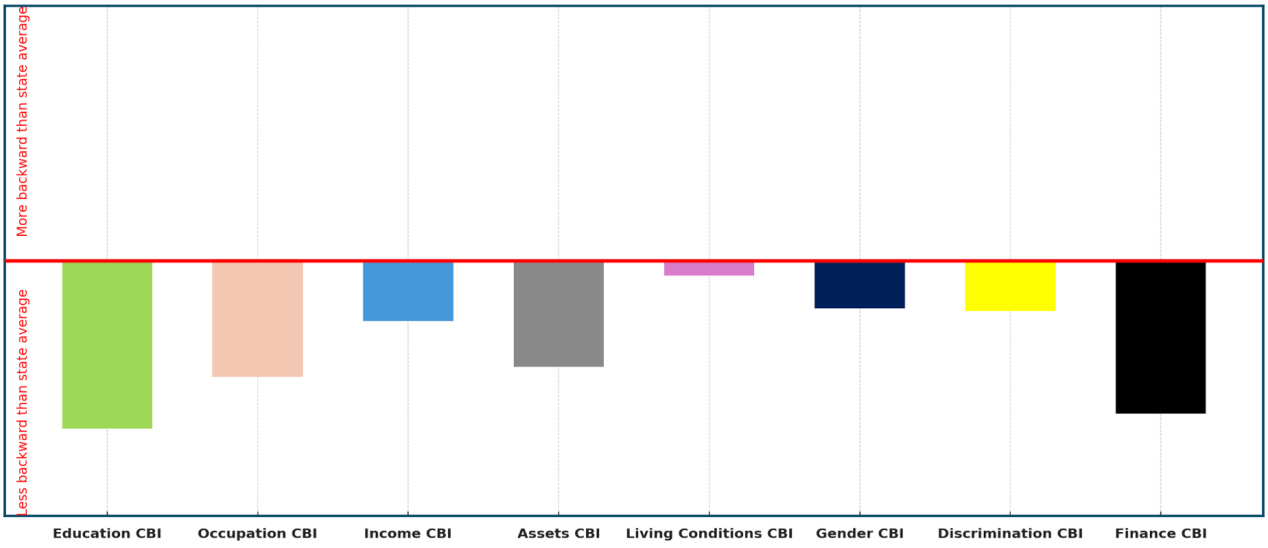

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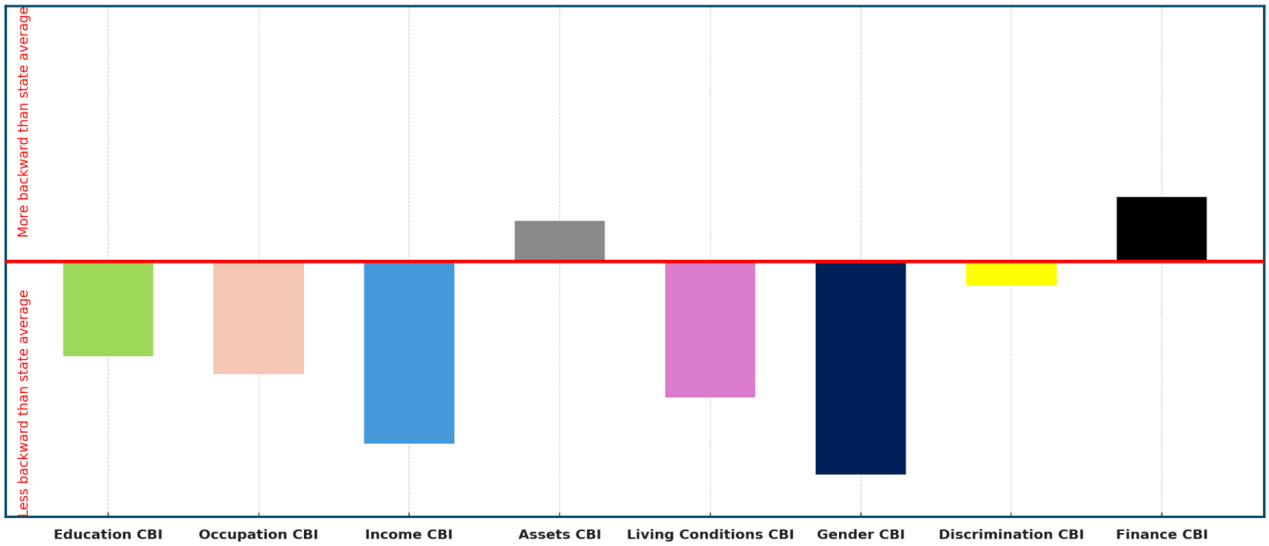

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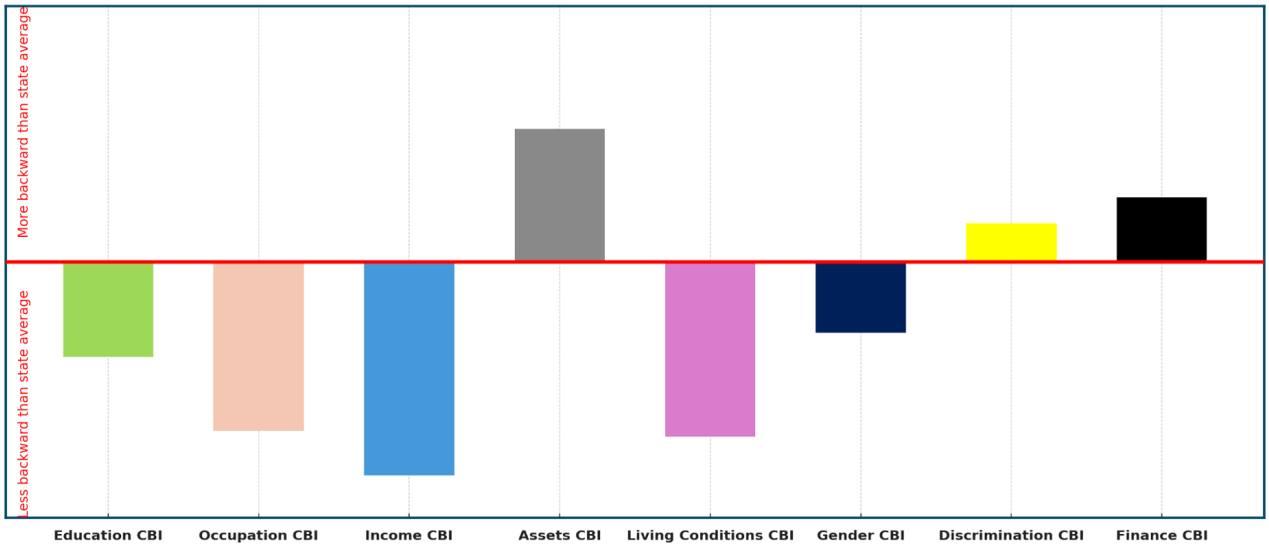

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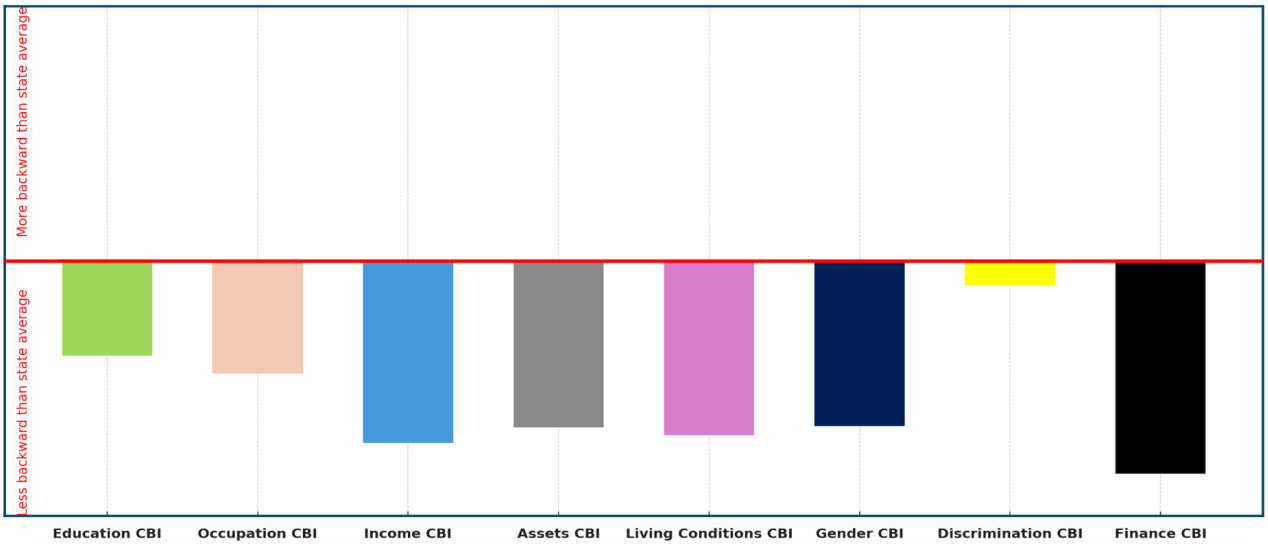

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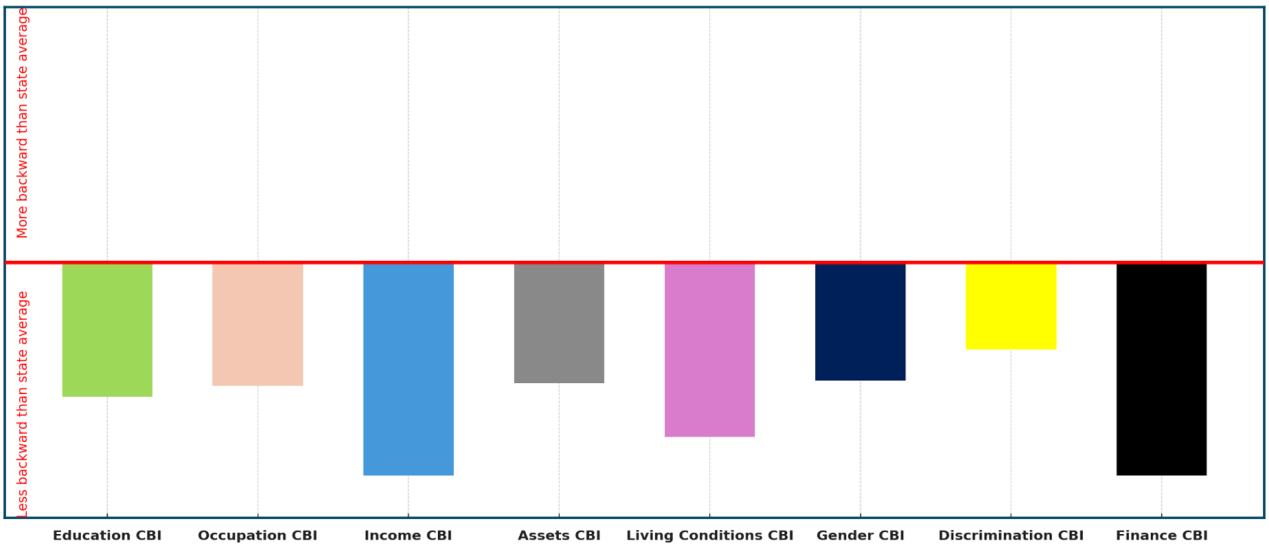

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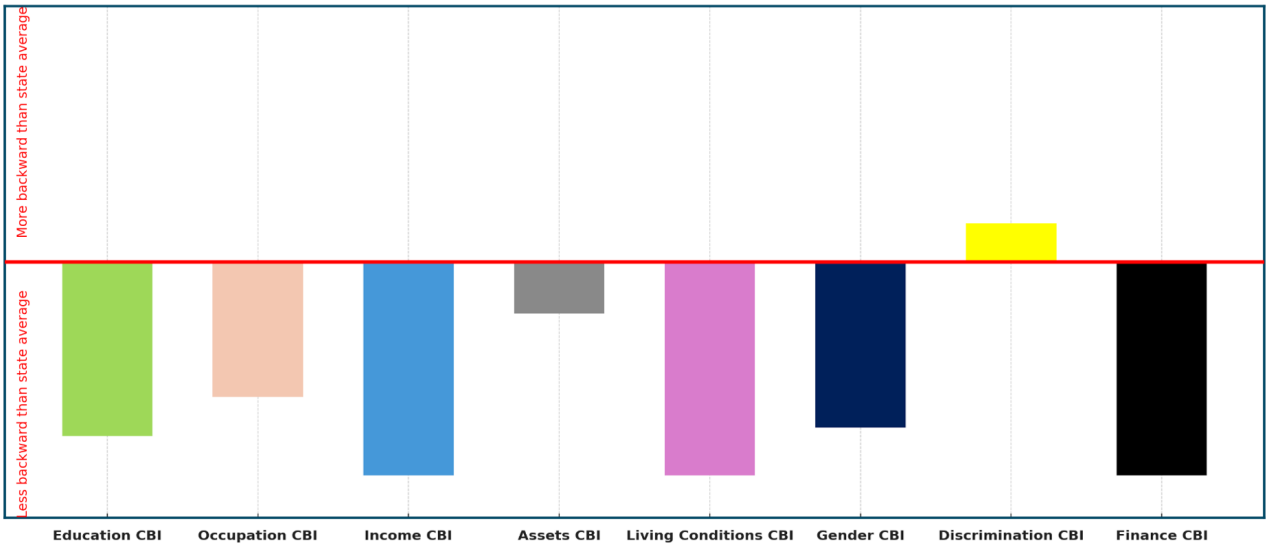

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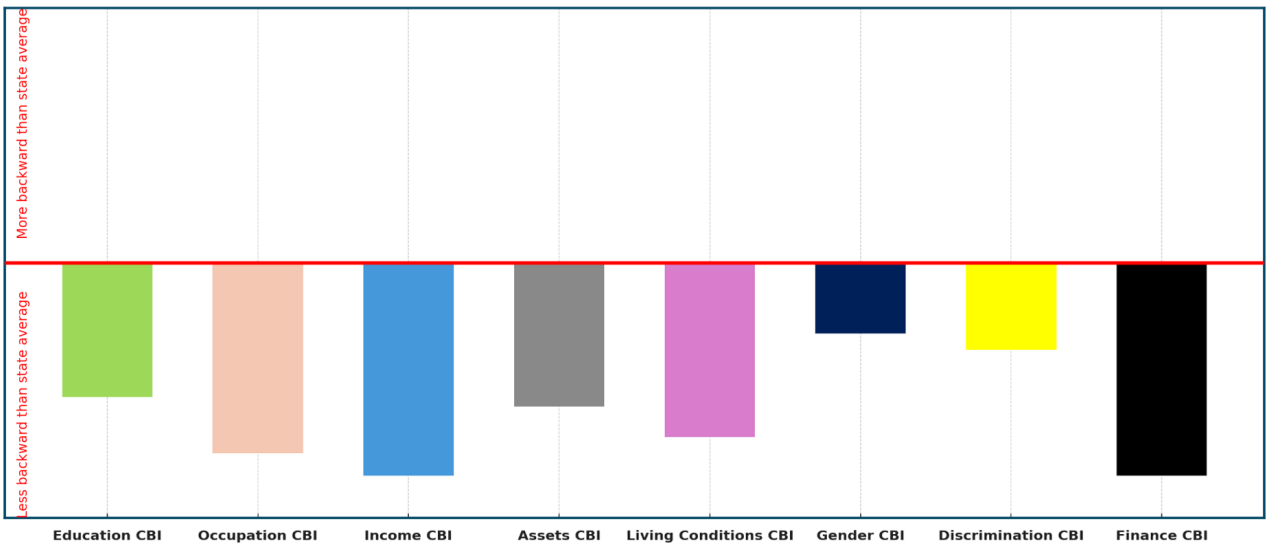

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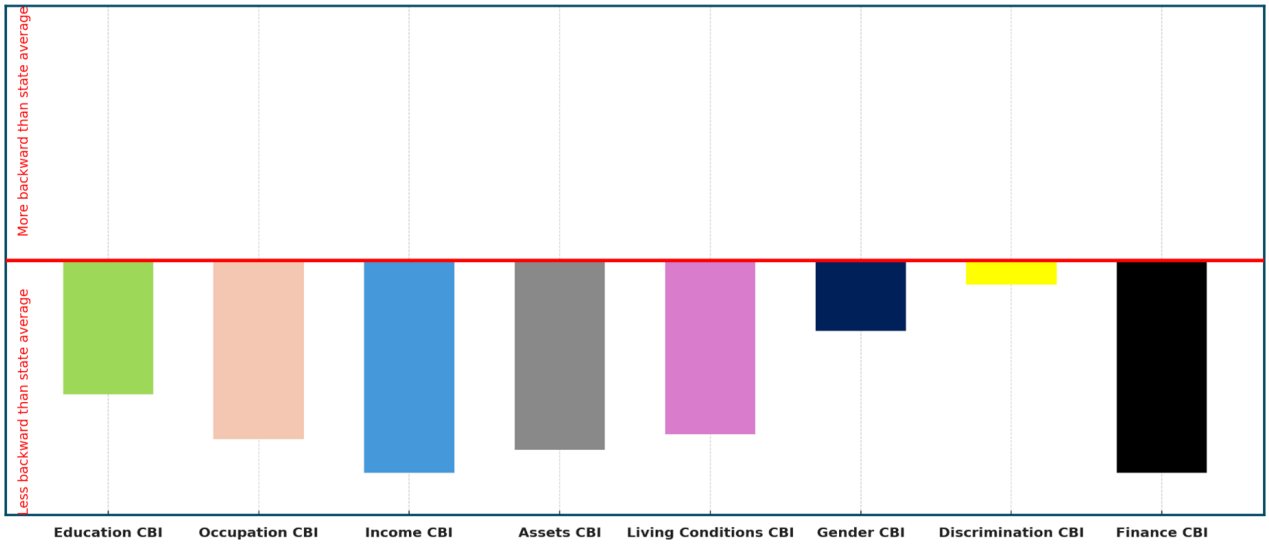

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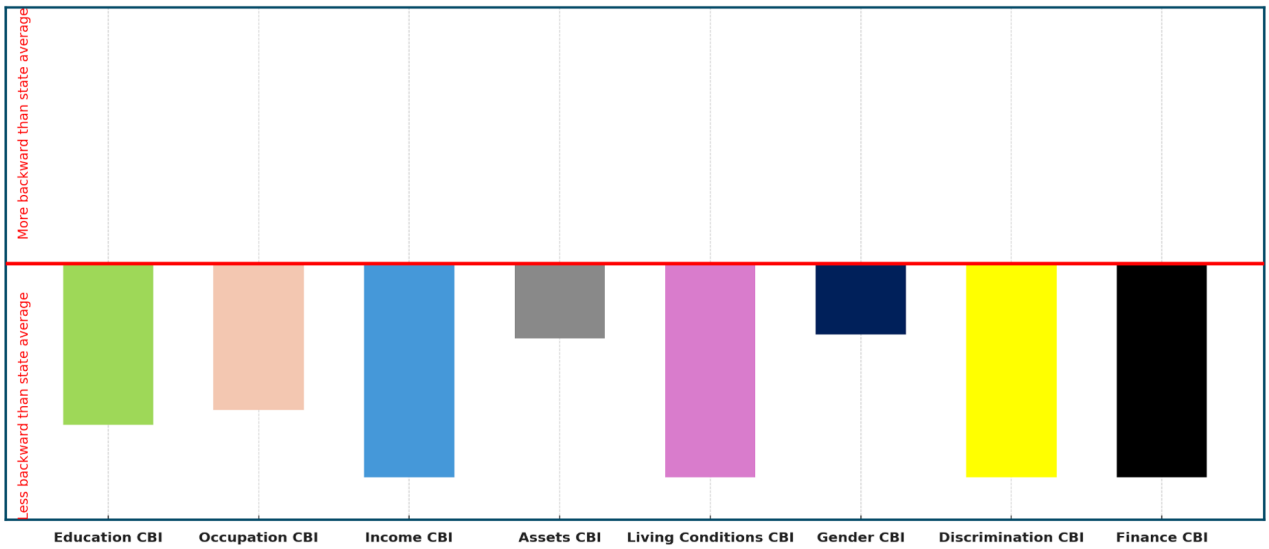

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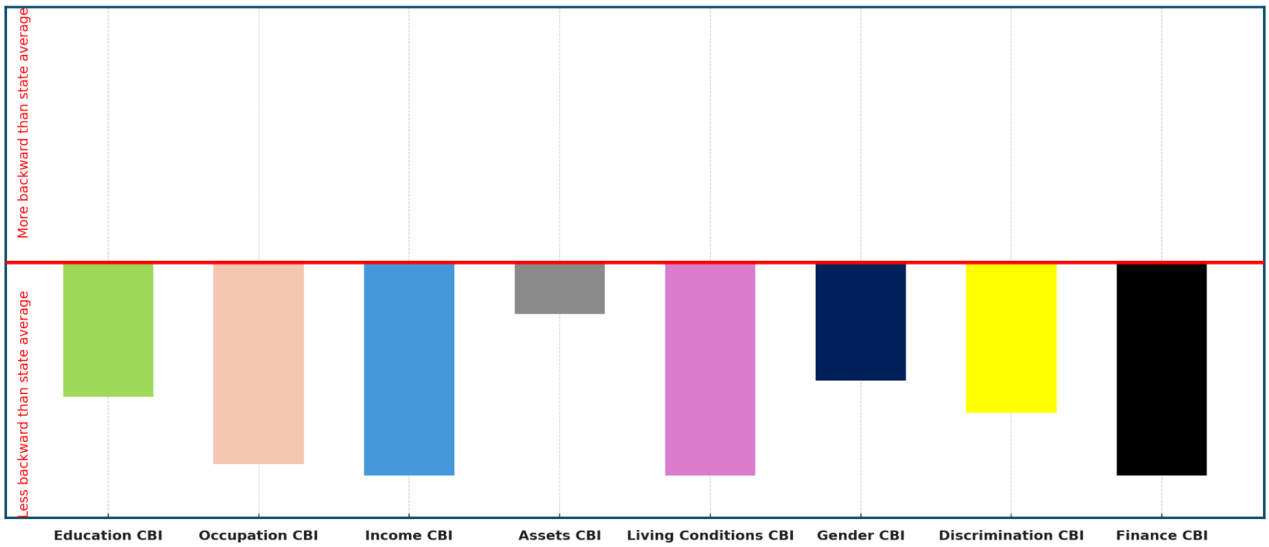

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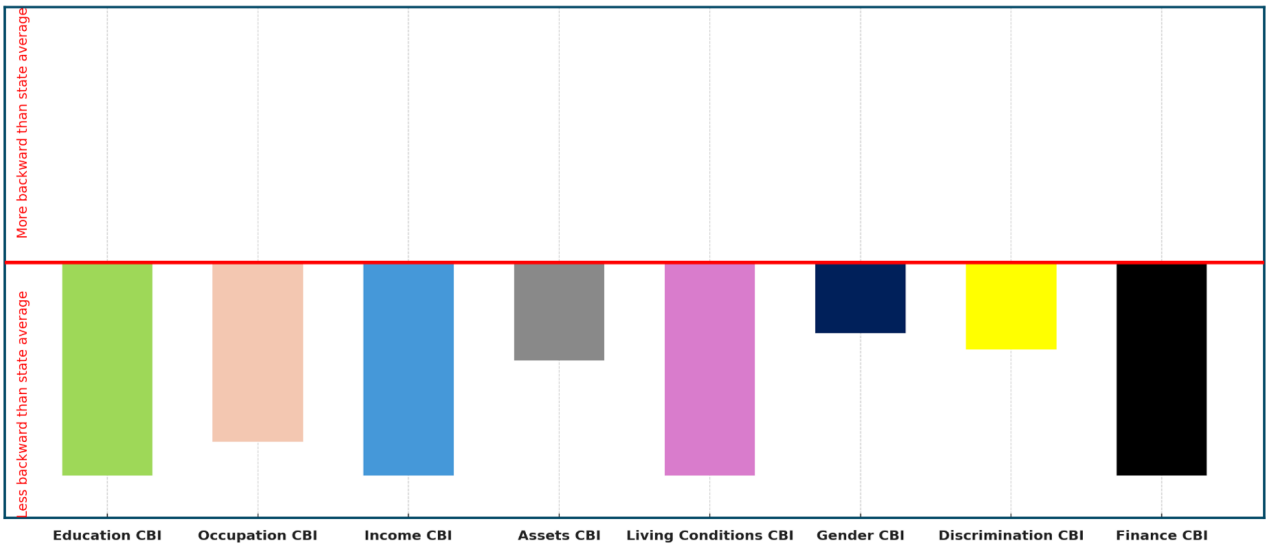

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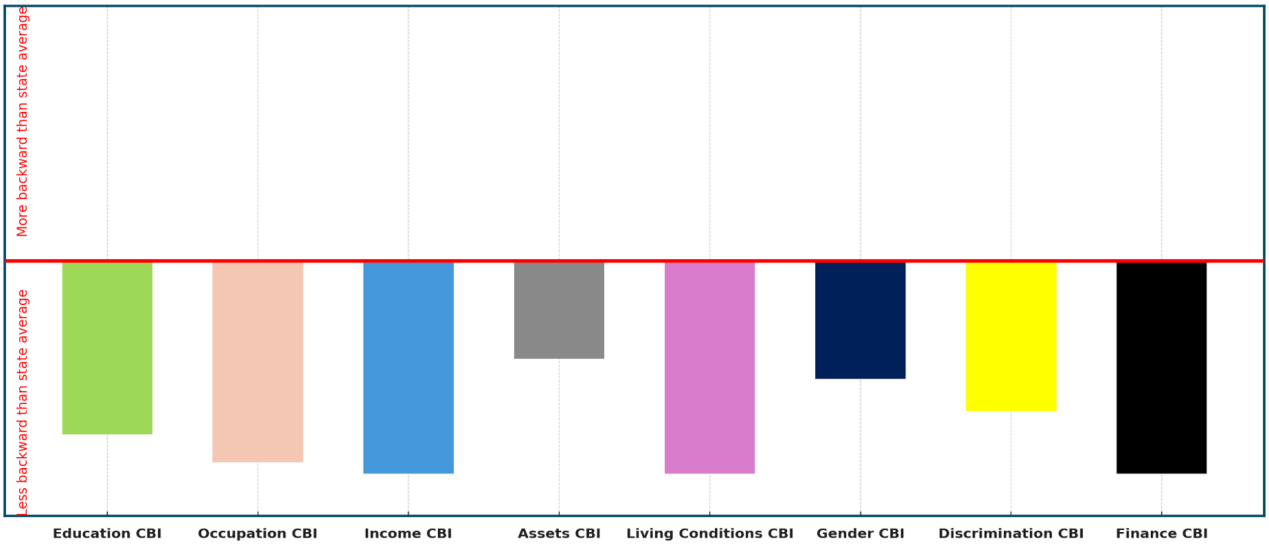

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