Online Appendix

1 Additional Tables and Figures

Figure A.1: Average Male Literacy Rate by Year in India, 1901-1931
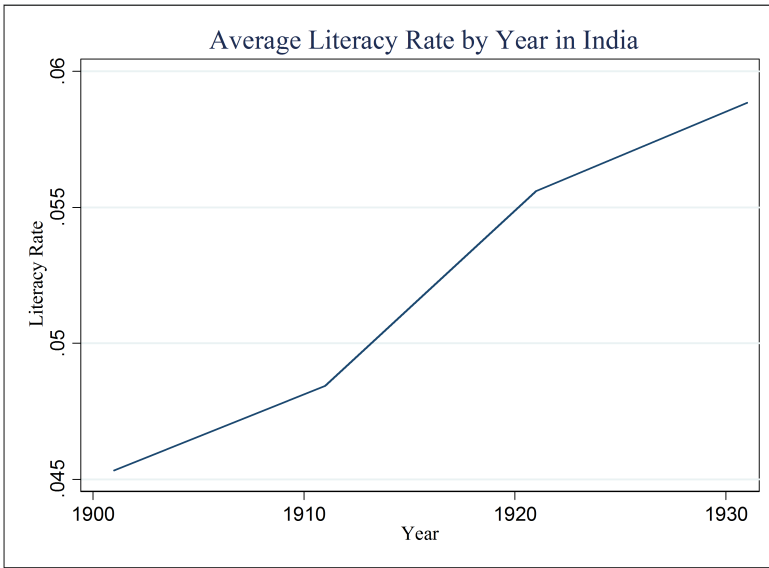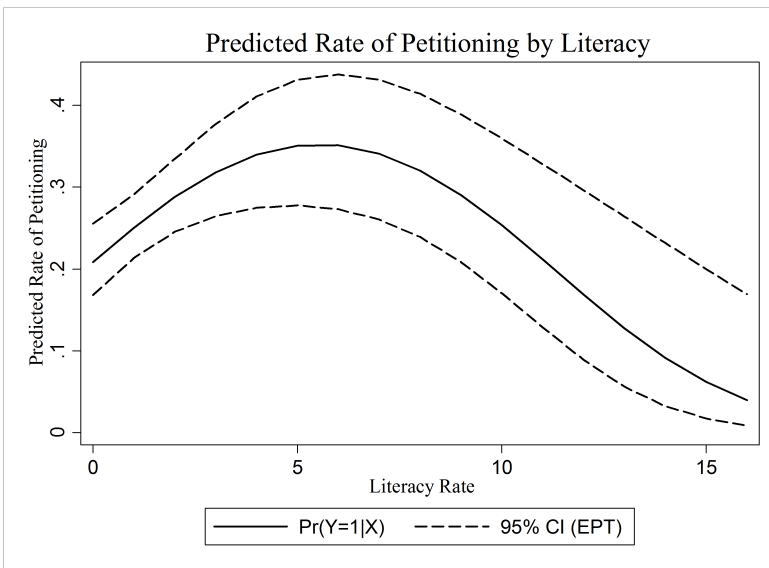

Figure A.2: Predicted Rate of Petitioning by Male Literacy Rate

Note: Based on the predicted values from Table Three, Model Two.

Table A.1: Summary statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Variable	Obs.	Mean	SD	Min.	Max
Varies by Jati-Province-Year					
Male Population Share	1130	0.028	0.033	0	0.277
Male Population 000s	1130	259.99	365.63	1.5	3226.
Literacy Rate	920	0.129	0.166	0	0.936
Litrate Sq.	920	0.044	0.102	0	0.877
Prop of Province with higher Status	1130	0.054	0.112	0	0.476
Proportion Cultivators and Landowers	606	0.390	0.272	0	0.991
Proportion In Public Administration	606	0.019	0.053	0	0.592
Proportion in Traditional Occupation	606	0.452	0.282	0	0.985
Proportion Govt. Officers	732	0.00038	0.0015	0	0.0204
Industry Owners Rate	730	0.001	0.003	0	0.035
Industry Owners Rate Sq.	730	0	0	0	0.001
Prop. of Gazetted Officers	730	0	0.002	0	0.02
Prop. of Congress Delegates	521	0.016	0.08	0	0.728
Absolute change in pop.	1079	0.216	1.090	0	29.88
Varies by Province-Year					
Proportion Urban	1130	0.060	0.026	0.018	0.134
Proportion Literate	1130	0.056	0.033	0.023	0.174
Proportion In Public Administration	969	0.011	0.007	0.001	0.023
Provincial Population	1130	27532	16350	2033	51087
Congress Attendees/Pop. 000s	616	0.007	0.014	0.0002	0.067
Logged Land Revenue per capita	758	22.57	9.187	7.83	40.7
Prop. Brahmins	1130	0.068	0.032	0.022	0.131
Proportion Hindu	1130	0.780	0.170	0.315	0.959
Prop. Arya Samaj	1130	0.001	0.003	0	0.017
Prop. Christians	1130	0.021	0.052	0.001	0.315
Prop of Petitions Granted	1101	0.124	0.271	0	1.
Status Based Census Classif.	1130	0.598	0.490	0	1.
Varies by Jati					
Untouchable Caste	1130	0.218	0.413	0	1.
Lower OBC Caste	1130	0.381	0.486	0	1.
Upper OBC Caste	1130	0.181	0.385	0	1.
Intermediate Caste	1130	0.116	0.320	0	1.
Upper Caste	1130	0.105	0.307	0	1.

Table A.2: Number of Petitions by Year

	1901	1911	1921	1931	Total
No Petition	134	239	267	228	868
Petitions	27	55	67	113	262
Total	161	294	334	341	1130

Table A.3: Number of Petitions by Literacy (Pooled)

Literacy	Castes with No Petition	Castes With Petition	Total	Petition Percent
Less than 1%	115	14	129	10.85
1-5%	254	80	334	23.95
5-10%	73	31	104	29.81
10-20%	99	34	133	25.56
20-30%	60	38	98	38.78
30-40%	36	14	50	28.00
40% +	57	15	72	20.83
Missing	174	36	210	17.14
Total	868	262	1130	

2 Illustrative Examples

In this section I will briefly describe the experiences of three Indian castes in the colonial period. They were chosen to illustrate different levels of the key independent variable, literacy: One group (the Madigas) with a very low level of literacy and a correspondingly low level of political engagement, one group (Shanans) with intermediate level of literacy and high levels of caste mobilization, and one group (Bihari Kayasths) with very high levels of literacy that produced weak caste mobilization, but very high levels of political involvement overall.

2.1 Intermediate Literacy Leads to Sanskritization: The Shanan/Nadars

The Shanans of Tamil Nadu were a large caste traditionally associated with the harvesting of coconuts and the production of toddy liquor, although in practice the majority of Shanans worked as ordinary tenant farmers. The caste was not considered a prestigious one in Tamil society, and Shanans shared with other lower castes a set of humiliating markers of their low ritual status, most notably a ban on Shanan women to cover their upper body. Despite the general poverty of the community, there existed a literate Shanan elite associated with tax collection and small trade. There even existed a wealthy subcaste, the Nadans, who owned whole villages and adopted the manners of local aristocrats (Templeman 1996: 18-29.) This elite grew in size in the 19th century, as the growth of the South Indian economy improved the position of tenants and Christian missionaries expanded access to education among traditionally poor groups (Hardgrave 1969: 43-55.) While some escaped the most hated aspects of the group's low ritual status by conversion to Christianity, on the whole the social aspirations of the Nadar elite were channeled into attempts to gain a more prestigious position within the caste system through traditional means. This process was opposed by upper caste groups and often turned violent, most notably in the Upper Cloth Controversy of 1857-58, when Shanan women in the state of Travancore won the right to cover their upper bodies, and the Sivakasi riots of 1899,

41

where the demands of wealthy Nadars to be admitted to temples led to violence between them and members of the Maravan caste (Sobhanan 1985.)

These mobilization demands only became more strident in the late colonial period, and the Shanan elite began to pursue its goals through formalized political organizations, most notably the Nadar Mahajana Sangam. The Sangam led efforts to improve the social status of the Nadar community through the adoption of normatively desirable Hindu practices such as the wearing of the sacred thread, the abandonment of toddy tapping, and the feeding of Brahmins. This was coupled, especially in the 20th century, by the development of a massive private social service network, which included not only scholarships and aid to the needy but a well-capitalized bank and one of India's first private universities. The Sangam repeatedly petitioned the colonial census to help it avoid the name Shanan, which it considered derogatory, and replace it either Kshatriya or Nadar. The Nadar elite also became a key player in Tamil politics, becoming closely identified with the anti-Congress (and anti-Brahmin) Justice Party before switching their allegiance en masse to the Congress after independence (Rudolph and Rudolph 1967.)

2.2 No Elite, No Mobilization: The Madigas

The Madigas, the traditional leatherworking caste of coastal Andhra, suffered even more extreme forms of discrimination in early colonial India than the Nadars. Considered untouchable, they were forced to perform degrading village chores like the preparation of latrines and the burial of the dead, while earning their living as the dependent laborers of upper caste landlords. The social changes of the 19th century were also less kind to the Madigas than they had been to the Nadars. The Andhra region was less heavily influenced by Christian missionaries than the Tamil areas, its agricultural sector substantially less advanced, and its cities smaller and poorer. The result was that an elite group never emerged among the Madiga as it had among the Shanans. At the 1911 census, only .8% of Madiga men were capable of writing their name, and a caste of 808,000 people recorded exactly 24 lawyers, doctors and teachers. With no educated group to speak on their behalf, the Madiga remained politically quiescent during the colonial period, neither

42

forming a sabha, petitioning the census authorities, or adopting Sanskritic behaviors. Only in the 1970s and 1980s, when a class of literate Madiga had finally emerged, did Madiga identity become politically important.

2.3 Too Rich to Mobilize: The Bihari Kayasths

The Kayasths are a North Indian caste traditionally connected with writing and scribal services. The Kayasths occupied a slightly ambiguous position in North Indian society, being considered generally respectable, but to be shudras rather than members of the three upper varnas. However, their bureaucratic tradition meant that the Kayasths were the first caste in Bihar to take advantage of the opportunities opened up by the spread of English education and the colonial civil service. This head start enabled the Kayasth elite to dominate Bihari politics in the first decades of the 20th century. In 1911, the Kayasths had 1.2% of the Bihari population but 32.5% of the gazetted civil service officers and 47.9% of the local delegates to the Indian National Congress.

It is important to note that the Kayasths do not represent a caste with nothing to gain in terms of the traditional caste hierarchy. Indeed, the traditional exclusion of the caste from upper caste status, might well provide exactly the kind of grievance against which other groups petitioned. Indeed, the Kayasths of Bengal and UP, who faced a more competitive political environment, with powerful and well-educated Brahmans, both petitioned for Kshatriya status during the colonial period. However, the Kayasths of Bihar never emphasized their caste identity, instead claiming to represent the interests of all Biharis or all Indians, either within the idiom of bureaucratic service or Gandhian nationalism. Similarly, in electoral politics they did not function as a homogenous caste block, but rather as a set of personalist factions (Jaffrelot 2003). As the group with the best access to western education in an extremely poor society, the Kayasth elite did not need caste sabhas or petitions to reinforce their power.

3 Data

Colonial India was divided into areas ruled by the British government, and areas in which sovereignty was delegated to native princes, usually descendants of early British allies. The directly ruled areas were divided into fairly large provinces, of which the most important were: The United Provinces, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, the Central Provinces and Berar, and Assam. Four very small provinces (two of which are overwhelmingly Muslim border areas) have been ignored.

The indirectly ruled areas were divided into three main groups: Four large states (Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda) that enjoyed a direct relationship with the central government, two large groups of states (the Rajputana Agency and the Central Indian Agency) that reported to a political agent appointed by the central government, and a large number of states who reported to the political department of the local British province. The policy followed here has been to report the large states and agencies separately, as the equivalent of British provinces, and include the other states with the province that controlled them. The only exception to this was the large princely state of Travancore, which has been treated as separate from Madras.

There were several changes to provincial boundaries during this period, so I have consolidated and divided provinces to keep the unit of analysis consistent. For the 1891 and 1901 census years Berar has been treated as part of the Central Provinces even though it was in fact independent, and for the same years, Bihar has been treated separately even though it was in fact part of Bengal. In 1931 the recently created Western Indian States Agency is treated as part of Bombay, and for 1911, 1921 and 1931 Gwalior state is treated as part of the Central Indian

Subcastes (on which we have very limited information) will be treated as part of their parent jati. This choice is largely pragmatic: There is a large amount of ethnographic and case study evidence that jati was and is the primary identity on which castes are mobilized politically, and the primary focus of individual's?? identification in a local context.

Two major challenges in the collection of the data was the multiplicity of small castes in India and the large number of alternative names (and alternative spellings) for castes in different areas. The census superintendents generally tried to keep jatis separate, but at times they differed as to what constituted an independent jati. The most usual cross-year difference is that in the later census years, officials sometimes clubbed together castes practicing the same occupation but using different names and speaking different languages. The practice I have followed is to use the caste classifications used in 1891 (when nearly all the jatis were listed separately) and to divide aggregated groups using their relative proportions in the most recent year in which they were listed separately. Section A-4 shows that the results are robust to the exclusion of these composite castes. Hyderabad in 1901, and Kashmir and Assam in all years, used highly aggregated and rapidly changing groupings of castes, making it difficult to trace any continuity from year to year. These province-years have been excluded from the analysis.

When coding groups in different provinces as parts of the same jati, I "combined" only groups which in 1891 the groups shared a common name. This means that (other than Brahmins) their is virtually no overlap in jatis between the southern states and the rest of the country, even among groups sharing a common occupation.

There were five province-years in which the census superintendent either did not mention petitioning at all or noted receiving petitions but neglected to list them; all jatis in these province years have been coded as missing. Coding all these province years as having no petitions would slightly strengthen the reported results.

The caste hierarchy dummies are coded using the infamous "tables of precedence"?compiled for the 1901 census, supplemented with information from the Castes and Tribes series for each province that were published in the same period. In all but a few cases the classifications agree with those made by the post-independence government for the purpose of affirmative action. The status variable is constructed as an ordinal variable four to nine, with each jati being assigned to a category. From highest to lowest, the categories are Brahmins, other clean twice-born castes ("upper castes,") high status cultivating castes ("Intermediate castes," "middle castes," "dominant caste"), low status cultivating castes

("Upper OBCs," "unclean shudras"), low status occupational castes, ("lower OBCs," "artisan castes") and former untouchables ("dalits," "harijans.") While the terminology varies, this six-fold classification is familiar to India scholars, as it lies at the heart of most previous work on caste politics (Jaffrelot 2003, Jaffrelot and Kumar 2009, Frankel and Rao 1989) and is the format used in most contemporary surveys. While there is much blurring at the edges, particularly among the shudra categories, this scheme seems to capture certain important aspects of status hierarchy in India.

In 1931 activists from untouchable groups in Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad demanded that their groups be not counted separately, but combined under a common name (depending on the region, Adi-Hindu, Adi-dravid, Adi-Andhra and Adi-Karnataka.) The Adi prefix emphasized the claim that these groups were in fact the original inhabitants of South India, and had been enslaved and degraded by later invaders. In these cases, I coded all the old untouchable castes in these provinces as having submitted petitions, while ignoring the new castes. Section A-4 will show that the major results are robust to the exclusion of these province-years. [20]

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[20]Madras in 1931 also contains the only two cases of jatis not petitioning because their demands were fully granted in a previous year. They were dropped from the analysis.

Table A.4: Province Level Robustness Checks: Logistic Mixed Effects Regression with Petition as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	(1) Petitioning	(2) Petitioning	(3) Petitioning	(4) No Hindi Belt	(5) No South
Population as Proportion	11.31**	11.64**	12.08**	11.51*	12.87
	(4.966)	(4.908)	(5.362)	(5.896)	(7.935)
Population 000s	0.000203	0.000167	0.000163	0.000560	0.000208
	(0.000442)	(0.000438)	(0.000453)	(0.000959)	(0.000549)
Male Literacy Rate	6.878**	6.971**	6.380**	8.218***	7.704**
	(2.726)	(2.740)	(2.741)	(3.173)	(3.280)
Male Literacy Rate Sq.	-9.260**	-9.774**	-8.349**	-10.82**	-11.01**
	(4.164)	(4.196)	(4.203)	(4.777)	(5.010)
Local Social Status	6.092*				
	(3.372)				
Prov. Prop. Arya Samaj		-133.3*			
		(78.12)			
Prov. Prop. Christian			43.29**		
			(16.82)		
Prov. Prop. Christian *Caste Status			-8.205**		
			(3.484)		
Constant	2.574	1.995	3.510	-4.801	6.632
	(3.954)	(4.006)	(4.017)	(6.149)	(4.927)
Observations	887	887	887	497	680
Number of groups	1	1	1	1	1
Caste Status FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province-Year Controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province-Year RE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Jati RE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p¡0.01, ** p¡0.05, * p¡0.1

These are mixed effects logistic models, with fixed effects for caste status, year and province and random effects for Jati and Province-Year. Only the fixed effect constants are reported. The province-year controls, proportion urban, proportion in public employment, provincial population, provincial employment in agriculture, and the provincial literacy rate, are not reported for reasons of space.

Table A.5: Caste Level Robustness Checks: Logistic Mixed Effects Regression with Petition as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	(1) Petitioning	(2) Petitioning	(3) No Splits	(4) No Combinations	(5) Petitioning	(6) Petitioning
Population as Proportion	11.26**	11.27**	11.29**	9.242	11.18**	11.88**
	(4.933)	(4.918)	(5.282)	(6.030)	(4.930)	(4.91)
Population 000s	0.000228	0.000228	0.000334	0.000276	0.000181	.00014
	(0.000439)	(0.000443)	(0.000457)	(0.000588)	(0.000441)	(.00043)
Male Literacy Rate	7.168***	7.117***	8.961***	7.804**	6.551**	7.13***
	(2.765)	(2.737)	(3.057)	(3.246)	(2.731)	(2.74)
Male Literacy Rate Sq.	-10.07**	-9.709**	-12.93***	-12.28**	-9.003**	-10.25**
	(4.240)	(4.141)	(4.757)	(5.175)	(4.146)	(4.19)
Petition Grant Rate	1.902**					
	(0.846)					
Hierarchical Census Classif.		-1.169				
		(1.094)				
Hierarchical Census Classif. * Caste Status		0.201				
		(0.181)				
Change in Population 000s					0.0973	
					(0.0836)	
Index of Difference						8.56**
						(4.26)
Observations	858	887	820	832	861	891
Caste Status FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province-Year Controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Province-Year RE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Jati RE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p¡0.01, ** p¡0.05, * p¡0.1

These are mixed effects logistic models, with fixed effects for caste status, year and province and random effects for Jati and Province-Year. Only the fixed effect constants are reported. The province-year controls, proportion urban, proportion in public employment, provincial population, provincial employment in agriculture, and the provincial literacy rate, are not reported for reasons of space.

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