



## Socio-Economic disparities among Scheduled Castes in Haryana: An analytical study on the rationale for Sub-Classification

Dr. Gurcharan Singh

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Pt. CLS Government College Karnal,

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**Abstract:** This research paper explores persistent socio-economic inequalities among Scheduled Castes (SCs) in the Indian state of Haryana, with a particular focus on the rationale behind the sub-categorisation of SCs for equitable access to the benefits of affirmative action. Despite decades of reservation policies aimed at uplifting SC communities, empirical evidence from Haryana suggests that certain sub-castes within the SC category – particularly Chamars, Jatavs and Mochis – have benefitted disproportionately from government jobs, educational opportunities and political representation. In contrast, sub-castes such as Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi Sikhs, Bazigars and others are significantly under-represented in these areas, even though they constitute a large proportion of the SC population. The study is based on data from the Haryana State Scheduled Castes Commission, highlighting imbalances in representation among different SC groups. For example, while “advantaged” SC groups occupy more than 60% of reserved positions, “disadvantaged” groups—despite comprising more than 50% of the SC population—occupy less than 10% of high-level government jobs. Such stark inequalities prompted the Haryana government to adopt a sub-classification policy within the SC category in 2024, following a supportive judgment from the Supreme Court of India that confirmed the constitutional validity of such a move. The paper analyses the socio-political context, legal framework, and expected outcomes of this sub-classification. The policy divides SCs into two groups: Disadvantaged Scheduled Castes (DSCs) and Other Scheduled Castes (OSCs), allocating 50% of the total SC reservation quota to the DSC group. It emphasises the need for data-driven, context-sensitive reforms in reservation policy and concludes with recommendations for strong implementation, regular impact assessments, and inclusive dialogue among stakeholders to ensure that the policy achieves its intended goals without deepening social divisions.

**KEYWORDS:** Socio-Economic, Deprived Scheduled castes, Other Scheduled castes, Disparities, Haryana,

### I. INTRODUCTION

Scheduled castes (SCs) in India represent historically marginalized communities that have endured centuries of caste-based oppression, exclusion, and socio-economic deprivation. To rectify these deep-rooted injustices, the Indian Constitution mandated a number of affirmative action policies, including reservations in education, employment, and political representation. Although these policies have contributed to some degree of socio-economic uplift, they have also led to severe internal inequalities within the SC category – especially in states like Haryana. The SC population in Haryana, a relatively prosperous state in North India, is about 22% of its total population. This demographic includes many different castes, including Chamars, Jatavs, Mochis, Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi Sikhs, Khatiks, Bazigars, and others. These groups have secured the majority of government jobs, educational admissions, and political appointments under the SC quota system. In contrast, other SC sub-castes such as the Balmiki, Dhanak, Mazhabi Sikh and Bazigar are significantly under-represented, despite being a significant part of the SC population. This unequal distribution of benefits has led to widespread discontent among relatively disadvantaged SC groups. The issue has attracted both political and legal attention in recent years. In response, the Haryana government, backed by a 2024 Supreme Court ruling upholding the constitutional validity of sub-categorisation within SCs, went ahead with a policy to split SC reservations into two categories: Disadvantaged Scheduled Castes (DSC) and Other Scheduled Castes (OSC). Proponents argue that sub-categorisation is necessary to address layered inequalities within the SC category and to fulfil a sense of social justice. However, critics see it as a divisive measure that could fragment SC unity and reduce the gains of more advanced SC communities. Yet, the debate underscores a broader reality – that



the SC category is not homogenous, and a “one size fits all” approach to affirmative action is increasingly inadequate. The aim of this research paper is to analyse socio-economic inequalities among SCs in Haryana, examine the rationale and legal basis for sub-classification, and evaluate the potential impact of this policy on social justice and equitable development. Through data-driven insights and critical analysis, it seeks to contribute to the ongoing discourse on inclusive and targeted policy reform.

## II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The primary objective of this research is to explore and analyse the internal socio-economic inequalities among Scheduled Castes (SCs) in Haryana and to examine the rationale and implications of their sub-categorisation. The study is guided by the following specific objectives:

1. To examine the composition and demographic distribution of Scheduled Castes in Haryana and identify the major sub-castes within the category.
2. To assess the extent of socio-economic inequalities among various SC sub-castes in areas such as education, employment, occupation, land ownership and access to government schemes.
3. To analyse the pattern of representation of various SC groups in government services, in Haryana.
4. To explore the historical and structural factors that contribute to the unequal distribution of benefits among SCs under the existing reservation system.
5. To study the rationale behind the sub-categorisation policy introduced by the Haryana government and evaluate its constitutional and legal basis.
6. To assess the likely impact of sub-categorisation on social justice, caste relations and equitable development within the SC community.
7. To propose recommendations for more inclusive and effective reservation policies that ensure fair representation of all marginalized Scheduled Caste groups.

Through these objectives, the study aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of caste-based inequalities and provide insights to policymakers to improve the reach and equity of affirmative action programs.

## III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs a mixed-methods research approach to analyse the socio-economic

disparities among Scheduled Castes (SCs) in Haryana and examine the rationale for sub-classification within the SC category. The methodology integrates both qualitative and quantitative techniques to ensure a comprehensive and balanced understanding of the issue. The research is descriptive and analytical in nature. It seeks to document existing disparities and analyse policy interventions, including the legal, administrative, and socio-political dimensions of sub-classification among SCs.

**Data Sources:** The study is based on secondary data: i) Government Reports, Data from the Haryana State Commission for Scheduled Castes, Haryana Economic Survey, and Department of Social Justice & Empowerment. (ii) Parliamentary and Assembly Debates: Records of discussions related to reservation policies and SC sub-classification. (iii) Judgments: Analysis of Supreme Court Judgment, particularly *State of Punjab vs. Davinder Singh* (2020), which upheld sub-categorization. (iv) Academic Literature: Books, articles, and policy papers addressing caste hierarchies, affirmative action, and intra-caste inequality.

**Data Analysis:** Statistical interpretation of government job quotas, education enrolment, and caste-wise representation using percentages, charts analysis.

## Limitations of the Study

1. Lack of disaggregated official data for all SC sub-castes across multiple sectors.
2. Reliance on secondary sources due to limited access to field surveys.

Despite these limitations, the study provides a robust framework for understanding internal disparities and evaluating the sub-classification policy in Haryana.

## IV. SOCIO-ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES IN HARYANA

The Scheduled Castes (SC) in Haryana constitute about 22% of the state's population and include diverse sub-castes such as Chamars, Jatavs, Mochis, Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi Sikhs and Khatiks. Although constitutionally grouped together, these castes experience very different socio-economic realities. Over the years, some major sub-castes—particularly the Chamars and Jatavs—have emerged as relatively better-off within the SC category, while other castes such as Balmikis,



Dhanaks, Mazhabi Sikhs and Bazigars remain severely deprived.

Government employment statistics show huge inequalities. Chamars and Jatavs occupy more than 70% of reserved posts in Class I and II government services, while the share of Balmiki and other disadvantaged castes is less than 30%. In higher education, Chamars and Jatavs have significantly higher enrolment rates and better access to coaching, scholarships and vocational courses. In contrast, deprived groups suffer from low literacy, high dropout rates and poor educational infrastructure.

Occupational differences further reflect this inequality. While dominant SC groups have diversified into business, public service and skilled labour, marginalised castes remain concentrated in

low-paid and stigmatised occupations such as sanitation work and manual labour. Landlessness, lack of access to credit and lack of political representation further exacerbate their marginalisation.

These inequalities stem from historical disadvantage, lack of social capital and the failure of a uniform reservation system to address internal inequalities. As a result, affirmative action has disproportionately benefited some, while others have been left behind. This has fuelled demands for sub-categorisation of SCs in Haryana, aimed at ensuring a more equitable distribution of state support across marginalised communities. Recognising these inequalities is essential to design truly inclusive and just policies.

Table-I: Share in Government Jobs of Scheduled Castes in Haryana

Classification	Caste	Total Population	Group A	Group B	Group C	Group D	% Population	% Group A	% Group B	% Group C	% Group D
Other Scheduled Castes	Chamar, Jatia Chamar, Rehgar, Ra Igar, Ramdasi, Ravidasi, Balahi, Batoi, Bhatoi, Bhambi, Chamar-Rohidas, Jatav, Jatava, Mochi, Ramdasia	30,64,686	635	4257	19952	4795	47.60%	68.43%	72.71%	63.86%	43.10%
Deprived Scheduled Castes	Balmiki, Chura, Bhangi	10,80,492	72	437	3072	4272	16.78%	7.76%	7.46%	9.83%	38.40%
	Dhanak	6,92,997	87	490	3512	834	10.76%	9.38%	8.37%	11.24%	7.50%
	Od.	2,20,397	30	99	779	156	3.42%	3.23%	1.69%	2.49%	1.40%
	Bazigar	1,72,571	6	49	505	82	2.68%	0.65%	0.84%	1.62%	0.74%
	Mazhabi, Mazhabi Sikh	1,66,214	4	39	227	94	2.58%	0.43%	0.67%	0.73%	0.84%
	Ad Dharmi - Aheria, Aheri, H	1,57,304	4	24	219	139	2.44%	0.43%	0.41%	0.70%	1.25%
	Kori, Koli	1,42,984	7	60	403	110	2.22%	0.75%	1.02%	1.29%	0.99%
	Pherera- Rai Sikh	97,302	4	6	121	64	1.51%	0.43%	0.10%	0.39%	0.58%
	Pasi	93,142	1	14	82	51	1.45%	0.11%	0.24%	0.26%	0.46%
	Batwal, Barwala . Bauria, Ba	85,966	5	23	353	64	1.34%	0.54%	0.39%	1.13%	0.58%
	Megh, Meghwal	78,095	13	71	422	117	1.21%	1.40%	1.21%	1.35%	1.05%
	Khatik	72,849	34	120	577	87	1.13%	3.66%	2.05%	1.85%	0.78%
	Kabirpanthi, Julaha	65,505	14	83	336	54	1.02%	1.51%	1.42%	1.08%	0.49%
	Sansi, Bhedkut, Manesh	58,435	8	40	315	77	0.91%	0.86%	0.68%	1.01%	0.69%
	Dumna, Mahasha, Doom	41,835	1	22	207	68	0.65%	0.11%	0.38%	0.66%	0.61%
	Sikligar, Bariya	28,149	0	2	13	5	0.44%	0.00%	0.03%	0.04%	0.04%
	Sapela, Sapera	24,726	0	1	15	8	0.38%	0.00%	0.02%	0.05%	0.07%
	Sirkiband	22,340	0	4	31	13	0.35%	0.00%	0.07%	0.10%	0.12%
	Deha, Dhaya, Dhea	20,709	0	0	2	2	0.32%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.02%
	Nat, Badi	18,997	0	6	35	11	0.30%	0.00%	0.10%	0.11%	0.10%
	Bhanjra	10,865	0	1	20	5	0.17%	0.00%	0.02%	0.06%	0.04%
	Bangali	5,450	0	5	6	2	0.08%	0.00%	0.09%	0.02%	0.02%
	Barar, Burar, Berar	2,384	0	0	4	3	0.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.03%
	Sanhai	2,302	1	1	4	2	0.04%	0.11%	0.02%	0.01%	0.02%
	Perna	2,218	0	0	2	0	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%
	Gandhila, Gandil, Gondola	2,027	0	0	3	2	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.02%
	Dhogri, Dhangri, Saggi	1,723	0	0	1	2	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.02%
	Marija, Marecha	1,078	1	0	2	2	0.02%	0.11%	0.00%	0.01%	0.02%
	Chanal	1,058	0	0	10	1	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.03%	0.01%
	Dagi	992	0	0	3	2	0.02%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.02%
Darain	759	0	1	3	0	0.01%	0.00%	0.02%	0.01%	0.00%	
Sanhal	719	0	0	2	1	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	
Gagra	703	1	0	3	0	0.01%	0.11%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%	
Sansoi	574	0	0	3	1	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	
Sarera	403	0	0	0	0	0.01%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>64,38,950</b>	<b>928</b>	<b>5,855</b>	<b>31,244</b>	<b>11,126</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

Source: Haryana SC Commission's Report 2024



**According to data from the Haryana State Commission for Scheduled Castes:**

- Chamars and related castes, constituting less than 50% of the SC population, occupy 65% of Class I, II, and III government jobs reserved for SCs.
- In contrast, 36 other SCs, including Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi Sikhs and Bazigars,

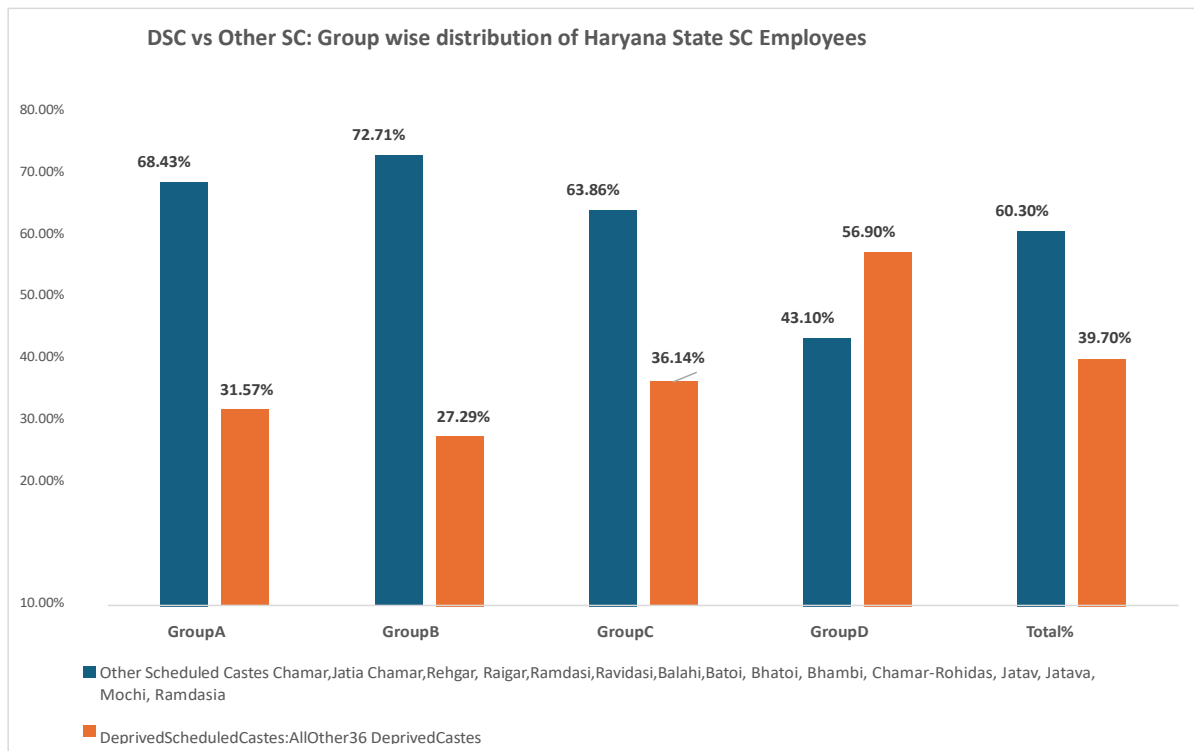
who make up 52% of the SC population, hold only 35% of these positions.

- Specifically, the representation of these deprived SCs in Class I, II, and III jobs stands at 4.7%, 4.14%, and 6.27%, respectively, despite their significant population share. This data underscores the uneven distribution of benefits among SC sub-groups, necessitating targeted interventions.

**Table-II: Caste wise population of Scheduled Castes in Haryana**

Classification	SC Caste Name	Population as per HPPA	% Share of Population
Other Scheduled Castes	Chamar, Jatia, Chamar, Rehgar, Raigar, Ramdasi, Ravidasi, Balahi, Batoi, Bhatoai, Bhambi, Chamar-Rohidas, Jatav, Jatava, Mochi, Ramdasia	3064686	47.60
Deprived Scheduled Caste	All other castes	3374264	52.40
		6438950	100.00

Source: Haryana SC Commission's Report 2024



The distribution of employment between Deprived Scheduled Castes (DSC) and Other Scheduled Castes (OSC) shows that while a total of 60.30% of SC employees in state services belong to Other Scheduled Castes, only 39.70% of SC employees belong to Deprived Scheduled Castes. Further analysis shows that 68.43%, 72.71% and

63.86% of Other Scheduled Caste employees are employed in Group A, B and C respectively. While Group D employment is tilted towards the DSC category with 56.9% employment share. This shows that Deprived Scheduled Castes are not able to compete equally with Other Scheduled Castes with respect to government jobs in Group A, B and C in



the state of Haryana. Educational attainment further highlights these inequalities. Balmiki and Dhankas are often confined to manual scavenging, cleaning work or unskilled labour. Access to land, credit and skill development opportunities is unevenly distributed, widening the gap even further. These inequalities underscore the inadequacy of a one-

size-fits-all reservation policy. Sub-classification of SCs, based on empirical data and social backwardness, is seen as a viable strategy to ensure that the most disadvantaged among them receive the intended benefits of government schemes, thus promoting true social justice and inclusive growth.

**Table-III: Share in Government Jobs of Scheduled Castes in Haryana**

Service Category	Total SC	OSC	% OSC	DSC	% DSC	DSC- Balmiki & Dhanak	% DSC(Balmiki & Dhanak)	DSC others	% DSC others
Group-A	928	635	68.43	293	31.57	159	54.27	134	45.73
Group-B	5855	4257	72.71	1598	27.29	927	58.01	671	41.99
Group-C	31244	19952	63.86	11292	36.14	6584	58.31	4708	41.69
Group-D	11126	4795	43.10	6331	56.90	5102	80.59	1229	19.41
Total Jobs	49153	29639	60.30	19514	39.70	12772	65.45	6742	34.55
Total Population	6438950	3064686	47.60	3374264	52.40	1773489	52.56	1600775	47.44

Source: Information from 'Haryana SC Commission's Report 2024'

Table-III shows that the population of Scheduled Castes in Haryana is 64.38 lakhs, out of which the population of OSCs is 30.64 lakh and the population of deprived castes is 33.74 lakh. But the representation of OSCs in government jobs is more than 60.30 per cent while the representation of deprived castes is only 39.70 per cent. It is also clear from the data that inequality is prevalent even among the deprived sections. The share of Balmiki and Dhanak castes in DSC is 65.45 per cent while the share of other deprived castes is only 34.55 per cent in government jobs.

## V. HARYANA'S POLICY RESPONSE ON SUB-CLASSIFICATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES

In response to the evident socio-economic inequalities among the Scheduled Castes (SCs), the Haryana government implemented a sub-classification policy in 2024. The decision came after the Supreme Court's August 1, 2024 judgment in State of Punjab vs Davinder Singh, which upheld the constitutional validity of sub-classifying SCs to address internal inequalities.

Acting on the recommendations of the Haryana State Scheduled Castes Commission, the government divided the SC category into two groups: Deprived Scheduled Castes (DSC) and

Other Scheduled Castes (OSC). The DSC group comprises 36 castes such as Balmiki, Dhanak, Mazhabi Sikh, Khatik and Bazigars while the OSC group comprises 15 castes including Chamar, Jatav and Ravidasi. Each group was allotted 50% of the existing 20% SC reservation in government jobs and educational institutions. The policy was aimed at improving the under-representation of DSC communities in public sector employment and higher education. For example, despite constituting more than half of the SC population, DSC groups held only about 35% of Class I, II and III government positions, highlighting the need for targeted affirmative action. The sub-categorisation moves received mixed reactions. DSC communities welcomed the policy, viewing it as a long-awaited step towards equitable access to opportunities. In contrast, some OSC groups and political entities criticised the decision, arguing that it was hastily implemented without comprehensive data and could potentially lead to divisions in the SC community. Despite the controversy, Haryana's initiative marked a significant shift in addressing intra-caste inequalities within the SC population. By tailoring affirmative action to the specific needs of its diverse SC communities, the state took a proactive step towards promoting inclusive growth and social justice. The court emphasised that treating the Scheduled Castes as a homogenous group ignores



the internal inequalities that exist due to historical and structural inequalities. Based on this judgment, Haryana became one of the first states to implement sub-classification, creating a two-tier reservation structure—Deprived Scheduled Castes (DSC) and Other Scheduled Castes (OSC)—to ensure equitable benefit distribution.

## **VI. LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR SUB-CLASSIFICATION**

The concept of sub-categorisation within Scheduled Castes has been the subject of legal debate. In a landmark judgement on August 1, 2024, the Supreme Court of India upheld the constitutional validity of sub-categorisation among Scheduled Castes, allowing states to identify the most disadvantaged sub-groups within the broad Scheduled Caste category and provide them targeted benefits. Following this judgement, the Haryana government approved the recommendations of the State Commission for Scheduled Castes, dividing reservation for Scheduled Castes into two categories:

- Deprived Scheduled Castes (DSC): It includes 36 castes such as Balmiki, Dhanak, Mazhabi Sikh, Khatiks, Bazigar, etc.
- Other Scheduled Castes (OSC): It includes castes such as Chamar, Jatav, Mochi, Ramdasia, etc. The policy allocates 50% of the reservation quota of Scheduled Castes in government jobs and educational institutions to the DSC category, aimed at improving its historically under-representation.

## **VI. IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPLICATIONS**

The Haryana government's decision to implement sub-categorisation has important implications:

- **Increased equity:** By recognising intra-category inequalities, the policy seeks to ensure a more equitable distribution of opportunities among SC sub-groups.
- **Targeted affirmative action:** This approach allows for more precise targeting of affirmative action measures, addressing the specific needs of the most marginalised communities.
- **Legal precedent:** Haryana's move sets a precedent for other states to consider similar sub-categorisation policies, potentially reshaping the landscape of reservation policies in India. However, this policy also faces legal and implementation challenges:

1. The Haryana Pradesh Chamar Mahasabha filed a petition in the Punjab and Haryana High Court, arguing that sub-categorisation lacks

sufficient empirical support and could lead to further divisions within the SC community.

2. Empirical data has shown that people of other Scheduled Castes are getting the certificate of Deprived Scheduled Caste wrongly. It has also been observed that two years ago a person was writing Chamar caste, but later he got the certificate of Deprived Caste by presenting Meghwal caste. This is happening due to the names or surnames of some castes being similar. This is an unfair practice and is snatching the rights of the deprived castes.

## **VII. SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

1. The data in Table-III shows that there should be further sub-division in DSC (Deprived Castes) as the largest number among these castes are Balmiki, Chura, Bhangi and Dhanak castes, who are the biggest beneficiaries in the DSC category. The population of these castes is about 17 lakhs but their share in government jobs is more than 65.45 per cent. The population of the remaining castes of DSC is also about 16 lakhs, but their share in jobs is less than 34.55 per cent. In such a situation it becomes necessary that DSC (Deprived Scheduled Castes) should also be put into two categories:

- A) DSC-A: It should include Balmiki, Chura and Bhangi and Dhanak.
- B) DSC-B: It should include all other deprived castes.

2. Deprived castes should be given reservation in promotions in government jobs so that they can also get representation in higher posts. As it is clear from Table-III that the representation of DSCs in class A and B jobs is less than 30 percent, therefore promotion opportunities in reservation should be given to the deprived classes.

3. Seats should be reserved in the Assembly and Lok Sabha to increase the political representation of deprived castes in Haryana.

4. Transparent implementation and careful monitoring are required for the deprived sections of the society.

## **VII. CONCLUSION**

The sub-classification of SCs in Haryana is an important step in the evolution of India's affirmative action policy. While reservations have been instrumental in uplifting SC communities for decades, this study highlights growing evidence of unequal distribution of benefits within the SC



category. The concentration of opportunities among a few dominant sub-castes, particularly the Chamars and Jatavs, has steadily marginalised other SC groups such as the Balmikis, Dhanaks, Mazhabi Sikhs and Bazigars.

Haryana's decision to sub-classify SCs into Disadvantaged Scheduled Castes (DSC) and Other Scheduled Castes (OSC) and to reserve 50% of SC quota for the DSC group is a bold attempt to correct these internal inequalities. The validation of such sub-classification by the Supreme Court has provided constitutional legitimacy to this policy intervention. However, the success of the policy depends on its transparent implementation, careful monitoring and periodic review based on measurable socio-economic indicators. Critics argue that such classifications risk dividing SC identity and may lead to tensions within the community. Yet, ignoring these inequalities would mean maintaining inequality under the guise of uniformity. Sub-classification, if managed sensitively, offers a targeted approach that prioritises equity over numerical equality. In conclusion, the case of Haryana sets an important precedent for nuanced social justice strategies. It reflects the growing recognition that social backwardness is not monotonous but layered. For affirmative action to remain meaningful, it must evolve to address the changing realities of disadvantaged communities. Therefore, sub-classification is not a challenge to the unity of SCs but a step towards achieving justice within justice.

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