



Educational Inequalities among the Scheduled Caste Communities in Dhuppuri Block, Jalpaiguri District, West Bengal

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Abstract

Education among the scheduled caste (SC) community varies from one sub-caste to another across India primarily due to their distinct social and cultural identity, values and practice of untouchability among themselves. In the state of West Bengal, the scheduled caste communities apart from literacy recorded a substantial variation in the attainment of educational level. Thus, the present study examines the nature and pattern of educational attainment of the selected 8 SC communities in the 5 selected villages of Dhuppuri CD Block of Jalpaiguri district also highlight the types of streams and courses taken up by them for higher education. Intensive field survey has been done with household enumeration, personal interviews and focus group discussions (FGD). The study shows that there has been a considerable variation in both educational attainment and choice of the streams in higher education within the various sub-castes of the SC population. The Dhobas, Namasudras, and Jalia Kaibarttas, are better placed in this regard than the Lohars, JhaloMalos, Kamis and Rajbanshis in the study area. The latter group usually takes up general degree courses in higher education which is less expensive and less competitive. Enrolment in the market or job-friendly streams and courses is comparatively high among the Dhobas, Jalia Kaibarttas, and Chamars on account of their relatively higher income and awareness.

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Introduction

Indian society has traditionally been characterized by caste-based social exclusion (Thorat, 2006), that has produced substantial inequalities in the sphere of education, employment and income among the various social groups of India since long (Khan, 2018, Desai and Kulkarni, 2008; Sedwal and Kamat 2008). Hence, the country after the independence in 1947 with the principle of equality and justice has committed itself by the constitution of India to the welfare of the disadvantaged sections of the society namely scheduled caste (SC), scheduled tribes (ST) and the female population (Wankhede, 2001). Keeping in mind, this principle of equality and justice many efforts have been put forth by the government through different plans and programmes for the welfare of these weaker sections of the society. Government of India selectively provide incentives especially at three sectors namely education, employment and political representation to these disadvantaged sections of the society (Wankhede, 2016). In spite of these many welfare programmes and employed ground scheme, it is to note that scheduled caste and scheduled tribe communities of the country

still lies at the bottom of the educational pyramid (Rao, 2002). Further, within the SC community, sub-castes and hierarchies are even more pronounced and significant (Sedwal and Kamat, 2008). The heterogeneous social and cultural identity, values and practice of untouchability among the SC communities itself have produced different engagement with education among the scheduled sub-castes. Desai and Kulkarni (2008) and Sedwal and Kamat (2008) found that educational inequalities among the scheduled sub-castes continues and sometimes even widens in spite of the country's significant educational growth in the last few decades and despite many welfare programmes for this scheduled section of the society. For instances scheduled castes like Sunri, Dhoba, Namasudra, and Poundra have been dominating in the acquisition of educational opportunities in the states of West Bengal (Majhi and Sardar, 2019). Whereas castes like Lohar, Bagdi, Dom, Bauri, and Mal are still lagging behind although they share a considerable proportion to the scheduled caste population in West Bengal. Mandal (2010) further argued that apart from regional variation there remains a substantial disparity in the acquisition of educational opportunities among



the scheduled sub-castes in the state. This phenomenon of inequalities within the SC communities in terms of attaining literacy level and educational attainment have somehow lacked scholarly attention. Therefore, after 70 years of independence and having experimented with many welfare programmes for the scheduled castes, it is high time to evaluate the achievements (Wankhede 2001). It would be worth assessing the educational achievements of these unprivileged sections as education plays a key role as an agent of change. In this study, authors have restricted the analysis only in assessing the educational situation of the SC communities in the five sample villages of the Dhupguri block.

Jalpaiguri district, located in the northern part of Bengal has a substantial proportion of SC population (37.65%; sub-castes = 59) (census 2011). As of now, most of the scholars of the related field, have worked to document the educational progress of the scheduled caste in the south Bengal as a whole and limited scholarly works are addressing the educational attainment of the scheduled sub-castes in Jalpaiguri district. Therefore, the present study is devoted to probing what factors are responsible for such inequalities among the scheduled sub-castes of Dhupguri Block of Jalpaiguri district.

The Study Area

The study area is the Dhupguri block of Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal. It is located in the eastern extremity of Jalpaiguri district. The latitudinal extent of the Block lies between 26° 30' 30" N to 26° 54' 00" N and the longitudes the longitudinal extent lies between 88° 52' 30" E to 89° 08' 00" E. The Block borders the country Bhutan and Koch Bihar district of West Bengal in the north-east and south respectively. With an area of 535.27 km², it accounts for about 46 per cent of SC population to its total with a sex ratio of 953/000 male (Census of India, 2011). The SC population in Dhupguri block is predominantly rural (97.52%). The Blocks with 45%+ SC population in Jalpaiguri district are Maynaguri, Jalpaiguri, Rajganj, and Dhupguri. It is Dhupguri where there lives a large number of SC communities, although the SC literacy rate is below the district average. Hence, for the present study, a set of 5 villages have been chosen from Dhupguri block with 76%+ SC population; these are Madhya Boragari (1789), PurbaDaukimari (1479), PurbaMallikpara (1237), Dakhsin Khairbari (1223) and Paschim Salbari (1063) respectively.

Objectives

The present study aims:

- 1) To study the level of educational attainment and gender gap in literacy among the SC communities in Dhupguri block.
- 2) To examine the streams and courses in higher education taken up by the SC communities.

Database and Methodology

As regards the sub-castes of the SCs, Rajbanshi and Namasudra are numerically dominant in Jalpaiguri district constituting about 88.7% of the total SC population (Census of India, 2011). However, there are other sub-castes in different Blocks of the district with a scattered pattern of distribution. Therefore, while selecting the sample sub-castes, only those have been selected

which share at least 0.7% of SC population to the total SC population of the district. Thus, a total of 8 sub-castes (out of a total of 59), namely Rajbanshi (64.8%), Namasudra (23.9%), Lohar (1.5%), JaliaKaibartta (1.3%), Kami (1.2%), Dhoba (0.9%), JhaloMalo (0.9%) and Chamar (0.7%) emerged significant and taken into the present analysis.

The present study is mainly based on primary sources of data. A primary survey has been done to collect data/information through household enumeration, personal interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) in the selected five villages of Dhupguri block in January-August, 2018. For each sub-caste, a number of samples taken is 100 so that a total of 800 samples were taken through a random sampling without replacement technique. To examine the courses and streams in higher education, a total of 200 samples, 25 from each sub-castes was surveyed. The households, which have members with the education of HS + have been selected purposively following the snowball sampling technique from the 5 selected villages of Dhupguri block. Enumeration was conducted with the head of the households and in case of his/her absence, the next important member was consulted.

The study employed a comprehensive, pre-structured questionnaire with a focus on educational attainment, monthly income, stream chosen for higher education, and occupation of the head of the households. A set of 64 in-depth interviews, 8 with each caste, was conducted to learn the determining factor(s) behind the particular educational situation among the sample sub-castes in the study area. Respondents were approached following the snowball sampling method. Respondents were drawn from teachers at a different level, government officials, community leaders, and prominent elders from within the community in the age group of 45+. The method of interviews was an unstructured interview, aided by open-ended questions and their opinions were documented during the interviews with their consent. About 16 Focus Group Discussions, 2 for each sub-caste were conducted to supplement the findings of household survey and interview regarding the underlying reasons for the particular educational situation among the sample sub-castes. Participants were drawn from PanchayatPradhans, government officials, teachers, prominent elders and responsible member of the villages in the age group of 40+. FGDs were conducted with an average of 5-7 members in the 5 villages as per the convenience of the participants. After collecting the data, it was arranged accordingly. Opinions of the respondents were converted into percentages, tabulations were done and analysis has been made to draw the conclusions. Adequate care has been taken to check the validity of the information collected and represented in the study.

To examine the gender inequality in literacy rates across the sub-castes, Sopher's disparity index (1974) as modified by Kundu and Rao (1986) has been used, as follows:

$$DI = \log (X_2/X_1) + \log \{ (200 - X_1) / (200 - X_2) \}$$

Where, X_1 = value of the deprived group (female), X_2 = value of the dominant group (male)

The index is a useful technique to measure the relative disparity among two groups of variables. A value of zero indicates perfect equality and the greater the value, the higher the extent of disparity and vice versa. The particular index measures disparity



between two groups in their possession of a specific property (in this case literacy rate) in terms of the logarithm of the odds ratio - that is, the ratio of the odds that any member of one group (male) has become literate to the odds that any member of the other group (female) does.

Results and Discussion

Jalpaiguri district, located in the northern part of West Bengal was enumerated with all the 59 Scheduled Caste communities in West Bengal (Census 2011). Caste system in West Bengal is not that strict as prevalent in the heartland in Aryan civilization (Mitra 1953). Consequently, SC population in West Bengal have shown a relatively better response to education like very few states among others in India (Wankhede 2001). Further, when compared within and between the SC communities, the progress in education has not been uniform and tended to vary from one sub-group to another (Ahmad 1978). Since their social and cultural background does not form a monolithic group, therefore considering them as a homogeneous group is still to be questioned. Under these circumstances, it would be worth analyzing the educational variation among the SC communities.

Literacy Rate

Caste wise distribution of Literacy rate among the selected scheduled sub-castes has been presented in Table -1. It is evident from Table -1 that a considerable variation existed among the SCs regarding the total as well as male-female literacy rate in Dhupguri block. Among the study castes the Dhobas, Namasudras, and JaliaKaibarttas recorded a relatively high literacy rate (70 %+) as compared to other castes of the present study (Table -1). Among these castes, the Dhobas recoded the highest literacy rate of 78.96 %. About 71 % of the respondents is of the opinion that Dhobas gave up their traditional occupation of washing clothes and are now engaged in skilled occupations and achieved some degree of economic advancement. As a result, Dhobas have done relatively better in terms of having attained the basic knowledge of reading and writing in the study area than others.

Namasudras (74.96 %), emerged as the second-highest castes in terms of attaining literacy level. Being the second-largest SC community in Jalpaiguri district, Namasudras have relatively better social status in the district followed by their entry in various learned professions. While the high literacy rate among the JaliaKaibarttas (72.69 %) could be attributed to their relatively high monthly household income (Table - 2).

Chamars (67.98 %), JhaloMalos (65.22 %) and Kamis (64.85 %) are moderately literate (Table- 1). It was found that the major part of the surveyed households from JhaloMalos and Kamis depends on their traditional occupation of fishery and blacksmithy respectively as a means of livelihood (Table- 4). Consequently, their monthly household income (Table- 2) also lies below the Dhobas, Namasudras, and JaliaKaibarttas who are relatively better placed in terms of attaining literacy level. Probably, fewer income incentives and limitation of other facilities affect their literacy rate especially the female literacy rate among the JhaloMalo (56.30 %) and Kamis (59.07 %) in the study area (Table-1). While the comparatively high literacy level among Chamar castes could be attributed to their relatively high monthly household income (Table-2). The moderate literacy of the Rajbanshis (65.81 %) is attributed to their higher dependency on agriculture and allied activities (Table- 4).

On the other hand, the Lohar caste (49.84 %) lies at the bottom of the educational pyramid considering the total as well as male-female literacy rate in Dhupguri block (Table -1). This blacksmith caste of Chotonagpur and Bihar have migrated from their original homelands and are now in Dhupguri block. Apart from doing their traditional caste-based occupation of a blacksmith (36 %) a greater chunk of the sampled head of the households are either working as an agricultural labourer (56 %) or a daily wage-earners (34 %) (Table -4). These occupations produce fewer income incentives among Loahrs. Thus, due to their poor economic condition, they fail to understand the importance of education rather feel more concerned about their survival. Under this condition of intense poverty, Lohars are found less enthusiastic about sending their children to the schools. This view of realization failure about the importance of education among the Lohar castes has also been resonated among 76 % of the participants during FGDs.

Disparity in Literacy Level by Sex

Education is equally important for both male and female because society can never achieve its highest potential if half of its population remains disadvantaged to education and resource utilization only on gender line. The females from scheduled castes often found to be doubly disadvantaged in educational matters due to their caste and gender issue (Sedwal and Kamat, 2008). In this study, the results of the disparity index prepared after Kundu and Rao, 1986, reveals that castes like Lohar (0.24), Kami (0.17) and Chamar (0.16) have relatively high disparity index in literacy level by sex compared to other castes of the present study. It has found that family and social roles often do not prioritize about sending the girls to the schools among these castes in Dhupguri block. The reported high disparity index indicates that females are not being treated at par with the males in educational matters among these castes in the study area. While JahaloMalo (0.14), Rajbanshi (0.14) and Namadudra (0.13) recorded a moderate disparity index among castes under study. However, castes like JaliaKaibartta (0.10) and Dhoba (0.12) recorded low disparity index and this could be explained by their relatively high income, marked social mobility and other facilities. This low disparity index among the castes of JaliaKaibartta and Dhoba indicates that females are also going to the schools quite proportionately along with the boys.

Level of Education

Indian society is characterized by substantial inequalities in attaining educational level based on caste, religion, gender and ethnic boundaries (Anitha 2000; Dreze and Sen 1995). Educational attainment of the selected 8 SC castes in Dhupguri block has been shown in Table-3. The result shows that on an average of 82.13 % of the head of the household achieved an education of middle and less middle level in the study area. Apart from a little variation in the lower level of education, disparities, in the acquisition of educational attainment among the scheduled castes has especially been noted in a higher level of education (Table- 3).

Primary education is achieved through formal schooling which is determined by its accessibility and affordability (Wankhede 2001). While analysing primary level of education among the selected 8 castes it is found that Kamis (37 %), Rajbanshis (31



%), JhaloMalos (29 %) and Lohars (28 %) have more share in terms of percentage in such level of education than other (Table - 3). The low monthly household income may be restricting these castes from attaining a higher level of education in the study area (Table 2). Apart from this low income, During FGDs, it has known that inadequate social mobility and following of traditional caste-based occupations (which hardly needs any educational qualification) by the Lohar, JhaloMalo, and Kami castes may have also contributed in restricting them in the primary level of education to a large extent. Similarly, the high percentage share in primary level among the Rajbanshis could be attributed to their more dependence on agriculture of subsistence type which hardly requires a higher educational qualification. About 69 % of the respondents have made responsible this greater engagement with agriculture and allied activities behind such low educational attainment of the Rajbangshis.

Taking into consideration the secondary level of education, that data shows that Dhoba (13 %), JaliaKaibartta (10 %) and Namasudras (09 %) have done relatively better than others (Table- 3). While, castes like Kami (03 %), Lohar (04 %), Chamar (05 %) and JhaloMalo (06 %) are lagging behind in terms attaining a secondary level of education in the study area. Higher education forms the stage after matriculation and/or higher secondary, including diploma (both technical and non-technical), general and professional/technical under graduation including post-graduation (Wankhede, 2001). The overall performance in higher education among the SCs is less impressive. On average, only 10.75 % of the head of the household in Dhupguri block achieved an education of HS + level (Table- 3). Generally, students from the SCs enroll late into relatively less prestigious institutions, perform poorly and take longer time to complete their education (Ahmad 1978; Aikara 1996; Chitnis 1981).

Comparing both the HS and graduation+ level of education, again, Dhoba, JaliaKaibartta, Namasudra, have done relatively better than castes like Lohar, Kami, JhaloMalo, and Rajbanshi (Table- 3). This is attributed to their relatively better total literacy and female literacy rate and greater income incentives and other facilities. During FGDs, it is reported by more than 76 % respondents that Dhobas, Namasudras, and JaliaKaibartta have experienced noticeable dynamism in their social life compared to others due to their awareness and attainment of higher education. However, it may be of some interest to note that Chamars have done relatively well especially in a higher level of education, like the castes of Dhoba, Namasudra, and JaliaKaibartta who are better placed in educational matters in Dhupguri block. Chamars achieved some degree of economic advancement with their skill in making and repairing shoes and other leather works. This high-income incentives helped them in attaining some degree of higher education (Table- 3).

The acquisition of technical and non-technical diploma degree is very low among the selected scheduled sub-castes due to its high expense which the castes under study could hardly afford in the study area (Table-3). Similarly, the study reported that acquisition of graduation and above level of education among the selected 8 castes remains low that only 3.13 % of the heads of the households accounts for the educational attainment of such level on an average in Dhupguri block. The factors controlling

the low acquisition of graduation and above level of education among the castes under study were the same as mentioned earlier in case of other higher level of education except for the factors of narrow guidance from within the castes gets added to the list. Again castes like Dhoba (07 %), Namasudra (04 %) and JaliaKaibarta (04 %) have done relatively well in this category of the level of education compared to other castes of the present study (Table-3).

Courses and Streams in Higher Education

Skill and knowledge enhancement for the individual as well as the community is closely linked with the higher education as it plays a significant role in the social and occupational mobility of the individuals and the society. Higher education starts after secondary and/or higher secondary level of education including general (with the bifurcation of arts, science, and commerce) and professional courses. After the introduction of reservation policy in the admission procedures of higher educational institution, noticeable improvement has been noted among the SCs and STs in higher education in India (Rao 2002). However, such participation in higher education is not sufficient enough in view of the proportion of SC and ST population that the large section is still outside of the fold of higher education. Further, when compared between the castes and within the communities, participation in higher education has not been uniform among them and their ability to utilize this privilege has tended to vary from one caste to another (Ahmad 1978). Thus, it would be worth analyzing the inconsistencies among the scheduled sub-castes at a higher level of education.

Table- 5 shows that representation of scheduled castes in humanities alone outstripped other streams of study at both higher secondary and college and higher level of education in Dhupguri block. This could be attributed to their relatively poor socioeconomic background and lack of sufficient guidance in science and commerce streams and courses like a professional one from within the scheduled caste community. Streams like science, commerce, and professional courses are considered tough and expensive than humanities. Similarly, educational aspiration of the family is directly related to the level of education and occupational category of the parents or heads of the household. The higher the level of higher education the more the expenses and the more the guidance demanded for better performance (Wankhede 2016). Likewise, in the study area about to 86 % of the respondents opined that the lower participation of the scheduled castes in science and commerce streams or in professional courses could be explained by their relatively poor socioeconomic background.

While taking into consideration the higher secondary and or equivalent level of education, enrolment from the Lohar castes in science, commerce, and the professional courses is found very low as compared to others castes of the present study. Representation from JhaloMalos and Kamis in science stream and professional courses are also found quite poor (Table-5). However, the participation of the Kamis is noticeable in the commerce stream. This is due to their good affinity with the commerce stream since a long time in the study area. On the contrary to this, Dhobas and JaliaKaibarttas have done relatively better in science and professional courses, which could be attributed to their continued high educational



attainment, income and better education awareness. It may be of some interest to note that in vocational courses, the participation of the Chamars is quite high (Table- 5). During FGDs, it was found that motivation and necessary guidance from the seniors of the community itself inspired the new generations in the vocational study. The quite high-income incentives of their parents also pave the way to study these expensive courses to Chamars. While the Namasudras are mostly taking up arts subjects in higher secondary level of education.

Taking into consideration the graduation and above level of education, it has been found that humanities again emerged as the prominent stream among others as 83.90 % of literate scheduled caste population has taken up humanities in such levels of education on an average in Dhupguri block. Also, the study reported that in humanities all the selected scheduled sub-castes accounts for a percentage share more than the higher secondary level of education in graduation and above level (Table 5). This indicates that the socio-economic condition of the scheduled caste communities in the study area has not reached that level that could afford the cost of science and commerce streams and the professional courses which often seems to be highly expensive. However, Dhobas (14.74 %), JaliaKaibarta (13.78 %) and Rajbangshis (11.63 %) show a relatively well-off performance in pursuing science stream in graduation and above level of education in the study area. While the representation of Lohars (1.34 %) in such stream of education is very low. Similarly, in the professional courses, the performance of the Lohar caste is found very poor where only 0.19 % of the Lohar population who have attained graduation and above level of education have taken-up such professional courses. Although, castes like Dhoba (5.79%) and JaliaKaibarta (5.61 %) have done relatively better in such professional courses of education. vocational study. The quite high-income incentives of their parents also pave the way to study these expensive courses to Chamars. While the Namasudras are mostly taking up arts subjects in higher secondary level of education.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion leads to the fact that as a whole, the scheduled caste communities in Dhupguri block have been poorly represented in higher education. A considerable inconsistency is also found in their educational attainment, courses and streams of education especially at higher level. On account of their relatively enhanced educational attainment, income and social mobility, the Dhobas, Namasudras and JaliaKaibartas have shown a better response to education than the castes like Lohar, JhaloMalo, Kami and Rajbanshis in the Dhupguri block. The SC communities continue to go in for general education which is less expensive and also less competitive. Participation in market or job-friendly streams and courses in higher education is poor especially among the Lohar, JhaloMalo, and Kamis. The caste-based occupations with traditional techniques do not generate adequate income among the Lohar, JhaloMalo, and Kamis. Agriculture is the primary economic function of the Rajbanshis and is responsible for their low educational attainment. On the whole, it could be said that the basic problems are the absence of educational facilities, less ownership of productive resources, and relatively less participation in secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy

among the scheduled sub-castes under study. This less advanced educational level denied them good employment opportunities which also hinders their economic development and the process of empowerment among them. This issue of educational inequalities among the sub-castes needs to be addressed in the times to come by the policymakers. To bridge the existing wide gap in the acquisition of educational opportunities, government should employ the welfare programmes meant for the backward castes with an individual caste-based approach (Rao, 2002). Therefore, the study suggests that the castes which are more backward in educational aspects need greater attention by way of incentives and facilities with an individual caste-based approach. It is an important issue that needs to be addressed by the Govt. on an urgent basis.

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Table - 1: Literacy Rate among the Scheduled Castes in Dhupguri Block

Sub-Castes	Total	Male	Female	Gap in Male-Female Literacy Rate	Disparity Index
Rajbanshi	65.81	76.08	61.25	14.83	0.14
Namasudra	74.96	80.41	66.34	14.07	0.13
Lohar	49.84	58.18	37.91	20.27	0.24
Kami	64.85	76.85	59.07	17.78	0.17
JaliaKaibartta	72.69	79.80	68.36	11.44	0.10
Dhoba	78.96	82.43	69.15	13.28	0.12
JhaloMalo	65.22	70.44	56.30	14.14	0.14
Chamar	67.98	70.09	54.23	15.86	0.16

Source: Field Survey 2018

Table -2: Monthly Median Household Income among the Scheduled Castes in Dhupguri Block

Sub-Castes	Monthly Median Household Income (Rs)
Rajbanshis	8985
Namasudras	10254
Lohar	3916
Kami	7889
JaliaKaibartta	11245
Dhoba	14652
JhaloMalo	7564
Chamar	14215

Source: Field Survey 2018

Table- 3: Educational attainment of the Head of the Sample Households in Dhupguri Block

Sub Castes	Below Primary	Primary	Middle	Secondary	H.S.	Non-T. Diploma	Technical Diploma	Graduation and Above
Rajbanshi	28	31	25	07	06	00	01	02
Namasudra	25	30	22	09	08	00	02	04
Lohar	46	28	19	4	2	00	00	01
Kami	24	37	28	03	04	00	02	02
Jalia Kaibartta	22	27	30	10	06	00	01	04
Dhoba	18	18	33	13	08	02	01	07
JhaloMalo	31	29	26	06	05	00	00	03
Chamar	36	28	16	05	07	03	03	02

Source: Field Survey 2018

Table - 4: Occupation of the Head of the Surveyed Household in Dhupguri Block

Scheduled Castes	Occupation Followed		Occupational Structure			
	Traditional	Other than Traditional	Cultivator	Agricultural Labourer	Household Industry	Others
Rajbanshi	61	39	34	29	04	33
Namasudra	53	47	31	20	07	42
Lohar	36	64	07	56	03	34
Kami	59	41	19	27	04	50
JaliaKaibartta	32	68	21	16	02	61
Dhoba	25	75	12	21	03	64
JhaloMalo	54	46	19	28	01	52
Chamar	58	42	08	29	04	59

Source: Field Survey 2018

Table - 5: Courses and Stream of Education among the Scheduled Castes in Dhupguri Block (%)

Scheduled Castes	Higher Secondary				College and Above			
	General Courses			Professional Courses	General Courses			Professional Courses
	Arts	Science	Commerce		Arts	Science	Commerce	
Rajbanshi	78.23	12.25	5.52	4.00	80.36	11.63	4.41	3.60
Namasudra	81.65	14.69	2.36	1.30	83.25	10.49	2.54	3.72
Lohar	95.35	1.56	2.04	1.05	97.35	1.34	1.12	0.19
Kami	77.35	10.66	8.54	3.45	82.24	8.89	5.01	3.86
Jalia Kaibartta	75.86	15.68	4.21	4.25	77.39	13.78	3.22	5.61
Dhoba	71.98	16.63	6.21	5.18	75.15	14.74	4.32	5.79
JhaloMalo	85.23	8.67	4.24	1.86	88.12	6.33	3.54	2.01
Chamar	76.64	8.69	2.24	12.43	85.36	7.64	2.01	4.99

Source: Field Survey 2018 Note: Professional Courses include Medical, Engineering, BBA, BCA, MBA, MCA, ITI, Diploma or Short Term Courses and Vocational.

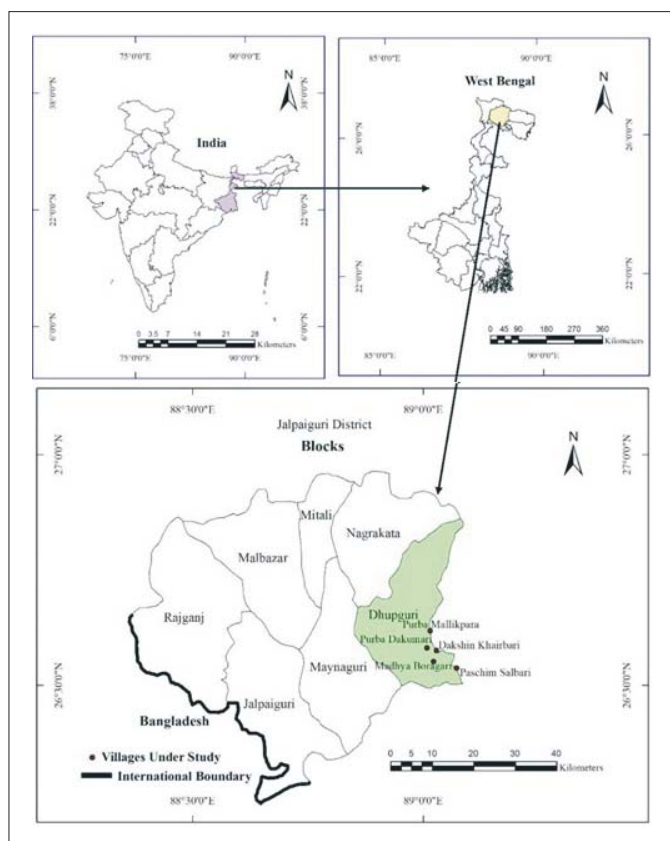


Fig. 1: Location Map of the Study Area



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