AMOGHVARTA

ISSN: 2583-3189



Reservation Politics in India: Issue and Challenges

ORIGINAL ARTICLE



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Abstract

Reservation in India is a policy designed to promote social and economic equality by providing quotas for marginalized communities, Introduced after India's independence, the policy aims to correct historical injustices and facilitate the inclusion of these communities in education, employment, and political representation. While the policy has contributed to greater opportunities for disadvantaged groups, it has also sparked considerable debate. Supporters argue that reservation is essential for ensuring equality and addressing systemic discrimination, while critics contend it fosters caste-based divisions and compromises meritocracy. Additionally, issues like unequal implementation, misuse by affluent members within reserved categories, and the politicization of reservation have complicated its effectiveness. This paper explores the challenges and consequences of India's reservation system,

analyzing its impact on marginalized communities and discussing whether reforms are necessary to ensure it benefits the truly disadvantaged while promoting national development.

Key Words

Reservation Policy, Social Justice, Affirmative Action, Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Economically Weaker Sections (EWS).

Introduction

Reservation in India is a policy embedded in the country's Constitution with the aim of uplifting historically disadvantaged and marginalized communities. The reservation system was established to rectify centuries of social, economic, and educational oppression faced by these groups, providing them with opportunities to integrate into the mainstream society and contribute to the nation's development.

The origins of reservation can be traced to the colonial era, but its legal foundation was laid after India's independence, primarily through the provisions in the Indian Constitution. Key Articles such as 15, 16, and 46 guarantee reservations in public institutions and Government employment as measures of social justice, ensuring the rights of these marginalized groups. The Mandal Commission Report of 1980 was particularly significant, as it extended the reservation policy to include OBCs, a move that further reshaped the political landscape in India.

While the reservation system has played a crucial role in fostering equality and social integration, it has also become a source of considerable debate. Proponents argue that the policy is vital for addressing systemic

inequalities and providing marginalized communities with access to education, employment, and political power. However, critics contend that it promotes caste-based divisions, compromises meritocracy, and hinders the overall progress of society. The politicization of reservation, particularly its use in electoral campaigns, and the challenges in its implementation, have intensified these debates.

This article seeks to explore the complexities of reservation politics in India, delving into its legal underpinnings, the beneficiaries, and its social and economic impacts. It will examine the continuing challenges in the system's execution and address the broader debate on its effectiveness. Finally, the article will propose potential reforms to ensure that the reservation policy remains an effective tool for empowerment and social justice, while adapting to the evolving socio-political landscape of India.

Legal Framework and Constitutional Provisions

The Legal Framework for reservation in India is based primarily on the, which provides the foundation for affirmative action policies aimed at promoting social justice and equality. The constitutional provisions have been designed to ensure that historically marginalized communities, such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Other Backward Classes (OBCs), and more recently, Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), receive opportunities to improve their social, economic, and educational status.

1. Constitutional Provisions

- Article 15: This article prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. It allows the state to make special provisions for the advancement of socially and economically backward classes, including SCs and STs.
 - ➤ Article 15(4): Enables the state to make special provisions for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes, which forms the legal basis for reservations in education and employment for these communities.
- Article 16: Provides for equality of opportunity in public employment, but allows for reservations in employment for SCs, STs, and OBCs to ensure equitable representation in the civil services and Government jobs.
 - ➤ Article 16(4): Allows the Government to provide reservations in favor of backward classes in public employment if they are underrepresented.
- Article 46: This article mandates the state to promote the educational and economic interests of SCs, STs, and other weaker sections of society. It encourages the state to take measures that would help in the upliftment of these groups, especially in educational and economic domains.

2. The Mandal Commission (1980)

The history of reservation in India. Established in 1979, it was tasked with identifying the socially and educationally backward classes (OBCs) and recommending measures for their advancement. The Commission's report, submitted in 1980, recommended that 27% of Government jobs be reserved for OBCs, in addition to the existing reservations for SCs and STs. This recommendation was implemented in 1990 by Prime Minister V.P. Singh's Government, leading to widespread protests and debates about the reservation policy.

3. Reservations for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)

In 2019, the Indian Government introduced a 10% reservation for Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) in higher education and Government jobs. This was a significant move, as it expanded the reservation system beyond caste-based criteria, focusing on economic disadvantage. The 103rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019 made this provision, allowing economically disadvantaged individuals, irrespective of their caste, to avail of the benefits of reservation in education and employment.

4. Judicial Review and the Role of the Supreme Court

Over the years, the Supreme Court of India has played a critical role in interpreting and refining the reservation policy. Some key judgments include:

- ➤ Indra Sawhney Case (1992): The Supreme Court upheld the reservation for OBCs but imposed a ceiling limit of 50% for the total reservation in public sector employment and educational institutions.
- ➤ M. Nagaraj Case (2006): The Court ruled that reservations could be extended to OBCs but mandated that the state must collect quantifiable data on backwardness, inadequate representation, and the economic backwardness of the groups before granting reservations.

These judgments have shaped the legal landscape of reservation, balancing the interests of backward classes with the principles of equality and merit.

5. Reservation in Local Governance

The Constitution also provides for reservations in local governance through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments (1992), which established the framework for Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and urban local bodies. These amendments reserve one-third of the seats in rural and urban local bodies for women, and additional provisions are made for SCs, STs, and OBCs to ensure their representation at the grassroots level.

Categories Benefiting from Reservation in India

The reservation system in India is designed to address historical and social disadvantages faced by specific groups in society. The beneficiaries of this system include. These categories have been identified to receive specific quotas in education, employment, and political representation. Below is an overview of each category and its role in the reservation system:

1. Scheduled Castes (SCs)

Scheduled Castes are communities that have historically faced untouchability and social exclusion due to the caste system in India. They are often referred to as "Dalits" and are among the most disadvantaged sections of Indian society.

Reservation Benefits

- **Education**: SCs are given reserved seats in educational institutions, including schools, colleges, and universities, to ensure access to quality education.
- Employment: The reservation for SCs in Government jobs is intended Political Representation: A certain percentage of seats in legislative bodies and local governance institutions, such as Panchayats, are reserved for SC candidates to ensure their political representation.
- Constitutional Basis: Reservation for SCs is mandated under Article 15(4), Article 16(4), and Article 46 of the Indian Constitution.

2. Scheduled Tribes (STs)

Scheduled Tribes are indigenous communities that have historically been marginalized due to their geographical isolation, cultural practices, and lack of access to mainstream education, healthcare, and economic opportunities.

Reservation Benefits

- **Education**: STs receive reserved seats in educational institutions to ensure that they have access to formal education and skill development.
- **Employment**: Similar to SCs, STs are given reservation in Government jobs to promote their socio-economic development and representation in various public services.

- ➤ **Political Representation**: Specific legislative seats are reserved for ST candidates to ensure their participation in governance and decision-making.
- Constitutional Basis: Reservation for STs is provided under Article 15(4), Article 16(4), and Article 46 of the Indian Constitution.

3. Other Backward Classes (OBCs)

Consist of communities that are socially and economically backward but do not fall under the SC or ST categories. The term OBC includes a large and diverse group of castes, many of which are classified based on social backwardness and economic disadvantage.

Reservation Benefits

- **Education**: OBC students are given reserved seats in educational institutions to help improve their access to higher education and specialized fields.
- **Employment**: The reservation for OBCs in Government jobs ensures their inclusion in the public sector and provides opportunities for upward social mobility.
- ➤ **Political Representation**: Some seats in legislative bodies and local governance are reserved for OBC candidates to improve their political representation and participation in decision-making.
- Constitutional Basis: The reservation for OBCs was recommended by the Mandal Commission (1980), which recommended 27% reservation for OBCs in Government jobs and educational institutions. The provisions are supported under Article 15(4) and Article 16(4) of the Indian Constitution.

4. Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)

The Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) category was introduced by the 103rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019, targeting individuals who do not belong to the SC, ST, or OBC categories but are economically disadvantaged. This category is based on economic criteria, rather than caste, to provide opportunities to the lower-income groups among the general population.

Reservation Benefits

- **Education**: EWS students receive a 10% reservation in educational institutions, including universities and professional courses, to enable access to better educational opportunities.
- Employment: A 10% reservation in Government jobs is provided to EWS individuals to promote economic mobility and employment opportunities for the economically disadvantaged sections.
- Eligibility Criteria: To qualify for EWS reservation, individuals must meet specific income-based criteria, such as an annual income below a certain threshold (currently set at ¹8 lakh).
- Constitutional Basis: The reservation for EWS was introduced through the 103rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 2019 and is provided under Article 15(6) and Article 16(6) of the Indian Constitution.

5. Other Categories (Special Categories and Communities)

➤ Backward Classes (BCs): In some states, a category called "Backward Classes" exists, which includes castes or communities identified as socially and economically backward, and sometimes separate from the OBC category.

Women and Disabled Persons

- The reservation system has been extended to include provisions for women's representation in various spheres, including local governance and political institutions.
- Persons with Disabilities (PwD) also benefit from a certain percentage of reserved seats in employment and education to ensure equal access to opportunities.

Issues Arising from Reservation Politics

Provide opportunities for marginalized communities, it has led to several complex issues that have sparked debate and concern. Below are some of the key issues arising from reservation politics:

1. Social and Political Divisions

- Caste-Based Tensions: The reservation system, though intended to uplift marginalized communities, has often deepened caste-based divisions in society. Communities that do not benefit from reservations may feel excluded, leading to social unrest and resentment. The visibility of caste identities in politics has fostered a sense of division, rather than unity.
- > Social Cohesion: Instead of fostering social cohesion, the reservation system sometimes reinforces the perception of inequalities, making it difficult to bridge the gap between different caste groups. This has led to inter-caste conflicts and tensions in various parts of the country.

2. Reservation for the 'Deserving'

- Affluent Exploitation: One of the most contentious aspects of the reservation system is the argument that some members of reserved categories, particularly OBCs, misuse the system. Affluent or socially influential individuals from these groups often take advantage of the system, leaving behind the truly marginalized sections of society who need it the most.
- ➤ Targeting the Needy: Critics argue that the reservation system does not always reach the poorest and most disadvantaged individuals within the reserved categories. Instead, it often benefits those who are already better-off, thereby failing to address the root causes of inequality effectively.

3. Economic Impact

- Meritocracy vs. Equality: The economic implications of reservation include concerns about its effect on meritocracy. Critics argue that reservation quotas may compromise the quality of education and workforce productivity by admitting individuals into professional courses and jobs based on caste, rather than merit. This may lead to a perceived decline in standards, especially in highly competitive fields.
- Economic Growth: Some economists argue that the reservation system may have adverse effects on India's overall economic growth, as it might not always result in the optimal allocation of resources. The system may sometimes prioritize social justice over efficiency and productivity, particularly in industries that require highly skilled labor.
- Quality of Education: In educational institutions, reservations can sometimes result in a mismatch between students' abilities and the rigorous demands of higher education. This can hinder overall academic excellence, particularly in specialized fields where expertise is critical.

4. Urban-Rural Divide

- ➤ **Disproportionate Benefits for Rural Areas**: The reservation system tends to disproportionately benefit rural populations, where the majority of SCs, STs, and OBCs reside. This has led to an imbalance, as individuals from urban areas within reserved categories may not always get the same level of support, despite having access to better resources and opportunities.
- Challenges for Urban Elites: While rural populations benefit from reservations in education and jobs, urban elites within the reserved categories argue that their situation is not as dire. These individuals may feel that the reservation system fails to take into account the regional and economic disparities within the same caste group, thereby benefiting less deserving individuals while excluding those in more competitive, urban environments.

5. Caste-Based Politics

- Vote-Bank Politics: Reservation has been heavily politicized over the years, often used as a tool for vote-bank politics. Political parties cater to specific caste groups to secure electoral support, leading to the perpetuation of caste-based identities in the political discourse. This undermines national unity and often polarizes voters along caste lines, rather than focusing on policies based on merit and development.
- ➤ Impact on National Unity: The increasing prominence of caste-based politics has the potential to fragment Indian society, weakening national unity. In the long term, the focus on caste and reservations can obscure other critical national issues, such as economic growth, infrastructure development, and social reforms.
- ➤ Intergenerational Caste Loyalty: Political parties often exploit caste loyalties passed down through generations, maintaining the status quo of caste-based power dynamics. This reliance on caste identity for political gain can inhibit social mobility and reinforce existing power structures.

Challenges in Implementing the Reservation System

The reservation system in India, though designed to foster social justice and equality, faces several implementation challenges that undermine its effectiveness. These challenges include issues related to gaps in implementation, overlapping criteria, political manipulation, and the exclusion of certain communities. Below are the key challenges:

1. Implementation Gaps

- Corruption and Mismanagement: One of the major obstacles to the success of the reservation system is corruption and mismanagement at various levels of Government. In some cases, officials responsible for implementing the policies may manipulate the system for personal gain, such as misappropriating reserved seats or funds allocated for the upliftment of marginalized communities. This compromises the integrity of the reservation process and denies opportunities to those who genuinely need them.
- Lack of Awareness: Many individuals, especially in rural areas, are unaware of the reservation policies and their rights to access reserved seats in educational institutions and Government jobs. This lack of awareness, combined with insufficient outreach and education about the reservation system, results in marginalized communities failing to benefit fully from these policies.

2. Overlapping Criteria

- Caste vs. Economic Factors: The eligibility for reservation in India is primarily based on caste, but the introduction of economic reservations (e.g., the 10% quota for Economically Weaker Sections or EWS) has led to confusion. Some individuals who are economically disadvantaged may not belong to the caste categories eligible for reservation, while others from the same caste group may be affluent enough to not require the benefit. This overlapping of caste-based and economic criteria makes it difficult to fairly determine who should receive reservations, causing inefficiencies and dissatisfaction among the population.
- Complex Categorization: The inclusion of multiple categories—SC, ST, OBC, EWS—along with sub-categories (e.g., backward, most backward) leads to complexities in implementing and categorizing beneficiaries. This system of caste-based and economic divisions can create confusion for both individuals and Government authorities, slowing down the delivery of benefits and leading to errors in the allocation of resources.

3. Political Manipulation

Exploitation of Caste Sentiments: Political parties often manipulate the reservation issue to garner votes from specific caste groups. This results in the politicization of the reservation system, where

parties may promise or create quotas to attract votes from particular communities, rather than focusing on the genuine need for social justice. This practice of **vote-bank politics** often exacerbates castebased tensions and divisions, as parties frame the issue in a way that intensifies caste identities rather than promoting unity.

➤ **Temporary and Populist Measures**: In some instances, politicians introduce reservation measures as temporary or populist strategies aimed at winning elections, without fully considering the long-term impacts or the intended beneficiaries. This leads to ineffective and poorly planned implementations of the reservation policy.

4. Exclusion of Certain Communities

- ➤ Unrepresented Groups: Despite the broad categories of SC, ST, OBC, and EWS, some communities feel excluded from the reservation system. These communities argue that they too face social and economic disadvantages, but are not classified under any of the existing categories. The lack of recognition for these groups leads to feelings of alienation and a sense of injustice, as they are unable to access benefits that could help improve their socio-economic status.
- ➤ **Discrimination Within Categories**: Within reserved categories, there are further divisions, such as the differentiation between backward and most backward within OBCs. Some argue that the most marginalized sections within a reserved category are not getting the same level of benefits as others, leading to internal inequities within these communities. This creates dissatisfaction and reinforces perceptions of unfairness in the system.

Social and Economic Impact of Reservation

The reservation system in India has had a profound social and economic impact, particularly for historically marginalized communities. While it has contributed to the upliftment of these groups in several areas, there are ongoing debates about its effectiveness in addressing deeper systemic issues. Below are the key social and economic impacts of the reservation system:

1. Improved Access to Education and Employment

- Economically Weaker Sections (EWS): Reserved seats in schools, colleges, and universities have allowed many students from disadvantaged backgrounds to pursue higher education and specialize in fields that were once inaccessible to them. This has helped bridge the educational gap between uppercaste and marginalized communities.
- Employment Opportunities: The reservation system has played a vital role in providing job opportunities in the public sector for historically disadvantaged groups. Reserved positions in Government offices, public sector undertakings, and other institutions have allowed individuals from SC, ST, OBC, and EWS categories to secure employment, thereby improving their economic standing and reducing unemployment rates among these groups. Over the years, many individuals who benefited from reservations in education have gone on to secure positions in the Government and other sectors.

2. Economic Mobility

- Increased Economic Empowerment: The reservation system has played a significant role in the economic empowerment of marginalized communities by providing access to education and employment that leads to economic mobility. Many individuals from SC, ST, and OBC backgrounds have moved from rural or semi-urban poverty to middle-class status, thanks to opportunities made available by reservations. This economic upward mobility has led to improved living standards, access to better healthcare, and improved quality of life for many families.
- Criticism of Limited Economic Impact: Despite its positive contributions, some argue that the reservation system has not fully addressed the economic disparities within these communities. While reservations provide access to jobs and education, they do not directly tackle the root causes of

poverty, such as access to land, infrastructure, or capital. Moreover, in urban areas, the benefits of reservation are often less pronounced, as social stratification within these communities still limits the full economic potential of some individuals, particularly those with lower socio-economic status within the reserved categories.

Affluent Members Exploiting the System: Another criticism is that affluent members of marginalized communities, particularly OBCs, often exploit the reservation system, further exacerbating economic inequality within the groups. Wealthier families may benefit from educational and employment quotas without actually needing these opportunities, thereby limiting access for the most disadvantaged individuals within those communities.

3. Social Justice and Inequality

- Tool for Social Justice: The reservation system is often seen as a tool for social justice in India, addressing the historical discrimination and marginalization faced by SCs, STs, and OBCs. By providing reserved seats in education, jobs, and political representation, the reservation system has helped these communities gain a voice and opportunities that were previously denied to them. This has been instrumental in breaking the cycle of caste-based discrimination and social exclusion.
- Challenges in Addressing Root Causes of Inequality: Despite these successes, the reservation system has struggled to address the root causes of inequality. While it provides opportunities for marginalized communities, it does not directly tackle deeper social issues such as land ownership, access to quality healthcare, or economic capital. These issues continue to perpetuate systemic inequality, meaning that many beneficiaries of the reservation system still face significant social and economic challenges.
- Continued Caste-Based Discrimination: Although the reservation system has contributed to reducing caste-based exclusion, discrimination based on caste persists in many parts of India, particularly in rural areas. This social stigma often limits the impact of reservations in terms of social integration and equality. Furthermore, reservation benefits are sometimes restricted to a limited section of these communities, leaving out those who remain socially and economically disadvantaged despite being part of a reserved category.

Debate on the Continuation of Reservation

The reservation system in India, intended to uplift historically marginalized communities, has been the subject of intense debate. While it has provided benefits in some areas, the ongoing debate reflects diverse perspectives on its effectiveness, necessity, and implications.

1. Arguments for Continuation of Reservation

- Affirmative Action for Social Justice: Proponents argue that affirmative action is still needed to address deep-rooted social and economic inequalities in India. Despite significant progress, marginalized communities like Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) continue to face discrimination and lack access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. Reservation, they argue, is an essential tool for leveling the playing field and providing equal opportunities.
- ➤ **Historical Injustice**: Advocates assert that the reservation system helps redress the historical injustice faced by certain communities due to the caste system and untouchability. The legacy of social exclusion still impacts these communities, and the continuation of reservations is seen as necessary to combat systemic marginalization.
- Social Inclusion and Representation: Reservation ensures that marginalized groups are represented in educational institutions, Government jobs, and politics, promoting social inclusion. Proponents argue that without reservation, these communities would remain voiceless in decision-making processes, further entrenching their socio-economic disparities.

2. Arguments Against Continuation of Reservation

- Perpetuating Caste-Based Divisions: Critics argue that the reservation system perpetuates caste-based divisions, as it continues to define and categorize individuals based on their caste. This can lead to a caste-conscious society, where identities are primarily shaped by caste rather than merit, ability, or individual achievement. Critics contend that this undermines national unity and fosters social tension.
- Meritocracy and Development: A significant criticism of the reservation system is that it undermines merit-based development. Reservation quotas, critics argue, may allow individuals to gain educational and employment opportunities without the required qualifications or capabilities. This can lower standards in education and employment and compromise the quality of work in critical sectors, such as medicine, engineering, and administration, ultimately affecting the nation's development.
- Shift Toward Economic Inclusion: Critics suggest that instead of reserving positions based on caste, the focus should shift to economic criteria. They argue that poverty and inequality should be the primary determinants for reservation, not caste, as this approach would be more inclusive and would ensure that the benefits reach the economically disadvantaged, regardless of caste.
- ➤ **Time-Bound Reservations**: Some argue that reservation should be time-bound and gradually phased out as social and economic disparities reduce over time. They contend that continued reservations, especially in a growing economy, may no longer be necessary once the targeted communities achieve parity in education, employment, and political representation.

3. Suggestions for Reform

- Focus on Economic Criteria: One key reform proposal is to shift the focus of reservations from caste to economic status. This would allow reservations to reach a broader spectrum of individuals in need, including those from upper-caste communities who are economically disadvantaged. The Economically Weaker Section (EWS) reservation introduced in 2019 is an example of this approach.
- ➤ Time-Bound and Merit-Based Reservations: Proposals suggest that reservations should be time-bound and periodically reviewed to assess their relevance and effectiveness. Once the targeted communities have reached a certain level of educational and economic development, the need for reservations could diminish.
- Improved Implementation: Ensuring that reservations reach the truly marginalized requires better implementation. This includes better data collection to identify the real beneficiaries and ensure the reservation policies reach those who need them the most. Awareness programs and capacity-building initiatives can also be introduced to help marginalized communities take full advantage of available opportunities.
- > Transparency and Monitoring: Strengthening the monitoring and evaluation of the reservation system is essential to ensure that benefits are not being diverted to those who are not in genuine need. Effective implementation mechanisms can help reduce inefficiencies and corruption that have hindered the success of reservation policies in some cases.

Case Studies and Regional Variations

1. State-Specific Reservation Policies

- Maharashtra: Maharashtra has implemented some of the most aggressive reservation policies in India, with varying percentages for SCs, STs, and OBCs. The state also introduced a Maratha quota for the Maratha community, reflecting the state's efforts to address caste-based inequalities within specific communities. However, this has sparked legal and political debates, especially regarding its constitutionality and the potential impact on the overall reservation system.
- > Tamil Nadu: Tamil Nadu is known for having one of the highest reservation quotas in the country. The state has a long history of caste-based politics and has consistently raised the percentage of reservations.

The state's reservation policy is aimed at promoting the welfare of backward classes and ensuring their political representation. However, this system has faced legal challenges, especially regarding the limits set by the Supreme Court on reservation quotas.

➤ Uttar Pradesh and Bihar: In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, reservations are largely focused on OBCs and SCs, with the aim of improving their representation in education and Government jobs. Both states face challenges in ensuring that the most marginalized sections within these communities benefit from the reservation system.

2. Success Stories

- Education: In many parts of India, the reservation system has led to successful academic careers for students from marginalized communities. For example, several students from SC, ST, and OBC backgrounds have secured positions in prestigious institutions like IITs and IIMs. These successes demonstrate the positive impact of reservations in providing opportunities for higher education.
- ➤ Government Services: In Government services, many individuals from marginalized communities who benefited from reservations have risen to senior positions, such as in the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), Indian Police Service (IPS), and other civil services. These individuals serve as role models, showing how reservation can empower marginalized communities to succeed and contribute to the nation.
- ➤ Political Representation: Reservation has also enhanced political representation for marginalized groups. For example, Dalit and Tribal leaders have gained significant political power through reserved seats in state and national legislatures, thereby influencing policy decisions and ensuring that their communities' voices are heard in governance.

Conclusion

The debate surrounding the continuation of the reservation system is complex and multifaceted. On one hand, reservations are seen as a necessary tool for addressing historic injustices and reducing inequalities. On the other hand, critics argue that reservations perpetuate caste divisions, hinder merit-based advancement, and fail to address the root causes of economic disparity. Moving forward, reforming the reservation system to focus on economic criteria, time-bound reservations, and improved implementation could offer a more inclusive approach that balances social justice with merit-based progress. Moreover, case studies from different states highlight the regional variations in how reservation policies are implemented, with both successes and challenges in achieving their intended goals.

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