Scheduled Communities:

A social Devlopment profile of SC/ST's (Bihar, Jharkhand & W.B)

Content

CHAPTER - I

Scheduled Communities

The scheduled communities evolved out of the British colonial concern for the Depressed Classes who faced multiple deprivations on account of their low position in the hierarchy of the Hindu caste system. The degrading practice of untouchability figured as the central target for social reformers and their movements. The issue acquired strong political overtones when the British sought to combine the problems of the Depressed Classes with their communal politics. The Communal Award of August 4, 1932, after the conclusion of two successive Round Table Conferences in London, assigned separate electorates not only for the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and several other categories, but also extended it to the Depressed Classes. This led to the historic fast unto death by Gandhi and the subsequent signing of the Poona Pact between B.R. Ambedkar and Madan Mohan Malviya on September 24th 1932. According to this agreement a new formula was evolved in which separate electorates were replaced by reserved constituencies for the Depressed Classes. The actual process of 'scheduling' of castes took place thereafter in preparation of the elections in 1937.*

Ambedkar, who was the principal crusader against untouchability, assumed the historic role of drafting the Indian Constitution of free India. He introduced the famous Article 11 of the Drafting Committee on 1st November 1947 which carried through the following resolution :

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- As per Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order of 1936 read with Article 26(i) of the First Schedule to Government of India Act 1935, Scheduled Castes meant `such castes, races or tribes, or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes, being castes, races, or tribes, or parts or groups which appear to His Majesty in Council, to correspond to the classes of persons formerly known as `the depressed classes', as His Majesty in Council may specify'. (Cited in Chatterjee 1996 vol. : 162).

Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability' shall be an offence which shall be punishable in accordance with law (Rao 1966 : 298).

Unlike the British pre-occupation with the scheduling of castes in preparation for separate communal electorates, which mainly entailed, by stages, the elimination of tribal communities from the fold of Depressed Classes, the proper task of scheduling of tribes took place in 1950 with the new Constitution. This is hardly surprising in view of numerous tribal insurrections against British exploitation and domination. A series of 12 Constitution (Scheduled Tribes Orders) and amendments were passed between 1950 and 1991 covering various States and Union Territories.

In 1991 the *Scheduled Caste* (henceforward SC) population was 138,223,000 (nearest '000), accounting for 16.48 percent of the total population of the country. Four important demographic features draw our attention at this stage :

1)   The States which exceeded the national proportion of SCs and consequently had the highest concentration of SCs were : Punjab (28.31%), Himachal Pradesh (25.34%), West Bengal (23.62%), Uttar Pradesh (21.05%), Haryana (19.75%), Tamil Nadu (19.18%), Delhi (19.05%), Rajasthan (17.29%) and Chandigarh (16.51%).

2)   States which have substantial SC population   (more than 10m) are : Uttar Pradesh (29.3m) contributing 21.18% of national SC population; West Bengal (16.1m) contributing 11.63%; Bihar (12.6m) contributing 9.10%; and Tamil Nadu (10.7m) contributing 7.75% of the SC population of India. A State may be amongst those having the most numerous SC population, and yet its proportion to the total population (of the State) may be lower than the national average. For example, erstwhile Bihar was a populous SC state, yet only 14.55% of its population was SC.

3)	The State having the highest number of SC communities is Karnataka (101) with an SC population below 10m. (7.4,), with proportion of SCs to the population of the State slightly below the national proportion (16.38%) and contributing only 5.33% of the total country's SC population. Karnataka is followed by Orissa with 93 SC communities; Tamil Nadu with 76; Kerala with 68; Uttar Pradesh with 66; Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and West Bengal with 59; and Himachal Pradesh with 56.

Thus States with the largest multiplicity of SC communities, need not be amongst the most populous SC States, nor among those whose contribution to the national SC population are among the highest.

4)	Conversely, States making the largest contributions of SC populations to the national SC total need not have the highest proportions of SCs or the largest number of SC communities within their States. These States are Uttar Pradesh (21.18%), West Bengal (11.63%), Bihar (9.10%), Tamil Nadu (7.75%), Andhra Pradesh (7.66%), Madhya Pradesh (6.96%) and Maharashtra (6.34%).

Table 1.1 : Ranking of States by concentration of SCs; SCs with more than 10m ; States with largest number of SC communities; and States contributing highest percent to national SC total.

States/Uts having highest concentration of SCs (%) (>16.48%)	States with more than 10m SC population ('000)	Highest % contribution to India SC population	States with highest no. of SC communities (1976)
1	2	3	4
Punjab (28.31)	U.P. (29,276)	U.P. (21.18)	Karnataka (101)
Himachal (25.34)	West Bengal (16,081)	West Bengal (11.63)	Orissa (93)
West Bengal (23.62)	Bihar (12,572)	Bihar (9.10)	Tamil Nadu (76)
U.P. (21.05)	Tamil Nadu (10,712)	Tamil Nadu (7.75)	Kerala (68)
Haryana (19.75)	Andhra Pradesh (10,592)	Andhra Pradesh (7.66)	U.P. (66)
Tamil Nadu (19.18)		M.P. (6.96)	Andhra Pradesh| (59)
Delhi (19.05)		Maharashtra (6.34)	Maharashtra (59)
Rajasthan (17.29)			Rajasthan (59)
Chandigarh (16.51)			West Bengal (59)
			Himachal Pradesh (56)

Source : Cols. 1, 2 and 3 : Chakrabarty and Ghosh 2002 : Table 1.1 pg.5 Col.4; Chatterjee 1991, Vol.4 : 1180-1283

The Scheduled Tribe (henceforward ST) population of India is almost 50 percent less (67,758,000, nearest '000), than the SC population of India, constituting 8.08 percent of the country's total population. The picture here is quite interesting. In sharp contrast to SCs, a number of *States/Union Territories have extraordinarily high concentrations of tribal population* (i.e. tribal population as proportion of total population of the States/Union Territories (henceforward UTs). These States/UTs are : Mizoram (94.75%) with a population of only 654,000; Lakshadeep (93.15%) with a meagre population of 48,000; Nagaland (87.70%) with a population of 1,061,000; Meghalaya (85.53%) with a population of 1,518,000; Dadra and Nagar Haveli (78.89%) with a population of 109,000; and Arunachal Pradesh (63.66%) with a population of 550,000. Then there is a steep drop with Manipur (34.41%) having a population of 632,000; Tripura (30.95%) with a population of 853,000. These eight States/UTs having tribal concentrations varying from 30.95% to 94.75%, have a total population of 5.5m, which is only 8.1 percent of the total tribal population of the country.

Conspicuously, in the most populous tribal States, the concentration of ST population is very much lower, though substantially higher than the national proportion. The largest tribal population is in Madhya Pradesh (15.4m) constituting 23.27 percent of the population of the State and 22.73 percent of the tribal population of the country. This is followed by Maharashtra (7.3m), Orissa (7.0m), Bihar (6.6m), Gujarat (6.1m), Rajasthan (5.5m), Andhra Pradesh (4.2m), West Bengal (3.8m) and Assam (2.9m).

Finally, the States/UTs with the highest number of tribal communities are : Orissa (62); Karnataka and Maharashtra (49); Madhya Pradesh (46); West Bengal (38), Tamil Nadu (36); Kerala (35); Andhra Pradesh (33); and Bihar (30).

Table 1.2 : Ranking of States/Union Territories by concentration of STs; STs with more than 2m. population; STs with highest number of tribal communities.

States/UTs having highest concentration of STs (%) (1991)	Most populous tribal States (2m and above) (1991)		States with highest number of tribal communities (1981)
1	2		3
Mizoram (94.75)	Madhya Pradesh (15.4m)	(22.7%)	Orissa (62)
Lakshadeep (93.15)	Maharashtra (7.3m)	(10.8%)	Karnataka (49)
Nagaland (87.70)	Orissa (7.0m)	(10.4%)	Maharashtra (47)
Meghalaya (85.53)	Bihar (6.6m)	(9.8%)	Madhya Pradesh (46)
Dadar & N Haveli (78.99)	Gujarat (6.2m)	(9.1%)	West Bengal (38)
Arunachal Pradesh (63.66)	Rajasthan (5.5m)	(8.1%)	Tamil Nadu (36)
Manipur (34.41)	Andhra Pradesh (4.2m)	(6.2%)	Kerala (35)
Tripura (30.95)	West Bengal (3.8m)	(5.6%)	Andhra Pradesh (33)
	Assam (2.9m)	(4.2%)	Bihar (30)

Note: Figures in percentage in Col.2 refer to the proportion of ST population of the States to national ST population.

Source: Cols. 1 & 2 : Chakrabarty and Ghosh 2000 : Table 1.2 , pg.6
        Col. 3 Sachchidanand and Prasad 1996 : XXXVIII – LVIII.

What is extraordinary in this overall pattern is that none of the States with the largest tribal population (2m and above) and those having the most numerous tribal communities, figure among States/UTs having the highest concentration of STs. Few, if any, countries can parallel this complex ethno-demography.

What is unique in India, is the existence of the least populous self governing, politically empowered, tribal States mostly in the north east, together constituting a negligible proportion of the tribal population of India, nevertheless being protected through Constitutional safeguards against ethnic swamping by the other communities in a country with a bursting, burgeoning billion population. They have evolved out of their specific historical circumstances which had posed basic problems of their integration with the rest of the country.

It is, by and large, the bulk of the tribal population in the more populous heterogeneous States that have encountered the serious problems of social and economic derivation and development.

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CHAPTER – II

The Study

At the time the project was sanctioned by the Planning Commission only two States were to be studied : Bihar and West Bengal. In 1991, Bihar had an SC population of 12,571,700 (14.55% of the total SC population of the State), and a ST population of 6,616,914 (7.66% of the total ST population of the State), out of a total Bihar population of 86,374,465.

Correspondingly in West Bengal, there was a larger population of SCs at 16,080,611 (accounting for 23.6% of the total SC population of the State), and a smaller population of STs at 3,808,760 (accounting for 5.59% of the total ST population of the State), out of a total West Bengal population of 68,077,965.

Table 2.1 : Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population in Bihar, West Bengal (our Sample Universe) and All India (1991 Census)

States	Population ('000)					
	SC	%	ST	%	Total	%
Bihar	12,572	14.55	6,617	7.66	86,374	100
West Bengal	16,081	23.62	3,809	5.59	68,078	100
All India	138,223	16.48	67,758	8.08	838,584	100

Source: Chakrabarty and Ghosh 2000 : 5-6.

As noted earlier, the SC population in Bihar contributed 9.10% and West Bengal 11.63% of the total SC population of India at 138,223,000 (nearest '000). For the ST population the corresponding figures were 9.77% (Bihar) and 5.62% (West Bengal) out of a total tribal population of India at 67,758,000 (nearest '000) (Chakrabarty and Ghosh 2000 : 5-6).

By the time field study was initiated, the new 28th State of Jharkhand had been carved out of Bihar on 15th November 2000. This reduced the population of Bihar by 21,846,325, and its territory of 173,877 sq. kms. by 79,714 sq. kms. The erstwhile Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council formed on 9th August, 1995, with 18 districts of Bihar including Ranchi, Lohardaga, Gumla, East Singhbhum, West Singhbhum, Palamau, Garhwa, Dumka, Sahebganj, Pakur, Godda, Hazaribagh, Chatra, Giridih, Koderma, Dhanbad, Bokaro and Deoghar, eventually constituted the new State of Jharkhand.

The emergence of Jharkhand was the outcome of a protracted struggle initiated by the adivasis (tribal population) since the formation of Adivasi Mahasabha in 1938 and it transformation into Jharkhand Party in 1949. The demand for a separate State was placed before the States Reorganisation Commission by its leader Jaipal Singh as early as in 1954, but was rejected. Notwithstanding, the triumph of the movement led predominantly by the adivasis, the tribal population in Jharkhand is 6,044,010, which is only 28 percent of the total population of the new State. However, this population is 91.3 percent of the total tribal population of undivided Bihar (ADRI 2000 : 3).

Objectives

The study was originally planned as a sequel to (a) an overview of the last 50 years of social development in India and the emerging issues; and (b) a secondary source analysis of social development profile of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the States of Bihar (undivided) and West Bengal, followed by a pilot field study. It was expected that these studies would help identify the various components of human and social development, as also, data needs and gaps that could be covered by a subsequent primary survey. However, these studies were not available in time to kick start this empirical field survey. Consequently, it was decided to conduct the primary field study by designing it afresh.

The basic objective of the study is to portray a social development profile of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in Bihar, the newly formed State of Jharkhand (carved out of Bihar), and in West Bengal. It was decided to design the survey in a manner such that it would yield data for analysis of SC and ST communities in terms of social development attributes that characterise them. Social development was not conceived in narrow non-economic terms. Our intention was to assess their capabilities and life chances with a view to project their performance and prospects in the society they inhabit.

Eight panchayat sites spread over the three States and two urban settlements, one within the industrial town and capital of Jharkhand, and the other, within a district town of Jhargram in West Bengal, provided the urban sample for our survey.   However, the sample households in Jhargram ame mainly from the urban fringe bordering the rural area. Jhargram does not remotely compare with the level of urbanisation of Ranchi, the capital of the newly formed State of Jharkhand.

Framework

This report focusses on two major *'secular'* aspects of social development of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the three States of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. The first deals with the *material basis of the secular domain*. Essentially this relates to :

1) Livelihood, which explores the levels at which these castes and tribal communities are reproducing themselves through productive labour. We have in this context, attempted to examine their occupational/employment patterns and the levels of their well-being in terms of consumption, assets etc.;

2) Housing, which reflects the quality of life of these communities in terms of amenities available to them;

3) Health, which is so important in the reproduction of labour and consequent efficient pursuit of livelihood.

The other important 'secular' aspect pursued in this study, relates to literacy/educattion. We are all aware that education is one of the most important factors of *empowerment*. It is through education that value additions to human resource takes place in a most fundamental way. This, in turn, is expected to provide the basis for social and economic development in the conditions of the lives of the deprived castes and tribal communities.

It was our intention to explore the 'sacred' domain of rituals and socio-cultural transactions. We realised that such data were not satisfactorily forthcoming through the survey instrument. This requires a qualitative, inter-subjective back-up level of study by the conceptualisers of the phenomena.

Likewise, in our attempt at assessing the political ramifications of relations of power relating to these castes and tribal communities, we realised that this too could not be satisfactorily circumscribed within the fold of a survey on social development profile, given the constraint of time. The political aspect of empowerment had to be kept in abeyance.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are basically social categories, within which fall a large number of castes and tribal groups. It is obvious that all castes and tribes are unlikely to develop at the same pace. It follows that both castes and tribes will be *internally differentiated* within these categories. We have therefore attempted to keep in view the factor of differentiation. The number of castes and tribes which could be

analysed, per force, had to be limited to those which had 20 or more households in the sample.

There is a basic assumption that State policies of protective discrimination for the upliftment of SCs and STs are in operation in all the three States. We have not attempted to investigate systematically the nature and quality of delivery systems of State interventions. We have rather concentrated on the end products that emerge from the profiles. It is not possible to distinguish strictly between the contributions of the State, and variables other that the State (market, mobility, etc.).

Notwithstanding the resources specially made available by the State through pro-active, protective discrimination, there is no denying that some castes and tribes give evidence of greater dynamism in negotiating with the instruments of State intervention, as well as with non-State factors. More so in a democratic polity.

When the same caste/tribe is performing in more then one State, it gives us an opportunity to assess the environment each of these States provide for the caste/tribe. Above all, aggregate analysis at the level of each State gives us some scope to make a comparative assessment of how the SCs and STs have faired in the three different political dispensations.

Finally, gender has entered into our survey analysis through a deliberate strategy of introducing large number of female respondents. The original resolve to have equal number of male and female respondents could not be actualised because of practical considerations of the field. While the introduction of female respondents, per se, did not make much of a difference on the nature of the data relating to households, it has, we feel definitely contributed to their greater accuracy. A female respondent, once in a while would fall back on kins for data on the 'secular' details of material assets and position. The same would be true of male respondents. In a less obvious way, female respondents provided a greater sense of balance to the interviewers. Although gender issues in the

subjective – cultural sense has not figured in our study, structurally, gender differentials could be captured, particularly when it came to literacy /education.

Methodology

Given the constraints of time and resources, the methodology included a sample survey of eight panchayats and two urban settlements. Four panchayats were selected from West Bengal, two from Bihar and two from Jharkhand. As for the urban settlements, one was selected from West Bengal (Jhargram) and the other from Jharkhand (Ranchi).

The study was done in two stages. The major part of the study was done through field survey on the basis of a schedule. The first step was to identify the eight panchayats. The major criteria for selection was that the panchayats should have substantial numbers of SC/ST households. For this the district censuses were utilised. The second consideration was that, wherever possible, we locate panchayats which had both SC and ST populations. It was realised that howsoever we may try, there was not much point in seeking a representation of the State through such limited number of panchayats. So a combination of convenience, accessibility and persons with prior knowledge of the field, guided the selection of the panchayats.

Once, however, the panchayats were selected, the selection of villages within the panchayat followed the criteria of convenience on the basis of knowledgeable persons who were going to cooperate in helping establish contacts and rapport. It was accepted that without such cooperation it would not have been possible to get data collected by investigators efficiently within the specified short period of time.

Once the villages were identified with satisfactory concentration of SC and/or ST populations, we attempted to be more systematic. Listing of households in the villages and selection of 200 households from each panchayat was resorted to by simple random sample method. By and large, we expect our surveys to be at least representative of the panchayats.

While we cannot claim any representativeness of the States, we have nevertheless engaged in inter-State comparisons with respect to our selected panchayats. We hope to gain valuable insights from this exercise even if our generalisations cannot be accepted as representative. They will, hopefully throw valuable hypotheses which could be considered serious and important enough to be pursued with greater rigour on a larger scale with more time and resources at command. Further, we can assert that the patterns that emerge out of these States are true with respect to select castes/ tribes in the selected villages in the eight panchayats.

The survey was conducted in Jharkhand and West Bengal with the collaborative efforts of the reputed survey organisation, Economic Information Technology, Kolkata. The experienced and honest team of research investigators were subjected to several training sessions, including mock interviews. In Bihar, the situation was more amorphous. Consultative link was established with a distinguished retired professor and Head of the Department of Patna College, Patna University. The cooperation of an NGO, Arogyam Centre for Health and Development, Chapra, Bihar, was also established for the selected panchayat in North Bihar. .

After the survey was completed, another rapid appraisal field study was undertaken by the Director of the survey project and his colleague, who are the co-authors of this study. The purpose was two-fold. It helped as a cross-check on the survey concluded earlier through investigator interviewing. In this regard some specific repeat test interviews were conducted. Secondly, this field exposure provided an opportunity for some independent qualitative understanding of the field surveyed. This, we believed,

would provide a 'feel' of the field, and hence prove conducive to writing the report without being entirely mechanistic.

Trials and tribulations of field work:

The schedule was finalised after several rounds of discussions sessions with persons having considerable grass roots experience. The schedule went through several stages of editing at the initial stages of trials.   In the process, it became quite a comprehensive survey instrument. As mentioned earlier, we realised, that given the constraint of time, certain kinds of data could not be pursued to our satisfaction.

The planning of survey in Bihar was not without hiccups. There were at least two false starts. In turn, the decision to survey the districts of Aurangabad and later. Barh, had to be abandoned, as they turned out to be super-sensitive Naxalite areas, suspicious of any kind of survey.* Assembling the team and training them was more time consuming in Bihar with a high turnover of investigators. Data collection stretched for undue lengths of time in the complex circumstances of Bihar.

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* We came to learn that mass massacres took place in these districts by warring class enemies   subsequent to some surveys. Whether or not these surveys had anything to do with the retaliatory and counter retaliatory massacres, the people in these regions did not rule out a linkage. Ever since, surveys aroused serious suspicions and were boycotted.

Sample Coverage: Panchayat and Villages

The following panchayats and villages were covered in our study in Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal.

Table 2.2 : Bihar

District	Block	Panchayat	Village	Sample	Total
Saran	Baniapur	Pirauta	Baraopur Pirauta Pithouri Repura	30 71 82 9	 192
Patna	Masaurhi	Tineri	Basaur Chakia Dhanauti Gopalpur Tineri	13 26 22 40 99	 200
			Total		392

Table 2.3 : Jharkhand

District	Block	Panchayat	Village	Sample	Total
Ranchi	Ranchi town		-	200	200
Dumka	Dumka	Ghasipur	Andipur Ghasipur Mahashlity Panjanbona Karma Sinkhajuri	17 62 03 36 48 34	 200
West Singhbhum	Sadar Chaibasa	Singh-pokhariya	Gumdipa Singpok-hariya Kundubera	86 51 63	 200
			Total		600

Table 2.4 : West Bengal

District	Block	Panchayat	Village	Total	
Darjeeling	Naxalbari	Moniramjote	Hatiram	52	
			Rokomjote	71	
			Mirajamla	77	200
Bardhaman	Kanksha	Gopalpur	Bamunara	31	
			Bandra	49	
			Gopalpur	95	
			Birudia	25	200
Bankura	Khatra-1	Gorabari	Baraghutu	29	
			Dhagara	54	
			Fulhari	29	
			Paripatha	44	
			Susunia	44	200
Birbhum	Murarai-1	Mahurapur	Battala	38	
			Birnagar	21	
			Chandpur	25	
			Kanaipur	37	
			Kotapahari	23	
			Madhupur	27	
			Shimiljuri	29	200
Medinipur	Jhargram	(Town)	Town		200
			Total		1000

Sample Coverage : Scheduled Castes and Tribes :

In Bihar, in the two districts of Patna and Saran there were no Scheduled Tribes. Of the 392 households in Bihar the following Scheduled Castes figured in our analysis.

Table 2.5 : Bihar : Scheduled Castes

Sl.No.	Caste	Number of Households	Household Population	M	F
1.	Bauri	1	6	3	3
2.	Bhoogta	1	3	2	1
3.	Chamar	159	1005	535	470
4.	Dusadh	113	623	342	281
5.	Musahar	69	259	140	119
6.	Dhobi	8	71	41	30
7.	Chaupal	29	182	96	86
8.	Nat	10	60	37	23
9.	Dom	6	20	11	9
	Total	392	2229	1207	1022

In Jharkhand, our sample has captured 7 Scheduled Castes and 8 Scheduled Tribes spread over 600 households.

Table 2.6 : Jharkhand : Scheduled Castes and Tribes

Sl.No.	Caste	Number of Households	Household Population	M	F
1.	Bauri	2	12	5	7
2.	Bhuiya	6	36	15	21
3.	Chamar	16	95	48	47
4.	Dom	21	128	66	62
5.	Dhobi	3	18	9	9
6.	Dabgar	1	5	4	1
7.	Pan	7	35	14	21
	Total	56	329	161	168
	Tribe				
1.	Mahali	48	224	117	107
2.	Santal	150	729	365	364
3.	Lohara	58	310	158	152
4.	Munda	37	200	98	102
5.	Oraon	63	343	165	178
6.	Ho	184	1034	506	528
7.	Bhumij	3	31	17	14
8.	S. Paharia	1	3	1	2
	Total	544	2847	1427	1447

In West Bengal our sample of 1000 households has captured 19 Scheduled Castes with 443 households and 12 Scheduled Tribes with 557 households.

Table 2.7 : West Bengal : Scheduled Castes and Tribes

Sl.No.	Caste	Number of Households	Household Population	M	F
1.	Bagdi	65	381	202	179
2.	Bauri	47	234	132	102
3.	Bhuiya	30	141	70	71
4.	Chamar	48	330	120	110
5.	Chaupal	1	8	6	2
6.	Damai	2	13	8	5
7.	Dhobi	34	183	86	97
8.	Doai	1	4	3	1
9.	Dom	20	106	50	56
10.	Kami	23	121	66	55
11.	Kaora	1	3	2	1
12.	Konai	21	131	61	70
13.	Lohar	8	34	21	13
14.	Mahar	8	40	18	22
15.	Mal	70	343	178	165
16.	Namasudra	2	12	5	7
17.	Pan	1	4	3	1
18.	Patni	30	148	85	63
19.	Sarki	30	153	76	77
20.	Other	1	3	1	2
	Total	443	2392	1193	1099
	Tribe				
1.	Asur	6	30	14	16
2.	Bhumij	72	440	231	209
3.	C. Baraik	3	17	7	10
4.	Kisan	7	39	21	18
5.	Kora	3	13	5	8
6.	Lodha	44	188	101	87
7.	Mahali	22	109	57	52
8.	Munda	22	99	52	47
9.	Nagesia	1	6	3	3
10.	Oraon	78	429	220	209
11.	Santal	298	1540	785	755
12.	Sarvar	1	2	1	1
	Total	557	2912	1497	1415

The sizeable Scheduled Castes covered in our analysis in the three states with 20 households or more, are : Chamar (223), Dusadh (113), Mal (70), Musahar (69), Bagdi 65),Bauri (50), Dom (46), Dhobi (45), Bhuiya (36), Pan (36), Chaupal (30), Patni (30), Sarki (30), Kami (23) and Konai (21).

Amongst the Scheduled Tribes covered, the sizeable tribes with 20 households or more are: Santhal (448), Ho (184), Oraon (139), Bhumij (75), Mahali (70), Munda (59), Lohora (58), and Lodha (44).

Household Structure

Scheduled Caste

Bihar

After the bifurcation of Jharkhand from the undivided Bihar, the tribal population of Bihar became insignificant. In the two panchayats that we have studied in Bihar, we came across only *nine* SCs and no STs. They include Bauri, Bhoogta, Chamar, Chaupal, Dusadh, Dhobi, Dom, Musahar and Nat. These constitute 392 households.* Of the nine castes there is predominance of Chamar (159 households), Dusadh (113 households), Musahar (69 households), and Chaupal (29 households)[1]. The rest have ten or less households each.

The total household population of all the nine SCs in 392 households is 2229, of whom 1207 are males and 1022 are females. The average size of all the sample households of SCs in Bihar is 5.69. While the average household size among the Chamar, Chaupal, Dhobi and Nat is six and above, that of the Musahar is only 3.75. Among the Chamar, Dusadh and Chaupal, the percentage of households belonging to household size of five and above varies   between 74.2 and 62.8, whilst amongst the Musahar, this is only 33.3. The predominance of small households and nuclear households amongst the Musahar indicate that they approximate the small family size norm.

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*   400 household schedules were canvassed. Eight schedules were rejected.

[1] The four castes – Chamar, Chaupal, Dusadh and Musahar constitute 370 households. The rest five castes are distributed amongst 22 households. Their frequencies being too small, they are not generelisable and donot figure in our analysis. An exception has been made in the case of the Dhobi with eight households.

Table 2.8 : Size and Type of Households among Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Sl.No.	Caste	Avg. HH Size	Less than five	Five and above	Nuclear	Extended
1.	Chamar	159 (6.32)	41 (25.8)	118 (74.2)	104 (65.4)	55 (34.6)
2.	Chaupal	29 (6.28)	10 (34.5)	19 (65.5)	20 (69.0)	9 (31.0)
3.	Dusadh	113 (5.51)	42 (37.2)	71 (62.8)	85 (75.2)	28 (24.8)
4.	Musahar	69 (3.75)	46 (66.7)	23 (33.3)	67 (97.1)	2 (2.9)
	All 9 castes	370 (5.69)	144 (36.7)	248 (63.3)	291 (74.2)	101 (25.8)

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand there are only 56 Scheduled Caste sample households (9.3%) percent as against 544 tribal households (91.7%), in the two selected panchayats and one town. The total population of these 56 households is 329, of whom 161 are males and 168 are females.   There   are   *seven* SCs, namely, Bauri, Bhuiya, Chamar, Dom, Dhobi, Dabgar and Pan. The Chamar and Dom are represented by 16 and 21 households respectively[2]. The remaining five SCs have seven or less number of households each. The average size of all the sample households is 5.88. The average household size of Chamar and Dom is 5.94 and 6.01 respectively. Both these SCs have 70-75 percent of their households comprising five or more members. Though both the castes have almost similar household size, the percentage of extended households among the Dom is 47.6 as

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[2] The other five SCs are distributed among 19 households, hence not generalisable.

against 25.0 among the Chamar. From this we can conclude that the average households size of SCs in Bihar and Jharkhand is more or less the same.

Table 2.9 : Size and Type of Households among Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

Sl.No.	Caste	No. of HHs (Avg. HH Size)	Less than five (%)	Five and above (%)	Nuclear (%)	Extended (%)
1.	Chamar	16 (5.94)	4 (25.0)	12 (75.0)	12 (75.0)	4 (25.0)
2.	Dom	21 (6.01)	6 (28.6)	15 (71.4)	11 (52.4)	10 (47.6)
	All 7 castes	56 (5.88)	16 (28.6)	40 (71.4)	40 (71.4)	16 (28.6)

West Bengal

In West Bengal there are 11 Scheduled Castes in 443 sample households selected from four panchayats and one urban area. The total population of these sample households is 2392, of whom 1193 are males and 1097 are females. The major SCs are Bagdi, Bauri, Bhuiyan, Chamar, Dhobi, Dom, Konai, Kami, Mal, Patni and Sarki[3]. The number of households of these castes varies between 20 and 70. Their average size is 5.39. The average household size of Chamar, Konai and Bagdi is high. It is 6.87 for Chamar, 6.23 for Konai and 5.86 for Bagdi. It is interesting to find that inspite of 50 percent households among the Chamar having less than five members, its average household size is the highest. This is due to the much larger household size of the remaining 50 percent of the households. Among the Konai, the Bagdi and Dom, the percentage of households having five or more members is 76.2, 70.8 and 70.8 respectively. Among the other SCs, the percentage varies between 50 and 60. The

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3 The remaining nine SCs have eight or less households.

percentage of nuclear households is highest among the Chamar(87.5%), followed by the

Dom (87.1%). It is lowest among the Bagdi (69.2%).

Table 2.10 : Size and Type of Households among Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Sl.No.	Caste	No. of HHs (Avg. size of HHs)	Less than five (%)	Five and above (%)	Nuclear (%)	Extended (%)
1.	Bagdi	65 (5.86)	19 (29.2)	46 (70.8)	45 (69.2)	20 (30.8)
2.	Bauri	47 (4.98)	19 (40.4)	28 (59.6)	40 (85.1)	7 (14.9)
3.	Bhuiya	30 (4.70)	15 (50.0)	15 (50.0)	24 (80.0)	6 (20.0)
4.	Chamar	48 (6.87)	24 (50.0)	24 (50.0)	42 (87.5)	6 (12.5)
5.	Dhobi	34 (5.38)	12 (35.3)	22 (64.7)	24 (70.6)	10 (29.4)
6.	Dom	20 (5.30)	6 (30.0)	14 (70.0)	14 (70.0)	6 (30.0)
7.	Kami	23 (5.26)	9 (39.1)	14 (60.9)	17 (73.9)	6 (26.1)
8.	Konai	21 (6.23)	5 (23.8)	16 (76.2)	15 (71.4)	6 (28.6)
9.	Mal	70 (4.90)	28 (40.0)	42 (60.0)	61 (87.1)	9 (12.9)
10.	Patni	30 (4.93)	15 (50.0)	15 (50.0)	23 (76.7)	7 (23.3)
11.	Sarki	30 (5.10)	13 (43.3)	17 (56.7)	22 (73.3)	8 (26.7)
	Total of all 20 castes	443 (5.39)	177 (40.0)	266 (60.0)	348 (78.6)	95 (21.4)

Scheduled Tribe

Jharkhand

The major Scheduled Tribes in the sample areas of Jharkhand are Ho, Lohara, Mahali, Munda, Oraon and Santhal. The others are Bhumij and Sauriya Paharia. The maximum number of ST households is represented by Ho with 184 households, followed by Santhal with 150 households. While Lohara (58) and Oraon (63) have more than 50 households. The remaining tribes have less than 20 households each.

The total household population of the *eight* STs with 544 households in Jharkhand is 2874. Of the total population, 1427 are males and 1447 are females. The average size of all ST households is 5.28. While the average household size of Mahali and Santhal is less than five, that of the Lohara, Munda, Oraon and Ho is more than the average household size of all ST households. However, none of these tribes have reached the average household size of   six or above. Except among the Mahali and the Santhal, where the percentage of households having household size of five or more numbers is 50 and 55 respectively, for the others, it varies between 62(Lohara) and 68(Munda). The percentage of nudear households varies from 76(Oraon) to 90 (Mahali).

Table 2.11 : Size and Type of Households among Scheduled Tribes in Jarkhand

Sl.No.	Tribe	No. of HHs (Avg. HH Size)	Less than five (%)	Five and above (%)	Nuclear (%)	Extended (%)
1.	Ho	184 (5.62)	60 (32.6)	124 (67.4)	152 (82.6)	32 (17.4)
2.	Lohara	58 (5.34)	22 (37.9)	36 (62.1)	49 (84.5)	9 (15.5)
3.	Mahali	48 (4.67)	24 (50.0)	24 (50.0)	43 (89.6)	5 (10.4)
4.	Munda	37 (5.40)	12 (32.4)	25 (67.6)	29 (78.4)	8 (21.6)
5.	Oraon	63 (5.44)	22 (34.9)	41 (65.1)	48 (76.2)	15 (23.8)
6.	Santhal	150 (4.86)	67 (44.7)	83 (55.3)	129 (86.0)	21 (14.0)
	Total All 8 Tribes	544 (5.28)	208 (38.2)	336 (61.8)	451 (82.9)	93 (17.1)

We can conclude that the nuclear household is pervasive both for SCs and STs in Bihar and Jharkhand. But its prodominance is greater amongst the STs of Jharkhand.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, the total sample households of STs is 557. The total population of these households is 2912, of which 1497 are males and 1415 are females. There are as many as twelve tribes represented in the sample households. The major Scheduled Tribes are Bhumij, Lodha, Mahali, Munda, Oraon and Santhal[4]. The average size of the sample households of all the twelve Scheduled Tribes is 5.22. The average size of the households among the Lodha, Mahali, and Munda is less than five. While the average size of households among the Bhumij is highest at 6.11, it is as low as 4.27 among the Lodha. The average size of households among the Santhal and Oraon is 5.17 and 5.50 respectively.

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[4] The remaining six STs have six or less households.

Table 2.12 : Size and Type of Households among Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Sl.No.	SC	No. of HHs (Avg. size of HHs)	Less than five (%)	Five and above (%)	Nuclear (%)	Extended (%)
1.	Bhumij	72 (6.11)	19 (26.9)	53 (73.6)	44 (61.1)	28 (38.9)
2.	Lodha	44 (4.27)	26 (59.1)	18 (40.9)	36 (81.8)	8 (18.2)
3.	Mahali	22 (4.95)	9 (40.9)	13 (59.1)	16 (72.7)	6 (27.3)
4.	Munda	22 (4.50)	14 (63.6)	8 (36.4)	19 (86.4)	3 (13.6)
5.	Oraon	78 (5.50)	32 (41.0)	46 (59.0)	58 (74.4)	20 (25.6)
6.	Santal	298 (5.17)	120 (40.3)	178 (59.7)	216 (72.5)	82 (27.5)
	Total of all 12 tribes	557 (5.22)	229 (41.1)	328 (58.9)	403 (72.4)	154 (27.6)

The percentage ST households having five or more members, is highest amongst the Bhumij with 74 percent and lowest among the Munda with 36 percent. Amongst the Oraon, Mahali and Santhal it is around 59 to 60 percent. Among the Bhumij the percentage of nuclear family is the lowest at 61.1, and among the Munda it is the highest at 86.4.

Household Structure : Summary

1. The average household size of Scheduled Castess in Bihar and Jharkhand is more or less the same (5.69 and 5.88 reply).

2. The nuclear household is pervasive among Scheduled Castess and Scheduled Tribes in all the three States of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. For the SCs it is 74.6 percent in Bihar, 62.2 percent in Jharkhand and 78.2 percent in West Bengal.

3. In West Bengal the incidence of nuclear households is more or less the same for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. But in Jharkhand it is conspicuously predominant among STs.

4. The relatively low incidence of nuclear households among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand is due to the much larger presence of extended households (47.6%).

5. The Chamar caste has almost uniformly the largest household size in all the three States. They are pervasively nuclear and their household size in Bihar and Jharkhand are comparable (75% large and 25% small). In West Bengal, they are predominantly nuclear (87.5%), but they are evenly distributed between small and large households (50% - 50%).

6. The Musahar caste (figuring only in Bihar) are conspicuous with the smallest average household size (3.75) which is almost entirely nuclear.

Limits and Limitations

Before concluding this chapter we must be clear about the scope of this study.

1) This study is limited to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the three States. Comparisons with non- Scheduled Caste and non Scheduled Tribe to simple statistical analysis.populations do not fall within the purview of this study.

2) Our sample of purposively selected panchayats and urban settlements within the three States, cannot do considered as representative of the respective States. For example, populous castes like the Namasudras in West Bengal have not figured prominently in our sample. Besides, certain regions and many districts are not covered by the study.

3) Compared to the volume of data collected, the analysis is selective and restricted

Notwithstanding these limitations, we can assert that our data do serve as pointers to trends which they reveal. These trends are not be generalisable for the States under study. Yet they are true for the areas studied. These should lead to valuable and serious hypotheses.

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CHAPTER - III

The Field : Introducing the Scheduled Communities

The Peoples' of India (POI) Project identified 450 Scheduled Castes out of 471 listed by the office of the Registrar General of India in 1963-64. Of those identified along with their segments, as many as 751 communities of SCs were located and studied (Singh 1993:1).

Correspondingly, out of 532 Scheduled Tribes identified by the Registrar General, 461 could be located. These, and their groups and segments, including territorial units, numbered 635 communities of tribals covered by the POI study (Singh 1994 :1-2).

In our study we covered 891 households of Scheduled Castes and 1101 of households of Scheduled Tribes.

Table 3.1 : Sample coverage of Scheduled Castes and

Tribes (Households).

State	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Total
Bihar	392	Nil	392
Jharkhand	56	544	600
West Bengal	443	557	1000
Total	891	1101	1992

We have already stated that castes/tribes which have at least twenty households in our sample will provide for any meaningful analysis. The only exception to this is the Dhobi in Bihar with only eight households. They figure in larger numbers in West Bengal.

To provide a context for the analysis of the Scheduled Castes/Tribes in our survey, it is necessary to provide brief introductions of them. We shall mainly depend on the Peoples of India project for this.

Table 3.2 : Distribution of Scheduled Caste households in Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal (Castes with 20 households and above)

Sl no	Castes	Bihar	Jharkhand	West Bengal	Total
1	**Chamar**	159	16	48	223
2	Dusadh	113	-	-	113
3	Mal	-	-	70	70
4	Musahar	69	-	-	69
5	Bagdi	-	-	65	65
6	Bauri	1	2	47	50
7	Dom	6	21	20	47
8	Dhobi	8	3	34	45
9	Bhuiya	-	6	30	36
10	Chaupal	29	-	1	30
11	Patni	-	-	30	30
12	Sarki	-	-	30	30
13	Kami	-	-	23	23
14	Konai	-	-	21	21

SCHEDULED CASTES

1. *CHAMAR*

The single largest caste in our sample is that of the Chamar with 223 households, constituting 25 percent of our sample. Probably they are the only pan-Indian SC. They and their segments or sub-groups are variously known as Chamar and Raidas in Uttar Pradesh; as Charmkar, Harijan and Ravidas in Bihar; as Joatia Chamar, Reghar, Raigar, Ramdasi and Ravidas in Chandigarh; Ravidas, Ramdasi, Arya and Mochi in Himachal Pradesh; as Jatavs or Jatias in Haryana; as Rishidas and Muchi in Tripura; as Chambhars and Hadis in Goa; in Gujarat they are grouped with Bhambi and similar names. They did not always inter-marry amongst each other, displaying regional variations. They also gave evidence of practising part of commensal restrictions in accordance with norms of

ritual hierarchy of the caste system. The set of castes from whom they accepted food and water, the castes from whom they did not, and the castes that did or did not accept food or water from them, varied regionally. Occupationally, their traditional association has been with hides, whether it is tanning or production of leather goods. It is, however, not necessary that their occupation be always associated with hides. They were cultivators and agricultural labourers in much larger numbers (Singh 1993: 301-22).

The Chamar caste has thrown up political leaders of national stature like Jagjivan Ram and Bhola Paswan Shastri (from Bihar) in the past, and Kansi Ram (from Punjab) in the present times. Bhola Paswan Shastri was thrice Chief Minister, and even held a cabinet rank at the Centre. Ms. Mayawati of Uttar Pradesh, was the first ever Scheduled Caste woman to become a Chief Minister of any State. In Bihar, they have been involved with the radical Maoist Naxalite Movement.

There were nearly 3m Chamars in Bihar in 1981, of which overwhelming numbers of workers were agricultural labourers (77%) and substantial numbers were cultivators (13%). Only 3.5 percent were engaged in manufacturing and processing. This indicates a drastic decline in their traditional craft (Singh 1993: 304-6).

Chamar, in Bihar, accepted water from Brahman, Rajput, Bania, Hajam, Turah and such other communities, but did not accept it from Dom and Muslim (306). The Census of 1981 reported a low literacy rate of 11.52 percent, with female literacy at 2.36 percent and male at 20.51 percent.

They generally used firewood, kerosene oil and cowdung cakes as fuel resources. For credit, they showed depencence on moneylenders and shopkeepers. Though electricity was generally out of their reach, radio listening was common. For health and medical needs they continued to rely heavily on indigenous resources (306).

2. *DUSADH*

All our 113 Dusadh households are from Bihar constituting 12.6 percent of our sample.

The Dusadhs (Dusadhs, Dusada) are found in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and in the Purulia district of West Bengal. Risley described them in 1891 as a degraded or refined cultivating caste of Bihar and Chotanagpur, largely employed as village watchmen, messengers and palanquin bearers. The mother tongue of Patwar Dusadh is Hindi, whilst that of the Gope Dusadh (largely concentrated in Purulia) is Bengali.

The Dusadhs in Bihar, claimed Gaihlot Chhatri status of the Kshatriya as descendents of Arjuna, the mythical hero of Mahabharata.   In 1981, along with Dhari and Dharki castes associated with Dusadhs, they constituted nearly 2.7m, close to the Chamar population. Like the Chamar, they were overwhelmingly agricultural labourers (74.8%) and cultivators (15.2%). Their literacy rate was 12.43 percent (female 2.96%, male 21.47%) (Singh 1993: 505-510).

In present times they have thrown up a leader of national stature in Ram Vilas Paswan.

They accepted water from Brahman, Rajput, Yadav, Bania, Hojam, Turah and castes of similar standing, whilst refusing it from Chamar, Dom, Dhobi and Muslim (509).

3. *MAL*

The Mal with 70 households are from West Bengal, constituting 7.86 percent of our sample.

The origin of Mal is traced to Malla Kshatriyas. They are mainly to be found in Birbhum, but they are also distributed in other districts of West Bengal. Like the Dusadhs, they were employed as village watchmen. But they were basically a cultivating caste. The sub-groups amongst them were further differentiated by occupation. Thus

Chatradharis held umbrellas during marriages; Sapurias were snake-charmers; Paharias collected and sold firewood; others worked mainly as agricultural labourers.

The Census of 1981 recorded 2.05 lakhs population of Mal. Nearly 67 percent of the workers were agricultural labourers and 16.3 percent were cultivators. Another 3.81 percent were in livestock and animal husbandry, whilst nearly 13 percent were in other services. Their literacy level was 12.16 percent (female 5.49% and male 18.55%) (Singh 1993: 870-71).

4.   *MUSAHAR*

We have 69 households of Musahars in our sample, all from Bihar.

Musahar are a caste which is to be found in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Purnea, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran, Hazaribagh, Santal Parganas and other districts of Bihar. Risley thought that they were an offshoot of the Bhuiya tribe of Chota Nagpur. Musahar, literally, could either mean a flesh-seeker, i.e. hunter, or a rat catcher or eater.

Their population, according to 1981 Census, was 1.39m. Their literacy was at an insignificant 2.2 percent (male 4.01% and female 0.32%). They were predominantly agricultural labourers (95.34%) with few cultivators (2.52%).

Surprisingly, they were reported as accepting food and water from all except the Chamars (Singh 1993: 964-5).

It is interesting that Musahar participation in agrarian conflict have found expression from their own leadership and they are supposed to have played an important part in the Naxalite Movement.

5. *BAGDI*

There are 65 households of Bagdi in our sample. They are exclusively in the West Bengal sample.

The Bagdi is concentrated mainly in western and central West Bengal. They regarded themselves as Byagra Kshatriya. Their traditional occupations have been fishing and cultivation. They were notified as Bagdi, Duley in West Bengal with a population of 1.8m. They too have been palanquin bearers. There were a larger proportion of cultivators compared to the above castes at 21.73 percent, whereas the larger population were agricultural labourers (64.5%). Only about 3 percent were in fishing, whilst around 11 percent were in services.   Commensal restrictions practiced, if at all, were not reported (Singh 1993: 63-66). They had a literacy rate of 14.6% (male 21.7%, female 5.9%).

6. *BAURI*

Our sample consisted of 50 households of Bauri. They figured mainly in West Bengal with a neligible few in Jharkhand (2) and Bihar (1).

The Bauri is to be found mostly in Purulia, Bankura, Birbhum and Burdhaman districts of West Bengal. They are also to be found in Bihar and Orissa. Risley described them as cultivating, earth-working, palanquin-bearing caste of Western Bengal'. In 1981 their population in West Bengal was 7, 32, 205.

As per 1981 Census, 69.10 percent of the workers were agricultural labourers, 13.11 percent were cultivators, 1.23 percent were in forestry or rearing live-stock, 4.29 percent were in mining and 12.27 percent were in other services.

They were considered low in the caste hierarchy. They accepted water and food from castes such as Kayastha, Napit, Goala but not from Santhal, Bhumij and Bhuiyas, whom they regarded as untouchables (Singh 1993: 175-7).

They had a literacy rate of 9-4 percent with 15.9 percent male and 2.4 percent female literate.

7. *DOM*

There are 21 households of Dom in Jharkhand, 20 in West Bengal and one in Bihar in our sample totalling 47 households.

The Dom are spread over Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. They are not to be confused with Dombara or Domb of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala.

Scavenging, mat-weaving and basketry, drum beating, removal of dead carcass and attending to cremation grounds, are the traditional occupations associated with the Dom. Many of them have found employment as sweepers in government and private organizations.

In Bihar they were notified as Dom and Dhangad with a population in 1981 at 2 lakhs. They dug graves, cremated bodies and made baskets out of bamboo, reared pigs and in addition, they were employed in municipal corporations, government and private establishments as Jamadars. Moving out of their traditional occupations they were into wage labour, rickshaw pulling, selling charcoal. As workers, 37.4 percent were in basketry (household industry), 28.5 percent were agricultural labours, 10.1 percent were cultivators. The rest, 24 percent were in services (mainly as Jamadars etc.). Their literacy rate was at 7.99 percent (male 13.45%, female 2.11%). There is no mention of communal hierarchy of food and water transactions, but they have been regarded as one of the lowest in the scale of untouchability (Singh 1993: 483-5).

In West Bengal they were notified as Dom and Dhangad, with a population of 231,595 in 1981. Their traditional occupation has been basket-making, producing winnowing fans and thatching houses.

In 1981, 25.7 percent of the workers were in their traditional occupation (household industry), 42 percent were agricultural labourers, 8.6 percent were cultivators

and 23.7 percent were in other services. Their literacy rate was 12.6 percent (male 19.8%, female 4.8%).

8. *DHOBI*

We have 45 households of Dhobis in our sample, 34 from West Bengal, 8 from Bihar and 3 in Jharkhand. The Dhobi are also known as Dhopa in West Bengal, Rajaka in Orissa; as Shukladas, Shuklabaidya and Sabhasunder in Tripura; Dhoba, Rajak, Dhupi and Suklavaidya in Assam; Dhobi and Rajak in Uttar Pradesh; and by one or more of these names in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and some other states in the North East.

Their traditional occupation has to do with washing clothes. In 1981, they were about 5.5 lakhs population in Bihar. The surname associated with them are Ram, Baitha, Das and Prasad. Nearly 23 percent of the workers were in their traditional occupation of washing clothes, 28 percent were cultivators, 40 percent were agricultural labourers and the remaining 9 percent were engaged in other services. Their literacy rate was 18.6 percent (male literacy 30.7%; female literacy 5.9%) (Singh 1993: 442-53).

In West Bengal their population was 2.5 lakhs. Nearly 23.3 percent of the workers were in their traditional occupations, 24.1 percent were cultivators, 24.4 percent were agricultural labourers, the rest 28 percent were engaged in various other services.

Their literacy rate at 38.8 percent, was decidedly higher in comparison to the other castes (male 50.4%, female 25.9%).

Commensal restrictions associated with them are not stated.

9. *BHUIYAN*

Of the 36 Bhuiyan households in our sample, 30 are from West Bengal and 6 from Jharkhand. They are to be found mainly in the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Malda, and Midnapur in West Bengal. In Bihar and Jharkhand they are mainly spread over the districts of Gaya, Nawada, Aurangabad, Nalanda, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Palamau. Uttar Pradesh also has a small population (8145).

Their population in Bihar in 1981 was 8.5 lakhs and in West Bengal it was less than a lakh (93,411). In Bihar 75.6 percent were agricultural labourers , 14.2 percent were cultivators and 5.6 percent were in mining and quarrying. In comparison, in West Bengal 50.6 percent were agricultural labourers, 21.9 percent were cultivators, 11 percent were in mining and quarrying, with the remaining 16.5 percent in other services. Traditionally they have been associated with agriculture.

Their literacy rate in Bihar was very low at 4.30 percent, with a male literacy of 7.7 percent and female of 0.77 percent. In West Bengal, they were better off with 14.2 percent literacy (female literacy 4.6% and male literacy 23.0%).

Once again commensal restrictions do not find mention (Singh 1993: 266-71).

10. *CHAUPAL*

Our sample has 30 households of Chaupal, all except one, from Bihar.

They are also known as Basak and Tanti and are concentrated in the north eastern districts of Purnea and Katihar in Bihar. They were 44,372 in Bihar in 1981.

Nearly 74.5 percent workers were agricultural labourers, 4.8 percent were in manufacturing processing and servicing, 15 percent were cultivators and a small number, 3 percent in trade and commerce, and another 2.71 percent in other services.

Their literacy rate was 8.8 percent (16% male and 1.5% female). They accepted food and water from all communities except the Mehtar (Singh 1993: 362-4).

11. *PATNI*

All the 30 households of Patni are from West Bengal in our sample.

Patnis are found mainly in Assam and West Bengal. They are also to be found in a few thousands in Tripura and Manipur.

Traditionally they are ferrymen, repairing boats and also musicians in Tripura. In West Bengal their population in 1981 was 22,466 (11,512 males, 10.954 females). They use surnames of Haldar, Biswas, Sarkar and Das.

In 1981 43.1 percent of the workers were agricultural labourers, 21.9 percent were cultivators, 9.4 percent were in other than household industry, 8.0 percent in household industry, 6.1 percent in transport (in their traditional occupation), 6.9 percent in sundry occupations, whilst only 4.6 percent were engaged in trade and commerce.

The literacy rate was 25.3 percent (males 35.3% , females 15.1%). Commensal restrictions do not find much mention except that they accepted water and pucca food from Brahman, Kayastha, Kapali and so on (Singh 1993: 1086-89).

12. *SARKI (NEPALI)*

Like the Patni, all the 30 households of Sarki in our sample are from West Bengal.

The Sarki, also called Nepali, are to be found mainly in Darjeeling district of West Bengal. They are also to be found in Sikkim in small number (population of 604 in 1981). They are originally a cobbler caste and referred to as Chamar in Sikkim. They are also known as Mistry, Karighar or Kanikar.

Their population in 1981 was 11,292. Majority of the workers, 44.8 percent were in tea plantations, 20.5 percent were cultivators, 18.3 percent were in other services, 8.2 percent were agricultural labourers, whilst 8.1 percent were in manufacturing, processing etc., which include their traditional occupation.

Their literacy rate was 27.3 percent (male 37.9% and female 16.8%). They speak Nepali and Bengali (Singh 1993: 1170-73).

13. *KAMI (NEPALI)*

We have 23 households of Kami in our sample, all in West Bengal.

The Kami like the Sarki are also known as Nepali and inhabit the same regions of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. In 1981 they were a population of 42,493 in West Bengal.

The workers constituted 31.7 percent of the population (42.13% male, 21.18% female).   Their traditional occupations related to ironsmithy, goldsmithy and coppersmithy. Only 12.6 percent remained in manufacturing and processing, and another 3.51 percent in household industry, indicating their continuation in the traditional occupation. Otherwise, like the Sarki, a substantial percentage were in tea plantation

(43.1%), 17.6 percent were cultivators, only 6.7 percent were agricultural labourers and 9.0 percent were in other than household industries.

Their literacy rate was higher than the Sarki at 34.7 percent (45.7% male, 23.6% female). They did not accept food and water from Sarki.

14. *KONAI*

Our sample consists of 21 households of Konai, all in West Bengal and from Birbhum.

They are considered to be a cultivator caste and were a population of 71,423 in 1981. They were regarded low in the caste hierarchy but considered themselves higher than the Muchi and Dom.

The percentage of workers in the population was 29.2% in 1981 (52.99% male, 3.58% female). Most of them were agricultural labourers (56.0%), whilst 29.6 percent were cultivators. A small number were in household industry (2.9%), yet smaller number in other-than-household industry (1.80%) and 9.8 percent were in other services. Their literacy level was 15.91 percent (23.94% male, 7.26% female).

The general literacy for SCs of the State was 24.37 percent.

Table 3.3 : Population, literacy rates, percentage of workers as agricultural labourers   and in their traditional occupations of the 14 castes in the States of Bihar (including present Jharkhand) and West Bengal 1981.

Sl. No.	Caste	State	Popn	Literacy (%)			Workers %			Workers %		
				M	F	T	M	F	T	Agri lab	Tradi occup	Culti
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Chamar	Bihar	3 m	20.5	2.4	11.5	50.7	18.0	34.5	77.0	3.5	13.0
	Chamar	W.B.	0.7 la	21.9	5.5	14.4	55.7	5.5	32.7	44.8	24.0	13.4
2	Dusadh	Bihar	2.7 m	21.5	3.0	12.4	51.6	15.2	33.9	74.8	10.0	15.2
3	Mal	W.B.	2.1 la	18.6	5.5	12.2	54.5	13.2	34.3	67.0	(16.3)	(16.3)
4	Musahar	Bihar	1.4 m	4.0	0.3	2.2	59.2	33.7	46.7	(95.3)	(95.3)	2.5
5	Bagdi	W.B.	1.8 m	21.7	5.9	14.0	52.9	7.1	30.4	64.5	3.0	21.7
6	Bauri	W.B.	0.7 la	15.9	2.7	9.4	50.8	21.7	36.6	69.1	(13.1)	(13.1)
7	Dom	Bihar	2.0 la	13.5	2.1	8.0	55.3	23.4	40.0	28.5	37.4	10.1
	Dom	W.B.	2.3 la	19.8	4.8	12.6	54.3	16.6	36.2	42.0	25.7	8.6
8	Dhobi	Bihar	5.5 la	30.7	6.0	18.6	47.9	10.5	29.6	40.0	23.0	28.2
	Dhobi	W.B.	2.5 la	50.4	25.9	38.8	46.9	5.0	27.0	24.4	23.3	24.2
9	Bhuiya	W.B.	0.9 la	23.0	4.6	14.2	52.4	19.8	56.9	50.6	72.2	21.6
10	Chaupal	Bihar	0.4 la	16.0	1.5	8.8	57.2	10.5	34.2	74.5	4.8	15.0
11	Patni	W.B.	0.2 la	35.3	15.1	25.4	51.3	8.6	30.5	43.1	9.4	21.9
12	Sarki	W.B.	0.1 la	37.9	16.8	27.3	43.9	20.0	31.9	8.2	8.1	20.5
13	Kami	W.B.	0.4 la	45.7	23.6	34.7	42.1	21.2	31.7	6.7	16.1	17.6
14	Konai	W.B.	0.7 la	23.9	7.3	15.9	53.0	3.6	29.2	56.0	29.6	29.6

Source: Compiled from K.S. Singh, The Scheduled Castes, 1993.

Note: (1)   In Col.4 `m' denotes million and `la' denotes lakh.
   (2) Figures within brackets ( ) indicate the coincidence of traditional occupation.

It will be obvious from the census 1981 figures that the levels of underdevelopment of the above 12 castes vary according to literacy rates and percent workers who are agricultural labourers.   Further, it is interesting to note the percent workers who continued to pursue their traditional occupation.

The four 'millionaire castes' that figure in our sample, are the Chamar, Dusadh, Bagdi and Musahar.

It is important to state that the percentage of workers in the traditional occupation of castes can be identified by the occupational categorisation of the Census that is

supposed to circumscribe it. By and large it is assumed that, they reflect a correspondence. Strictly speaking, the specific traditional occupation will be equal to or less than, the Census classification. Accordingly, the traditional occupations of weaver/cobbler/leather worker of the Chamar, Sarki and Chaupal should be reflected in the Census category of 'manufacturing/processing'; 'other services' will reflect watchmen, messenger, washing clothes etc. for the Dusadh and Dhobi; 'household industry' will reflect basket-making etc. for the Dom; and so on. In some cases the Census categories like 'cultivators', 'agricultural labourers' coincide with the traditional categories, as in the case of Mal, Musahar, Bauri and Bhuiya.

It is instructive to analyse how the castes that have figured in our sample have fared in 1981 census.

Let us first begin by castes highest on percent workers as agricultural labourers, say, 70 percent and above. There are six castes in this category : Musahar (95.3%), Chamar (77%), Bhuiya (75.6%), Dusadh (74.8%) and Chaupal (74.5%). It may be noted, that for the Chamar, (who are also to be found in West Bengal as per our sample of 48 households), the data on literacy, worker classification and population are not given for West Bengal. We are therefore not in a position to compare the Chamar in Bihar with those of West Bengal as we can do for the Dhobi. For the other four castes, which, are to be found mainly in Bihar, the data pertain to Bihar (including the present Jharkhand).

These castes with high worker participation as agricultural labourers are associated with low literacy rates : Musahar (2.2%), Chamar in Bihar (11.5%), Bhuiya (4.31%), Dusadh (12.4%) and Chaupal (8.8%). The converse, however, is not always true. For example, the Dom with only 28.5% as agricultural labourers, are at a low literacy level (8%) in Bihar. But with a higher percentage of agricultural labourers in West Bengal (42%), they are somewhat higher in literacy at 12.6% (comparing favourably with the Dusadh in Bihar). The Dom in Bihar are more into their traditional occupation (37.4%) than their counterparts in West Bengal (25.7%). They are also better represented in the other services. It is difficult to assess whether the larger percentage of

Dom workers are better off with their traditional occupations in Bihar, as compared to their counterparts in West Bengal with a larger percentage into agricultural labour. If we assume their condition to be equivalent, then it would appear that their better literacy level in West Bengal had not improved their material condition when compared with the Dom in Bihar. The Bauri with 69.1 percent of their workers as agricultural labourers, with a low litereacy rate of 9.4 percent, falls in this category of castes.

Let us now take the castes which had the highest percentage of workers as cultivators of land, say, 20 percent and above. There are four castes in this category : Dhobi in Bihar (28.2%) and Dhobi in West Bengal (24.2) ; Patni in West Bengal (21.9%) ; Bagdi in West Bengal (21.7%) and Sarki in West Bengal (20.5%). Except for the Bagdi with a low literacy rate of 14 percent, the Dhobi in West Bengal (38.8%), the Sarki (27.3%) and the Patni (25.4%), (all in West Bengal), are amongst those having the highest literacy rates. However, the Dhobi in Bihar with second highest percentage of workers as cultivators (24.2%) were below 20 percent in literacy (18.6%).

Two observations can be made :

a.   All the four castes which correlate well combining higher cultivator status with higher literacy, were in West Bengal.

b.   The only caste with high cultivator status but somewhat lower literacy rate, the Dhobi, was from Bihar. However, even this somewhat lower literacy level, was the highest for Bihar.

Two inferences can be drawn from these findings :

a.   That high literacy and better cultivator status amongst Scheduled Castes presumably indicate the empowering function of literacy and education.

b.   As between Bihar and West Bengal, opportunities for literacy were better in West Bengal.

This will also be evident from the literacy ranges in the two states in 1981. In West Bengal the literacy range within which these castes fell were between a low of 9.4 percent (Bauri) and a high of 38.8 percent (Dhobi), whereas for Bihar this was from a low of 2.2 percent (Musahar) to a high of 18.6 percent (Dhobi). In Bihar, there was a wide gap in the literacy levels from the highest (Dhobi with 18.6%) to the next highest (Dusadh with 12.4%), with the Chamar coming a close third (11.5%).

If we were to do some rough ranking of these castes, the uniformly backward Musahar is the worst off, with the Bauri, Bhuiya, Chaupal, Dom occupying very low positions. In contrast, the Dhobi emerges on the top along with Patni and Sarki (with a sizeable number of workers in tea plantation) clearly indicating relatively better position.

At one level of analysis, whole castes can be seen as performing at different rates; at another, even within some not so well-off castes, there seem to be those performing better than many others.

SCHEDULED TRIBES

Following the pattern of the Scheduled Castes we shall discuss those tribes which have figured in our sample with 20 or more households. These are : Santhal, Ho, Oraon, Bhumij, Mahali, Munda, Lohara and Lodha. We should remember that the Census figures for the Scheduled Tribes in Bihar, more or less correspond with the new State of Jharkhand.

Table 3.4 : Distribution of Scheduled Tribe households in Jharkhand and West Bengal (Tribes with 20 households and above)

Sl. No.	Tribe	Jharkhand	West Bengal	Total
1	Santhal	150	298	448
2	Ho	184	-	148
3	Oraon	63	78	141
4	Bhumij	3	72	75
5	Mahali	48	22	70
6	Munda	37	22	59
7	Lohara	58	-	58
8	Lodha	-	44	44

1. *SANTHAL*

In our sample we had 448 households of Santhal, 40.7 percent of our sample, spread over Jharkhand and West Bengal.

The Santhal are the third largest tribal community in India inhabiting the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Tripura. The Santhal of Assam are not included in the list of Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Tribe Santhal population in India in 1981 was 4.3m. The largest concentration of Santhal is in Bihar (including Jharkhand) with a population of 2,060,730, followed by West Bengal 1,666,610. Their traditional homeland has been the Chotonagpur plateau from where they migrated to Birbhum and the Santhal Paraganas after the famine of 1770.

In erstwhile *Bihar* (including Jharkhand) they are to be found mainly in the districts of Dumka, Godda, Sahebganj, and Deoghar (Santhal Parganas), and also in Hazaribagh, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Bhagalpur and Purnea. There have been conversions to Christianity from 1.79 percent Christians in 1961 to 3.29 percent in 1981. A significant development is the revival of their traditional religion, from 6.74 percent in 1961 to 13.89 percent in 1981. There is a near-corresponding decline in their returns to

the Census declaring themselves as Hindus, from 91.47 percent in 1961 to 82.62 percent in 1981. There is also a conscious revival of the Santhali language and all of them speak Santhali as their mother tongue.

In 1981, 66.56 percent were cultivators, 23.9 percent were agricultural labourers, 2.6 percent were in mining and quarrying, and 6.9 percent were in other occupations. As many as 36.9 percent of the total population were returned at workers.

Their literacy rate was 12.5 percent (20.8% male, 4.1% female), which was lower than the general tribal literacy rate of 17.0 percent.

In *West Bengal*, in contrast, 43.1 percent of the Santhal returned themselves as workers, of these 36.0 percent were cultivators, 56.2 percent were agricultural labourers and 6.7 percent were in other occupations. A very small percentage were still pursuing their traditional occupation of hunting and food gathering. It would be more apt to describe them as settled cultivators. Their literacy rate at 12.5 percent was almost at the same level as the Santhal in Bihar (20.8% male, 4.0% female).

Their conversion to Christianity was nearly the same as in Bihar (3.3%). So also was the pace at which traditional religion expanded from 2.9 percent in 1961 to 15.3 percent in 1981. As many as 81.4 percent returned themselves as Hindu in 1981.

The Santhal have been historical heroes having waged the peasant wars in 1855-56 against moneylenders and middlemen. A separate territorial administration of the Santhal Parganas had to be created for them. They led a vigorous reform movement, the Kharwar movement in 1870. Subsequently, they participated in the freedom struggle. Thereafter, they spearheaded the movement for a separate Jharkhand State, which became a reality in 2001. The Santhal has also participated in the left extremist movements for agrarian transformation. The name of Jangal Santhal had acquired the proportions of a legend during this period (Singh 1994 : 1041-1046).

2. *HO*

The 184 households of Ho in our sample are all from Jharkhand. They constitute 16.71 percent of our sample.

Tho Ho are concentrated in the Kolhar area of Singhbhum district of the erstwhile Bihar (including Jharkhand) although they are also to be found in Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. They were earlier known as Kol or Larka Kol. There were 536,523 Ho in Bihar in 1981.

Like the Santhal they have been in settled cultivation. In 1981, 60.1 percent were cultivators, 24.3 percent were agricultural labourers, 7.4 percent were in manufacturing, processing etc and 8.2 percent were in other occupation. As many as 38.7 percent of them were workers.

Their literacy rate at 17.7 percent in Bihar, was better than those of the Santhal in Bihar and West Bengal (with male 29.3%, female 6.4%).

The Ho have been practicing their tribal religion in predominant numbers, which too have been increasing. In 1961, 73.3 percent followed the tribal religion, which increased to 81.7 percent in 1981. The Christian population increased from 0.6 percent in 1961 to 1.4 percent in 1981. Those professing Hinduism declined from 26.2 percent in 1961 to 16.5 percent in 1981.

The Ho also have a record of participating in the Kol rebellion and later contributed to the formation of Jharkhand as a new State (Singh 1994 : 404-07).

3. *ORAON*

In our study we have 141 households of Oraon spread over Jharkhand and West Bengal.

The Oraon are concentrated in the Chotanagpur region of erstwhile Bihar (including Jharkhand), but are also present in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and Maharashtra.

In erstwhile *Bihar* their population in 1981 was one million. Their tribal language is Kurukh. They are now mainly settled cultivators. As per 1981 Census, 66.5 percent were cultivators, 18.6 percent were agricultural labourers, 3.8 percent were in other than household industries, whilst 11.1 percent were in other occupations. As many as 36.1 percent of their population were workers.

Their literacy rate at 23.3 percent   (male 32.4%, female 14.2%) is above the general tribal literacy of 16.99 percent.

The Oraon in Bihar is well known for the Tana Bhagat Movement for socio-economic reforms.   They played a significant role during the freedom struggle as followers of Gandhi and supporters of the Indian National Congress. The Tana Bhagats formed a community of some ten thousand or more in 1981.

They were reported to have observed commensal restrictions by not accepting food and water from the Lohra, Gorait, Mahli and Chik.

Conversion to Christianity is significant with 21.1 percent in 1981. Only 58.4 percent returned themselves as Hindus, whilst 15.5 percent declared themselves as followers of tribal religion, which is on steady increase since 1961.

In West Bengal the Oraon are to be found in the districts of Jalpaiguri in North Bengal, in Midnapur and 24 Parganas. They were a population of 437,574 in 1981.

The total workers in the population was 38.1 percent (49.6% male, 25.9% female), of these 44.0 percent were in plantation, 24.0 percent were cultivators and 21.1 percent were agricultural labourers. Those engaged in other occupations were 10.9 percent.

Their literacy level was low at 12.7 percent (19.3% males, 5.7% females).

The Christian community of Oraon was 14.5 percent, with more of them declaring themselves as Hindu (85.3%). Interestingly, only 0.1 percent can be inferred as following the traditional religion (Singh 1994 : 948-52; 953-54).

4.   *BHUMIJ*

In our sample we had 75 households of Bhumij. Except 3, all are in West Bengal.

They were described as a Hinduised section of the Munda by Risley.   They are to be found in the districts of Midnapur, Purulia, Bankura and 24 Parganas and numbered 2,33,906 in 1981.

In West Bengal, Bhumij were tradionally cultivators who also hunted and trapped brids and animals in the forests. Of their total population, 40.6 percent (54.0% males, 26.8% females) were workers in 1981. Unlike the Santhal, Ho and Oraon, 63.9% had turned agricultural labourers and 28.9 percent remained as cultivators. Only 1.5 percent were in forestry, hunting etc., whilst 5.7 percent were in other services.

The literacy was at 14.8 percent (males 25.4% , females 4.0%) and 98.6 percent of Bhumij declared themselves Hindu in 1961. The Christian percentage among them is negligible, whilst those following their tribal religion were only 2.3 percent in 1971.

The Bhumij in erstwhile Bihar are notified as Scheduled only in South Chotanagpur and in Santhal Parganas with a population of 136,109 in 1981.

The total workers numbered 38.6 percent, of whom 48.7 percent were cultivators, 39.9 percent were agricultural labourers, 4.2 percent were in manufacturing, processing etc., the rest 7.3 percent were in other occupations such as livestock rearing, forestry, mining, quarrying, construction etc.

Their literacy rate in erstwhile Bihar was 16.5 (28.55% male, 4.2% female).

Both at the level of percentage of workers as cultivators and literacy, the Bhumij seem to be better off in erstwhile Bihar, than in West Bengal (Singh 1994 : 167 – 170).

5. *MAHALI / MAHLI*

The 70 households of Mahali in our sample are spread over Jharkhand and West Bengal.

In erstwhile *Bihar*, they are to be found in the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Gumla, Lohardaga, Singhbhum and Jharkhand districts, which now form the new State of Jharkhand. Their population in 1981 was 91,868.

They were supposed to be labourers, palanquin bearers and producers of bamboo goods at the time of Risley. They were also cultivators. There were 42.4 percent workers amongst them in 1981, of whom 43.4 percent were in basketry (household industry), 23.8 percent were cultivators, 19.0 percent were agricultural labourers, 3.0 percent were in mining, quarrying and 10.8 percent were in other occupations.

Their literacy rate was a low of 11.7 percent (19.6% male, 3.4% female).

They were predominantly returned as Hindus in 1981 (82.5%), with a small Christian population of 2.3 percent, and a growing population that were reviving their traditional religion (10.7%).

In *West Bengal*, there were 10,827 Mahli in 1981, and another 50,288 notified separately as Mahali.

Amongst the Mahli, 45.4 percent were returned as workers; whilst amongst the Mahali 43.39 percent were workers in 1981. Corresponding figures for both, in household industry was 37.9 percent (Mahli) and 27.1 percent (Mahali) ; in forest produce and animal husbandry, 13.7 percent (Mahli) and 29.1 percent (Mahali) ; as agricultural labourers, 24.2 percent (Mahli) and 23.0 percent (Mahali) ; as cultivators, 10.8 percent (Mahli) and 10.1 percent (Mahali); in other services, 13.5 percent (Mahli) and 10.4 percent (Mahali).

The literacy rates vary from 10.3 percent for Mahli to 14.2 percent for Mahali. The male literacy rate of 16.0 percent and female of 3.8 percent are given only for Mahli.

In 1981, 97.4 percent Mahli were returned as Hindu, whilst the corresponding percentage for Mahali was 94.8% ; there were 1.8 percent Mahli Christians as against 3.1 percent Mahali Christians ; 0.8 percent Mahli followed 'other religion' (traditional religion), whilst 2.0 percent Mahali followed their traditional religion (Singh 1994 : 705 – 9).

6. *MUNDA*

Our sample of 59 households of Munda is distributed between Jharkhand and West Bengal.

The Munda are to be found in the States of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Tripura and Madhya Pradesh. Their population in erstwhile *Bihar* was 8,45,887 in 1981. Most of them speak the Mundari language. They have been cultivators, combining hunting and collection of forest produce. In 1981, 37.7 percent of them were workers, of whom 69.2 percent were cultivators, 17.7 percent were agricultural labourers, 2.4 percent were in mining and quarrying and 10.7 percent were in other occupations such as household industry, construction and service.

Their literacy rate was 22.2 percent (31.9%) male, 12.5% female).

Only 45.6 percent returned their religion as Hindu, whilst those following their traditional religion, *Sarna*, were 26.5 percent, which showed steady increase over the decades, and 27.7 percent were Christian.

The Munda have repeatedly resisted break up of their traditional agrarian system. As early as 1819-20 the Tamar insurrection took place. This was followed by the Kol insurrection (1831-32). The Sardar agitation which began as early as in 1850, carried on for nearly 40 years against forced labour, expelling landlords. The Birsa Munda uprising (1874-1901) is legend. It compelled the enactment of a new law by the British to safeguard the Munda land system. Finally, Munda leadership in the movement for the new State of Jharkhand, is well recognised.

In *West Bengal*, they are variously known as Kharia Munda, Munda Majhi, Kol Munda, Bhumij Munda, Mahali Munda, Nanki Munda and so on. They are found in the districts of Midnapur, Purulia, West Dinajpur, Malda, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and had a population of 2,30,016 in 1981.

In 1981, 41.1 percent of them were workers (53.8% male, 28.0% female). Amongst them, 20.7 percent were cultivators ; 44.3 percent were agricultural labourers; 25.8 percent were engaged in collection of forest produce, rearing livestock and hunting; the rest 9.2 percent were in other services.

Their literacy rate was 11.84 percent (19.3% male, 4.2% female).

In 1981, 92.0 percent returned themselves as Hindu and 7.6 percent as Christian. However, they worship their traditional deities and follow their traditional religion at the same time (Singh 1994 : 842 – 48).

7.   *LOHARA / LOHRA*

We studied 58 households of Lohara, all in Jharkhand.

The Lohara are to be found in the Chotanagpur plateau of erstwhile Bihar. They numbered 169,089 in 1981. Traditionally, they are ironsmiths.

In 1981, 38.3 percent of their population were returned as workers. Of them, 35.3 percent were cultivators, 31.1 percent were agricultural labourers, 16.7 percent were in household industry (ironsmithy), 7.8 percent were in other than household industry and 9.0 percent were in other occupations (livestock, forestry, mining, quarrying).

Their literacy rate was 12.7 percent (male 21.0% ; female 4.1%).

As many as 91.2 percent declared themselves as Hindu, 1.5 percent as Christian, 7.3 percent followed their traditional religion.

8.   *LODHA*

All the 44 households of Lodha in our sample are from West Bengal.

The Lodha were notified under the Criminal Tribes Act until its revocation. They are concentrated in western part of Midnapur district in West Bengal. They are now notified as Lodha and clubbed with Kheria and Kharia in West Bengal.

They were forest dwellers, but have been moved out. In 1981 their population was 53,718. Of them 40.4 percent were returned as workers (51.3% male ; 28.6% female). A large percentage, 39.9% were engaged in forestry, fishing, hunting etc., 38.5

percent were agricultural labourers, 15.8 percent were cultivators and 5.9 percent were in other services.

Their literacy rate was 9.3 percent (14.50% male, 3.7% female).

In 1981, 82.9 percent returned Hinduism as their religion, which showed a decline from 89.6 percent in 1961. The Christian population declined from 10.0 percent in 1961 to 4.7 percent in 1971, but climbed up steeply to 17.0 percent in 1981 (Singh 1994 : 694-96).

Some General Observations

It may be noted that out of the 8 tribes that figure in our sample with 20 households or more, only the Ho and Lohara are exclusively in the Bihar sample, and the Lodha are exclusively in the West Bengal sample. The other five tribes span the States of Bihar and West Bengal. There are no Lodha in Bihar and there are few Ho in West Bengal.

The Santhal as the largest tribe in Bihar and West Bengal, traditionally, have been landholding cultivators. In Bihar 66.6 percent were cultivators in 1981, whereas in West Bengal they were 36 percent. There was a much larger proportion of agricultural labourers in West Bengal (56.2%) than in Bihar (23.9%). Literacy levels were more or less the same in the two states.

Table 3.5 : Population, literacy rate, percentage of workers as agricultural labourers and in cultivation, percentage of population returning their religion, among the Scheduled Tribes in Bihar and West Bengal (1981).

Sl. No.	Tribe	State	Popn	Literacy(%)			Workers Total (%)	Workers(%)		Hin-du	Chri-stian (%)	Tradi-tional
				M	F	T		Agri. lab.	Culti-vator			
1	Santhal	Bihar	2.0m	20.8	4.1	12.6	37.0	23.9	66.6	82.6	3.3	13.9
		W.B.	1.7m	20.8	4.0	12.5	43.1	56.2	36.0	81.4	2.9	15.3
2	Ho	Bihar	0.5la	29.3	6.4	17.7	38.7	24.3	60.0	16.5	1.4	81.7
		W.B.	0.03	18.4	4.3	11.6	45.1	60.4	17.7			
3	Oraon*	Bihar	1.0m	32.4	14.2	23.3	36.1	18.6	66.5	58.4	21.1	15.5
		W.B.	0.4la	19.3	5.7	12.7	38.1	21.1	24.0	85.3	14.5	0.1
4	Bhumij	Bihar	1.4la	28.6	4.2	16.5	38.6	39.9	48.7	90.1	0.1	9.8
		W.B.	2.3la	25.4	4.0	14.8	40.6	63.9*	28.9	98.6	Negl	2.3
5	Mahali**	Bihar	0.9la	19.6	3.4	11.7	42.4	19.0	23.8	82.5	2.3	10.7
		W.B. Mahli	0.1la	16.0	3.8	10.3	45.4	24.2	10.8	97.4	1.8	0.8
		Mahali	0.5la	-	-	14.2	43.4	23.0	10.1	94.8	3.1	2.0
6	Munda	Bihar	8.5la	31.6	12.5	22.2	37.7	17.7	69.2	45.6	27.7	26.5
		W.B.	2.3la	19.3	4.2	11.8	41.1	44.3	20.7	92.0	7.6	Negl
7	Lohara***	Bihar	1.7la	21.0	4.1	12.7	38.3	31.1	35.3	92.2	1.5	7.3
		W.B.	0.2la	18.1	3.8	11.4	37.5	19.6	8.9			
8	Lodha***	W.B.	0.5la	14.5	3.7	9.3	40.4	38.5	15.8	82.9	17.0	Negl

Source: Peoples of India Project.

Note : 'm' stands for million and 'la' stands for lakh in the Popn. Col.

* 44.0 percent of workers were in plantation in West Bengal

** 43.4 percent of workers were in basketry in Bihar and 37.9 percent in West Bengal (traditional occupation)

*** 16.7 percent of workers were in ironsmithy (traditional occupation). In W.B. 58.6% in livestock, plantation, orchard, and only 8.1% in traditional occupation.

**** 40.0 percent were in forestry, fishing, hunting (traditional occupation).

The Oraon, like the Santhal (66.6%), were largely cultivators in Bihar (66.5%). In West Bengal 24 percent were cultivators, and 44 percent were in tea plantations. Their literacy rate in Bihar was substantially higher than in West Bengal (23.3% and 12.7% respectively). One important variable that perhaps provides an explanation is religion. Among the Oraon, the Christian population is 21.1 percent, whilst the percentage of population reviving their traditional religion is a significant 15.5. In comparison, 85.3 percent in West Bengal identified themselves as Hindu.

The Bhumij in Bihar had a higher cultivator status in Bihar with 48.7 percent as compared to 28.9 percent in West Bengal.

There were 63.9 percent agricultural labourers in West Bengal as compared to 39.9 percent in Bihar. Literacy rate in Bihar (16.5%) also compared somewhat higher than in West Bengal (14.8%). The movement for revival of their traditional religion was marked in Bihar, but was hardly visible in West Bengal.

With respect to Mahali/Mahli, a similar pattern was observable, with 23.8 percent as cultivators in Bihar as compared to 10.1 percent to 10.8 percent in West Bengal ; and 19 percent agricultural labourers in Bihar as compared to 23 percent to 24.2 percent in West Bengal. However, in literacy the rate at 11.7 percent in Bihar as compared to 10.3 percent to 14.2 percent in West Bengal, was better in West Bengal.

The highest percentage of cultivators (69.2%) were amongst the Munda in Bihar. For the Munda in West Bengal it was only 20.7 percent. This was consistent with 17.7 percent agricultural labourers in Bihar, as compared to 44.3 percent in West Bengal. The literacy rates again display a wide margin, with 22.2 percent literacy in Bihar and only 11.8 percent literacy in West Bengal. The Munda in Bihar displayed the highest level of vigour in espousing their traditional religion and in conversion to Christianity (26.5% and 27.7% respectively). In comparison, in West Bengal they were only 7.6 percent Christian and hardly any revival of their traditional religion. The high literacy rate in Bihar can be attributed to Christian missionaries, as well as on account of the revival of their traditional religion.

Although the Lohara do not figure in our sample in West Bengal, they are lower in literacy in West Bengal (11.4% as against 12.7% in Bihar), lower in the percentage of cultivators (8.9% as against 35.3% in Bihar), and seem to have diversified into livestock, plantation, orchards 58.6% in West Bengal.

The Lodha, who are to be found exclusively in West Bengal, had the lowest level of literacy at 9.3 percent. Only 15.8 percent were cultivators, 38.5 percent were agricultural labourers, and a good 40 percent still depended on the forest. They were considered as one of the most backward tribal communities.

If we compare the literacy ranges for the tribes in West Bengal and Bihar, we get the following picture. In West Bengal, the Lodha were the lowest with 9.3 percent literacy, and the Bhumij highest with 14.8 percent. In comparison, in Bihar, the Mahali were lowest with 11.7 percent and the Oraon highest with 23.3 percent.

In West Bengal the situation of the Scheduled Castea seems to have been better than the Scheduled Tribes as per the three indicators of cultivator status, agricultural labour status and literacy levels. When it came to Scheduled Tribes, Bihar seems to have done better. How do we make sense of this ?

We have to be cautious before jumping to hasty conclusions about the relative performance of Bihar and West Bengal with respect to Scheduled Castes and Tribes. We must bear in mind that a high percentage of workers or for that matter a low percentage of cultivators, need not, ipso-facto, signal a high or a low status of a given caste/tribe. It can be argued, that a high percentage of workers in a caste/tribe may reflect its high 'earner' status but not necessarily its high 'earning' status.

We should keep in mind that the problem of the Scheduled Castes needed to be approached from a somewhat different perspective. They suffered from a cumulative inequality of both caste and class. Further, they were spatially dispersed in their social settings. The problems of the Scheduled Tribes by and large, are qualitatively different. The tribal communities and groups carried their own distinct identities in terms of their social and cultural organisation, economic activities as well as their own political systems. The caste system, generally speaking, was external to them. The norms of their internal regulation were not guided by the hierarchical system of caste. They were communities with assets such as land, forest, dwellings, water resources, designed in conformity with their social organisation of production. Most of them were settled agriculturalists with lands of their own and lived a communitarian way of life in identifiable physical habitations.

Untouchability in its different forms, was the degrading feature of the Scheduled Castes, which tended to keep them in a perpetual state of economic deprivation, social backwardness and political oppression. The Scheduled Tribes, in comparison, were self-sustaining communities, which became targets of economic exploitation and political subservience over periods of colonial or hegemonic rule. In the process, they suffered alienation from their environment and assets. They were, generally speaking, socially developed in terms of their egalitarian norms of communitarian living, as well as, their largely non-stratified social organisation. In fact, the tribal communities, time and again, as we have observed, rebelled against alien intrusions into their territorial habitat and cultural moorings.

Within the framework of a modern, democratic, secular nation-state, the processes of change and transformation that have been released, need to be appreciated in terms of the objective conditions from which they flow. The 18 tribal districts of erstwhile Bihar, through sustained struggles spread over five decades, were able to transform themselves into the new State of Jharkhand. Indeed had the tribals of erstwhile Bihar been able to operate consistent with their aspirations within the framework of the State of Bihar, the desperate need for a separate Jharkhand State might not have taken such an acute form.

From this transformation, the adjoining states of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh need to draw their lessons. While the tribal aspirations for development issue out of 'restorative' perceptions, those that relate to the Scheduled Castes emanate from issues of economic upliftment and social justice. It is significant that like Jharkhand, the new State of Chattisgarh with a tribal concentration has also been carved out of Madhya Pradesh

It will be in the backdrop of this analysis that we will be able to follow the processes of change and transformation in our limited empirical study of the social development profile of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal.

CHAPTER – IV

Livelihood Status

1.   Earner Status

The most important aspect of the social development profile of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Ttribes is their livelihood status.   Earning members, their occupational pattern, consumption and expenditure pattern, and their assets are accepted determinants of livelihood status.

It is generally acknowledged that income data is not so reliable for a variety of reasons. In comparison, the data on consumption and expenditure are considered relatively reliable indicators. The data on assets is perhaps the most reliable. Notwithstanding this variability of reliability we have attempted to collect data on assets as well as consumption and expenditure. These parameters will provide useful insights.

Let us begin with a profile of the selected castes/tribes in terms of (a) the average number of earners per household and (b) their average size.   The percentage of average earners per household to the average household size of the respective castes/tribes will give at least a crude measure of their *earner status*.

At this point an important conceptual distinction needs to be made between *earner status* and *earning status*. A high earner status is not necessarily correlated with high earning status. The earner status of a caste/tribe by itself does not provide an any measure of its economic status. For example, let us assume that the earner status of 'X ' is 40 percent and that of 'Y' is 50 percent. This data by itself does not lead to the conclusion that the earning status of caste 'Y' is better than that of caste 'X'. It only indicates that there are more earners per household in caste 'Y' than in caste 'X'.   In order to arrive at a proper assessment of the economic status of castes/tribes we need to examine their

earning status. Ideally, this can be arrived through an assessment of incomes of castes/tribes per household. Since income data suffers from reliability problems, we propose that expenditure (as a proxy to income), consumption and asset-holdings can make for a better assessment of the economic status of castes/tribes.

Scheduled Caste

Bihar

The average number of earners per Scheduled Caste household in Bihar is 2.46 with average household size of 5.69 and earner status of 43.23 percent.

Table 4.1 : Earner status as percentage of average earners for households to average size of the households (SCs – Bihar)

Caste	Average size of HH	Average of earners per HH	Earner status (% of average earner to average HH size)
Chamar (159)	6.32	2.76	43.67
Chaupal (29)	6.28	3.31	52.71
Dusadh (113)	5.51	2.07	37.56
Musahar (69)	3.75	1.98	52.80
Dhobi (8)	8.80	2.50	28.40
All 9 Castes (392)	5.69	2.46	43.23

- Both Chaupal and Musahar have equivalent earner status with more than 52 percent earners in their households, though the average size of Musahar household is the smallest (3.75) and that of Chaupal is large (6.28).

- In spite of having the lowest average number of earners (1.98), the earner status of the Musahar is equivalent to that of Chaupal (53%), because of their small family size.

- The Dhobi caste, though not of significant sample size, has been introduced in the table to indicate very low earner status (28.4%) with very large average household size (8.8). We will see how the earner status of the Dhobi relates with their earning status.

- Likewise the Musahar and Chaupal have equivalent average earner status, but will they have similar earning status ?

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, the average number of earner per Scheduled Caste household at 2.30, with average household size of 5.88 and earner status of 39.12, comes close to Bihar.

Table 4.2 : Earner status as percentage of average earner per household to average size of the household (SCs Jharkhand)

Caste (Household)	Average size of HH	Average no. of earners per HH	Earner status (% of avg.earner to avg.HH size)
Chamar (16)	5.94	1.87	31.48
Dom (21)	6.01	2.33	38.77
All 7 castes (56)	5.88	2.30	39.12

- There is no significant difference in the earner status of the Chamar and the Dom in the urban setting of Ranchi.

West Bengal

In West Bengal we have 11 Scheduled Castes having average number of earners per household at 2.30 with average household size of 5.39 and an earner status of 42.67 percent. The average household size of 5.39 in West Bengal is the lowest among the Scheduled Castes of the three States.

Table 4.3: Earner status as percentage of average earners per household to average size of the households (SC-West Bengal)

Caste (Household)	Average size of HH	Average no. of earners per HH	Earner Status (% of avg.earner to avg. HH size)
Bagdi (65)	5.86	2.94	50.17
Bauri (47)	4.98	2.55	51.27
Bhuiyan (30)	4.70	2.57	54.61
Chamar (48)	6.87	1.70	24.74
Dhobi (34)	5.38	1.59	29.55
Dom (20)	5.30	2.30	43.40
Kami (23)	5.26	3.26	61.99
Konai (21)	6.23	2.24	35.96
Mal (70)	4.90	2.00	40.82
Patni (30)	4.93	1.93	39.15
Sarki (30)	5.10	3.03	59.41
All 20 Castes (443)	5.39	2.30	42.67

- There are two castes (Chamar and Dhobi) whose earners status is between 20 and 30 percent.

- The Konai and Patni have earner status in the range of 30 and 40 percent.

- The Dom and Mal have earner status in the range of 40 and 50 percent.

- The Bagdi, Bauri have earner status above 50 percent.

- The highest earner status is to be found among Sarki and Kami (around 60 %). It is significant that these two castes are ethnic Nepalese.

- The earner status of Dom is higher in West Bengal (44.7%) than in Jharkhand (38.8%).

- The earner status of Chamar is lowest in West Bengal (24.7%), higher in Jharkhand (31.5%), and highest in Bihar (43.7%).

- The earner status of Dhobi both in Bihar (28.4%) and West Bengal (29.6%) is very low and more or less equivalent.

Scheduled Tribes

In our sample there are no Scheduled Tribe households in Bihar.   The 18 districts of erstwhile Bihar which had almost all its tribal population, now constitutes the new State of Jharkhand. Our tribal sample cover the states of Jharkhand and West Bengal only.

Jharkhand

Of the 8 tribal communities that figure in our sample, only 6 (Ho, Lohara, Mahali, Munda, Oraon, Santhal) have populations sufficient for meaningful analysis. The two others tribals communities the Bhumij (3) and Sauria Paharia (1) are too few in a total sample of 544 households.

However, taking all sampled households, the sample population has an average number of earners per household at 2.67 and an earner status of 50.52%.

Table 4.4:   Earner status as percentage of average earners per household to average size of the household (ST,Jharkhand)

Tribe (Household)	Average size of HH	Average no. of earners per HH	% Earner Status Avg.earner to avg. HH size
Ho (184)	5.62	3.02	53.67
Lohara (58)	5.34	2.52	47.19
Mahali (48)	4.67	2.67	57.17
Munda (37)	5.40	1.84	34.07
Oraon (63)	5.44	2.00	36.76
Santhal (150)	4.86	2.75	56.58
All 8 tribes (544)	5.28	2.67	50.52

▪ The urban-based Munda (34.1%) and Oraon (36.8%) have the lowest earner status while the rural-based Mahali (57.2%), the Santhal (56.7%) and the Ho (53.7%) have highest.

- The Lohara, although predominantly urban, has a higher earner status (47.2%) in comparison to Munda and Oraon, and an equivalent status comparable to the rural-based Mahali (47.1%).

- The average household size among these tribal communities do not show much variation, ranging from 4.9 to 5.7.

West Bengal

As we move over to West Bengal, we have 12 tribal communities represented in our sample. Of these, only Bhumij, Lodha, Mahali, Munda, Oraon, and Santhal each with more than 20 households, enable us to do a meaningful analysis. The other 6 (Kisan, Asur, Chic Barik, Kora, Nagesia, Savar) together constitute only 21 households out of a total tribal population of 557 households.

The total sample tribal population, with an average household size of 5.2, average number of earning members per household at 2.7 and an earner status of 52.1%, come strikingly close to the corresponding statistics for Jharkhand. There is a significant variation in the earner status of tribal communities which are common to both Jharkhand and West Bengal (Mahali, Munda, Oraon and Santhal). Except for the Santhal, their earner status in West Bengal is consistently higher. Since the tribal areas of West Bengal and Jharkhand, in our sample have a territorial contiguity, and share the same socio-cultural space, this variation is of some significance.

Table 4.5: Earner status a1s percentage of average earners per household to average size of the household (ST West Bengal)

Tribe (Household)	Average size of HH	Average no of earners per HH	Earner status (% of a avg.earner to avg. HH size)
Bhumij (72)	6.11	3.14	51.39
Lodha (44)	4.27	2.32	54.33
Mahali (22)	4.95	2.91	58.77
Munda (22)	4.50	2.86	63.56
Oraon (78)	5.50	3.17	57.64
Santhal (298)	5.17	2.52	48.74
All 12 tribes (557)	5.22	2.72	52.11

- The variation in the average household size is strikingly similar to that of the tribal communities of Jharkhand, except for the Bhumij.

Comparative Analysis

The earner status of a given caste/tribe, as we have seen, is a measure which indicates the of percentage of average number of earning members per household, to the average household size, of the given caste/tribe. A low or high earner status of a caste would indicate that given the average size of household of that caste, the average number of earning members per household of the same caste, is low or high. We have already made the point that an earner status need not necessary reflect a commensurate earning status.

It would be of interest to see how castes/tribes in our sample that we have analysed, figure out in terms of their earner status.

Table 4.6 : Earner status of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the three states

Earner Status (Range %)	Bihar SC (%)	Jharkhand SC (%)	ST (%)	West Bengal SC (%)	ST (%)	Total SC/ST
V. Low (20% - 30%)	Dhobi (28.4)	-	-	Dhobi (29.6) Chamar (24.7)	-	3
Moderate (31% - 40%)	Dusadh (37.6)	Chamar (31.5) Dom (38.8)	Munda (34.1) Oraon (36.8)	Konai (36.0) Patni (39.1)	-	7
High (41% - 50%)	Chamar (43.7)	-	Lohara (47.2)	Dom (44.7) Mal (40.8) Bagdi (50.2)	Santhal (48.7)	6
V.High (51% - 60%)	Musahar (52.8) Chaupal (52.7)	-	Ho (53.7) Santhal (56.6) Mahali (57.2)	Bauri (57.2) Sarki (59.4) Bhuiyan (54.6)	Lodha (54.3) Bhumij (51.4) Mahali (58.8)	12
Highest (60% +)	-	-	-	Kami (62.0)	Mahali (58.8) Munda (63.6) Oraon (57.6)	2

- The Dhobi in Bihar and West Bengal, and the Chamar in West Bengal, are amongst the bwest earner status castes in our sample. There is no tribal community in this category

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- The Dusadh in Bihar; the Chamar, Dom, Munda and Oraon in Jharkhand; Konai and Patni in West Bengal are castes/tribes having a moderate earner status.

- The Chamar in Bihar; Lohara in Jharkhand; Dom, Mal, Bagdi and Santhal in West Bengal are castes /tribes with relatively high earner status.

- The Musahar and Chaupal in Bihar; Ho, Santhal and Mahali in Jharkhand; Bauri, Sarki, Bhuiyan, Lodha, Bhumij, Mahali and Oraon in West Bengal are the castes/tribes with very high earner status.

- The highest earner status is found in West Bengal among the Kami and Munda .

The question arises, if earner status is not invariably correlated with the earning status of castes/tribes, what then are its different manifestations? We shall examine this as we proceed.

2.   Worker Participation : Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal

In the analysis of worker participation, our total earners (male, female and children) are drawn from all age groups. This means that this includes (1) the work force between the ages 15 and 59 years, (2) child labour below the age of 15 years, and (3) old- age labour of those 60 years and above.

In our survey, we have sought for information on occupational status in the last one year from the date of interview. This is a crude way of understanding the of employment situation. Our statistics relate to the main and subsidiary occupations of all earners .

Tabke 4.7:Total earners to total population in the sampled SC and ST households of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal.

State	No. of H.Hs	Total population of all H.Hs	No.of earners (all age groups)	Percentage of earners to total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bihar SC	392	2229	966	43.4
Jharkhand SC	56	329	129	39.2
ST	544	2874	1451	50.5
West Bengal SC	443	2392	1021	42.7
ST	557	2912	1513	52.0
All 3 States	1992	10,709	5080	47.4

- Worker participation in terms of the percentage of earners to total population for the tribal communities is distinctly higher than that of Scheduled Castes in all the three States.

- An important aspect of worker participation relates to the distribution of all the earners amongst (1) the normal work force (15-59 years), (2) child labour (below 15 years) and (3) old age labour (60 years and above).

Table 4.8 : Distribution of SC/ST earners in different age categories in the three States.

State	No. of H.Hs	All earners	Earners		
			15-59 yrs	Below 15yrs (child labour)	60 yrs and above (old age labour)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Bihar **SC**	392	966 (100%)	848 (87.8%)	19 (1.9%)	99 (10.3%)
Jharkhand **SC** **ST**	56	129 (100%)	119 (92.2%)	3 (2.3%)	7 (5.4%)
	544	1451 (100%)	1306 (90.0%)	32 (2.2%)	113 (7.8%)
West Bengal **SC**	443	1021 (100%)	944 (92.5%)	40 (3.9%)	37 (3.6%)
ST	557	1513 (100%)	1408 (93.1%)	27 (1.8%)	78 (5.1%)

- Of the total earners, the percentage of workforce participation in the age group between 15 and 59 years for the Scheduled Castes is lower in Bihar (87.8 %), as compared to 90 percent and above, in Jharkhand and West Bengal, both for the SCs and STs.

- Child labour below 15 years for SCs in West Bengal, is marginally higher than the STs in West Bengal and SCs/STs in Bihar and Jharkhand.

- The proportion of Scheduled Caste old age workers (60 years and above) in Bihar is significantly higher at 10.3 percent but evenly distributed among them. This is followed by the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand at 7.8 percent. In West Bengal the percentage of old age tribal workers is below that of

Jharkhand. While it exceeds 10 percent among the Bhumij (12.6 percent), only two other tribal communites - Lodha and Munda - are above the State average of 5.1 percent. In Jharkhand, the Oraon (16.0 %) Munda (14.9 %) and Ho (11.6 %) have significantly higher old age work participation compared to other tribal communities.

- While the proportion of child labour is marginally higher among the SC workers in West Bengal, their proportion of old age labour is the least.

To get an idea of the employment situation in terms of the workforce and labour force, we have analysed data on the total number of earners and non-earners in the age group of 15-59 years. The total number of earners and non-earners constitute the total labour force. It may be noted that our earners/non earners are defined in terms of their being gainfully occupied during the last one year (or not) in the main occupation of their declaration. The table below shows the distribution pattern of earners and non earners.

Table 4.9 : Distribution of earners, non-earners and labour-force (15-59yrs) in the three States

State	No of H.HS	Earners	Non-earners	Total Labour force
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bihar SC	392	848 (73.7%)	302 (26.3%)	1150 (100%)
Jharkhand SC	56	119 (57.8%)	87 (42.2%)	206 (100%)
ST	544	1306 (79.2%)	343 (20.8%)	1649 (100%)
West Bengal SC	443	944 (71.3%)	380 (28.7%)	1324 (100%)
ST	557	1408 (82.6%)	297 (17.4%)	1705 (100%)

The total number of non-earners in all the three states vary between 26 percent and 42 percent among the Scheduled Castes whilst among the Scheduled Tribes it ranges from 17.0 percent to 21.0 percent. This indicates that in the tribal communites the participation of workforce is distinctly higher than that of SCs. Having observed this let us examine how the different Scheduled Castes/Tribes are differentiated in this overall employment scenario.

Table 4.10 : Distribution of 1earners, non-earners and labour force (15 59yrs) of Scheduled Castes in the three States

State	Earners	Non – earners	Labour force	% Non-earners to labour force
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Bihar				
Chamar	389	129	512	24.0
Chaupal	77	-	77	Nil
Dusadh	210	113	323	35.0
Musahar	120	-	120	Nil
Dhobi	17	29	46	63.0
Jharkhand				
Chamar	30	37	67	55.2
Dom	67	9	76	11.8
West Bengal				
Bagdi	172	59	231	25.5
Bauri	115	23	138	16.7
Bhuiyan	69	9	78	11.5
Chamar	79	50	129	38.8
Dhoba	50	58	108	53.7
Dom	44	20	64	31.3
Kami	64	3	67	4.5
Konai	41	15	56	26.8
Mal	130	63	193	32.6
Patni	56	43	99	43.4
Sarki	87	6	93	6.5

- In Bihar, whereas the percentage of non-earners among the Scheduled Castes is 26.3, it is only the Chamar which comes closest to the overall average. Otherwise there is conspicuous differentiation among the castes. Among the

Chaupal and Musahar the entire labour force are earners. In sharp contrast, the percentage of non-earners among the Dusadh is as high as 35 and even higher at 63 for the Dhobi.

- In Jharkhand, the average percentage of non-earners is quite high at 42.2. However, when we look at the caste profile, the Chamar has as high a percentage of non-earners at 55.2; against the Dom which has as low a percentage as 11.8. This indicates the sharp differenation at the level of individual castes.

- In West Bengal the picture is not very different. The Kami and the Sarki have the smallest percentage of non-earners at 4.5, and 6.5 respectively. The Bhuiyan and the Bauri fall in the next range at 11.5 and 16.7 percent respectively. The third set includes the Bagdi (25.5%) and the Konai (26.8%) who are close to the overall average of 28.70 percent. The Dom (31.3%), Mal (32.6%), Chamar(38.8%), Patni (43.4%) and Dhobi (53.7%) have percentage of non-earners above the West Bengal average.

- It may be noted that the Dhobi in Bihar and Dhobi in West Bengal have the lowest worker participation.

This brings us to the worker participation of the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand and West Bengal.

Table 4.11: **Distribution of earners, non-earners and labour force (15-59 yrs) of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand and West Bengal**

State	Earners	Non-earners	Labour force	% Non-earners to labour-force
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Jharkhand				
Ho	502	79	581	13.6
Lohara	135	31	166	18.7
Mahali	109	5	114	4.4
Munda	58	70	128	54.7
Oraon	106	112	218	51.4
Santhal	385	41	426	9.6
West Bengal				
Bhumij	198	49	247	19.8
Lodha	94	22	116	19.0
Mahali	44	15	59	25.4
Munda	42	16	58	27.6
Oraon	229	22	251	8.8
Santhal	718	195	913	21.4

- The tribal pattern in Jharkhand is similar to the caste pattern, in as much as there is sharp differentiation of percentage of non-earners to the labour force between tribal communities.

- Only the Lohara with 18.7 percent, non-earnerss come close to the overall average of 20.8 percent.

- The Mahali (4.4), Santhal (9.6) and Ho (13.6) have low to very low percentage of non-earners. It may be noted that they are all rural based.

- In sharp contrast the Munda (54.7) and Oraon (51.4) have very high percentage of non-earners. It may be noted, that these tribes are all located in Ranchi town..

- When we move to West Bengal, the overall situation is different from Jharkhand. Except for the Oraon with the percentage of non-earners at 8.8, the other tribes range between 19 and 28 percent. This indicate that the worker participation of the tribal communities in rural Jharkhand is higher than those of West Bengal.

Since the earner status of Scheduled Castes/Tribes is an indicator of their work participation, the question as to whether high work participation is a reflection of high economic status, is the same as, whether high earner and earning status correlate.

3.   Occupational Pattern

In our survey, the occupational pattern has been examined in terms of main and subsidiary occupations. The main occupations which have figured in our findings are those in the agricultural sector, such as owner-cultivators, tenants and agricultural labourers; those depending on forest produce and animal husbandry; those in artisanry; in business; and those employed in services. They

also include non-agricultural labourers engaged as construction workers, workers in brick kilns, rickshaw pulling and non- farm servants.

In our study, what we have done is to identify the main occupation in terms of the self-definition of the interviewed. They were basically asked what was their principal source of earning on the basis of a relatively long engagement in that occupation. They were further asked to identify their subsidiary occupation. We have not imposed any a-priori definition of main or subsidiary occupations on our sample population.

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

In Bihar, we have as many as 966 workers out of 392 Scheduled Caste households who have identified their main occupation.

Table 4.12 : Main occupations for the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

| Caste (H.Holds) | Labour | | | Cultivator | | Rest | | | | All Total |
	Agrl.	Non.agrl	Total	Owner	Tenant	Service.	Busi-ness	Other	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Chamar (159)	323 (73.4%)	29 (6.6%)	352 (80%)	33 (7.5%)	14 (3.2%)	28 (6.4%)	7 (1.6%)	6 (1.4%)	41 (9.3%)	440 (100%)
Chupal (29)	71 (74.0%)	17 (17.7%)	88 (91.7%)	1 (1.0%)	Nil	2 (2.1%)	1 (1.0%)	4 (4.2%)	7 (7.3%)	96 (100%)
Dusadh (113)	134 (57.3%)	4 (1,7%)	178 (59.0%)	33 (14.1%)	5 (2.1%)	50 (21.4%)	8 (3.4%)	Nil	58 (24.8%)	234 (100%)
Musahar (69)	114 (83.2%)	15 (10.9%)	129 (94.1%)	Nil	2 (1.5%)	5 (3.6%)	Nil	1 (0.7%)	6 (4.4%)	137 (1005)
Dhobi (8)	Nil	Nil	Nil	9 (45.0%)	Nil	11 (55.0%)	Nil	Nil	11 (55.0%)	20 (100%)
All 9 Castes (392)	664 (68.7%)	77 (8.0%)	741 (76.7%)	76 (7.9%)	21 (2.2%)	97 (10.0%)	16 (1.7%)	15 (1.5%)	128 (13.3%)	966 (100%)

The pattern that emerges is the following :

- Of the total workers, 68.7% are agricultural labourers. Only 7.9 are owner-cultivators and as few as 2.2% are tenants. Thus nearly 79% are engaged in the agricultural sector.

- Within the agricultural sector 87.2% are agricultural labourers.
- Apart from agricultural labourers, as many as 8 percent reported non-agricultural labour as their main occupation. Thus 76.7 percent of the Scheduled Caste belong to workers in the class of labourers whether they are agricultural or non-agricultural.

- Interestingly, the service sector employs 10 percent of the workers. An insignificant number of workers are engaged in business, artisanry and animal husbandry.

- The overall scenario suggests that Scheduled Castes overwhelmingly, remain at the bottom stratum of the occupational stratification. Hence, the little diversification that is indicated outside agricultural sector remains, by and large, confined to petty business, animal husbandry, artisanry and non-agricultural labour. They remain more or less at the level of coping strategies for minimum level of living. The exceptional few strive and enter the middle class.

- Of the very small proportion of 8 percent owner-cultivators, as many as 94.5 percent are small and marginal farmers, and 79.1 percent own land upto only 1.5 acres.

- Coming to individual castes we find that the Musahar (94.1%) and the Chaupal (91.7%) belong preponderantly to the class of labourers.

- The Musahar caste is conspicuous by not having a single household as owner- cultivator and with hardly any diversification in their occupational pattern[1]. As many as 84.7 percent workers are engaged in agriculture sector. Within the agricultural sector, 98.3 percent are agricultural labourers.

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- Both the Chaupal (17.7%) and Musahar (10.9%) are significantly into non-agricultural labour.

- When compared to the Musahar, Chaupal and Chamar, the Dusadh have the least worker participation both in agricultural and non-agricultural labour. They reflect a much greater diversification of occupations with 14.1 percent as owner-cultivators and 21.4 percent in services.

- The Chamar caste, which is the largest in our sample, are predominantly in the agricultural sector (84%). Within the agricultural sector, 87.3 percent are agricultural labourers.

- Among the Dhobi, there is a significant difference in their occupational pattern from the other Scheduled Castes. All households have cultivable land and at least one member of each household is involved in self-cultivation. They are either owner-cultivators (45.0%) or are engaged in service (55.0%). They do not figure in any other occupation.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, altogether seven Scheduled Castes with a total of 56 households, provided 129 workers. In view of the fact that 84 percent of the households are urban workers, only 7.0 percent are agricultural labourers, whereas 32.6 percent are non- agricultural labourers, 37.2 percent are in service,

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[1] Our rapid appraisal field work leads us to suspect that the participation of the Musahar in animal usbandry has been under reported. One of the symbols of the Musahar caste is their rearing of pigs, both for self-consumption and for sale. This is reported in their ownership of pigs as their livestock asset in a later section.

12.4 percent are in business and 10.1 percent are in artisanry and animal husbandry. The urban concentration of SCs in our sample explains the high percentage of non-agricultural labourers, as well as high worker participation in service and business.

In view of the small and scattered distribution of households of the seven castes, we have selected only the Chamar and the Dom with 16 and 21 households respectively, for analysis. The remaining castes have 7 households or less in our sample.

Table 4.13: Main occupation of Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand.

Caste (H.-holds)	Labour			Cultivator		Rest				All Total
	Agrl.	Non.agrl	Total	Owner	Ten-ant	Service	Business	Other	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Chamar (16)	Nil	5 (16.7%)	5 (16.7%)	Nil	Nil	14 (46.7%)	7 (28.3%)	4 (13.3%)	25 (83.3%)	30 (100%)
Dom (21)	Nil	14 (28.6%)	14 (28.6%)	Nil	Nil	28 (57.1%)	1 (2.0%)	6 (12.2%)	35 (71.4%)	49 (100%)
All 7 Castes (56)	9 (7.0%)	42 (32.6%)	51 (39.5%)	1 (0.8%)	Nil	48 (37.2%)	16 (12.4%)	4 (10.1%)	77 (59.7%)	129 (100%)

As between the Chamar and Dom castes, the Chamar seems to be marginally more diversified in the occupational structure.

West Bengal

In West Bengal there are 20 Scheduled Castes with a total workforce of 1021 in our sample of 443 households. The occupational pattern of West Bengal is markedly different from that of Bihar and Jharkhand. Of the total workforce,

27.7 percent are agricultural labourers, 18.9 percent are cultivators and 2.4 percent are tenants. Thus the total agricultural workforce is less than 50 percent.

In sharp contrast to Bihar and Jharkhand,within the agricultural sector, a sizeable number of owner-cultivators (nearly 39 percent)   are engaged in cultivation[2].

Table 4.14 : Main occupation of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal.

Caste (H.H)	Labour			Cultivator		Rent				All Total
	Agrl.	Non-agrl	Total	Owner	Tenant	Serv.	Busi	Other	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Bagdi (65)	76 (39.8%)	Nil	76 (39.8%)	54 (28.3%)	9 (4.7%)	15 (7.9%)	19 (9.9%)	18 (9.4%)	52 (27.2%)	191 (100%)
Bauri (47)	71 (59.2%)	Nil	71 (59.2%)	7 (5.8%)	4 (3.3%)	4 (3.3%)	28 (23.3%)	6 (5.0%)	38 (31.7%)	120 (100%)
Dom (20)	13 (28.3%)	Nil	13 (28.3%)	Nil	2 (4.3%)	3 (6.5%)	10 (21.7%)	18 (39.2%)	31 (67.4%)	46
Kami (23)	3 (4.0%)	1 (1.3%)	4 (5.3%)	31 (41.3%)	Nil	34 (45.3%)	4 (5.3%)	2 (2.7%)	40 (53.3%)	75 (100%)
Konai (21)	24 (51.1)	Nil	24 (51.1%)	3 (6.4%)	1 (2.1%)	Nil	19 (40.4%)	Nil	19 (40.4%)	47 (100%)
Bhuiyan (30)	11 (14.3%)	Nil	11 (14.3%)	42 (54.5%)	Nil	3 (3.3%)	19 (24.6%)	2 (2.6%)	24 (31.2%)	77 (100%)
Chamar (48)	19 (23.2%)	Nil	19 (23.2%)	6 (7.3%)	4 (4.9%)	7 (8.5%)	31 (37.8%)	15 (18.3%)	53 (64.6%)	82 (100%)
Dhoba (34)	6 (11.1%)	1 (1.9%)	7 (13.0%)	2 (3.7%)	Nil	17 (31.4%)	12 (22.2%)	16 (29.7%)	45 (83.3%)	54 (100%)
Mal (70)	48 (34.3%)	1 (0.7%)	49 (35.0%)	6 (4.3%)	5 (3.6%)	6 (4.3%)	48 (34.3%)	26 (18.6%)	80 (57.1%)	140 (100%)
Patni (30)	7 (12.1%)	Nil	7 (12.1%)	Nil	Nil	13 (22.4%)	21 (36.2%)	17 (29.3%)	51 (87.9%)	58 (100%)
Sarki (30)	2 (2.2%)	1 (1.1%)	3 (3.3%)	42 (46.2%)	Nil	37 (40.6%)	7 (7.7%)	2 (2.2%)	46 (50.5%)	91 (100%)
All 20 Castes (443)	283 (27.7%)	4 (0.4%)	287 (28.1%)	193 (18.9%)	25 (2.4%)	149 (14.6%)	230 (22.5%)	137 (13.4%)	367 (35.9%)	1021 (100%)

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[2] It needs to be clarified that the number of workers who have declared themselves as owner- cultivators is greater than the number of households involved in own cultivation. This is because a single household may have declared more than one owner-cultivator.

- The Konai have 51.1 percent of their workers as agricultural labourers and substantial percentage of workers (40.4%) are involved in petty business. They are not into non-agricultural labour, service, animal husbandry and artisanry. There is, however, a small percentage of owner-cultivators (6.4%). The occupational diversification among the Konai is the least.

- The Bauri have the largest proportion of agricultural labourers (59.2%). At the same time, they have a substantial percentage of workers involved in petty business (23.3%). They have a small proportion of owner-cultivators (5.8 %) and even fewer tenants (3.3%). None of the Bauri households is involved in non-agricultural labour.

- The Bagdi have the third largest proportion of agricultural labourers at 39.8 percent. They can be distinguished from the Bauri and Konai in having a significant percentage of owner-cultivators at 28.3 percent. They are more or less evenly distributed amongst the non-agricultural occupations at 27.2 percent. The Bagdi, too, are not into non-agricultural labour.

- The Bhuiyan (54.5%) and the Kami (41.3%) have the largest concentration of owner-cultivators. Their participation as agricultural labourers is 14.3 and 4.0 percent respectively. Among the Bhuiyan, a significant percentage of workers are involved in petty business (24.6 %), whilst the Kami are concentrated in the service sector (45.3 %).

- The Chamar are largely concentrated in the non-agricultural sector (64.6 %). A significant percentage of workers, however, are agricultural labourers (23.2 %). In the non-agricultural sector, as many as 37.8 percent are in petty business. None of the households are engaged in non-agricultural labour.

- The Sarki, like the Kami, are mainly owner-cultivators (46.2 %) and in service (40.6 %).

- The Patni are overwhelmingly in the non-agricultural sector (87.9%), with 36.2 percent in petty business, 22.4 percent in service, 29.3 percent in animal husbandry and artisanry.

- The Dhobi reveal a similar pattern to that of Patni with 83.3 percent in non-agricultural pursuits. As many as 31.4 percent are in service, 22.2 percent are in business and 29.7 percent are in animal husbandry and artisanry.

- The land ownership in agriculture and diversification in non-agricultural occupations are presumably a reflection and a spin-off of the State Government's consistent efforts in land distribution through land reform measures, initiated through operation Barga in the late seventies. It remains to be seen how consequential these changes have been with respect to the level of living of the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal.

Some Inter-State Comparisons : Scheduled Castes

- It may be noted that the Dhobi in Bihar are either owner cultivators (45.0 %) or are service holders (55.0 percent). In West Bengal, however, 83.3 percent of their workers are occupied in the non-agricultural sector like service and business etc. The occupational pattern of Dhobi in both these States points to a much better economic status than the rest.

- The Chamar is the only caste which appears in substantial numbers in our samples in all the three States. This is followed by the Dom in Jharkhand and West Bengal. The Dhobi, which has been taken as a special case in Bihar, appears in significant in numbers in West Bengal.

- While the Chamar in Bihar are predominantly agricultural labourers (73.4%), they are largely in non-agricultural occupations in Jharkhand (83.3

percent) and West Bengal (64.4 percent). However, it may be recalled, in Jharkhand they are all located in Ranchi town. Like Jharkhand, in West-Bengal all the Chamar households (48) are located in Jhargram town which is peripherally urbanised in comparison to Ranchi. Considering this, it is significant that none are in non-agricultural labour but instead, they have a substantial presence as agricultural labourers. However, the majority are in the non-agricultural sector. Finally, the earner status of Chamar fluctuates considerably. It is highest in Bihar (43.7%), lowest in West Bengal (24.7%) and in Jharkhand it is (31.5%).

▪ The Dom in Jharkhand is again entirely urban, with 57.1 percent of workers in service and 28.6 percent as non-agricultural labourers. In West Bengal, the Dom are concentrated in animal husbandry (39.2 %), petty business (21.7 %) and agricultural labour (28.3 %). They do not figure as non-agricultural labourers. The occupational diversification in West Bengal is broad and pervasive, engulfing within its sweep the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Having examined the main occupational pattern of Scheduled Castes, let us now examine the same among the Scheduled Tribes of Jharkhand and West Bengal.

In Jharkhand all the eight tribal communities, with 544 sample households constitute 1451 workers. Of these, 40.3 percent belong to the class of labour (16.9 percent agricultural labourers, 23.4 percent non-agricultural labourers), 32.9 percent are owner-cultivators and 26.6 percent are in other non-agricultural occupations. Very few are in business (3.0 %) and quite a few are in service (13.5 %). There are hardly any tenant cultivators. The occupational diversification in

Jharkhand is to a considerable extent influenced by one-third of the sample tribal households being concentrated in Ranchi.

It may be noted that the Oraon, Lohara and Munda tribes are almost entirely found in the urban sample of Ranchi. Secondly, due to the tribal homogeneity of tribal settlements, specific tribal communities predominate in tribal settlements. For example, all our Ho households are located in the sample panchayat in West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand, whereas the Mahali and the Santhal are located in Dumka.

If we just take into account the Ho, Mahali and Santhal, who are all rural based, the picture alters. Together they constitute 1095 workers. Of these 21.8 percent are agricultural labourers, 18.1 percent are non-agricultural labourers, 42.7 percent are owner-cultivators and 17.2 percent are in other non-agricultural occupations.

Table 4.15: Main occupation of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand.

Tribe (H.Hol-ds)	Labour			Cultivator		Rest				All Total
	Agrl	Non.agrl	Total	Owner	Tenant	Serv	Busi	Others	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Ho (184)	23 (4.1%)	99 (17.8%)	122 (21.9%)	380 (68.5%)	2 (0.4%)	29 (5.2%)	12 (2.2%)	10 (1.6The %)	51 (9.2%)	555 (100%)
Lohara (58)	6 (4.1%)	79 (54.1%)	85 (58.1%)	Nil	1 (0.7%)	31 (21.2%)	11 (7.5%)	18 (12.3%)	60 (41.1%)	146 (100%)
Mahali (48)	3 (2.3%)	2 (1.6%)	5 (3.9%)	3 (2.3%)	Nil	6 (4.7)	3 (2.3%)	111 (86.7%)	120 (93.7%)	128 (100%)
Munda (37)	Nil	21 (30.9%)	21 (30.9%)	Nil	Nil	37 (54.4%)	9 (13.2%)	1 (1.5%)	47 (69.1%)	68 (100%)
Oraon (63)	Nil	34 (27.0%)	34 (27.0%)	4 (3.2%)	1 (0.8%)	80 (63.4%)	4 (3.2%)	3 (2.4%)	87 (69.0%)	126 (100%)
Santal (150)	213 (57.7%)	97 (23.5%)	310 (75.2)	85 (20.6%)	Nil	12 (2.9%)	3 (0.7%)	2 (0.5%)	17 (4.1%)	412 (100%)
All 8 tribes	245 (16.9%)	339 (23.4%)	584 (40.3%)	476 (32.8%)	4 (0.3%)	197 (13.5%)	43 (3.0%)	147 (10.1%)	387 (26.6%)	1451 (100%)

- The three tribal communities (Oraon, Munda and Lohara) mainly located in Ranchi, are concentrated in service, business and non-agricultural labour.

- The Oraon and Munda present a similar occupational pattern, with a high percentage of workers in service (Oraon 63.4 ; Munda 54.4).

- In sharp contrast, the Lohara are mainly in non-agricultural labour (54.1 %). This indicates a sharp differentiation between Oraon and Munda, on the one hand, and Lohara, on the other, in the same urban setting.

- The Ho in rural West Singhbhum are predominantly owner-cultivators (68.5%) but also with a significant number of non-agricultural labourers (17.8%).

- Amongst the Santhal, (who like the Ho in our sample are all rural households), agricultural labourers predominate (51.7%).   Only 20.6 percent are owner-cultivators. In the non-agricultural sector they are visible only as non-agricultural labourers (23.5 %). Thus, nearly 75 percent of the Santhal belong to the class of labour.

- The Mahali, who in our sample are in the same panchayat with the Santhal in Dumka, present a picture different from that of the Santhal. There is a unique pattern. The percentage of earners declaring themselves as owner-cultivators is a mere 2.3 percent, yet 46 percent households own land.   How can this be explained?   This becomes clear when we note that 88.7 percent workers have reported themselves as petty cultivators in their subsidiary occupation.

They are overwhelmingly into the production of bamboo (86.7 %). It will be clear that the Mahali are largely self-employed whereas the Santhal are predominatly labourers, although they are located in the same location.

West Bengal

In West Bengal altogether twelve tribes are in 557 households with 1513 workers. As many as 37.7 percent of them are owner-cultivators and a similar percentage belong to the class of labourers (35.7 percent). In the non-agricultural occupations, they figure mostly in service (20.2 %) and hardly much in business (1.7%); and in animal husbandry artisanry etc. they are only 3.1 percent. It is significant that non-agaricultural labourers amongst the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal is almost non-existent (0.4%). Whereas among the Scheduled Tribes it is 20.7 percent. This is similar to the tribal population in Jharkhand (23.4%).

There is another significant difference between the worker participation in `business of SCs and STs in West Bengal. Whereas among the SCs in West Bengal 22.5 percent are in business, among the STs this is only 1.7 percent. Once again the pattern is similar to that of the tribal communities of Jharkhand where only 3.0 percent are in business. These commonalities between the tribals of Jharkhand and West Bengal point to features transcending the distinctions of the two States.

Table 4.16 : Main occupation for Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Tribes (House-hold)	Labour			Cultivator		Rest				All Total
	Agrl	NonAgrl.	Total	Owner	Tenant	Serv.	Busi.	Others	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bhumij (72)	23 (10.2%)	67 (29.6%)	90 (39.8%)	118 (52.2%)	NIL	6 (2.7%)	5 (2.2%)	7 (3.1%)	18 (8.0%)	226 (100%)
Lodha (44)	15 (14.7%)	46 (45.1%)	61 (59.8%)	4 (3.9%)	NIL	18 (17.6%)	6 (5.9%)	13 (12.7%)	37 (36.3%)	102 (100%)
Mahali (22)	NIL	1 (1.6%)	1 (1.6%)	25 (39.1%)	NIL	36 (56.3%)	2 (3.1%)	NIL	38 (59.4%)	64 (100%)
Munda (22)	2 (3.2%)	1 (1.6%)	3 (4.8%)	27 (42.8%)	NIL	32 (50.8%)	1 (1.6%)	NIL	33 (52.4%)	63 (100%)
Oraon (78)	6 (2.4%)	NIL	6 (2.4%)	113 (45.7%)	NIL	118 (47.8%)	3 (1.2%)	7 (2.8%)	128 (51.8%)	247 (100%)
Santhal (298)	184 (24.4%)	199 (26.4%)	383 (50.8%)	275 (36.6%)	18 (2.4%)	47 (6.3%)	9 (1.2%)	20 (2.7%)	76 (10.2%)	752 (100%)
All 12 tribes (557)	230 (15.2%)	314 (20.7%)	544 (35.7%)	572 (37.8%)	18 (1.2%)	306 (20.2%)	26 (1.7%)	47 (3.1%)	379 (25.0%)	1513 (100%)

- Owner-cultivator households among the Scheduled Tribes ranges between 36.6 percent and 52.2 percent with the singular exception of the Lodha (3.9%). The tribes which fall within this range are the Santhal (36.6%), Mahali (39.1%), Munda (42.8%), Oraon (45.7%) and Bhumij (52.2%).

- The Oraon, Munda and Mahali are conspicuous by their insignificant presence either as agricultural or non-agricultural labour. It may be noted that the Mahali, Munda and Oraon are concentrated in the Naxalbari region of Darjeeling district and are highly concentrated in service (56.3 percent Mahali, 50.8 percent Munda, 47.8 percent Oraon). It will be useful to keep in mind that this region underwent violent revolutionary agrarian conflicts in the late "60s and '70s. These three tribal communities are also well represented as owner-cultivators.

- The Santhal who are largest in our sample, are distributed in districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Jhargram and Burdwan.. Nearly half of the worker population belong to the class labourers (50.8%). As many as 36.6 percent workers are in the non-agricultural sector, of which non-agricultural labour itself constitutes as 26.4%. The rest 10.2 percent are, in service (6.3%), business (1.2%); and in animal husbandry, artisanry, etc. (2.7%).

- The Bhumij is next only to the Santhal in having nearly 40 percent of the workers in the class of labourers. Again like the Santhal, 37.6 percent are in the non-agricultural sector with 29.6 percent as non-agricultural labour. In servcies they are 2.7 percent; business, 2.2 percent; others, 3.1 percent.

- The Lodha, regarded as one of the most backward tribal communities in West Bengal predominate as a class of labourers (59.8%). There are few owner-cultivators (3.9%). They are almost wholly concentrated in the non-agricultural sector (81.4%) with 45.1 percent engaged in non-agricultural labour. As many as 17.6 percent are in service, 5.9 percent in business and 12.7 percent in animal husbandry, forest products, etc.

Some Inter-State Comparisons

Except for the Bhumij and Lodha in West Bengal, and Ho and Lohara in Jharkhand, the other four tribal communities namely, the Santhal, Oraon, Munda and Mahali appear in both the States. Of these, the Santhal predominate both in Jharkhand and West Bengal. A point to note is that 67 percent of the Santhal in Jharkhand whose main occupation is agricultural labour, are primarily migrant agricultural labourers to the prosperous agricultural district of Burdwan in West Bengal.

▪ The Santhal in West Bengal have a significantly higher percentage of owner-cultivators (36.6%) than the Santhal in Jharkhand (20.6%).   When it comes to agricultural labourers, they are much higher in Jharkhand (51.7%) than in West Bengal (24.4%).   We have already noted that a large percentage of Santhal agricultural labourers from Jharkhand are seasonal migrant labourers to West Bengal.

▪ A much large percentage of Mahali have declared their main occupation as owner-cultivators in West Bengal (39.1%) than in Jharkhand (2.3%). However, it has been noted that 45 percent Mahali households in Jharkhand own land and as high as 88.7 percent declare their subsidiary occupation as petty owner-cultivators. Interestingly, 86.7 percent of Mahali in Jharkhand are self-employed in the production of bamboo goods. Another sharp contrast with respect to Mahali in West Bengal and Jharkhand is with regard to their being in service. In West Bengal 56.3 percent are in service, as compared to only 4.7 percent in Jharkhand.

▪ Notwithstanding the exclusive urban sample of Oraon and Munda in Jharkhand, their participation in the service sector in both the States does not show great divergence. (Oraon in Jharkhand 63.4%, in West Bengal 47.8%; Munda in Jharkhand 54.4%, in West Bengal 50.8%).

SUBSIDIRARY OCCUPATIONS

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

Subsidiary occupations are secondary to the main occupations. They are declared by those who are in main occupations. In Bihar, out of the total 966 Caste earners, only 227 (23.5%) are in subsidiary occupations. It is significant that almost all the workers in subsidiary occupations are either agricultural or non-agricultural labourers. Amongst the Musahar it is the lowest with 7.2 percent.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand where we have a small sample of 129 Scheduled Caste earners, only 7.2 percent are in subsidiary occupations. Neither the Chamar nor the Dom who are located in Ranchi town are engaged in any subsidiary occupation.

West Bengal

In West Bengal there is a somewhat greater participation of Scheduled Castes in subsidiary occupations. Out of 1021 Scheduled Caste earners in main occupations, as many as 292 (28.6%) are in subsidiary occupations. Of those in subsidiary occupations, as many as 55.5 percent are engaged as agricultural or non-agricultural labourers, 13.7 percent are in cultivation, and a significant 29.5 percent are engaged in other occupations in the non-agricultural sector. The overall pattern is consistent with the diversified pattern of occupational structure of Scheduled Castes with respect to their main occupations. All the eleven Scheduled Castes are into subsidiary occupations. The Bhuiyan, among them, have the highest worker participation in subsidiary occupations (55.8 percent). Most of them (74.4 percent) are agricultural labourers. The Sarki and the Konai come next, with 38.5 percent and 38.3 percent respectively. However, among the Konai 88.3 percent are agricultural labourers, whilst amongst the Sarki, they are 68.6 percent. Nearly one-third of the Chamar earners are agricultural labourers but equivalent

numbers are also petty cultivators. The Bagdi and Bauri are significantly into non-agricultural occupations but not as labour.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

The picture becomes different when we examine the subsidiary occupations of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand. Out of 1451 Scheduled Tribe earners in the main occupations, 670 (46.2%) are in subsidiary occupations. Of these, as many as 58.2 percent are engaged in petty self-cultivation, 28.1 percent are agricultural labourers, 9.1 percent are non-agricultural labourers and a meagre 4.6 percent are in other non-agricultural occupations. It may be recalled that among the Mahali, who are largely self-employed in production of bamboo products, only 3.5 percent workers declared their main occupation as owner-cultivators, when 46 percent households owned cultivable land. In their case, owner-cultivation becomes secondary to self-employment.

Significantly among the Mahali the percentage of petty cultivators is the highest at 88.7, followed by the Santhals at 72.5 and the Ho with 40.4%.

Since the Munda, Oraon and Lohara are primarily urban based, they do not figure in subsidiary occupations.

A significant feature is that in spite of the fact that a large number of earners are engaged in petty owner-cultivation, many of them do not declare cultivation as their main occupation. This indicates the relevance and necessity of getting data on main and subsidiary occupations according to the perceptions of the earners themselves.

West Bengal

In West Bengal the engagement of Scheduled Tribes in subsidiary occupations marginally higher than in Jharkhand. Out of 1513 earners engaged in main occupations, 773 (51.2%) are in subsidiary occupations. However, the proportion of earners declaring petty cultivation as subsidiary occupation (37.4%) is lower than in Jharkhand. As many as 44.9 percent declared themselves as agricultural labourers, 6.3 percent as non-agricultural labourers and 11.4 percent as in other non-agricultural occupations.

When we move to the individual tribes there is moderate to high participation in subsidiary occupations. All earners among the Munda are in subsidiary occupations, followed by Bhumij with 60.1 percent, Mahali with 51.6 percent, the Santhal and Oraon with nearly 47 percent and the Lodha with 34.3 percent.

There is a predominanace of agricultural labourers among the Bhumij, Lodha, Mahali and the Santhal, ranging between 50 and 60 percent. The Munda are mainly into non-agricultural labour (57.1 %). The Oraon are petty cultivators (66.4%) and non-agricultural labourers (31.0 %). Petty cultivation among the Santhal is also substantial (32.9%).

Migration Pattern

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

In our sample of 392 Scheduled Caste households in Bihar, 47 (12 percent) households sent 57 members to different parts of the country in search of occupations. As many as 30 of these households are from the district of Saran in north Bihar and 17 of these are from the district of Patna. The castes from which migrants have been identified are the Chamar (18 households), Dusadh (9 households), Chaupal (8 households), Musahar (8 households) Dhobi (2 households), Dom and Bhoogta, one household each.

The occupations in which these workers are engaged are brick kilns (Haryana, Assam), agriculture labour (Haryana, Punjab and Western UP) and as labourers in rail-road construction .

Jharkhand

Among the Scheduled Castes from Jharkhand, except for two households of Dom and one household of Bauri, there is no migrant household.

West Bengal

Compared to Bihar, the migration of SCs in West Bengal is from only 9 households, constituting   2 percent of the total households.   There are 15 migrant workers from these 9 households. They include the Mal, Bhuiyan, Bauri, Bagdi and Chamar.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, amongst the tribal communities the picture is somewhat different. Out of 544 households, 74 (13.6 percent) are migrant households, comprising 183 migrant workers. The Santhal provide the maximum migrant households (41.3%). As many as 62 households of the total migrant households (83.8%), 143 are migrant workers (78.1 percent). Significantly, almost the entire migration (95 percent) is to the district of Burdwan in West Bengal. The other destinations being Bankura and Hoogli.

West Bengal

The tribal communities in West Bengal are less migratory.   Out of 557 households, there are migrants from 25 (4.5 %) with as many as 39 migrant workers. Once again, the Santhal with 19 migrant households (76.0 %) comprising 30 migrant

workers (70.9%) constitue the bulk of the migrants. However, only 6.4 percent constitute migrant households among the Santhal. The majority of migrant workers also move to the district of Burdwan .

The important point to note is that the migration in West Bengal is intra-statal whilst in Bihar and Jharkhand, it is inter-state. Amongst the castes and tribes the Santhal are the most mobile.

Asset Position

While analysing the various kinds of assets, namely, agricultural imp lements, livestock, vehicular and consumer goods etc., the unit of analysis is the household. To assess the economic status of the caste groups, their asset position, it is assumed, will give a better understanding of their livelihood situation, than income data, which is notorious for its inexactitude. It should be noted that the distribution of each asset item relates specifically to the households owning it. A household may posses more than one asset item. The same household will figure as many times as the variety of items it possesses.

Land and Agricultural Assets

It is expected that those households which are engaged in cultivation of their own land or of leased-in-land, will be generally in possession of some agricultural implements and assets such as plough, thresher, fodder chopper, bullock cart, oil press, diesel/electric pumpset, tractor, etc. Yet this is not true of all cultivating households. Depending upon the kind of asset(s) owned by households, one can make some assessment of their economic position. We have also attempted   a valuation of the assets.

Scheduled Caste

Bihar

In Bihar, out of 392 Scheduled Caste households, 72 (18.4 %) own cultivable land, and 44 (11.2%) possess agricultural assets. That is, 61 percent of cultivable landowning households own agricultural assets.

With respect to different types of agricultural assets amongst all cultivable landowning households, 18.1 percent households possess plough; 6.9 percent, bullock cart; 2.5 percent, diesel pumpset; 20.8 percent, oil press/flour mill; 16.7 percent, fodder chopper; and 6.9 percent, thresher. Only two households own tractor.

Table: 4.17 Selected agricultural assets of Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Caste (House-hold)	HH's owning land (%)	HH's owning agrl assets (%)	Agricultural assets (Households)				
			Plough (%)	Bullck -cart	Pump -set (Dsl/Elec) (%)	Oil press/ Flourmill (%)	Tractor (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Chamar (159)	28 (17.6%)	20 (12.6%)	10 (6.3%)	5 (3.1%)	9 (5.7%)	4 (2.5%)	NIL
Dusadh (113)	35 (31.0%)	15 (13.6%)	3 (8.6%)	NIL	7 (20.0%)	11 (31.4%)	NIL
Dhobi (8)	8 (100%)	8 (100%)	NIL	NIL	2 (25.0%)	NIL	2 (25.0%)
All 8 Castes (392)	72 (18.4%)	44 (11.2%)	13 (3.3%)	5 (1.2%)	18 (4.6%)	15 (3.8%)	2 (0.5%)

- With respect to individual castes, among 28 Chamar households (17.6 percent of all households) owning cultivable land, 20 (12.6 percent) own agricultural assets. Of these, 10 own plough and 9 own pump-set, 4 own oil press/flour mill and 5 own bullock cart.

- Among the Dusadh, 35 households (31.0%) own cultivable land, of whom 15 (13.5%) own agricultural assets. Only 3 of these households possess plough, but 11 have oil press/flour mill and 7 have diesel pump-sets.

- In sharp contrast, all the 8 households of Dhobi own cultivable land and agricultural assets. Of these, 2 own diesel pump-set and 2 households have tractor.

- There are several households amongst the three castes owning thresher and fodder chopper.

- The Musahar and Chaupal have neither land nor any agricultural assets.

- *The pattern of landownership and assets in Bihar clearly indicate a differentiation process at two levels : (a) between castes wilh land and agricultural assets (Chamar, Dusadh, Dhobi), and castes without these (Musahar and Chaupal); (b) and within castes: suggestive of the formation of a small elite group within the Scheduled Castes.*

Jharkhand

In the State of Jharkhand, our Scheduled Caste sample population being overwhelmingly urban, they do not own any agricultural land, hence, no agricultural assets.

West Bengal

- In West Bengal 108 households of Scheduled Castes (24.4%) own cultivable land, of these 90 (83.3%) possess agricultural assets.

- With respect to the distribution of different types of agricultural asset amongst cultivable landowning castes, 75.9 percent possess plough; 11.1 percent, bullockcart; 13.9 percent, paddy pounder: and 17.6 percent our fishing nets. A very insignificant number of households possess fodder chopper (4), thresher(5), oil press/flourmill(2) and pumpset(2).

Table: 4.18 Selected agricultural assets of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Caste (House-hold)	HH's owning land (%)	HH's owning agrl assets (%)	Agricultural assets (Households)				
			Plough (%)	Bullock-cart (%)	Pumpset (Dsl/Elec) (%)	Oil press/ Flourmill (%)	Tractor (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bagdi (65)	26 (40.0%)	30 (46.2%)	28 (43.0%)	5 (7.7%)	2	NIL	NIL
Bauri (47)	8 (17.0%)	6 (12.7%)	6 (12.7%)	5 (10.6%)	NIL	NIL	NIL
Bhuiyan (30)	24 (80.0%)	16 (53.3%)	16 (53.3%)	NIL	NIL	1 (3.3%)	NIL
Chamar (48)	11 (27.5%)	4 (8.3%)	4 (8.3%)	1 (2.1%)	NIL	NIL	NIL
Kami (23)	10 (43.5%)	10 (43.4%)	10 (43.5%)	NIL	NIL	1 (4.3%)	NIL
Konai (21)	6 (21.6%)	3 (14.2%)	3 (14.2%)	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
Mal (70)	12 (17.1%)	11 (15.7%)	5 (7.1%)	1 (1.4%)	NIL	NIL	NIL
Sarki (30)	14 (46.7%)	11 (36.7%)	10 (33.3%)	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
All 20 Castes (443)	108 (24.4%)	90 (20.1%)	82 (18.5%)	12 (2.7%)	2 (0.5%)	2 (0.5%)	NIL

- At the level of individual castes all the 11 castes own cultivable land. The land ownership ranges from 17 percent of all the households among the Bauri and the Mal, to 80 percent among the Bhuiyan, and a substantial percentage of households among the Sarki (46.6%), Kami (43.3%) and Bagdi (40.0%).

- The main agricultural implement owned by the Scheduled Castes is the plough. Other assets like bullock cart, pump-set, oil press are confined to a few castes amongst very few households (14).

- The differential ownership of plough points to the differentiation among the Scheduled Castes. On the one hand, we have the Bhuiyan, Bagdi, Kami and Sarki with 53.3 percent, 43.0 percent and 33.3 percent households respectively, owning plough. On the other hand, we have castes like the Chamar with 8.3 percent, Bauri with 12.7 percent, Konai with 14.2 percent, and Mal with 7.1 percent of their households owning this implement.

- The Bagdi emerges clearly as the agriculturally most endowed caste with 5 households owning bullock cart, 10 having fishing net, 5 owning thresher, 6 possessing paddy pounder, 2 having fodder chopper and the only caste to own two pumpsets. All cultivating households own the plough.

- The Chamar emerge as the least endowed in terms of possessing agricultural assets. Only 4 households have plough and one has bullock cart.

- Land holding asset among the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal is better than in Bihar. The basic instrument of production, the plough, is available to 18.1 percent of land-owning households in Bihar, whilst in West Bengal this is available to a much larger proportion (75.9%). When it comes to higher order infra-structure like bullock cart and pumpset, 31.9 percent of land-owning households in Bihar own one or both of these, whilst in West Bengal only 13.0 percent have these assets. This is further corroborated by 2 only flour mills in West Bengal, as against 15 in Bihar.

The larger land-owning base demonstrates a more even an extensive minimum infra-structural support in West Bengal, whilst in Bihar a relatively smaller landowning base gives evidence of a sharper class stratification. This suggests a low-level egalitarian model in West Bengal, vis-à-vis a stratified elite generating model in Bihar.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, out of 544 households, 327 (60.1%) own cultivable land. Of these, 270 (82.6%) own agricultural assets, most of whom possess the plough.

As for the other agricultural assets, of those landowning cultivating tribes, 18 percent households possess paddy pounders and 4 percent own bullock carts, whilst there are 3 fishing nets and 1 thresher in the whole population. Only a single household owns a flourmill.

Table: 4.19 Selected agricultural assets of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Tribe (House-hold)	HH's owning land (%)	HH's owning agrl assets (%)	Agricultural assets (Households)				
			Plough (%)	Bullock cart (%)	Pumpset (Disl/El-ec) (%)	Oil press/ Flourmill (%)	Trac-tor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ho (184)	167 (90.8%)	141 (76.6%)	139 (75.5%)	4 (2.2%)	NIL	NIL	NIL
Mahali (48)	22 (45.8%)	19 (39.6%)	19 (39.6%)	2 (4.2%)	NIL	NIL	NIL
Santhal (150)	136 (90.7%)	110 (73.3%)	109 (72.7%)	7 (4.7%)	NIL	NIL	NIL
All 8 tribes (544)	327 (60.1%)	270 (49.6%)	268 (49.3%)	13 (2.4%)	NIL	NIL	NIL

- A consistent pattern among the rural cultivating landowning tribal communities of the Ho, Mahali, and Santhal, is that if a tribal household has an agricultural asset it certainly is the plough. Of the 382 households of these three rural-agriculturally based tribes 325 (85.1%) are landowners.

- Nearly 90 percent of the Ho and Santhal households own land. In comparison, 46 percent of this is 46 percent for the Mahali.

- As for other major assets, 10.6 percent of the households have paddy pounders, whilst a bare 13 households (2.4%) own bullock cart.

The rural-agriculture based Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand suggests a pervasive low-level egalitarian agrarian economy, without other capital infra-structural assets.

West Bengal : STs

In West Bengal, the overall pattern is different from that of Jharkhand. In comparison to Jharkhand, 340 (61.0%) tribal households own cultivable land. Of these, 290 households (85.3%) possess agricultural assets and all of them own the plough.

What is different from Jharkhand is that 45 (13.2%) of the cultivating landowning tribal households own the bullock cart, most of whom are Santhal (40). As many as 50 households (14.7%) have paddy pounder, 29 (8.5%) possess fishing nets and 36 (10.6%) own the thresher.

Table: 4.20 Selected agricultural assets of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Tribe (House-hold)	HH's owning land (%)	HH's owning agrl assets (%)	Agricultural assets (Households)				
			Plough (%)	Bullock cart (%)	Pumpset (Disl/ Elec) (%)	Oil press/ Flourmill (%)	Tractor
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Bhumij (72)	61 (84.7%)	59 (81.9%)	57	2	5	NIL	1
Lodha (44)	2 (4.5%)	2 (4.5%)	2	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
Mahali (22)	12 (54.5%)	11 (50.0%)	9	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
Oraon (78)	59 (75.6%)	53 (67.9%)	51	3	NIL	NIL	NIL
Santhal (298)	178 (59.7%)	155 (52.0%)	154	40	9	NIL	1
All 12 tribes (557)	340 (61.0%)	292 (52.4%)	290 (52.1%)	45 (8.1%)	14 (2.5%)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.6)

- Coming to individual tribal communities, an extraordinary feature is the low ownership of land and agricultural assets among the Lodha (4.5%).

- The Santhal in West Bengal is much less into land ownership and cultivation (59.7%) than in Jharkhand (90.7%).

- The lower percentage of landownership among the rural-based tribal communities in West Bengal is accompanied by greater occupational diversification. We will note whether and how this difference relates with the earning status of the tribal communities in these two States.

- *Interestingly, when it comes to the tribal communities, the Bihar model for Scheduled Castes approximates that of West Bengal , and the West Bengal model for Scheduled Castes approximates that of the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand. In short, in Jharkhand the tribal Communities have a larger landowning base with a pervasive egalitarian distribution of land and basic instrument of production (plough); whereas in West Bengal they have a smaller landowning base which is stratified.*

Assets : Livestock

Livestock is an integral asset of the agrarian economy. It includes aspects of basic infrastructure for agricultural operations, (for example cattle ploughing), organic manurial inputs to the soil, supplementary dietary nutrition and also generates additional income. The milk of cow/ buffalo provides nutrition for domestic consumption and brings additional income through sale of milk. The dung of cow/ buffalo/ bullock/ goat/ pig/ poultry provide rich organic manure. Besides, the goat/ pig/ poultry provide for domestic nutrition and additional income through sale in the market.

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

In Bihar, among the Scheduled Castes, out of 392 households, 117 (29.8%) have milch cattle (cow and buffalo), 88 (22.4%) have goat, 43 (11.0%) have bullock, 14 (3.6%) have pig and 26 households (6.6%) have poultry.

Table 4.21: Live stock holdings of Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Caste (Household)	Livestock (Households; % of total households)				
	Milch cow/ Buffalo (%)	Bullock/ Ox (%)	Goat (%)	Pig (%)	Poultry (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Chamar (159)	50 (31.4)	26 (16.4)	41 (25.8)	NIL	9 (5.7)
Chaupal (29)	12 (41.4)	3 (10.3)	8 (27.6)	NIL	NIL
Dusadh (113)	38 (33.6)	10 (8.8)	21 (18.6)	NIL	7 (6.2)
Musahar (69)	7 (10.1)	1 (1.4)	8 (11.6)	14 (20.3)	8 (11.6)
Dhobi (8)	4 (50.0)	2 (25.0)	3 (37.5)	NIL	NIL
All 9 castes (392)	117 (29.8)	43 (11.0)	88 (22.4)	14 (3.6)	26 (6.6)

- At the level of individual castes, 41.4 percent households of Chaupal, 33.6 percent of Dusadh, 31.4 percent of Chamar and 10.1 percent of Musahar own milch cattle.

- As for bullock, 16.4 percent households of Chamar, 10.3 percent of Chaupal, 8.8 percent of Dusadh, and only 1.4 percent of Musahar possess bullock.

- Once again the Chaupal are the largest rearer of the goat with 27.6 households followed by the Chamar (25.8%), Dusadh (18.6%) and the Musahar with (11.6%).

- The Musahar is the only caste which rear pigs (20.3%)*. In the possession of poultry, once again the Musahar tops the list with 11.6 percent household. The Dusadh with 6.2 percent and Chamar with 5.7 percent come next.

There is a distinct pattern that emerges from the analysis of livestock holdings. The Chaupal tops the list in ownership of milch cattle and rearing of goats. The Musahar is the only caste specialising in nurturing pigs, with which they are traditionally associated and for which they have been regarded as more polluting. They are also more into poultry than any other caste. The Dusadh and Chamar are significant livestock holders in milch cattle, bullock and goat.

The livestock is a definite income supplement for the Scheduled Castes in Bihar, and particularly for non-landowning households.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, among the Scheduled Castes, out of 56 households, only 1 household possesses milch cattle, 8 posses goat, 2 households possess bullock, pig and poultry.

Table 4.22: Live stock holdings of Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

Caste (Household)	Livestock (Households)				
	Milch cow/ Buffalo	Bullock/ Ox	Goat	Pig	Poultry
1	2	3	4	5	6
Chamar (16)	NIL	NIL	3	NIL	NIL
Dom (21)	NIL	NIL	2	NIL	NIL
All 7 Castes (56)	1	2	8	2	2

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*Just as a matter of information, in our personal field visit, in a Musahar settlement adjacent to our sample village, we found very high incidence of pig rearing.

With respect to individual castes, 3 households of Chamar and 2 households of Dom possess goats and no other livestock.

This pattern reflects the constraints and requirements of the urban environment in which only the goat is both useful and can be conveniently reared.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, among the Scheduled Castes, as many as 105 households (23.7%) possess milch cows/ buffaloes, 127 (28.7%) have goats, 72 (16.3%) own bullocks, 39 (8.8%) rear pigs and 94 households (21.2%) keep poultry birds. Barring milch cattle, the livestock holdings among SCs of West Bengal are higher than in Bihar.

Table 4.23: Live stock holdings of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Caste (Household)	Livestock (Households; % of total households)				
	Milch cow/ Buffalo (%)	Bullock/ Ox (%)	Goat (%)	Pig (%)	Poultry (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bagdi (65)	22 (33.8)	26 (40.0)	36 (55.4)	NIL	NIL
Bauri (47)	7 (14.9)	6 (12.8)	9 (19.1)	19 (40.4)	NIL
Bhuiyan (30)	5 (16.7)	13 (43.3)	12 (40.0)	NIL	NIL
Chamar (48)	13 (27.1)	4 (8.3)	3 (6.3)	NIL	16 (33.3)
Dhobi (34)	4 (11.8)	NIL	1 (2.9)	NIL	2 (5.9)
Dom (20)	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)	6 (30.4)	NIL	NIL
Kami (23)	12 (52.2)	10 (43.5)	8 (34.8)	6 (26.1)	17 (73.9)
Konai (21)	7 (33.3)	3 (14.3)	5 (23.8)	NIL	11 (52.0)
Mal (70)	15 (21.4)	5 (7.1)	22 (31.4)	NIL	23 (32.9)
Patni (30)	3 (10.0)	1 (3.3)	2 (6.7)	NIL	1 (3.3)
Sarki (30)	15 (50.0)	1 (3.3)	20 (66.7)	14 (46.7)	23 (70.7)
All 20 castes (443)	105 (23.7)	72 (16.3)	127 (28.7)	39 (8.8)	94 (21.2)

- The highest ownership of milch cows/ buffaloes is amongst the Kami (52.2%) and Sarki (50.0%). Other castes possessing milch cows/ buffaloes are the Bagdi (33.8%), Konai (33.3%), Chamar (27.1%), Mal (21.4%), Bhuiyan (16.7%), Bauri (14.9%), Dhobi (11.8%) and Patni (10.0%). Only one household of Dom possesses milch cattle.

- As for bullock, 43.5 percent households of Kami, 43.3 percent of Bhuiyan, 40 percent of Bagdi own bullocks. As for the other castes like the Bauri, Chamar, Dom, Konai and Mal less than 15 percent households own bullock The Patni and Sarki have bullock in one household each.

- The Sarki (66.7%) and the Bagdi (55.4%) are the largest owners of goat. Then come the Bhuiyan with 40.0 percent, Dom with 30.4 percent, Konai with 23.8 percent and Bauri with 19.1 percent. Patni and Chamar each have less than 10 percent households owning goats.

- When it comes to the largest rearers of pigs, it is the Sarki with 46.7 percent households, followed by Bauri (40.4%) and Kami with 26.1 percent. No other castes rear pigs.

- Poultry birds are owned by 73.9 percent households of Kami, 70.7 percent of Sarki, 52.0 percent of Konai, 33.3 percent of Chamar and 32.9 percent of Mal.

- On the whole, livestock holdings characterise all castes except the Dhoba and to some extent the Dom and Patni. Clearly, the Sarki, Kami, Bagdi and Konai are better livestock owners than the others.

It is worth noting that while the Chamar in Bihar are not much into poultry, their livestock holdings of bullocks and goats are distinctly greater than in West Bengal.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, out of 544 tribal households, 124 (22.8%) have milch cattle, 249 (45.8%) own bullocks, 78 (14.4%) possess goats, 75 (13.8%) rear pigs and 170 households (31.2%) keep poultry birds. We have to keep in mind that the substantial urban sample of Oran, Munda and Lohara are not much into livestock.

Table 4.24: Live stock holdings of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Tribe (Household)	Livestock (Households; % of total households)				
	Milch cow/ Buffalo (%)	Bullock/ Ox (%)	Goat (%)	Pig (%)	Poultry (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ho (184)	61 (33.0)	120 (65.2)	17 (9.2)	NIL	1 (0.5)
Lohara (58)	NIL	NIL	4 (6.9)	1 (1.7)	NIL
Mahali (48)	8 (16.7)	23 (47.9)	15 (31.3)	9 (18.7)	35 (72.9)
Munda (37)	NIL	NIL	2 (5.4)	NIL	NIL
Oraon (63)	1 (1.9)	-	2 (3.2)	NIL	NIL
Santhal (150)	53 (35.3)	105 (70.0)	37 (24.7)	64 (42.7)	133 (88.7)
All 9 tribes (392)	124 (22.8)	249 (45.8)	78 (14.4)	75 (13.8)	170 (31.2)

- With respect to individual castes, as many as 35.3 percent households of Santhal, 33.0 percent of Ho, 16.7 percent of Mahali possess milch cattle. The Oraon, Munda and Lohara do not possess milch cattle in their urban setting.

- The percentage of households owning bullocks is very high among the Santhal and Ho (70% and 65.2% respectively), followed by Mahali with 47.9 percent. Oraon, Munda and Lohara do not possess bullocks.

- As for goats, 31.3 percent households among Mahali, 24.7 percent among the Santhal, 9.2 percent among the Ho possess goats. Very few households of Oraon, Munda and Lohara, as expected, do not possess goats.

- The Santhal and Mahali are the main rearers of pigs (42.7%) and 18.7% respectively).

- As for poultry birds, the Santhal and Mahali predominate (88.7% and 72.9% respectively).

It can be noted that the Santhal is best endowed with livestock of all varieties.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, out of 557 tribal households, 180 (32.3%) have milch cattle, 305 (54.7%) possess bullocks, 237 (42.5%) own goats, 107 (19.2%) rear pigs and 219 households (39.3%) keep poultry birds. Clearly, the livestock holdings of the tribal communities in West Bengal far exceeds the others.

Table 4.25: Live stock holdings of Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Tribe (Household)	Livestock (Households; % of total households)				
	Milch cow/ Buffalo (%)	Bullock/ Ox (%)	Goat (%)	Pig (%)	Poultry (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
Bhumij (72)	29 (40.3)	56 (77.8)	64 (88.9)	NIL	NIL
Lodha (44)	7 (15.9)	8 (18.2)	3 (6.8)	4 (9.1)	4 (9.1)
Mahali (22)	9 (40.9)	12 (54.5)	9 (40.9)	13 (59.1)	21 (95.5)
Munda (22)	8 (36.4)	12 (54.5)	3 (13.6)	6 (27.3)	17 (77.3)
Oraon (78)	32 (41.0)	54 (69.2)	46 (59.0)	37 (47.4)	68 (87.2)
Santhal (298)	87 (29.2)	157 (52.9)	107 (35.9)	40 (13.4)	93 (31.2)
All 12 tribes (557)	180 (32.3)	305 (54.8)	237 (42.5)	107 (19.2)	219 (39.3)

- With respect to individual tribes, 41.0 percent households of Oraon, 40.9 percent of Mahali, 40.3 percent of Bhumij, 36.4 percent of Munda and 15.9 percent of Lodha possess milch cattle.

- As for bullocks, 77.8 percent of Bhumij, 69.2 percent of Oraon, 54.5 percent of both Mahali and Munda and 18.2 percent of Lodha own bullocks.

- The Bhumij are almost all into goatery (88.9%), followed by Oraon (59.0%), Mahali (40.9%) and Santhal (35.9%). The Munda (13.6%) and Lodha (6.8%) are at the tail end.

- The percentage of households rearing pigs among the Mahali is the highest (59.1%), followed by the Oraon (47.4%), Munda (27.3%), Santhal (13.4%) and among the Lodha it is only (9.1%).

- Poultry keeping is almost universal among the Mahali (95.5%), very high among the Oraon (87.2%) and the Munda (77.3%). The percentage of households possessing poultry birds among the Santhal and Lodha are 31.2 and 9.1 respectively.

- In terms of livestock holdings, the position of Bhumij, Mahali and Oraon are amongst the best, whilst that of the Lodha is the poorest.

- The point to note that the livestock status of Santhal is better in Jharkhand.

Vehicular Asset

In our survey we have collected data on vehicles owned by households. The most common and affordable transport is the bicycle. It basically facilitates movement of those residing in rural areas where kutcha roads mostly link villages and village markets. Any rural household, however poor, tries to acquire a bicycle. It would therefore be

interesting to see how many households are able to fulfill this basic transportation need. Those owning rickshaws are likely to be using it for economic return. Ownership of scooter/ motor cycle/ car certainly is an indicator of middle class status.

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

In Bihar, 146 Scheduled Caste households (37.2%) own bicycle and only two households own rickshaw. As many as 12 households own scooter, and two have reached the status of owning car.

Table 4.26 : Distribution of vehicular asset among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Caste (Household)	Bicycle (%)	Rickshaw (%)	Scooter/ motor cycle (%)	Car (%)
Chamar (159)	70 (40.0)	-	2 (1.3)	-
Chaupal (29)	13 (44.8)	-	-	-
Dusadh (113)	48 (42.5)	2 (1.8)	6 (5.3)	-
Musahar (69)	-	-	-	-
Dhobi (8)	5 (62.5)	-	4 (50.0)	2 (25.0)
All Castes (392)	146 (37.2)	2 (0.5)	12 (3.1)	2 (0.5)

Between 40 and 45 percent of all households of Chamar, Chaupal, and Dusadh own the bicycle. Two rickshaws mentioned above, belong to Dusadh households. In addition, 6 households of Dusadh own scooter/ motorcycle. The Chamar are credited with 2 scooter/ motorcycles. But Dhobi clearly emerges as well established with 5

owning bicycles, 4 owning scooter and two owning car, amongst only 8 households. The Musahar draws a blank on all fronts. *This is indicative of a small elite among the Chamar and Dusadh, but amongst Dhobi middle class enterprise is conspicuous.*

Jharkhand

In the urban setting of Jharkhand, out of 56 Scheduled Caste households, 40 (71.4%) own bicycle and three (5.4%) own scooter/ motorcycle.

Table 4.27 : Distribution of vehicular asset among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

Caste (Household)	Bicycle (%)	Scooter/ motor cycle (%)
Chamar (16)	11 (68.8)	1 (6.2)
Dom (21)	16 (76.2)	-
Other Castes (19)	3 (15.8)	2 (10.5)
Total of all Scs (56)	40 (71.4)	3 (5.4)

Interestingly the Dom with 76.2 percent owning bicycle is marginally better than the Chamar (68.8%). The Bauri, Chamar and Pan, each own one scooter/ motorcycle. None have reached the status of owning a car.

West Bengal

Of the 443 Scheduled Caste households in West Bengal, 254, more than half (57.3%) own the bicycle.   The rickshaw is owned by 12 households (2.7%), only 4 (1.0%) own scooter/ motorcycle, and just 2 households (0.5%) own the three wheeler.

**Table 4.28 : Distribution of vehicular assets among the
Scheduled Castes in West Bengal**

Caste (Household)	Bicycle (%)	Rickshaw (%)	Scooter/ motor - cycle (%)	Three wheeler (%)
Bagdi (65)	47 (72.3)	1 (1.5)	-	-
Bauri (47)	24 (51.1)	1 (2.1)	-	-
Bhuiya (30)	20 (66.7)	-	-	-
Chamar (48)	24 (50.0)	1 (2.1)	1 (2.1)	1 (2.1)
Dhobi (34)	21 (61.8)	2 (5.9)	1 (2.9)	1 (2.9)
Dom (20)	12 (60.0)	3 (15.0)	-	-
Kami (23)	16 (69.6)	1 (4.3)	1 (4.3)	-
Konai (21)	12 (57.1)	-	-	-
Mal (70)	38 (54.3)	-	-	-
Patni (30)	14 (46.7)	-	-	-
Sarki (30)	18 (60.0)	1 (3.3)	-	-
All 20 Castes (443)	254 (57.3)	12 (2.7)	4 (1.0)	2 (0.5)

- The Bagdi with 72.3 percent households owning the bicycle are the largest users, followed by the Kami (69.6%), Bhuiya (66.7%), Dhobi (61.8%), Sarki and Dom (60.0%), Konai (57.1%), Mal (54.3%), Chamar (50.0%) and Patni (46.7%).

- One household each of Bagdi, Bauri, Chamar, Kami, Sarki and two households of Dhobi and three households of Dom own the cycle rickshaw.

- One household each of Chamar, Chaupal, Dhobi, and Kami own scooter/ motorcycle, whilst one household each of Chamar and Dhobi own the three wheeler.

- Bicycle ownership in West Bengal is more in evidence than in Bihar. Scooter/ motorcycle and three wheelers have penetrated the Dhobi, Chamar, and Kami.

- Cycle rickshaw ownership, although one or two households in number, is prevalent among a wider set of castes.

- Amongst the Dhobi, significantly, the whole range of vehicles from bicycle to scooter/ motorcycles are owned by sets of households confirming a distinct pattern of upward mobility.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

A good 65.2 percent of all tribal households in Jharkhand possess the bicycle. The rickshaw is owned by only 4 households. A significant 20 households own scooter/ motorcycle, whilst 2 own truck and one household owns a car.

**Table 4.29 : Distribution of vehicular assets among the
Scheduled Tribes of Jharkhand**

Tribe (Household)	Bicycle (%)	Rickshaw (%)	Scooter/ motor cycle (%)	Car (%)
Ho (184)	162 (88.04)	1 (0.5)	5 (2.7)	-
Lohara (58)	15 (25.9)	-	1 (1.7)	-
Mahali (48)	30 (62.5)	1 (2.1)	-	-
Munda (37)	21 (56.8)	-	4 (10.8)	-
Oraon (63)	40 (63.5)	-	9 (14.2)	1 (1.6)
Santhal (150)	84 (56.0)	2 (2.1)	1 (0.5)	-
All tribes (544)	355 (65.2)	4 (0.7)	20 (3.7)	1 (0.2)

- The percentage of households owning bicycle is highest among the Ho (88.0%) followed by Oraon (63.5%), Mahali (62.5%), Munda (56.8%) and Santhal (56.0%). It is the lowest among the Lohara (25.9%).

- Only one or 2 households of Mahali, Santhal and Ho own the cycle rickshaw. In contrast, 4 households of Munda, 9 of Oraon, 5 of Ho and one each of Santhal and Lohara own the scooter/ motorcycle. The Mahali are credited with one three-wheeler and a truck. The only other tribe to own a truck is the Ho, whilst the only car is owned by an Oraon household.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, 389 tribal households (69.8 percent) own bicycles, but just one household owns a rickshaw and one owns a car.

Table 4.30 : Distribution of vehicular assets among the Scheduled Tribes of West Bengal

Tribes (Household) WB ST	Bicycle (%)	Rickshaw (%)	Car (%)
Bhumij (72)	57 (79.2)	-	-
Lodha (44)	12 (27.3)	-	-
Mahali (22)	13 (59.1)	-	-
Munda (22)	14 (63.6)	-	-
Oraon (78)	62 (79.5)	1 (1.3)	-
Santhal (298)	186 (62.4)	-	1 (0.3)
All 12 STs (557)	389 (69.8)	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)

- The percentage of bicycle ownership is highest among the Bhumij and Oraon with about 80 percent households owning bicycles. This is followed by the Munda with (63.6%) and Santhal (62.4%). The only cycle rickshaw is owned by an Oraon household, and a Santhal is the only owner of a car.

CONSUMER GOODS

The three consumer items, the TV, radio and tape-recorder, are instruments of audio and visual communication, which provide the basis for awareness generation and cultural disseminations. An important feature of these items is that although they may be possessed by individual households, the consumption of their products like, music, news features, interviews, dance and drama, environmental features, educational programmes, cinema, serials etc. go much beyond the confines of these households. Thus, they have a multiplier effect.

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

Of the 392 Scheduled Caste households, as many as 38 households (9.6%) possess TV sets, 95 (24.2%) have the radio, and 19 (4.8%) own tape recorders.

Table 4.31 : Distribution of audio and visual items
among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Sl no	Caste (Household)	TV (%)	Radio (%)	Tape recorder (%)
1	Chamar (159)	6 (4.0)	22 (13.8)	1 (0.6)
2	Chaupal (29)	1 (3.4)	5 (17.2)	1 (3.4)
3	Dusadh (113)	26 (23.0)	47 (41.6)	11 (9.7)
4	Musahar (69)	1 (1.4)	12 (17.6)	3 (4.3)
5	Dhobi (8)	4 (50.0)	6 (75.0)	3 (37.5)
	All 9 Castes (392)	38 (9.6)	95 (24.2)	19 (4.8)

- With 26 households of Dusadh (23.0%) owning the TV is a clear reflection of a sigfnificant upward mobile group among them. In comparison, a smaller group of 6 households amongst the Chamar own the TV, indicative of a small elite in the making. Even among the Musahar and Chaupal the TV has found an opening. As expected 50 percent of the Dhobi enjoy the TV.

- The radio has a much wider spread having a somewhat different pattern of distribution with 47 households (41.6%) of Dusadh, 12 of Musahar (17.4%), 5 of Chaupal (17.2%) and 22 households of Chamar (13.8%) owning the radio. The Dhobi as usual emerge as the leader with 75 percent ownership of radio.

- The tape recorder too has found its way into all the castes, although to a much lesser degree.

Jharkhand

In the urban setting of Jharkhand a greater acquisition of audio-visual items can be expected. Accordingly 32 out 56, Scheduled Caste households (57.1%) have TV in their homes. As many as 14 (25%) possess the tape recorder, and 12 households (21.4%) play the radio.

**Table 4.32 : Distribution of audio and visual items
among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand**

Sl no	Caste (Household)	TV (%)	Radio (%)	Tape recorder (%)
1	Chamar (16)	10 (62.5)	4 (25.0)	4 (25.0)
2	Dom (21)	16 (76.2)	3 (14.2)	7 (33.3)
	All 7 Castes (56)	32 (57.1)	12 (21.4)	14 (25.0)

- Very interestingly, it is the Dom with 16 households (76.2%) who score over the Chamar with 10 households (62.5%) in the possession of TV sets.

- When it comes to the radio 4 households (25.0%) of Chamar and 3 (14.2%) of Dom possess the radio.

- Again, more households of the Dom (7 ; 33.3%) than the Chamar (4 ; 25.0%) play the tape recorder.

Contrary to our stereotypes, in the urban setting of Ranchi, the Dom which is supposed to be much lower in the ritual hierarchy than the Chamar, enjoy better audio and visual consumer satisfaction.

West Bengal

The pattern in West Bengal is not too dissimilar to that of Bihar. Out of 443 households, 43 (9.7%) possess TV sets, 137 (30.9%) own the radio and 25 households (5.4%) have tape recorders.

Table 4.33 : Distribution of audio and visual items among the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Sl no	Caste (Household)	TV (%)	Radio (%)	Tape recorder (%)
1	Bagdi (65)	3 (4.6)	19 (29.2)	2 (8.1)
2	Bauri (47)	2 (4.2)	4 (8.5)	-
3	Bhuiya (30)	1 (3.3)	5 (16.7)	-
4	Chamar (48)	5 (10.6)	20 (41.7)	2 (4.2)
5	Dhobi (34)	14 (41.2)	20 (58.8)	6 (17.6)
6	Dom (20)	3 (15.0)	4 (20.0)	-
7	Kami (23)	6 (26.1)	2 (8.7)	7 (30.4)
8	Konai (21)	-	4 (19.0)	-
9	Mal (70)	2 (1.8)	24 (34.2)	2 (2.8)
10	Patni (30)	2 (6.7)	16 (53.3)	2 (6.7)
11	Sarki (30)	4 (13.3)	7 (23.3)	3 (10.0)
	All 20 castes (443)	43 (9.7)	137 (30.9)	25 (5.4)

- As many as 14 households of Dhobi (41.2%) have TV sets, followed by the Kami 6 (26.1%), Dom with 3 (15.0%) and Sarki with 4 (13.3%) and Chamar with 5 households (10.8%). All the others (Patni, Bagdi, Bauri, Bhuiya and Mal) have less than 10 percent households with TV sets.

- As for the radio, the Dhobi with 20 households (58.8%) are the maximum possessers, followed by Patni with 16 households (53.3%), Chamar with 20 (41.7%), Mal with 24 (34.2%), Bagdi with 19 (29.2%) and Sarki with 7 households (23.3%). While the other major castes like Bhuiyan, Konai, Dom have around 20 percent of their households possessing radio sets, it is less than 10 percent among the Bauri and Kami.

- The tape recoder is possessed by 7 households of Kami (30.4%) and 6 (17.6%) of Dhoba. Other castes possessing tape recorder are the Bagdi, Chamar, Mal, Patni and Sarki with less than 10 percent.

Clearly the Dhobi enjoys the best overall audio and visual consumer status. By and large, consumer penetration of these goods is pervasive.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Out of 544 households of Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand, 73 households (13.2%) possess TV sets, 127 (22.9%) own radios and 27 households (4.9%) have tape recorders.

**Table 4.34 : Distribution of audio and visual items
among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand**

Sl no	Tribe (Household)	TV (%)	Radio (%)	Tape recorder (%)
1	Ho (184)	1 (0.5)	51 (27.7)	2 (1.0)
2	Lohara (58)	7 (12.0)	4 (6.9)	-
3	Mahali (48)	1 (2.0)	13 (27.0)	1 (2.1)
4	Munda (37)	20 (54.1)	9 (24.3)	6 (16.2)
5	Oraon (63)	42 (66.7)	10 (15.9)	12 (19.0)
6	Santhal (150)	2 (1.3)	39 (26.0)	6 (4.0)
	All 8 tribes (554)	73 (13.2)	127 (22.9)	27 (4.9)

- The urban-based Oraon and Munda have maximum number of TV sets. As many as 66.7 percent households (42 nos.) among the Oraon and 54.1 percent among the Munda (20 nos.) have TV sets. The Lohara possess 7 TV sets (12.1%). Very few households of Mahali, Santhal, Ho who are entirely rural-based possess TV sets.

- The radio is owned by 9 households of the Munda (24.3%), 10 (15.9%) of Oraon and 4 households of Lohara (6.9%). In comparisons 28 percent households among the Ho (51 nos.), 27.7 percent among the Mahali (13 nos.) and (26.0%) percent among the Santhal, who are rural-based, possess the radio.

- As for the tape recorder, the Oraon and the Munda households own 12 (19.0%) and 6 (16.2%) tape recorders respectively. Very few households of the other tribes own tape recorders.

- The Lohara do not own a single tape recorder even though they are predominantly in Ranchi.

West Bengal

The distribution of audio and visual items among the Scheduled Tribes is more or less the same as the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal. Out of 557 households 35 (6.3%) possess TV sets, 159 (28.5%) own the radio, and 30 households (5.3%) have tape recorder.

**Table 4.35 : Distribution of audio and visual items
among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal**

Sl no	Tribe (Household)	TV (%)	Radio (%)	Tape recorder (%)
1	Bhumij (72)	1 (1.4)	19 (26.4)	-
2	Lodha (44)	2 (4.5)	12 (27.3)	5 (11.4)
3	Mahali (22)	4 (18.2)	3 (13.6)	3 (13.6)
4	Munda (22)	2 (9.1)	2 (9.1)	3 (13.6)
5	Oraon (78)	15 (19.2)	13 (16.7)	16 (20.5)
6	Santhal (298)	10 (3.4)	104 (34.9)	3 (1.0)
	All 12 tribes (557)	35 (6.3)	159 (28.5)	30 (5.3)

- With respect to individual tribes, the number of households owning TV sets among the Oraon is 15 (19.2%) and among the Mahali is 4 (18.2%). Not many households of Santhal (10 nos.), Munda (2 nos.), Lodha (2 nos.) and Bhumij (1 no.) own the TV set.

- As for the radio, as many as 104 households (34.8%) among the Santhal, 12 (27.3%) among the Lodha, 19 (26.4%) among the Bhumij, 13 (16.6%) among the Oraon, 3 (13.6%) among the Mahali, and 2 (9.1%) among the Munda possess the radio.

- Tape recorders are owned by 16 households of Oraon (20.5%) followed by Munda and Mahali with 3 each (13.6%) and Lodha with 5 households (11.4%).

The West Bengal situation also reflects the pervasive but uneven distribution of these consumer items amongst the different tribal communities.

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CONSUMER UTILITIES

We have so far analysed the distribution of only three consumer items audio and/ or visual, at the level of the three States and at the level of individual Scheduled Castes and Tribes. However, in our survey we have collected data on several other consumer utilities. Monotonous discussion on each item is not worthwhile. Therefore, we have consolidated a list of 15 selected items out 18, for which there are sufficient frequencies for analysis. The analysis has been done at the level of the States for all Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes taken as a whole.

These consumer utilities are : TV, radio, tape-recorder, fan, wall-clock, wrist-watch, torch, lantern, petromax, kerosene stove, gas/ electric chulla, steel and alluminium utensils, wooden cots, table and chair.

Table 4.36: Distribution of selected consumer utilities among Scheduled Castes in Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal

Sl.No.	Items	States:All Castes		
		Bihar (%)	Jharkhand (%)	West Bengal (%)
1.	T.V.	38 (9.6)	32 (57.1)	43 (9.7)
2.	Radio	95 (24.2)	12 (21.4)	137 (30.9)
3.	Tape recorder	19 (4.8)	14 (25.0)	25 (5.6)
4.	Fan	27 (6.9)	17 (30.3)	38 (8.5)
5.	Wall clock	51 (13.0)	42 (75.0)	116 (26.2)
6.	Wrist watch	112 (28.6)	41 (73.2)	208 (46.9)
7.	Torch	177 (45.2)	10 (17.8)	174 (39.3)
8.	Lantern	202 (51.5)	45 (80.3)	336 (75.8)
9.	Gas chulla	25 (6.4)	1 (1.8)	6 (1.4)
10.	Kerosene stove	40 (10.2)	7 (12.5)	40 (9.0)
11.	Steel utensil	305 (77.8)	55 (98.2)	341 (77.0)
12.	All utensil	360 (91.8)	56 (100.0)	420 (94.8)
13.	Wooden cots	192 (49.0)	43 (76.8)	112 (25.3)
14.	Table	37 (9.4)	25 (44.6)	39 (8.8)
15.	Chair	Not available.	26 (46.4)	64 (14.4)

We can make the following observations :

- In Bihar and West Bengal, the percentage of household owning TV is the same (9.6% and 9.7% respectively). In comparison, 57.1 percent households in Jharkhand own TV. Similar pattern can be observed in possession of tape recorder.

- Clearly the urban factor makes the difference in Jharkhand because almost all the Scheduled Caste households are located in Ranchi town. All items except for the torch and radio, reflect the urban bias in Jharkhand.

- The radio has a wide range of ownership in Bihar and West Bengal. However, the lesser number of TVs in these two states, which have a predominantly rural population, is more a function of the living standards and lack or affordability of power.

- The higher percentage of wall clocks and wrist watches in West Bengal in comparison to Bihar (both of which are largely rural) presumably point to a relatively greater consciousness for time in rural West Bengal.

- The only other item of significance is the wooden cot, which is substantially more in evidence in Bihar than in West Bengal.

- There is not much of a sharp distinction in the overall pattern of household ownership of consumer utilities among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar and West Bengal. Jharkhand stands out clearly superior. But this is on account of the fact that most households are located in the capital city of Jharkhand.

When we look at the selected consumer utilities of Scheduled   Tribes in Jharkhand and West Bengal clearly there is not much of a difference in the overall pattern except for one or two items such as TV and lantern (Table 4.37 below).

Table 4.37: Distribution of selected consumer utilities among Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand and West Bengal

Sl.No.	Items	States:All Castes	
		Jharkhand (%)	West Bengal (%)
1.	T.V.	73 (13.4)	35 (6.2)
2.	Radio	127 (23.3)	159 (28.5)
3.	Tape recorder	27 (4.9)	31 (5.6)
4.	Fan	53 (9.7)	20 (3.6)
5.	Wall clock	172 (31.6)	166 (29.8)
6.	Wrist watch	285 (52.4)	233 (41.8)
7.	Torch	292 (53.7)	298 (53.5)
8.	Lantern	295 (54.2)	495 (88.9)
9.	Gas chulla	25 (4.6)	2 (0.4)
10.	Kerosene stove	40 (7.4)	41 (7.4)
11.	Steel utensil	480 (80.2)	479 (86.0)
12.	All utensil	533 (98.0)	540 (96.9)
13.	Wooden cots	174 (32.0)	146 (26.2)
14.	Table	100 (18.4)	36 (6.4)
15.	Chair	107 (19.7)	99 (17.8)

VALUATION OF CONSUMER ITEMS AND UTILITIES

On the basis of the consumer items and utilities owned by households, we have worked out the aggregate value of all these items per household for each selected caste/tribe. We have classified the aggregate values into two categories – upto Rs. 5000/- and more than Rs. 5000/-.

It follows that the percentage of households in each caste with valuation of consumer goods limited to Rs. 5000/- will indicate their relative lower consumer status.

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

The overall situation of all Scheduled Castes in our sample in Bihar indicates that 88 percent households possess consumer goods whose total value is less than Rs. 5000/- per household. It can be inferred that it is from amongst 12 percent that a small emerging elite is likely to be in the formation.

Table 4.38: Total valuation of all consumers items (per household) for the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Sl.No.	Caste (Household)	Upto Rs.5000 (%)	More than Rs.5000 (%)	Total (%)
1.	Chamar (159)	147 (92.5)	12 (7.5)	159 (100.0)
2.	Chaupal (29)	28 (96.6)	1 (3.4)	29 (100.0)
3.	Dusadh (113)	84 (74.3)	29 (25.7)	113 (100.0)
4.	Musahar (69)	69 (100.0)	-	69 (100.0)
5.	Dhobi (8)	3 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	8 (100.0)
	All 9 Castes (392)	345 (88.0)	47 (12.0)	392 (100.0)

Note : The consumer goods include : TV, radio, tape recorder, fan wall clock,
     wrist watch, torch, lantern, gas/ electric chulla, petromax,
     kerosene stove, utensils, cot, table, chair.

- It is the Dusadh with 25.7 percent of their households in the higher consumer category, followed by the Chamar (7.5%), that differentiates the economic status of these two castes. The Musahar and the Chaupal draw a blank.

- The Dhobi caste (which has been introduced as a special case) indicates a substantially large percentage of households (62.5 percent) having consumer goods worth more than Rs. 5000/-.

Jharkhand

When we move to Jharkhand, the situation of the Scheduled Castes shows a marked change, with 50 percent of them in the higher consumer category.

Table 4.39: Total valuation of all consumers items (per household) for the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

Sl.No.	Caste (Household)	Upto Rs.5000 (%)	More than Rs.5000 (%)	Total (%)
1.	Chamar (16)	6 (37.5)	10 (62.5)	16 (100.0)
2.	Dom (21)	9 (42.9)	12 (57.1)	21 (100.0)
	All 7 Castes (56)	28 (50.0)	28 (50.0)	56 (100.0)

The Chamar and the Dom are almost evenly balanced in this respect. In case of Chamar 62.5 percent households have consumer goods worth more than Rs. 500/-, whereas for the Dom it is marginally less at 57.1 percent households.

This is consistent with their common urban location.

West Bengal

Interestingly, in West Bengal, 91.9 percent of all Scheduled Castes are in the lower consumer category.

Table 4.40: Total valuation of all consumers items (per household) for the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Sl.No.	Caste (Household)	Upto Rs.5000 (%)	More than Rs.5000 (%)	Total (%)
1.	Bagdi (65)	61 (93.8)	4 (6.2)	65 (100.0)
2.	Bauri (47)	47 (100.0)	-	47 (100.0)
3.	Bhuiyan (30)	30 (100.0)	-	30 (100.0)
4.	Chamar (48)	45 (93.8)	3 (6.2)	48 (100.0)
5.	Dhobi (34)	18 (52.9)	16 (47.1)	34 (100.0)
6.	Dom (20)	20 (100.0)	-	20 (100.0)
7.	Kami (23)	19 (82.6)	4 (17.4)	23 (100.0)
8.	Konai (21)	20 (95.2)	1 (4.8)	21 (100.0)
9.	Mal (70)	68 (97.2)	2 (2.8)	70 (100.0)
10	Patni (30)	28 (93.3)	2 (6.7)	30 (100.0)
11.	Sarki (30)	27 (90.0)	3 (10.0)	30 (100.0)
	All Castes (443)	407 (91.9)	36 (8.1)	443 (100.0)

- The Dhobi with 47.1 percent of their households having consumer goods valued at more than Rupees 5000, is the best endowed among the Scheduled Castes.

- The Kami and Sarki, with 17.1 percent and 10.0 percent respectively, come a distant next to the Dhobi.

- The Patni (6.7%), Chamar (6.2%) and Bagdi (6.2%) have more or less an equivalent consumer status.

- Among the Bauri, Bhuiyan and Dom none have any household in the higher consumer category, while the Konai and Mal have an insignificant presence.

- The consumer status of the Scheduled Castes in Bihar is somewhat better than in West Bengal.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

The overall situation of the tribal households in our survey, indicate that 86.0 percent of these fall within the lower consumer category.

Table 4.41: Total valuation of all consumers items (per household) for the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Sl.No.	Tribe (Household)	Upto Rs.5000 (%)	More than Rs.5000 (%)	Total (%)
1.	Ho (184)	183 (99.5)	1 (0.5)	184 (100.0)
2.	Lohara (58)	54 (93.1)	4 (6.9)	58 (100.0)
3.	Mahali (48)	45 (93.7)	3 (6.3)	48 (100.0)
4.	Munda (37)	18 (48.6)	19 (51.4)	37 (100.0)
5.	Oraon (63)	25 (39.7)	38 (60.3)	63 (100.0)
6.	Santhal (150)	139 (92.7)	11 (7.3)	150 (100.0)
	All 8 Tribes (544)	468 (86.0)	76 (14.0)	544 (100.0)

- When we look at individual tribal communities, the Oraon and Munda emerge as conspicuously high in the upper consumer category. As many as, 60.3 percent Oraon households and 51.4 percent Munda are among the higher consumers. Munda and the Oraon are all concentrated in Ranchi town, reflecting once again the urban factor.

- As we move from the urban to the rural, tribal communities show a drastic decline in consumer status. The Santhal with only 7.3 percent and Mahali with 6.3 percent of their households are in the higher consumer category.

- Surprisingly, out of 184 households of Ho, only one household is in the higher consumer category.

- Paradoxically, the Lohara with an urban predominance of 86.2 households in Ranchi, still have a meagre 6.9 percent households in the higher consumer category.

- *The question arises, as against the urban-based Oraon, Munda, Chamar and Dom in Jharkhand, how is it that the largely urban based Lohara becomes an exception with such a low consumer status?*

Inspite of a large presence of tribal households in Ranchi urban area, the overall tribal consumer status is very low. The sharp rural urban differentiation is conspicuous.

West Bengal

In West Bengal the tribal consumer goods valuation in comparison to the Scheduled Castes is even lower, with 95.5 percent households below the consumer status of Rs. 5000/- per household.

Table 4.42: Total valuation of all consumers items (per household) for the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Sl.No.	Tribe (Household)	Upto Rs.5000 (%)	More than Rs.5000 (%)	Total (%)
1.	Bhumij (72)	72 (100.0)	-	72 (100.0)
2.	Lodha (44)	43 (97.7)	1 (2.3)	44 (100.0)
3.	Mahali (22)	22 (100.0)	-	22 (100.0)
4.	Munda (22)	20 (90.1)	2 (9.1)	22 (100.0)
5.	Oraon (78)	68 (87.2)	10 (12.8)	78 (100.0)
6.	Santhal (298)	286 (96.0)	12 (4.0)	298 (100.0)
	All 12 Tribes (557)	532 (95.5)	25 (4.5)	557 (100.0)

- Only the Oraon, and the Munda households with 12.8 percent and 9.1 percent respectively, fall in the upper consumer category.

- The Santhal, with the largest number of households, still have only 4 percent in the upper category.

- The Bhumij and Mahali have none, whilst the Lodha have only one household in the upper category.

- The Santhal and the Mahali are entirely rural based both in Jharkhand and West Bengal, but their consumer status is somewhat better in Jharkhand.

Indebtedness

Debt or loan is important in understanding the nature and extent of involvement of households in the credit market. Usually the term debt connotes a commitment on the part of a borrower to return to the debtor the amount borrowed under certain terms and conditions. Till the debt is cleared, there can be an element of obligation to the debtor. Often, the terms and conditions of such borrowing is marked by some kind of 'attachment', and in extreme situations even with 'bondedness' for long periods of time. These kinds of borrowings are often referred to as non-institutional loans from the money lender or other informal sources. Borrowings from banks/ credit societies are, in contrast, institutional loans and follow formal bureaucratic rules and procedures of loan-taking and repayment.

As we are all aware, traditional non-institutional loans from the money lender and or the landlord, have resulted in the large scale phenomenon of bonded labour running through generations of indebtedness, occasionally aproximating conditions of slavery with a beck-and-call relationship imposed on the debtor. Our country has witnessed large scale agrarian movements against bonded labour or other forms of 'attachment' relationships associated with landlordism.

In our present study we have attempted to get some data on this aspect of agrarian relationship that may prevail among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the three States. Given the large number of items on which data has been collected during the survey, the data on quantum of loans is not entirely satisfactory. We have therefore limited our analysis to data pertaining to borrowings from the credit market and other sources, in terms of the number of households involved in borrowing and the purposes for which such loans have been taken.

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

In Bihar, as many as 57 households of Scheduled Castes (14.5%) have taken loan from money lenders. Of these, 52.6 percent have taken loan for social consumption such as expenditure on birth, marriage and death; 38.6 percent, for health reasons and 8.8 percent for house construction and repairs. As for institutional loans only 10 households (2.6%) have taken loan from credit society/ bank for agricultural purposes. In all, 17.6% of all households have entered the credit market, most of which is non-institutional. This is not an insignificant proportion and the large component of non-institutional loans suggest the presence of ties of 'attachment' with the creditors in some form or the other.

- With respect to individual castes, 22 households (13.8%) among the Chamar have taken loan from money lenders. Of these, 17 households have taken loan for social consumption, 3 for medical treatment, 2 for house construction/ repairs.

- The Chaupal in comparison, are much more into the credit market with 17 households having taken loan from money lenders.   Of these 6 have taken it for social consumption purpose (58.6%), 8 for medical treatment and 3 for house construction/ repairs.

- With the Dusadh borrowing goes down to only 5 households (4.2%), all having taken loan from money lenders. 4 of them have taken loan for social consumption purposes and 1 for medical treatment.

- Only 3 Musahar households have taken loan from the money lender, exclusively for medical treatment.

- Only one Dhobi has sought for loan from money lender, that too for medical reason.

- Among the Nat, with only 10 households in our sample, (who do not figure in our general analysis) as many as 9 have taken loan from money lenders, mainly for medical reasons (6 times) and also for social occasions (3 times).

- As for institutional loan, out of a total 10 households 8 of them are from the Chamar. All of them have taken it from cooperative society/ bank for agricultural purposes.

Our data shows that most of the borrowing households have preferred to take loans from the money lender / landowner and that too for domestic reasons related to social consumption, health imperatives and construction and repair of their homes. The loans taken for agricultural purposes, are from a few households, mostly from the Chamar and confined to banks and credit societies as sources. *This clear demarcation of domestic needs being met from money lender / landowner, whilst agricultural requirements being met from institutional loans is significant*.

It is quite possible that loans for domestic purposes coming from the money lender/ landowner is indicative of a new trend by landowners to extend soft or interest free loans to ensure a moral obligation towards labour supply by debtors particularly during labour scarce periods. This is a new kind of obligation structure under pressures from scarcity in the free labour market, in which a situation converse to bondage has come into existence. The money lender / landowner is constrained, and even eager, to extend soft loans or loans without interest to households who usually engage in labour in their cultivation. *Often an interest-free loan is tagged to assured labour supply commitment on less than the prevailing wage rates. In that sense, the difference between the prevailing and actual wage rates can be interpreted as the 'hidden interest', on the so-called interest-free loans. This is an area that opens up scope for further research.*

Another interesting detail, in our Bihar sample is that 53 out of 57 households who have taken non-institutional loan in Bihar, are from the panchayat in the district of Saran in North Bihar. It may be noted that the other panchayat surveyed in the district of Patna has witnessed strong extremist agrarian movements.

Jharkhand

None of the households of Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand have taken loan from any source. The urban-based SC households are endowed to an extent that does not entail informal dependencies.

West Bengal

The situation in West Bengal is somewhat different. The extent of borrowing itself is very low at 3.4 percent, and borrowing from money lender is even less. In fact, there are more borrowings from relatives and friends. Only 15 households have taken loan. Of these, 6 have borrowed from the money lender, 7 from amongst relatives and 2 from the bank. 6 have borrowed for agricultural purposes, 2 for business, 4 for social consumption, and 3 for house construction and repairs.

- With respect to individual castes, 3 households of Bagdi have taken loan, of whom 2 have taken it from the money lender for house construction/ repairs and 1 from relative for agricultural purpose.

- 3 households of Mal have taken loan, of which 1 from money lender for social consumption, 2 from relatives for agriculture and business purposes respectively.

- Among the Bauri, 4 households have taken loan, 1 from money lender for house construction/ repairs; 1 from friend for social consumption. 2 have taken loan from credit society/ bank for agriculture purpose.

- 1 household each of Dom, Patni, Chamar have taken loan from friends/ relatives for consumption purpose.

- 1 household each of Kami, Sarki have taken loan from money lender for agriculture purpose.

Although the percentage of borrowing households is much less in West Bengal as compared to Bihar, the purpose for borrowing is directed more towards agriculture and business and house repairs. Loans for social consumption are taken by few. *Our findings suggest that social consumption loans for Scheduled Castes have greater priority in Bihar, and perhaps a cultural reason for structural dependence. This too is an area for further research.*

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Loan-taking among the Scheduled Tribes of Jharkhand is insignificant.

- Only 9 (1.7%) households of Scheduled Tribes have taken loan. Of these, 3 households belong to Ho, 5 to Santhal and 1 belongs to Mahali.

- All the 3 households of Ho have taken loan from money lenders for agricultural purposes.

- 4 households of Santhal have taken loan from money lenders, 1 for health treatment, 2 for livestock, and 1 for agriculture.

- 1 each of Mahali and Santhal have taken from the bank for business and house construction respectively.

This indicates that the tribal communities in Jharkhand do not seem to be much into loan dependency.

West Bengal

As in Jharkhand very few among the Scheduled Tribes, only 12 households, (2.6 percent) have taken loan.

- Among the Santhal 4 have taken loan from the money lenders, 1 for house construction, 1 for social consumption, 2 for agricultural purposes.

- 3 Oraon and 1 Munda household have taken loan from the money lender for agricultural purpose.

- As for institutional credit, 3 households of Bhumij and 1 household of Santhal have taken loan from the bank for agricultural purposes.

The tribal pattern of borrowings shows little relationship with money lender/ landlords, and even less use of institutional credit. This suggests that there is no dependency relationships with money lenders/ landlords, and not much initiative in investment in agriculture or business through institutional loans..

Expenditure Pattern

As discussed earlier, data on expenditure is generally regarded as a more reliable indicator of the economic health of a household than income. In our basket of *food items,* cereals (rice, wheat, maize, jowar, bajra), pulses, non-cereal items (milk, ghee, cooking oil, spices, egg, meat, fish), vegetable and fruit items, have been included. Among *non-food items* we have included, land rent, education, health, transport, fuel, clothes, footwear, paan-tobacco, electricity, liquor, festivals and entertainments. What we wish to gain from such a wide variety of items of consumption is a fair assessment of inter-caste, inter-tribal patterns, as also capture some elements of food cultures.

For example, amongst the Scheduled Castes in Bihar, whilst *rice* and *wheat* are consumed in both the panchayat areas (in north and south Bihar), in north Bihar we find the Chamar, Chaupal and Dusadh, additionally consuming *maize.* Pulses are consumed by all households in Bihar. Thus rice/ wheat and pulses form common diet for all households. The Dusadh and the Dhobi are good consumers of *milk* in Patna district (over 60 percent households), whilst in Saran they are fewer (about 10 percent). A similar pattern can be observed with respect to the consumption of *ghee* in Patna district (50% households of Dhobi and nearly 30 percent households of Dusadh). In the Saran district of south Bihar it is only five percent or less amongst the Chamar, Dusadh and Chaupal. Typically the consumption of *meat* amongst the SCs in Bihar is high. It is higher in Patna district (Musahar, 98 percent; Dhobi, 75 percent; Dusadh, 71 percent; Chamar, 56.3 percent). In Saran district, 93 percent among Chaupal, 51 percent among Dusadh and 35 percent among Chamar consume meat.

In Jharkhand, *rice* and *wheat* are the predominant cereals, wheat being consumed by more households in Ranchi than in the rural areas. *Pulses,* too form a staple diet. When it comes to *milk*, the percentage of households consuming it is much less (30% among the Munda and Oraon and 6 percent of Lohara, in Ranchi; 7 percent of Mahali and 14 percent of Santhal in Dumka; and 4 percent of Ho in West Singhbhum). In Ranchi town 19 percent of Chamar and 4 percent of Dom consume milk. *Meat* and *fish* are consumed universally by the STs and SCs in Jharkhand.

In West Bengal, as can be expected, *rice* is the staple cereal diet for all. When it comes to *wheat,* between 35 and 62 percent of all SCs and STs consume it in Burdwan; 45 percent in Midnapur; and 35 percent in Darjeeling district. Overall, the SC consumption of wheat is higher than the STs, and among the Santhal it is the least. *Pulses* are consumed almost universally, with marginally less consumption among the tribals. *Milk* consumption among the SCs and STs is not very pronounced (it is less than 10 percent in Burdwan; in Bankura, it is 5 percent of SCs, and 27 percent of Santhal; in Midnapur, 21 percent of Dhoba and 2 percent of Santhal; in Darjeeling, 21 percent of SC

and 12 percent of Santhal). The consumption of *ghee* is negligible. As for consumption of meat and fish, they are almost universally consumed (around 90 percent and above).

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

In Bihar, the average size of a Scheduled Caste household is 5.69, for which the average annual expenditure on consumption goods is Rs. 20,882. The average annual per capita expenditure works out to Rs. 3670.

Table 4.43: Annual expenditure of Scheduled Caste Households in Bihar

Caste	No. of HHs	Average HH size	Average annual expenditure per household	Avg. annual per capita expenditure
Chamar	159	6.32	18862	2984
Chaupal	29	6.28	20016	3187
Dusadh	113	5.51	28884	5242
Musahar	69	3.75	14182	3782
Dhobi	8	8.8	83568	9496
All 9 castes	392	5.69	20882	3670

- When we look into the per capita annual expenditure of individual castes, we find that for the Chamar and Chaupal it is below that of State average. Interestingly it is marginally higher among the Chaupal (Rs. 3187) when compared to the Chamar (Rs 2984).

- Even more surprising, the Musahar has a higher per capita annual expenditure than the Chaupal and Chamar (Rs. 3782).

- Among the Dusadh it is substantially higher at Rs. 5242.

- It is highest among the Dhobi with Rs. 9496.

- When we look into the *average annual expenditure per household*, we find that it is lowest among the Musahar with Rs. 14,182, higher among Chamar (Rs. 18,862), higher still among Chaupal (Rs. 20,016). Predictably, it is highest among the Dhobi at Rs. 83,568.

The question arises : how is it that the Musahar with the lowest per household annual expenditure has a high per capita annual expenditure above the State average? This is explained by the extraordinarily small size of their household at 3.75 members per household. So, the per household expenditure is low because there are less members to expend on, whereas their per capita expenditure is higher. The per capita expenditure of castes is a function of household size.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand the position of Scheduled Castes is much better than in Bihar. The average size of household is 5.88 with an average annual expenditure at Rs. 24,690. Correspondingly, the average per capita expenditure is Rs. 4199.

**Table 4.44 : Annual expenditure of Scheduled Caste households :
in Jharkhand**

Caste	No. of HHs	Average HH size	Average annual expenditure per household	Avg. annual per capita expenditure
Chamar	16	5.94	28632	4820
Dom	21	6.01	24720	4113
All 7 castes	56	5.88	24690	4199

- In terms of individual castes, the average per capita expenditure of Dom at Rs. 4113 approximates the overall average.

- As for the Chamar it is higher than that of the Dom (Rs. 4820).

- The average annual household expenditure pattern is similar to that of the average per capita expenditure. It may be noted that the average size of the Chamar and Dom household is almost the same.

The higher consumption expenditure of both the castes reflects the higher level of urban earning and living.

West Bengal

As we move over to West Bengal, we find that the average annual per capita expenditure of Scheduled Castes at Rs. 3209 is somewhat lower than in Bihar. The average size of household is the lowest at 5.39. Correspondingly, the average annual household expenditure is the lowest among the three States at Rs. 17,296.

Table 4.45 : Annual expenditure of Scheduled Caste households in West Bengal

Caste	No. of HHs	Average HH Size	Average annual Expenditure Per household	Avg. annual per capita expenditure
Bagdi	65	5.86	18738	3198
Bauri	47	4.98	13404	2692
Bhuiya	30	4.70	17568	3739
Chammar	48	6.87	15076	2194
Dhobi	34	5.38	24865	4622
Dom	20	5.26	14383	2734
Kami	23	5.26	19248	3666
Konai	21	6.23	13116	2105
Mal	70	4.90	16551	3378
Patni	30	4.93	18144	3680
Sarki	30	5.10	17916	3513
All 20 castes	443	5.39	17296	3209

- Those castes that have a per capita annual expenditure higher than the State average (upper category), are the Dhobi (Rs. 4622), Bhuiyan (Rs. 3739), Patni (Rs. 3680), Kami (Rs. 3666), Sarki (Rs. 3513), and Mal (Rs. 3378).

- In contrast, the per capita expenditure of the Dom (Rs. 2734), Bauri (Rs. 2692), Chamar (Rs. 2194) and Konai (Rs. 2105) are lower than the State average (lower category). It may be noted that the Bagdi approximate the average per capita expenditure (Rs. 3198).

- The per capita expenditure is the highest among the Dhobi and the lowest among the Konai.

- The following SCs are in the descending order of average annual household expenditure of those above the State average (upper category), are : the Dhobi (Rs. 24,865), Kami (Rs. 19,248), Bagdi (Rs. 18,738), Patni (Rs. 18,144), Sarki (Rs. 17,916) and Bhuiyan (Rs. 17,568).

- The SCs that have per household annual expenditure below the State average (lower category) are : Mal (Rs. 16,561), Chamar (Rs. 15,076), Dom (Rs. 14,383), Bauri (Rs. 13,404) and Konai (Rs. 13,116).

The relative differences between average per capita and per household expenditure, as we have noted, is a function of household size. For example, the Bhuiyan ranks second in average annual per capita expenditure within the upper category, but ranks lower in the per household average expenditure, in the same upper category. This is because they have a small household size (4.70).

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, the per capita annual expenditure of Scheduled Tribes at Rs. 4377 is the highest, compared to all Scheduled Castes and Tribes in West Bengal and Bihar, and higher than the SCs in its own State. The average household size is 5.22. The annual average expenditure per household for all 544 households is Rs. 23,113.

**Table 4.46 : Annual expenditure of Scheduled Tribe households
in Jharkhand**

Tribe	No. of HHs	Average HH size	Average annual Expenditure per household	Avg. annual per capita expenditure
Ho	184	5.62	18060	3214
Lohara	58	5.34	16232	3040
Mahali	48	4.67	29140	6240
Munda	37	5.40	23196	4296
Oraon	63	5.44	26820	4930
Santal	150	4.86	21228	4368
All 8 tribes	544	5.28	23113	4377

- The per capita expenditure is highest among the Mahali with Rs. 6240, followed by that of Oraon at Rs. 4930, Munda with Rs. 4296 and Santhal with Rs. 4368.

- That of the Ho is substantially low at Rs. 3214 and it is lowest among the Lohara (Rs. 3040).

- The average annual per household expenditure, for the Mahali is Rs. 29,140; for Oraon, Rs. 26,820; for Munda, Rs. 23,196; for Santhal, Rs. 21,228; for Ho, Rs. 18,060; and for the Lohara it is Rs. 16,232.

- The near correspondence between annual per capita and household expenditure of the Scheduled Tribes is on account of very little variability in their household size.

West Bengal

In West Bengal the per capita expenditure of Scheduled Tribes at Rs. 3679, is higher than that of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal but nearly the same as the Scheduled Castes of Bihar. The average household size is 5.22, which is the smallest amongst the SCs and STs in all the three States. The average annual per household expenditure is Rs. 19,202.

Table 4.47 : Annual expenditure of Scheduled Tribe households in West Bengal

Tribe	No. of HHs	Average HH size	Average annual expenditure per household	Avg. per capita expenditure
Bhumij	72	6.11	25812	4225
Lodha	44	4.27	17077	3999
Mahali	22	4.95	16968	3428
Munda	22	4.50	16115	3581
Oraon	78	5.50	19188	3489
Santal	298	5.17	18596	3597
All 12 tribes	557	5.22	19202	3679

- The per capita annual expenditure is highest among the Bhumij with Rs. 4225, followed by Lodha with Rs. 3999, Santhal with Rs. 3597, Munda with Rs. 3581, Oraon with Rs. 3489 and Mahali with Rs. 3428. The per capita expenditure, though slightly lower than the State average among the Mahali, Munda, Oraon and Santhal, they are more or less in the same range.

- The average annual household expenditure is highest among the Bhumij (Rs. 25,812), followed by Oraon (Rs. 19,188), Santhal (Rs. 18,596), Lodha (Rs. 17,077), Mahali (Rs. 16,968) and Munda (Rs. 16,115).

- It may be noted that the Lodha have a relatively high per capita expenditure but incommensurately low per household expenditure. This pattern is a counterpart of the Musahar caste in Bihar, with the Lodha having the smallest household size of 4.27.

In conclusion, a few observations can be highlighted.

- Among the Scheduled Castes in all three States, the position of Chamar with respect to per capita expenditure is best in Jharkhand. Although, the position of Chamar in Bihar is not so good, it is better than in West Bengal. In fact the Chamar in West Bengal occupies one of the lowest positions in the expenditure group.

- The position of Dusadh in Bihar is better than the Chamar.

- The position of Dhobi is the best amongst all the castes and tribes in the three States.

- The position of Konai is not only the lowest among all the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal, but overall it is the lowest for all

- The overall position of Scheduled Tribes with respect to per capita and per household expenditure is better in Jharkhand than in West Bengal. However, the position of Ho and Lohara are quite low, even lower than the lowest tribes in West Bengal.

- The urban factor of Ranchi, clearly demonstrates a better position for SCs and STs as compared to their rural counterparts. The only exceptions are the Lohara in Ranchi and the Mahali and Santhal in the rural area of Dumka district. It is possible that the market of Dumka district headquarter has influenced the livelihood of the Mahali and Santhal.

Expenditure pattern on food and non-food items

We have analysed the expenditure pattern on food and non-food items. The food items include cereals and non-cereal items such as milk, ghee, animal protein, cooking oil, spices, fruits and vegetables. Non-food items include, expenditure on education, health, clothes, fuel, electricity, liquor, festivals, rent, transport, footwear, paan-tobacco, etc.

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

The significance of the analysis of expenditure on food and non-food items lies in the ratio between the two. It can be argued that at low levels of living the expenditure on food items assumes greater importance. Therefore, the expenditure on non-food items is likely to maintain a certain low level balance in terms of expenditure on food items. The question that arises is, at what threshold level of well-being does the expenditure on non-food items begin to cliimb?

When we examine the Scheduled Castes in Bihar, their average monthly expenditure on food items is 63.7 percent. Only 36.3 percent is spent on non-food items.

Table 4.48 : Food and non-food expenditure among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar (Monthly household expenditure in Rupees)

Caste (Household)		Food Expenditure	(%)	Non food	(%)	Total	(%)
Chamar	(159)	1060	(67.4)	512	(32.6)	1572	(100.0)
Chaupal	(29)	1066	(63.9)	603	(36.1)	1669	(100.0)
Dusadh	(113)	1319	(66.3)	671	(33.7)	1990	(100.0)
Musahar	(69)	716	(60.0)	466	(39.4)	1182	(100.0)
Dhobi	(8)	2806	(40.3)	4158	(59.7)	6964	(100.0)
All 9 Castes	(392)	1108	(63.7)	632	(36.3)	1740	(100.0)

- The expenditure on food items varies consistently between 61 and 67 percent for all caste groups, with the exception of the Dhobi.

- The Dhobi with per capita and per household expenditure far exceeding the other groups, spend only 40 percent on food items.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, the average monthly expenditure on food items is 69 percent, and on non-food items it is 31 percent.

Table 4.49 : Food and non-food expenditure among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand   (Monthly household expenditure in Rupees)

Caste (Household)	Food Expenditure (%)	Non food (%)	Total (%)
Chamar (16)	1567 (65.6)	820 (34.4)	2387 (100.0)
Dom (21)	1446 (70.2)	614 (29.8)	2060 (100.0)
All 7 SCs (56)	1419 (69.0)	638 (31.0)	2057 (100.0)

- The percentage of expenditure on food items is 65.6 for the Chamar and quite high for the Dom at 70.2 percent.

West Bengal

The average monthly expenditure on food items is 68.1 percent and on non-food items it is 31.9 percent.

Table 4.50 : Food and non-food expenditure among the
Scheduled Castes in West Bengal
(Monthly household expenditure in Rupees)

Caste (Household)	Food Expenditure (%)	Non food (%)	Total (%)
Bagdi (65)	1113 (71.3)	449 (28.7)	1562 (100.0)
Bauri (47)	828 (74.1)	289 (25.9)	1117 (100.0)
Bhuiyan (30)	1066 (72.8)	398 (27.2)	1464 (100.0)
Chamar (48)	858 (68.3)	398 (31.7)	1256 (100.0)
Dhobi (34)	1426 (68.7)	650 (31.3)	2076 (100.0)
Dom (20)	906 (75.6)	293 (24.4)	1199 (100.0)
Kami (23)	1128 (70.3)	476 (29.7)	1604 (100.0)
Konai (21)	804 (73.6)	289 (26.4)	1093 (100.0)
Mal (70)	829 (60.1)	550 (39.9)	1379 (100.0)
Patni (30)	1021 (67.5)	491 (32.5)	1512 (100.0)
Sarki (30)	1085 (72.7)	408 (27.3)	1493 (100.0)
All 20 Castes	981 (68.1)	460 (31.9)	1441 (100.0)

- The expenditure on food items is over 70 percent among the Dom (75.6), Bauri (74.1), Konai (73.6), Bhuiyan (72.8), Bagdi (71.3) and Kami (70.3).

- It is lowest among the Mal with 60 percent.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Among the tribal communities in Jharkhand the overall percentage of monthly expenditure on food items 67.7, and on non-food items it is 32.3 percent.

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**Table 4.51 : Food and non-food expenditure among the Scheduled Tribes
in   Jharkhand (Monthly household expenditure in Rupees)**

Tribe (Household)	Food Expenditure (%)	Non food (%)	Total (%)
Ho (184)	1165 (77.4)	340 (22.6)	1505 (100.0)
Lohara (58)	976 (72.1)	377 (27.9)	1353 (100.0)
Mahali (48)	1862 (75.4)	608 (24.6)	2470 (100.0)
Munda (37)	1089 (56.3)	844 (43.7)	1933 (100.0)
Oraon (63)	1252 (56.0)	983 (44.0)	2235 (100.0)
Santhal (150)	1095 (61.9)	674 (38.1)	1769 (100.0)
All 8 Tribes	1197 (67.7)	570 (32.3)	1767 (100.0)

- The percentage of monthly expenditure on food items is very high among Ho (77.4%), Mahali (75.4%) and Lohara (72.1%).

- It is about 62 percent among the Santhal and 56 percent each among the Munda and Oraon.

- Munda and Oraon are urban-based and their expenditure on non-food items is higher.

- However this is not the case with Lohara, more than 80 percent of whom are in our urban sample population.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, the average monthly expenditure on food items for the Scheduled Tribes is 67.9 percent. The rest, 32.1 percent is spent on non-food items. This is very similar to that of the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal and Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand.

Table 4.52 : Food and non-food expenditure among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal (Monthly household expenditure in Rupees)

Tribes (Household)	Food Expenditure (%)	Non food (%)	Total (%)
Bhumij (72)	1385 (64.4)	765 (35.6)	2150 (100.0)
Lodha (44)	957 (67.3)	466 (32.7)	1423 (100.0)
Mahali (22)	1043 (73.8)	371 (26.2)	1414 (100.0)
Munda (22)	999 (74.4)	344 (25.6)	1343 (100.0)
Oraon (78)	1147 (71.7)	452 (28.3)	1599 (100.0)
Santal (298)	1032 (66.6)	518 (33.4)	1550 (100.0)
All 12 Tribes	1087 (67.9)	513 (32.1)	1600 (100.0)

- The average monthly expenditure on food items exceed 70 percent for the Munda (74.4%), Mahali (73.8%) and Oraon (71.7%) tribes.

- The percentage of expenditure on food items is less than the overall State average for the Santhal (66.6) and Bhumij (64.4). Among the Lodha it is very close to overall average of 68 percent.

In conclusion, the significant observation to be made is with regard to the Dhobi in Bihar who spend 60 percent on non-food items. For the urban-based Oraon and Munda in Jharkhand too this is quite high at around 44 percent.

CHAPTER V

Quality of Life : Housing and Health.

Housing

Housing is one of the most fundamental needs of human existence. It not only has to do with security of existence, providing shelter against rain, sun and wild life, but also is a cultural product and an indicator of quality of life. The quality of housing amenities available and enjoyed, reflect the social and economic status of its occupant. It is for this reason that state intervention in providing housing to socially and economically deprived groups forms a major part of policy for the well-being of its people.

With a view to assessing the nature and quality of housing enjoyed by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal, we have sought to find out a few things.

We wished to know the status of housing of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in terms of their dependence on their masters/employers and their independence from them as owners/renters. To what extent have they been beneficiaries of State policies. Are their houses katcha or pucca? Do they have amenities such as drinking water, latrine/bathing facilities, cooking arrangement etc, available within their houses?

Scheduled Caste
Bihar

In Bihar, 64.3 percent of the houses belonging to SCs are self- constructed and owned; 21.9 percent were constructed under Indira Awas Yojana (IAY); and 13.7 percent are offered by maliks. Of the total houses, 52 percent are katcha and 48.0 percent are pucca/semi-pacca.

Table: 5.1 Housing : Ownership Status(Bihar SCs)

Sl. No.	Castes	Self constructed and owned			Given by malik			Indira Awas Yojana			Total		
		Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total
1.	Chamar	77 (48.4)	28 (17.6)	105 (66.0)	8 (5.0)	1 (0.6)	9 (5.6)	-	45 (28.3)	45 (28.3)	85 (53.5)	74 (46.5)	159 (100.0)
2.	Chaupal	-	1 (3.4)	1 (3.4)	9 (31.0)	19 (65.6)	28 (96.6)	-	-	-	9 (31.0)	20 (69.0)	29 (100.0)
3.	Dusadh	62 (54.9)	39 (34.5)	101 (89.4)	3 (2.6)	-	3 (2.6)	-	9 (8.0)	9 (8.0)	65 (57.5)	48 (42.5)	113 (100.0)
4.	Musahar	35 (50.7)	1 (1.4)	36 (52.2)	1 (1.4)	-	1 (1.4)	-	32 (46.4)	32 (46.4)	36 (52.2)	33 (47.8)	69 (100.0)
5.	Dhobi	1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	8 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (12.5)	7 (87.5)	8 (100.0)
	Total of 9 castes	176 (44.9)	76 (19.4)	252 (64.3)	28 (7.1)	26 (6.6)	54 (13.8)	-	86 (21.9)	86 (21.9)	204 (52.0)	188 (48.0)	392 (100.0)

Note: Figures in brackets ( ) indicate percentage.

- The Dusadh, next only to the Dhobi, are the most reliant with 89.4 percent houses self owned and self constructed. However, most of these are kutcha (61.4%). The support from IAY is to the extent of 8 percent. Malik-dependant housing is very low (2.6%).

- Among the Chamar, 66.0 percent houses are self constructed and owned, 28.3 percent were constructed under IAY and as many as 5.6 percent housing are provided by Maliks. More than half the housing is katcha (53.5%).

- The best benbeficiary of the IAY is the Musahar (46.4%). As many as 52.2 percent housing is self-constructed and owned, of which only one is pucca. Their dependence on the Malik is insignificant (1.4%).

- The caste almost entirely dependent on the Malik is the Chaupal (96.6%). Of these, 67.8 percent are pucca. Strikingly, no housing has been provided under IAY.

- Only the Dhobi is cent percent self reliant in housing, almost all of which is pucca. As noted earlier, this is consistent with their uniformly high position among the SCs in the various livelihood parameters.

What needs to be noted is that whilst a good majority of households are self-owned and self-constructed, a significant percentage of households (21.9%) pucca/semi pucca have come through the State intervention of Indira Awas Yojana. The ownership of these too vest with the beneficiary occupants. Hence, in as many as 86.2 percent households, the right of ownership lies with the occupant. Further, nearly half the houses are pucca/semi pucca (48.0%) . The conspicuous finding that 13.7 percent of houses provided by Maliks, are almost exclusively concentrated among the Chaupal, possibly indicate some form of persistence of semi-feudal attachment in agrarian relations among them.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, among the urban-based SCs, 87.5 percent houses are self-constructed and owned, 7.1 percent are offered by maliks and 5.4 percent are rented . As many as 2.2 percent houses are constructed under IAY. Most of these houses, (91%) are pucca/semi pucca .

Table: 5.2 Housing: Ownership Status(Jharkhand SCs)

Sl No	Castes	Self constructed and owned			Given by malik			Rented			Total		
		Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total
1.	Chamar	-	12 (75.0)	12 (75.0)	-	2 (12.5)	2 (12.5)	-	2 (12.5)	2 (12.5)	-	16 (100.0)	16 (100.0)
2.	Dom	-	20 (95.2)	20 (95.2)	-	1 (4.8)	1 (4.8)	-	-	-	-	21 (100.0)	21 (100.0)
	All seven Castes	5 (8.9)	44 (78.6)	49 (87.5)	-	4 (7.1)	4 (7.1)	-	3 (5.4)	3 (5.4)	5 (8.9)	51 (91.0)	56 (100.0)

- As many as 75.0 percent houses of Chamar are self-constructed and owned; 12.5 percent, rented; another 12.5 percent are provided by the malik.

- In comparison, the Dom mostly live in their self-constructed and owned houses (95.2%) and only one household lives in accommodation provided by the malik.

- All the houses of Chamar, and Dom are pucca/semi pucca.

- The IAY programme has had little role to play in the largely urban setting of Ranchi.

West Bengal

The housing situation in West Bengal is markedly the best in terms of ownership of housing, with 96.6 percent houses self-constructed and owned. However, when it comes to the type of construction, Indira Awas Yojana, West Bengal scores the lowest, with 78.6 percent of all houses as katcha. Housing dependence on malik is the least at 3.4 percent.

Table: 5.3 Housing: Ownership Status: (West Bengal SCs)

Sl No	Castes	Self constructed and owned			Given by malik			Grand Total		
		Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total
1.	Bagdi	60 (92.3)	4 (6.1)	64 (98.4)	1 (1.5)	-	1 (1.5)	61 (93.8)	4 (6.2)	65 (100.0)
2.	Bauri	46 (97.9)	1 (2.1)	47 (100.0)	-	-	-	46 (97.9)	1 (2.1)	47 (100.0)
3.	Bhuiyan	27 (90.0)	2 (6.7)	29 (96.7)	1 (3.3)		1 (3.3)	28 (93.3)	2 (6.7)	30 (100.0)
4.	Chamar	39 (81.3)	6 (12.5)	45 (93.8)	3 (6.3)	-	3 (6.3)	42 (87.5)	6 (2.5)	48 (100.0)
5.	Dhobi	15 (44.1)	16 (47.1)	31 (91.2)	2 (5.9)	1 (2.9)	3 (8.8)	17 (50.0)	17 (50.0)	34 (100.0)
6.	Dom	20 (100.0)	-	20 (100.0)	-	-	-	20 (100.0)	-	20 (100.0)
7.	Kami	-	23 (100.0)	23 (100.0)	-	-	-	-	23 (100.0)	23 (100.0)
8.	Konai	21 (100.0)	-	21 (100.0)	-	-	-	21 (100.0)		21 (100.0)
9.	Mal	68 (97.1)	1 (1.4)	69 (98.5)	1 (1.4)	-	1 (1.4)	69 (98.5)	1 (1.5)	70 (100.0)
10.	Patni	24 (80.0)	3 (10.0)	27 (100.0)	3 (10.0)	-	3 (10.0)	27 (90.0)	3 (100.0)	30 (100.0)
11.	Sarki	-	29 (96.7)	29 (96.7)	-	1 (3.3)	1 (3.3)	-	30 (100.0)	30 (100.0)
	Total of all 20 castes	335 (75.6)	93 (21.0)	428 (96.6)	13 (2.9)	2 (0.5)	15 (3.4)	348 (78.6)	95 (21.4)	443 (100.0)

Notes: Figures in brackets ( ) indicate percentage.

- All the houses of Bauri, Kami, Dom and Konai are self-owned and self constructed.

- The type of construction also reveals a pattern of differentiation among the castes. The Kami and Sarki, all have pucca houses. The Dhobi, is next best with 50 percent pucca housing.

- It can be presumed that land reforms have paved the way for self-ownership of housing but the quality of housing remains overwhelmingly katcha amongst the SCs. Besides, the Indira Awas Yojana has hardly played any significant role.

Scheduled Tribes:

Jharkhand

Tribal households in Jharkhand are largely self-constructed and owned (90.6%). However, a large percentage of all housing are katcha (67.6%). The contribution of IAY is insignificant (2.2%). The rented housing is reflective of the predominant presence of Oraon, Munda and Lohora in Ranchi town (5.3%). The dependency factor is negligible (1.8%).

Table : 5.4 Status of Housing among the STs in Jharkhand

Sl No	Castes	Self constructed and owned			Given by malik			Rented			Total		
		Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total
1.	Ho	175 (95.1)	8 (4.3)	183 (99.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	175 (95.1)	9 (4.9)	184 (100.0)
2.	Lohara	7 (12.1)	41 (70.7)	48 (82.8)	-	-	-	-	10 (17.2)	10 (17.2)	7 (12.0)	51 (88.0)	58 (100.0)
3.	Mahali	31 (64.6)	3 (6.2)	34 (70.8)	2 (4.2)	-	2 (4.2)	-	-	-	33 (68.8)	15 (31.2)	48 (100.0)
4.	Munda	-	28 (75.7)	28 (75.7)	-	1 (2.7)	1 (2.7)	-	8 (21.6)	8 (21.6)	-	37 (100.0)	37 (100.0)
5.	Oraon	-	51 (81.0)	51 (81.0)	-	1 (1.6)	1 (1.6)	-	11 (17.5)	11 (17.5)	-	63 (100.0)	63 (100.0)
6.	Santhal	144 (96.0)	1 (0.7)	145 (96.7)	5 (3.3)	-	5 (3.3)	-	-	-	149 (99.3)	1 (0.7)	150 (100.0)
	Total of 8 Tribes	361 (66.4)	132 (24.2)	493 (90.6)	7 (1.3)	2 (0.4)	9 (1.7)	-	29 (5.3)	29 (5.3)	368 (67.6)	176 (32.4)	544 (100.0)

Note: Figures in brackets ( ) indicate percentage.
    Twelve houses of Mahali and one house of Ho constructed under IAY not
    presented in the   table.

▪ The Ho and the Santhal have very high percentage of self constructed and owned houses (99.4% and 96.7% respectively).

- Almost all houses of Ho and Santhal are kutcha. In comparison 70.8 percent housing among the Mahali are self-constructed and owned. Of the total houses, 68.8 percent are kutcha. It is mainly for the Mahali that the IAY has provided housing support (25%).

- The urban-based Munda and Oraon have less than average percentage of self-owned housing, with 75.5 and 81.0 respectively. This is on account of a higher incidence of renting (21.6% for Munda and 17.5% for Oraon). All the houses of Munda and Oraon are pucca.

- A more or less similar pattern may be observed among the Lohara, with as many as 82.8 percent houses self owned and 17.2 percent houses rented. The 12.1 percent houses which are katcha are likely to be located in the rural area. It may be recalled that nearly 86 percent Lohara are in Ranchi.

The overall pattern that emerges suggests that tribal rural housing is self-owned and katcha. Only among the Mahali do we find a significant percentage (31.2) having pucca houses, primarily as beneficiaries of IAY. Tribal urban housing (Munda, Oraon and Lohara) is almost invariabily pucca, with a substantial component of rented housing.

West Bengal

The status of housing amongst the STs in West Bengal is similar to that SCs, with 93.5 percent owning their houses; 5.0 percent dependent on maliks and 1.4 percent houses constructed by IAY. Of the total houses, 66.8 percent houses are katcha. There are no rented houses.

Table 5.5: Status of Housing amongst the STs of West Bengal

Sl. No.	Castes	Self constructed and owned			Given by malik			Indira Awas Yojana			Total		
		Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total	Katcha	Pucca	Total
1.	Bhumij	69 (95.8)	1 (1.4)	70 (97.2)	-	2 (2.8)	2 (2.8)	-	-	-	69 (95.8)	3 (4.2)	72 (100.0)
2.	Lodha	18 (40.9)	19 (43.2)	37 (84.1)	2 (4.5)	5 (11.4)	7 (15.9)	-	-	-	20 (45.5)	24 (54.4)	44 (100.0)
3.	Mahali	-	21 (95.5)	21 (95.5)	-	-	-	-	1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)	-	22 (100.0)	22 (100.0)
4.	Munda	2 (9.1)	18 (81.8)	20 (90.9)	-	1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)	-	1 (4.5)	1 (4.5)	2 (9.1)	20 (90.9)	22 (100.0)
5.	Oraon	-	76 (97.4)	76 (97.4)	-	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	-	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	-	78 (100.0)	78 (100.0)
6.	Santhal	269 (90.8)	10 (3.4)	279 (93.6)	9 (3.0)	7 (2.3)	16 (5.3)	-	3 (1.0)	3 (1.0)	278 (93.3)	20 (6.7)	298 (100.0)
7.	All 12 Tribes	360 (64.6)	161 (28.9)	521 (93.5)	12 (2.1)	16 (2.9)	28 (5.0)	-	8 (1.4)	8 (1.4)	372 (66.8)	185 (33.0)	557 (100.0)

Note: Figures in brackets ( ) indicate percentage.

- It is only among the Lodha that 16 percent housing comes from the malik. otherwise, housing is almost entirely self-owned (91% and above).

- Mahali and Oraon have cent percent pucca housing, followed by Munda (91%) and Lodha (54.4%).

- In sharp contrast, the Bhumij with 95.8 percent and Santhal with 93.3 percent, have katcha houses.

Housing Infrastructure

In order to get some idea of conditions relating to housing among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in all the three States, we have collected information relating to certain facilities like, (a) sources of water for drinking and other domestic purposes; (b) toilet; and (c) cooking arrangements. It would be instructive to know the extent to which these basic facilities were available inside their homes.

(a) Source of Water

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

- In Bihar, as many as 112 households (28.5%) of scheduled castes have hand pumps installed in their premises. Nearly 72 percent have to reach out for water outside.

- Amongst the scheduled castes, the Dusadh is better endowed with this facility than the Chaupal and the Chamar. As many as 52 households of Dusadh (46%), 9 of Chaupal (31%) and 43 of Chamar (27%) have handpumps in their homes. The Dhobi is at the other extreme, with all their households having this facility.

Jharkhand

- In Jharkhand, strangely, out of 56 households, only 6 have well/handpump in their premises. As we are aware, 47 of all scheduled caste households are in the urban capital town Ranchi. Inspite of this, only 3 Chamar households have well/pump, and not a single Dom has this facility. Water is a common resource for the entire settlement where they reside.

West Bengal

- In West Bengal, this facility is available in only 27 Scheduled Caste households (6.1%), of these 21 are wells. There are 3 hand pumps and 3 tanks, in addition to the wells. Of the 34 households of the Dhobi, 11 have wells (32.4%); followed by Chamar with 5 households (10.4%) and Kami with only 2 households (8.7%).

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

- Among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand, of the 544 households, 84 (15.4%) have wells, 9 have tap connections and a single household has tank. Of the 84 wells, 66 are in Ranchi town. Thus, the rural scenario is largely one of reaching out for water outside their homes.

- Between the Oraon with 42 households (66.7% of all Oraon households), the Munda with 18 households (48.6%) and presumably Lohara with 6 households (10.3%), all the urban households have 78.6 percent of all the wells, leaving 21.4 percent of the wells (18 nos.) for 72.4 percent of rural households (394 nos.).

- The 18 households out of 394 rural households, which have the well in their premises, 15 are Santhal (5.0%) and 3 are Mahali (6.3%). None of the 184 households of Ho have a well. This means 50 percent of all tribal urban households and only 4.6 percent of all rural households have well/tap in their homes.

It may be far-fetched at the stage to interpret the source of water among the rural tribal households being located outside their premises as an avoidable deprivation. Given their strong communitarian ties, sharing water as a common resource may be a cultural feature of their tribal organisation.

West Bengal

- Of the 557 tribal households in West Bengal, only 49 (8.8%) have wells in their premises. None of the households have hand pumps or tap connections.

- Of these 49 wells, 35 are amongst 298 Santhal households. It means that the wells (71.4%) are enjoyed by only 11.7 perent of all Santhal households. As many as 9 Oraon households (11.5%), but only 3 amongst Lohara and 1 household of Munda have wells.

Once again this is suggestive of a tribal feature rather than a tribal deprivation.

(b) LATRINE

Scheduled Caste
Bihar

- Among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar, the members of about 95 percent households (372 nos.)   defecate in the open.   Only about five percent households (20 nos.) have septic tanks.

- With respect to individual castes, 11 households of Dusadh (9.7%) and 4 households of Chamar (2.5%) have septic tank facility in their houses. The Dhobi stands out in contrast with half of their homes having septic tanks.

Jharkhand

- Among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand, the members of about 52 percent households (29 nos.) defecate in the open, about 27 percent (15 nos.) have septive tanks in their houses. The rest use the community toilet (21%, 12 nos.).

- More than half the Chamar households (56%)   have private latrines, and a similar percentage of Dom (57.2%) go to community latrine. It is important to note that in an urban setting, more than half the scheduled caste households are still having to defecate in the open.

West Bengal

- The picture in West Bengal is not too different from Bihar, with 93.7 percent households (415 nos.) defecating in the open whilst 3.4 percent (15 nos.) use the dug well in the open but inside the compound. Only 2.9 percent (13 nos.) have septic tanks in their houses.

- With respect to individual castes, only one house each of Bagdi, Chamar, Konai, Patni have septic tank. The Dhobi have the highest number of households (23.5%) having septic tanks in their houses.

Jharkhand

When it comes to Jharkhand, 82.0 per cent households (446 nos.) defecate in the open, 1.1 use pit/dug wells outside their houses, 0.4 percent use the community latrine, the rest have septic taks (16.5% ,90 nos.). As expected most of the septic tanks are located in 84.1 percent of Oraon (63 nos.) and 81.1 percent of Munda (30 nos.) households. One household each of Mahali and Munda are using the community latrine. The Munda and the Oraon are the sample households of Ranchi town.

West Bengal

Among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal, the members of 95.7 percent households (533 nos.) defecate in the open, 3.0 percent (13 nos.) use the pit/dug well in the open space outside their residence.

Only 1.3 percent households each of Lodha, Oraon, and Bhumij; and 4 households of Santhal have septic tanks. As for pit/dug wells, 5.4 percent of Santhal households (16 nos.) and one household of Lodha are using pit/dug well for defecation.

One thing becomes clear, the pit/dug well within the residential compound is a West Bengal feature.

(c) Cooking Arrangement

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

Let us now examine the cooking arrangement of Scheduled Castes in Bihar.

Most of the Scheduled Caste households in Bihar cook food inside their premises (68.9%). Whilst 15.5 percent households have some kind of a separate kitchen inside their homes, an equal number have to cook outside (15.6%).

Table 5.6 : Cooking arrangements among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

S.No.	Castes	No. of HHs	Cooking arrangement		
			Outside (%)	Inside their home (%)	Kitchen (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Chamar	159	9 (5.7)	136 (85.5)	14 (8.8)
2.	Chaupal	29	4 (13.8)	20 (69.0)	5 (17.2)
3.	Dusadh	113	10 (8.8)	72 (63.7)	31 (27.4)
4.	Musahar	69	38 (55.1)	27 (39.1)	4 (5.7)
5.	Dhobi	8	-	2 (25.0)	6 (75.0)
	All 9 castes	392	61 (15.6)	270 (68.9)	61 (15.5)

- Among the Dusadh, 27.4 percent households have a kitchen arrangement, followed by the Chaupal (17.2%), Chamar (8.8%) and Musahar (5.7%). Among the Dhobi 6 out of 8 households have a separate kitchen (75%).

- It will be appropriate to refer to the fuel being used to cook while we are discussing cooking arrangement. Wood is commonly used as cooking fuel. Interestingly all the 6 Dhobi households having a separate kitchen use gas chulla (75%), whilst 14 households of Dusadh (12.4%), 4 of Chamar (2.5%) and one of Chaupal (2.4%) also possess this kitchen utility.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand, 21.4 percent households have separate kitchen, the rest 78.6 percent have cooking arrangement inside their homes. None of the households cook outside the residence.

Table 5.7 : Cooking arrangements among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

S.No.	Castes	No. of HHs	Cooking arrangement		
			Outside (%)	Inside their homes (%)	Kitchen (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Chamar	16	-	14 (87.5)	2 (12.;5)
2.	Dom	21	-	15 (71.4)	6 (28.6)
	All 7 castes	56	-	44 (78.6)	12 (21.4)

- Interestingly, among the Dom, 28.6% households have separate kitchen scoring over the Chamar (12.5%).

- As for fuel, the electric/kerosene stove is the most commonly used utilities for cooking. The gas chulla is significantly absent.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, 26.6 percent Scheduled Caste households have separate kitchen, 46.3 percent cook inside and 27.1 percent cook outside.

**Table 5.8 : Cooking arrangements among the Scheduled Castes
in West Bengal**

S.No.	Castes	No. of HHs	Cooking arrangement		
			Outside (%)	Inside their homes (%)	Kitchen (%)
			4	5	6
1.	Bagdi	65	27 (41.5)	27 (41.5)	11 (16.9)
2.	Bauri	47	31 (66.0)	16 (34.0)	-
3.	Bhuiyan	30	2 (6.7)	20 (66.6)	8 (26.7)
4.	Chamar	48	10 (20.8)	23 (47.9)	15 (31.3)
5.	Dhobi	34	4 (11.8)	27 (79.4)	3 (8.8)
6.	Dom	20	9 (45.0)	11 (55.0)	-
7.	Kami	23	7 (30.4)	-	16 (69.6)
8.	Konai	21	-	13 (61.9)	8 (38.1)
9.	Mal	70	21 (30.0)	24 (34.3)	25 (35.7)
10.	Patni	30	1 (3.3)	25 (83.3)	4 (13.3)
11.	Sarki	30	5 (16.6)	1 (3.3)	24 (80.0)
	All 20 castes	443	120 (27.1)	205 (46.3)	118 (26.6)

- With respect to individual castes, households having separate kitchen is highest among the Sarki (80.0%) followed by Kami (69.6%), Konai (38,1%), Mal (35.7%), Chamar (31.3%), Bhuiyan (26.7%), Bagdi (16.9%), and Patni (13.3%). Surprisingly, only 8.8 percent of Dhobi households have a separate kitchen. None of the households among the Bauri and the Dom have separate kitchen. As for fuel, only 6 households have gas chulla (Dhobi 4 hhs, Mal 2 hhs). Wood and Kerosene oil are used most extensively.

- Among those who cook inside their homes but do not have separate kitchen, the Patni tops the list (83.3% hhs), followed by Dhobi (79.4%), Bhuiyan (66.6%), Konai (61.9%), Dom (55%), Chamar (47.9%), Bagdi (41.5%), Mal (34.3%), and Bauri (34.0%). Only the Kami do not have any households in the category.

- West Bengal has the largest percentage of households having to cook outside. The Bauri figures the highest in this category with 66.0 percent households, followed by Dom (45%), Bagdi (41.5%), Karmi (30.4%), Mal (30.0%), Chamar (20.8%), Sarki (16.6%), Dhobi (11.8%), Bhuiyan (6.7%), and Patni (3.3%). None of the households of Konai do outside cooking.

Scheduled Castes
Jharkhand

In Jharkhand 34.2 percent of all households have separate kitchen, 64.0 percent cook inside and only 1.8 percent cook outside.

Table 5.9 : Cooking arrangements among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

| S.No. | Tribes | No. of HHs | Cooking arrangement | | |
			Outside (%)	Inside their home (%)	Kitchen (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	HO	184	8 (4.3)	146 (79.3)	30 (16.3)
2.	Lohara	58	1 (1.7)	54 (93.1)	3 (5.2)
3.	Mahali	48	-	19 (39.6)	29 (60.4)
4.	Munda	37	1 (2.7)	23 (62.2)	13 (35.1)
5.	Oraon	63	-	36 (57.1)	27 (42.9)
6.	Santhal	150	-	68 (45.3)	82 (54.7)
	All 8 Tribes	544	10 (1.8)	348 (64.0)	186 (34.2)

- Cooking amongst the tribals almost universally takes place inside their homes, whether or not they have a separate kitchen. Among the Mahali and the Santhal a separate kitchen is a predominant feature (60.4% and 54.7% respecively), even if they are all rural households. The urban-based Oraon and Munda come next (42.9% and 35.1% respectively).   The Lohara paradox continues with only 5.2 percent households having kitchen even when they are predominantly urban.

- As for fuel, the urban based households of the Oraon, Munda and Lohara have 25 gas chullas between them (25% among Oraon, 16% among Munda and 5% among the Lohara).

- The rural based, Mahali, Santhal and Ho are mainly using wood and kerosene.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, 35.7 percent of all households have kitchen. As many as 44.0 percent households cook inside their homes and 20.3 percent had cook outside.

Table 5.10 : Cooking arrangements among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

S.No.	Tribes	No. of HHs	Cooking Arrangement		
			Outside (%)	Inside their home (%)	Kitchen (%)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Bhumij	72	16 (22.2)	31 (43.1)	25 (34.7)
2.	Lodha	44	3 (6.8)	38 (86.4)	3 (6.8)
3.	Mahali	22	5 (22.7)	5 (22.7)	12 (54.5)
4.	Munda	22	8 (36.4)	4 (18.2)	10 (45.5)
5.	Oraon	78	18 (23.1)	5 (6.4)	55 (70.5)
6.	Santhal	298	54 (18.1)	155 (52.0)	89 (29.9)
	All 12 tribes	557	113 (20.3)	245 (44.0)	199 (35.7)

- With respect to individual castes, the households having separate kitchen is the highest among the Oraon with 70.5 percent households, followed by Mahali with 54.5 percent, Munda with 45.5 percent, Bhumij with 34.7 percent, and Santhal with 29.9 percent. It is lowest among the Lodha (6.8%).

- Among those cooking inside, but without separate kitchen, we have 86.4 percent of Lodha, 52.0 percent of Santhal, 43.1 percent of Bhumij, 22.7 percent of Mahali, 18.2 percent of Munda and 6.4 percent of Oraon.

- Among those having to cook outside, the Munda with 36.4 percent households stand out prominent, followed by Oraon (23.1%), Mahali (22.7%), Bhumij (22.2%), Santhal (18.1%) and Lodha (6.8%).

What is conspicuous about West Bengal is that nearly one-fourth of the Scheduled Caste and Tribal households are cooking their food outside.

Health seeking behaviour

Fundamental to health-seeking behaviour is the reproduction of society, culture and economy. Efficiency of labour in whatever form is directly linked with the state of health of the members of the society. It is on account of this that health is a major aspect of state policy. Primary health centres, immunization programmes, hospitals at various levels, provide the structure of health care, disease and illness. Further, we are aware of the parallel existence of traditional and modern modes of treatment and health care.

It is not possible to go into a detailed analytical depth study of health, which would require a separate study of its own. However, we have collected some descriptive data on (a) morbidity, (b) post-natal child care immunization, and (c) pre/post natal mother care.

(a)   Morbidity Pattern

It is necessary to mention that the base period for which data have been obtained is one year. Secondly, the illness/diseases reported are as per the perception of the interviewee. Thirdly, the data presented is only about what kind of illness/disease was experienced in the household. It does not relate to how many persons suffered how many times during this period. What we are sharing is at best a crude disease profile, not in terms of their incidence, but their prevalence.

The data from Bihar is too sketchy to warrant any observation.*   In Jharkhand among the Scheduled Castes, which are mostly located in Ranchi, gastro-enteritis figures as the major concern. However, among the urban-based Scheduled Tribes (Oraon, Munda, Lohara), we find in addition, prevalence of respiratory problems, tuberculosis, cardiac troubles and chicken pox. Amongst the Santhal, Ho, and Mahali who are rural-based, respiratory and gastro-entirtic problems seem to be more prominent, whilst tuberculosis and infectious diseases like chicken-pox also figure.

In West Bengal, amongst both Scheduled Castes and Tribes, respiratory and gastro-entiritic problems seem to be the major afflictions, whilst tuberculosis and cardiac conditions also trouble the population.

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* Although the survey data on morbidity and immunisation in Bihar is unsatisfactory, our own rapid appraisal field study revealed a few things. In group interviews of Scheduled Caste members in the north Bihar district of Saran, we were told that ANMs attend to immunisation of the children (post natal). Most deliveries take place in homes. We were also apprised by the Government Block Level doctor that gastro-entiritic cases abounded and there were also cases of tuberculosis. For serious conditions, the people went to the Sadar Hospital in Chapra. The people also visit private doctors who are R.M.Ps. (registered medical practitioners), in cases of acute dehydration requiring saline drops. In the south of Bihar district of Patna, ANMs were reported to be attending to pregnant mothers providing iron supplements and tetanus inoculations. They were also providing immunisation to post-natal children. However, how much of these services were reaching the Scheduled Caste households is something on which we unable to comment.

While at the level of individual castes and tribes, it is difficult to make any firm pronouncements, but there is some suggestion that tuberculosis is associated more with the Santhal.

(b)   Post-natal Child Care and Immunisation

Scheduled Castes

Jharkhand

There are 29 Scheduled Caste children (male 9; female 20) below the age of six among the Scheduled Castes of Jharkhand. Of these, 19 (65.5%) were immunised (male 7; female 12). Amongst those immunised, 15 children (male 9; female 8) received primary inoculations for Polio, BCG and DPT, whilst the remaining 4 received only Polio drops.

Table 5.11 : Immunisation among the Scheduled Caste children in Jharkhand

Sl No	Castes (H.H)	No.of children Below 6 Yrs			No.of children Immunised below 6 Yrs			Type of Immunisation					
								Polio			BCG	Polio	DPT
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1.	Chamar (16)	4	4	8	3 (75.0)	4 (100.0)	7 (87.5)	-	-	-	3 (75.0)	4 (100. 0)	7 (87.5)
2.	Dom (21)	3	6	9	3 (100.0)	3 50.0)	6 (66.7)	-	-	-	3 (100.0)	3 (50.0)	6 (66.7)
	All 7 Castes (56)	9	20	29	7 (77.8)	12 (60.0)	19 (65.5)	-	4 (20.0)	4 (13.8)	7 (77.8)	8 (40.0) -	15 (51.7)

Note: Figure in brackets indicate percentage of children immunised to total children

- Of the 8 Chamar children, 7 were immunised for primary inoculation of BCG, Polio and DPT. 5 of them were inoculated at the District Hospital and 2 by Multi-Purpose Health Workers.

- Among the Dom 6 out of 9children were immunised for BCG, Polio and DPT. 4 of them were inoculated at the District Hospital and 2 by Multi-Purpose Health Workers (MPHW).

- The role of the District Hospital and the MPHW in the town of Ranchi seem to be effective.

- The gender disparity in the immunisation of children is not clearly visible in a small sample.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, among the Scheduled Castes, with 98 children (37.3 per cent) out of 263 children immunised, the situatuion is not too satisfactory. The percentage of male children immunised is 42.6 percent as against 31.5 percent female. Overall, there is a small gender disparity that is visible. While 31.6 percent children received primary doze of Polio, BCG and DPT, 5.7 percent received only polio.

Table 5.12 : Immunization smong the Scheduled Castes in West Bangal

Sl N o	Castes (House -hold)	No. of children below 6 yrs			No. of children Immunization below 6 Yrs			Type of Immunisation					
								Polio			BCG	Polio	DPT
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1.	Bagdi (65)	13	15	28	4 (30.7)	5 (33.3)	9 (32.1)	1 (7.7)	2 (13.3)	3 (10.7)	3 (23.0)	3 (20.0)	6 (21.4)
2.	Bauri (47)	15	5	20	6 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	8 (40.0)	-	-	-	6 (40.0)	2 (40.0)	8 (40.0)
3.	Bhuiya (30)	9	8	17	2 (22.2)	1 (12.5)	3 (17.6)	1 (11.1)	-	1 (5.9)	1 (11.1)	1 (12.5)	2 (11.8)
4.	Chame r (48)	16	16	32	9 (56.3)	6 (37.5)	15 (46.9)	-	-	-	9 (56.3)	6 (37.5)	15 (46.9)
5.	Dhobi (34)	4	7	11	1 (25.0)	1 (14.3)	2 (18.2)	1 (25.0)	1 (14.3)	2 (18.2)	-	-	-
6.	Dom (20)	3	9	12	1 (33.3)	3 (33.3)	4 (33.3)	-	2 (22.2)	2 (16.7)	1 (33.3)	1 (11.1)	2 (16.7)
7.	Kami (23)	8	5	13	3 (37.5)	-	3 (23.1)	-	-	-	3 (37.5)	-	3 (23.1)
8.	Konai (21)	10	25	35	7 (70.0)	8 (32.0)	15 (42.9)	-	-	-	7 (70.0)	8 (32.0)	15 (42.9)
9.	Mal (70)	26	14	40	19 (73.1)	8 (57.1)	27 (67.5)	2 (7.7)	1 (7.1)	3 (7.5)	17 (65.4)	7 (50.0)	24 (60.0)
10 .	Patni (30)	14	10	24	2 (14.3)	2 (20.0)	4 (16.7)	1 (7.1)	-	1 (4.2)	1 (7.1)	2 (20.0)	3 (12.5)
11	Sarki (30)	9	6	15	2 (22.2)	3 (50.0)	5 (33.3)	1 (11.1)	1 (16.7)	2 (13.3)	1 (11.1)	2 (33.3)	3 (20.0)
	All 20 castes (443)	136	127	263	58 (42.6)	40 (31.5)	98 (37.3)	8 (5.9)	7 (5.5)	15 (5.7)	50 (36.8)	33 (26.0)	83 (31.6)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage of children immunised to total children

- The percentage of children immunised among the Mal is 67.5 percent, Chamar 46.9 percent, Konai 42.9 percent, Bauri 40.0, percent Dom and Sarki 33.3 percent each, Bagdi 32.1 percent, Kami 23.1 percent. Among the Dhobi, Bhuiyan and Patni it is less than 20 percent.

- Surprisingly, it is so low among the Dhobi.

- The majority of children were immunised by Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) at the subcentres. Others closer to urban centres were immunized at PHC or Govt. Hospital.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Among the ST children in Jharkhand, 125 children (48.8 percent), out of 256 children were immunised. This too cannot be considered satisfactory. The percentage of male children immunised is 48.4 percent while that of female is 49.7. There is no gender disparity in as much as both are treated equally even when not immunised. In another respect the programme of immunisation is limited. As many as 32.4 percent received only polio, and only 16.4 percent received primary doses of polio, BCG, and DPT.

In the urban area of Ranchi, the facilities of government (including Multi-Purpose Health Worker) non-government and private clinics are availed for immunisation. In the rural areas, it is the Auxiliary Nurse and Midwife whose assistance is sought.

Table 5.13 : Immunization among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Sl No	Tribes	No of children Below 6Year			No of children Immunized			Types of Immunisation					
								Polio			BCG	Polio	DPT
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1.	Ho	30	39	69	17 (56.7)	22 (56.4)	39 (56.5)	10 (33.3)	16 (41.1)	26 (37.7)	7 (23.3)	6 (15.4)	13 (18.8)
2.	Lahar	14	13	27	12 (85.7)	9 (69.2)	21 (77.8)	4 (28.6)	1 (7.7)	5 (18.5)	8 (57.1)	8 (61.5)	16 (59.3)
3.	Mahali	11	16	27	1 (9.1)	1 (6.3)	2 (7.4)	1 (9.1)	1 (6.3)	2 (7.4)	-	-	-
4.	Munda	8	6	14	3 (37.5)	6 (100.0)	9 (64.3)	-	4 (66.7)	4 (28.6)	3 (37.5)	2 (33.3)	5 (35.7)
5.	Oraon	7	13	20	5 (71.4)	4 (30.8)	9 (45.0)	2 (28.6)	2 (15.4)	4 (20.0)	3 (42.9)	2 (15.4)	5 (25.0)
6.	Santhal	55	38	93	24 (43.6)	18 (47.4)	42 (45.2)	24 (43.6)	18 (47.4)	42 (45.2)	-	-	-
	All 8 tribes	128	128	256	62 (48.4)	63 (49.2)	125 (48.8)	41 (32.0)	42 (32.8)	83 (32.4)	21 (16.4)	21 (16.4)	42 (16.4)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage of children immunised to total children

- With respect to individual tribes, 77.8 percent children among the Lohara, 64.3 percent among the Munda, 56.5 percent among the Ho, 45.2 percent among the Santhal, 45.0 percent among the Oroan and only 7.4 percent among the Mahali were immunised.

- For post-natal childcare among the children of Lohara, Munda and Oraon, they benefited from the facilities available through Government/ non-Government health organisations in Ranchi town. They have easy access to the District Hospital and to private clinics.

- Among the Munda, out of 9 children immunized, 5 got immunized by private doctor in private clinic and four got immunized at the District Hospital.

- Among the Oraon, out of 9 children 8 were immunised at the Government Hospital, one got immunised by Multi-Purpose Health Workers (MPHW).

- Among the Lohara out of 21 children 14 got immunised at the District Hospital, six my MPHW and one by the private doctor.

- Among the Ho, out of 39, 24 children were immunised by Auxilary Nurse Midwives (ANM) at the subcentre, 15 at the village camp.

- Among the Mahali, 2 children were immunised by ANM. Among the Santhal, out of 42, 32 children were immunised by ANM.

West Bengal

Among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal, 122 children (40.7 percent) out of 300 children were immunised. The percentge of mle children immunised is equal to that of female children. This is in sharp of contrast to SC children in West Bengal. As among the Scheduled Tribes of Jharkhand, there is a parity between male and female in the immunisation of children in West Bengal. However, there is a difference in the type of immunisation. In Jharkhand two third received only polio, whereas in West Bengal, majority of the children received primary doses of Polio, BCG and DPT.

Table 5.14: Immunization among the Scheduled Tribe children in West Bengal

Sl. No.	Tribes	No of children Below 6 yrs			No. of children Immunized below 6 yrs.			Types of immunisation Polio			BCG	Polio	DPT
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	Bhumi	22	18	40	5 (22.7)	2 (11.1)	7 (17.5)	-	-	-	5 (22.7)	2 (11.1)	7 (17.5)
2.	Lodha	14	8	20	-	2 (25.0)	2 (10.0)	-	-	-	-	2 (25.0)	2 (10.0)
3.	Mahali	7	6	13	3 (42.9)	2 (33.3)	5 (38.5)	1 (14.3)	-	1 (7.7)	2 (28.6)	2 (33.3)	4 (30.8)
4.	Munda	6	3	9	1 (16.7)	3 (100.0)	4 (44.4)	1 (16.7)	-	1 (11.1)	-	3 (100.0)	3 (33.3)
5	Oraon	33	29	62	7 (21.2)	10 (34.5)	17 (27.4)	-	-	-	7 (21.2)	10 (34.5)	17 (27.4)
6	Santhal	80	69	149	50 (62.5)	30 (43.5)	80 (53.7)	9 (11.3)	6 (8.7)	15 (10.1)	41 (51.3)	24 (34.8)	65 (43.6)
	All 12 Tribes	167	133	300	68 (40.7)	54 (40.6)	122 (40.7)	11 (6.6)	6 (4.5)	17 (5.6)	57 (34.1)	48 (36.1)	105 (35.0)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage of children immunised to total children

- The children immunized among the Santhal is highest with 53.7 percent, followed by Munda with 44.4 percent, Mahali with 38.5 percent.

- The children immunised among the Lodha is the lowest with 10.0 percent, followed by the Bhumij with 17.5 percent and Oraon with 27.4 percent. As among the scheduled castes in West Bengal, the majority of children are immunised by ANM at the subcentres.

Concluding Observations

There is distinct trend towards getting children immunised. However, for achieving the target of universal immunisation, more concerted efforts and awareness generating programmes need to be vigorously pursued at this stage.

There is a conspicuous shift in attitude taking place among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in their health seeking behaviour. They are now inclined to approach hospitals, private clinics and get treated through allopathic `quacks' for relief from disease and ailments, as well as for preventive immunisation.

CHAPTER VI

Literacy and Education

It goes without saying that since time immemorial education has been regarded as a key variable determining power and influencing the level of well-being and prosperity. We are familiar with the structural restrictions imposed on castes regarding access to education. The concern with disempowerment and empowerment since the beginning of 20th century has been related powerfully to education. The call given by Swami Vivekananda for man-making education, the primacy of basic education for all emphasised by Gandhi, and stirring slogan of Ambedkar "educate, unite and agitate" for Scheduled Castes, demonstrate how keenly they felt the need for universalising the education to build a strong egalitarian country and a nation. Baba Saheb knew in his heart of hearts that education and emancipation of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes in India go hand in hand.

It is in this perspective that the performance of the State with regard to universalising literacy and education has to be perceived. Scholarships, stipends, free hostel facilities have generally been the strategy adopted by the state to promote literacy and education among the SCs/STs.

In our study we have undertaken an analysis of effective literacy of the SCs/STs. It needs to be clarified at this stage that effective literacy in 1991 Census covers the population seven years and above. Considering that elementary education begins at the age of six, we argue that effective literacy also begins at the same age. Notwithstanding this one year difference in the identification of effective literacy, we feel that our data collected close to census 2001 will be more or less comparable. Literacy includes all those who have gone through various

levels of education. In our survey we have classified the educational attainments in terms of levels of education completed. To clarify,

1.   those who have attended but not completed primary education have been classified as `incomplete primary';

2.   those who have attended but not completed middle school, or are continuing their study in middle school, are classified as "Primary plus incomplete middle".   This logic is followed consistently at other levels.

In the analysis of literacy, we have not only averaged male and female literacy, but have gone further in calculating a Gender Disparity Index (henceforward GDI). This is a ratio of female to male at any level of education expressed in the range 0 to 1.000. Thus if the gender disparity index for education at the incomplete primary/primary level is 0.802 it means 802 females per 1000 male are educated at this level, which is also to say that 80.2 percent of males at this level of education are females.*

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*   Given that:

   (i)   x is the total male population above 6 years, and above
- (ii) x_p is the population at a given level of education.
- (iii) y is the total female population 6 years, and above.
- (iv) y_p is the population at the same given level of education.

Then y_p $\underline{x}$ $\underline{z}$ will give the gender disparity index.
           y z_p
This follows index used by Gurupada Chakravarty.

Gurupada Chakravarty: Quality of Life of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in
                              Rural India, Yojana, June 99, pp. 34-40.

Effective Literacy

Scheduled Castes

Bihar

In our survey, we have defined effective literacy as referring to the population 6 years and above. In *Bihar,* this population in our sample is 2173, of which 1179 are males and 994 are females.

The overall literacy rate of all the sample households of Scheduled Castes is 42.2 percent with male literacy at 55.8 percent, female at 25.9 percent and a GDI

Table 6.1: Effective literacy among Scheduled Castes in Bihar (Percent)

S.No.	Caste (Household)	Male	Female	Persons	GDI
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Chamar (159)	55.0	23.8	40.4	0.433
2.	Chaupal (29)	51.1	14.0	33.2	0.273
3.	Dusadh (113)	66.5	36.1	52.9	0.541
4.	Musahar (69)	28.1	11.0	20.2	0.389
5.	Dhobi (8)	92.2	73.3	84.5	0.771
	All 9 castes	55.8	25.9	42.2	0.465

GDI refers to Gender Disparity Index.

- The literacy rate among the Dhobi is highest at 84.5 percent, with the least gender disparity (GDI 0.771).

- Among the Musahar it is the lowest at 20.2 percent (GDI 0.389).

- The Dusadh with a literacy rate of 52.9 and a GDI of 0.541 come next to the Dhobi..

- The of Chamar follow with 40.4 literacy and a GDI 0.433.

- Although the literacy level of Chaupal (33.2%) is better than the Musahar its GDI is the lowest (0.273).

- It is interesting to find that among the Dhobi and the Dusadh with very high to high levels of male literacy (92.2% and 66.5% respectively), the gender disparity is also comparatively less.

Jharkhand

In the Scheduled Caste sample population of Jharkhand, we have 152 males and 151 females constituting a total of 303 persons who are in the age group of six years and above.

The overall literacy rate of all the sample households of Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand is 62.4 present with far better GDI (0.736) than Bihar..

Table6.2: Effective literacy among Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand. (Percent)

S.No.	Caste (Household)	Male	Female	Persons	GDI
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Chamar (16)	90.9	69.8	80.5	0.767
2.	Dom (21)	68.3	48.2	58.8	0.706
	All 7 castes (56)	72.4	52.3	62.4	0.736

- Literacy among the urban based Chamar is very high at 80.5 percent, followed by Dom (58.8%). The gender disparity among the Chamar (0.767) is less than that of the Dom (0.706).

- The urban industrial impact is clearly in evidence.

West Bengal

In the case of Scheduled Caste sample population of West Bengal we have 1063 males, 970 females constituting a total of 2033 who are in the age group of six years and above.

The overall effective literacy rate of our sample households of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal is 57.4 percent which is substantially higher than in Bihar (42.1 percent). However, it is lower than the urban-based Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand. The gender disparity is considerably lower (0.740) than in Bihar and equals that of the urban Jharkhand.

Table 6.3: - Effective literacy among Scheduled Castes in West Bengal (Percent)

S.No.	Caste (Households)	Male	Female	Persons	GDI
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Bagdi (65)	63.2	39.6	52.3	0.627
2.	Bauri (47)	57.3	23.7	42.1	0.414
3.	Bhuiyan (30)	88.5	69.8	79.0	0.788
4.	Chamar (48)	57.4	50.0	54.0	0.870
5.	Dhobi (34)	90.1	83.3	86.5	0.924
6.	Dom (20)	68.1	34.1	51.1	0.500
7.	Kami (23)	82.8	58.0	71.3	0.782
8.	Konai (21)	23.5	8.8	16.7	0.378
9.	Mal (70)	57.3	41.0	49.2	0.717
10.	Patni (30)	85.9	60.4	75.0	0.702
11.	Sarki (30)	82.1	66.2	73.9	0.806
	All 20 castes (443)	66.3	48.6	57.4	0.740

- The Dhobi scores the highest with a literacy rate of 86.5 percent and has the least in gender disparity (GDI 0.924).

- The Bhuiyan , Patni , Sarki and Kami all have literacy rates above 70 percent . Among them the gender disparity is also low with GDI 0.788, 0.702, 0.806 and 0.782 respectively.

- The Chamar (54.0%), Bagdi (52.3%), Dom (57.1%) and Mal (49.2%) are in the middle range of literacy. Among them gender disparity is least among the Chamar (0.870), followed by Mal (0.717), Bagdi (0.627) and Dom (0.500).

- The Bauri have a relatively low literacy rate of 42.1 percent with high gender disparity (0.414).

- The condition of Konai is the worst with literacy rate of only 16.7 percent with the highest gender disparity (0.378).

- What stands out in West Bengal is the high levels of literacy among scheduled castes with low gender disparity. The only real exception is the Konai. This is a reflection of the state policy aggresively engaged in strengthening the primary base of education in West Bengal.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Coming to the tribal population of Jharkhand we have in our sample 1302 males, 1319 females, constituating a total population of 2621 of the age 6 years and above.

The overall literacy rate for all the tribal households in Jharkhand is 55.2 percent with a GDI of 0.707.

Table 6.4: - Effective literacy among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand (Percent)

S.No.	Tribe (Household)	Male	Female	Persons	GDI
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Ho (184)	51.7	24.5	38.2	0.476
2.	Lohara (58)	61.0	50.4	55.9	0.826
3.	Mahali (48)	56.1	30.9	44.2	0.548
4.	Munda (37)	92.2	79.2	85.5	0.858
5.	Oraon (63)	96.2	89.1	92.6	0.926
6.	Santhal (150)	65.5	47.9	56.6	0.738
	All 8 tribes (544)	64.8	45.8	55.2	0.707

- For the Oraon and the Munda, who are urban based, the literacy figures are as high as 92.6 and 85.5 percent respectively. Correspondingly, they have very low gender disparity (0.926 and 0.858).

- Considering that the Lohara are predominantly in Ranchi, they have a comparatively lower literacy rate of 55.9 percent, coming close to the rural based Santhal (56.6 percent). But their gender disparity is almost at par with the Munda (0.826). However, the Santhal (0.738) have the least gender disparity among the rural-based Ho and Mahali.

- The Ho with the lowest literacy of 38.2 percent have the highest gender disparity (0.476). The Mahali comes next with a literacy of 44.2 percent and somewhat lesser disparity than the Ho (0.548).

- The urban factor stands out in Jharkhand.

West Bengal

In West Bengal, 1331 males, 1263 females constitute the total tribal sample population of 2594. In West Bengal, the Scheduled Tribes have an overall literacy of 56.8 percent which compares favourably with that of Scheduled Castes in the State. However, gender disparity is lower among the Scheduled Castes.

Table 6.5: - Effective literacy among Scheduled Tribes in
West Bengal (Percent)

S.No.	Tribe (Households)	Male	Female	Total	GDI
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Bhumij (72)	84.9	69.1	77.3	0.813
2.	Lodha (44)	43.3	26.6	35.5	0.613
3.	Mahali (22)	72.0	47.8	60.4	0.664
4.	Munda (22)	67.4	61.4	64.4	0.910
5.	Oraon (78)	72.5	52.8	62.9	0.728
6.	Santhal (298)	63.0	39.4	51.5	0.625
	All 12 tribes (557)	67.2	46.0	56.8	0.682

- The   Bhumij tops the list with a literacy   of   77.3 percent and a low gender disparity (0.813).

- The Munda (64.4), Oraon (62.9%), and Mahali (60.4%) all have high literacy rates with correspondingly very low to lower levels of gender disparities (0.910, 0.728, 0.664 respectively).

- The   Santhal is the only tribe in the middle range with a literacy rate of 51.5 percent and gender disparity of 0.625.

- The situation of the Lodha is at the bottom with a low literacy of 35.5 percent and a gender disparity of 0.613.

- It may be noted that although the effective literacy of SCs and STs is more or less at par, when it comes to gender disparity there is greater internal differentiation among the castes as compared to the tribes.

- The variations in gender disparity ranges from 0.378 to 0.924 for the SCs, whereas for the STs this ranges from 0.613 to 0.910.

Educational Attainments

While examining the levels of education, our attention is confined to the literate population. Literacy rate by itself does not provide sufficient indication of the process of formation of an educated elite. It is through an analysis of attainments at different levels of education that assesment can be made about the potential of a Scheduled Caste or Tribe to generate an elite.

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

In Bihar, amongst the Scheduled Castes, those who have not completed primary education or have completed it, account for 27.3 percent of the population 6 years and above. Of these, 33.5 percent are male and 20.1 percent are female. The gender disparity score at this level is 0.602.

At the middle level of education 6.1 percent male, 2.5 percent female with an overall 4.5 percent have completed education. The gender disparity climbs up to 0.412.

There is perceptible increase of 12.6 percent males having completed either the secondary or senior secondary level of education. Correspondingly the female education level remains at a low of 2.9 percent. The gender disparity reaches 0.231.

As for highest level of education, spanning graduate/postgraduate level, 3.6 percent males and 0.4 percent females are in this category. The gender disparity reaches a peak of 0.110.

Table 6.6. - Levels of education among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

Caste (Households)	Age 6 yrs +			Incomplete primary			Primary + incomeplete middle			Middle + incomplete secondary		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Chamar (159)	519	454	973	122 (23.5)	66 (14.5)	188 (19.3)	53 (10.2)	21 (4.6)	74 (7.6)	30 (5.8)	10 (2.2)	40 (4.1)
Chaupal (29)	92	86	178	23 (25.0)	9 (10.5)	32 (18.0)	8 (8.7)	3 (3.5)	11 (6.2)	6 (6.5)	0	6 (3.4)
Dusadh (113)	335	269	604	77 (23.0)	61 (22.7)	138 (22.8)	44 (13.1)	15 (5.6)	59 (9.8)	29 (8.7)	10 (3.7)	39 (6.5)
Musahar (69)	139	119	258	23 (16.5)	7 (5.9)	30 (11.6)	8 (5.8)	3 (2.5)	11 (4.3)	2 (1.4)	1 (0.8)	3 (1.2)
Dhobi (8)	41	30	71	8 (19.5)	6 (20.0)	14 (19.7)	5 (12.2)	3 (10.0)	8 (11.3)	3 (7.3)	4 (13.3)	7 (9.9)
All 9 castes (392)	1179	994	2173	273 (23.2)	155 (15.6)	428 (19.7)	121 (10.3)	45 (4.5)	166 (7.6)	72 (6.1)	25 (2.5)	97 (4.5)

Caste (Households)	Secondary + incomplete H.school			Sr.Secondary + incomplete college			Graduate + post Grad.			Total literatesy		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23		
Chamar (159)	51 (9.8)	8 (1.8)	59 (6.1)	12 (2.3)	2 (0.4)	14 (1.4)	17 (3.3)	1 (0.2)	18 (1.8)	285 (55.0)	108 (23.8)	393 (40.4)
Chaupal (29)	9 (9.8)	0	9 (5.1)	0	0	0	1 (1.1)	0	1 (0.6)	47 (51.1)	12 (14.0)	59 (33.2)
Dusadh (113)	37 (11.0)	8 (3.0)	45 (7.5)	22 (6.6)	3 (1.1)	25 (4.1)	14 (4.2)	0	14 (2.3)	223 (66.6)	97 (36.1)	320 (52.9)
Musahar (69)	3 (2.2)	2 (1.4)	5 (1.9)	2 (1.4)	0	2 (0.8)	1 (0.7)	0	1 (0.4)	39 (28.1)	13 (11.0)	52 (20.2)
Dhobi (8)	8 (19.5)	5 (16.7)	13 (18.3)	4 (9.8)	1 (3.3)	5 (7.0)	10 (24.4)	3 (10.0)	13 (18.0)	38 (92.2)	22 (73.3)	60 (84.5)
All 9 castes (392)	109 (9.2)	23 (2.3)	132 (6.1)	40 (3.4)	6 (0.6)	46 (2.1)	43 (3.6)	4 (0.4)	47 (2.2)	658 (55.0)	258 (26.0)	916 (42.2)

Note :   1. Figures within brackets ( ) are in percentages for levels of education.
2.The percentages calculated for male (M) female(F) and Total(T) are with respect to the
population of male (M) female (F) and Total (T) of age 6 year and above.
3.Effective literacy is the sum total of all levels of education percentage literacy in.

- As we enter into performance of individual castes, the performance of Dhobi surpasses all others. Nearly one fourth (24.4%) percent of the males are either graduates or postgraduates and 10 percent of the females have attained the same level of education. The gender disparity at this level is 0.410. At the primary and incomplete level it is 0.946. A distingusing feature is that among the Scheduled Caste women, the performance of Dhobi from primary level onwords is way above those of others.

- The performance of the Dusadh is clearly higher than those of the Chamar and Chaupal. As many as 70 (11.6%) persons have completed secondary/sr. secondary and 14 (2.3%) have completed graduation or postgraduation from the 113 households of Dusadh. The gender disparity at the primary/incomplete primary level is 0.782 whilst at the secondary and sr. secondary level is 0.232. At the highest level the disparity is 100 percent.

- Amongst the Chamar, 73 persons have completed secondary/sr secondary and 18 have completed graduation and postgraduation from the 159 households of Chamar. In comparison to the Dusadh, the gender disparity at the three levels are: 0.568, 0.181, and 0.067.

- Among the Chaupal 9 persons have attained secondary level of education and one person has graduated from the 29 households.

- Clearly the performance of Musahar is the least with only one graduate and seven persons attaining the secondary/sr. secondary level from 69 households. Both the Chaupal and Musahar with low levels of education have large disparities.

Jharkhand

In Jharkhand among the Scheduled Castes, of those who have either an incomplete primary education or have completed primary education, as many as 43.4 percent are males, and 37.7 percent are females. The gender disparity at this level is 0.869 percent.

As for middle level of education, 11.2 percent male and 7.3 percent female with an overall 9.2 percent have completed this level. The gender disparity at this level is 0.65.

At the secondary/sr. secondary level, 11.9 percent male and 4.0 percent female with an overall average of 7.9 percent have a gender disparity of 0.336..

As for highest level of education, 4.6 percent male and 3.3 percent female with an overall percentage of 4.0, the gender disparity is remarkably low at 0.719.

With respect to individual castes,

- While both the Chamar and the Dom have high rates of literacy, clearly the Chamar has performed exceedingly well in school in higher education. As many as 14 persons of Chamar have completed secondary/sr. secondary level education and 12 have completed higher education out of only 16 households. The gender-disparity at the primary/incomplete primary, secondary/sr. secondary and at the highest level are: 0.959, 0.568, 0.731 respectively.

- As for the Dom only 4 male persons have completed secondary education and none higher than this level. The gender disparity at the lowest levels 0.781

There are no females attending classes beyond the middle school.

Table 6.7: Levels of education among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

Caste (Households)	Age 6 yrs +			Incomplete primary			Primary + incomplete middle			Middle + incomplete secondary		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Chamar (16)	44	43	87	9 (20.5)	5 (11.6)	14 (16.1)	7 (15.9)	10 (23.3)	17 (19.5)	8 (18.2)	5 (11.6)	13 (14.9)
Dom (21)	63	56	119	21 (33.3)	17 (30.4)	38 (31.9)	15 (23.8)	8 (14.3)	23 (19.3)	3 (4.8)	2 (3.6)	5 (4.2)
All 7 castes (56)	152	151	303	36 (23.7)	31 (20.5)	67 (22.1)	30 (19.7)	26 (17.2)	56 (18.5)	17 (11.2)	11 (7.3)	28 (9.2)

Caste (Households)	Secondary + incomplete H.school			Sr.Secondary + incomplete college			Graduate + post Grad.			Total literates		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Chamar (16)	8 (18.2)	5 (11.6)	13 (14.9)	1 (2.3)	-	1 (1.1)	7 (15.9)	5 (11.6)	12 (13.8)	40 (90.9)	39 (69.8)	70 (80.8)
Dom (21)	4 (6.3)	-	4 (3.4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	43 (68.3)	27 (48.2)	70 (58.8)
All 7 castes (56)	17 (11.2)	6 (4.0)	23 (7.6)	1 (0.7)	NIL	1 (0.3)	7 (4.6)	5 (3.5)	12 (4.0)	108 (72.4)	79 (52.3)	187 (62.4)

Note : 1. Figures within brackets ( ) are in percentages for levels of education.
2.The percentages calculated for male (M) female(F) and Total(T) are with respect to the
   population of male (M) female (F) and Total (T) of age 6 year and above.
3.Effective literacy is the sum total of all levels of education percentage literacy in.

West Bengal

The situation of the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal at the incomplete primary/primary level of education is decidedly the best among the three States, with as many as 55.0 percent male and 44.1 percent female with an overall percentage of 49.8 having attained this level. The gender disparity score at this level is quite low at 0.802. The percentage of females at this level of literacy far exceeds those of the other three states.

However, from the middle level of school education onwards there is a drastic drop, with only 7.8 percent male and 3.0 percent female (overall 4.0%) having completed middle school; 4.5 percent male and 1.4 percent female having done secondary/sr.secondary; and at the higher level at tapers down to 1.0 percent for male and 0.1 percent for female.

The gender disparity increases to 0.503 at the middle level of education, increases further to 0.319 at the high school levels and improves at the highest level to 0.547. But as we have noted, the base from which gender disparity is measured is very small at these levels.

- With respect to individual castes, the most conspicious performance is that of the Dhobi. They are exceptional in having decisively more female literates at the primary and incomplete primay level. Out of the total 12 graduates/postgraduates from 443 households of West Bengal, 10 are from 34 Dhobi households. Six of these are males and four are females. Only other two in this category are males – one each from Mal and Bhuiyan. Once again, we find among the Dhobi there is trend towards gender equity. The gender disparity figures for the Dhobi is 1.31 at the primary/incomplete primary level, 0.485 at the secondary/sr. secondary level, and 0.600 at the highest level.

- As for secondary/sr. secondary level of education, out of 62 persons in West Bengal, 20 are from the Dhobi caste and 7 each from Bagdi and Patni.

- The Dom, Kami and Konai do not have a single person with education level beyond the middle.

- There is generally high concentration of almost all castes in the category of incomplete primary education with good participation of females.

Table 6.8: Levels of education among the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Caste (Households)	Age 6 yrs +			Incomplete primary			Primary + incomeplete middle			Middle + incomplete secondary		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bagdi (65)	190	164	354	79 (41.6)	60 (36.6)	139 (39.3)	27 (14.2)	5 (3.0)	32 (9.0)	7 (3.7)	-	7 (2.0)
Bauri (47)	117	97	214	47 (40.2)	18 (18.6)	65 (30.4)	17 (14.5)	5 (5.2)	22 (10.3)	2 (1.7)	-	2 (0.9)
Bhuiyan	61	63	124	34 (55.7)	37 (58.7)	71 (57.3)	6 (9.8)	4 (6.3)	10 (8.1)	9 (14.8)	3 (4.8)	12 (9.7)
Chamar (48)	108	92	200	35 (32.4)	33 (35.9)	68 (34.0)	9 (8.3)	10 (10.9)	19 (9.5)	12 (11.1)	3 (3.3)	15 (7.5)
Dhoba (34)	81	90	171	23 (28.4)	35 (38.9)	58 (33.9)	14 (17.3)	19 (21.1)	33 (19.3)	17 (21.0)	10 (11.1)	27 (15.8)
Dom (20)	47	47	94	16 (34.0)	12 (25.5)	28 (29.8)	11 (23.4)	4 (8.5)	15 (16.0)	5 (10.6)	-	5 (5.3)
Kami (23)	58	50	108	21 (36.2)	18 (36.0)	39 (36.1)	20 (34.5)	11 (22.0)	31 (28.7)	7 (12.1)	-	7 (6.5)
Konai (21)	51	45	96	10 (19.6)	4 (8.9)	14 (14.6)	2 (3.9)	-	2 (2.1)	-	-	-
Mal (70)	152	151	303	60 (39.5)	44 (29.1)	104 (34.3)	12 (7.9)	14 (9.3)	26 (8.6)	10 (6.6)	3 (2.0)	13 (4.3)
Patni (30)	71	53	124	28 (39.4)	16 (30.2)	44 (35.5)	20 (28.2)	12 (22.6)	32 (25.8)	7 (9.9)	3 (5.7)	10 (8.1)
Sarki (30)	67	71	138	29 (43.3)	37 (52.1)	66 (47.8)	21 (31.3)	6 (8.5)	27 (19.6)	3 (4.5)	4 (5.6)	7 (5.1)
All 20 castes (443)	1062	970	2033	408 (38.4)	331 (34.1)	739 (36.4)	176 (16.6)	97 (10.0)	273 (13.4)	63 (7.8)	29 (3.0)	92 (4.5)

Caste (Households)	Secondary + incomplete H.school			Sr.Secondary + incomplete college			Graduate + post Grad.			Total literates		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Bagdi (65)	7 (3.7)	-	7 (2.0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	120 (63.2)	65 (39.6)	185 (52.3)
Bauri (47)	1 (0.9)	-	1 (0.5)	-	-	-	-	-	-	67 (57.3)	23 (23.7)	90 (42.1)
Bhiyan (48)	3 (4.9)	-	3 (2.4)	1 (1.6)	-	1 (0.8)	1 (1.6)	-	1 (0.8)	54 (88.5)	44 (69.8)	98 (79.0)
Chamar (48)	4 (3.7)	-	4 (2.0)	2 (1.9)	-	2 (1.0)	-	-	-	62 (57.4)	46 (50.0)	108 (54.0)
Dhoba (34)	7 (8.6)	6 (6.7)	13 (7.6)	6 (7.4)	1 (1.1)	7 (4.1)	6 (7.4)	4 (4.4)	10 (5.8)	73 (90.1)	75 (83.3)	148 (86.5)
Dom (20)	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	32 (68.1)	16 (34.0)	48 (51.1)
Kami (23)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43 (82.8)	29 (58.0)	72 (71.3)
Konai (21)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12 (23.5)	4 (8.8)	16 (16.7)
Mal (70)	3 (2.0)	1 (0.7)	4 (1.3)	1 (0.7)	-	1 (0.3)	1 (0.7)	-	1 (0.3)	87 (57.3)	62 (41.0)	149 (49.2)
Patni (30)	5 (7.0)	1 (1.9)	6 (4.8)	1 (1.4)	-	1 (0.8)	-	-	-	61 (85.9)	32 (60.4)	93 (75.0)
Sarki (30)	1 (1.5)	-	1 (0.7)	1 (1.5)	-	1 (0.7)	-	-	-	55 (82.1)	47 (66.2)	102 (73.9)
All 20 castes (443)	35 (3.3)	10 (1.0)	45 (2.2)	13 (1.2)	4 (0.4)	17 (0.8)	8 (1.0)	4 (0.1)	12 (0.5)	703 (66.3)	475 (48.6)	1178 (57.4)

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

At the initial level of education in Jharkhand, as many as 37.5 percent male and 28.4 percent female with an overall percentage 32.9 have either completed primary school or could not complete. The gender disparity at this level is 0.758.

At the next level of middle school, 12.7 percent male and 7.6 percent female have attained this level of education. The gender disparity increases to 0.595.

As for secondary/sr. secondary level of education with 9.9 percent male and 6.5 percent female attaining this level of education, the gender disparity reduces a little to 0.656.

At the highest level, the gender disparity further reduces to 0.707 with percent male and 3.2 percent female figure in this category.

- Moving to individual tribes in Jharkhand, the Oraon and Munda stand out with a conspicious level of performance. There are 34 graduates/postgraduates out of 37 households of Munda and 59 graduates/postgraduates out of 63 households of Oraon. This means there are 93 graduates./postgraduates among the Oraon and Munda out of a total of 103 among the tribals in Jharkhand. Their performance at various level of education in terms of gender equity is uniformly high . Among the Munda the GDI moves from 0.687 at primary/incomplete primary level, to 0.812 at the middle level, to 1.17 at the secondary/sr.secondary level and 0.833 at the highest level, with an overall GDI of 0.858. The Oraon, in comparison, have the following corresponding GDI figures: 1.24, 1.09, 0.840 and 0.570 with an overall GDI of 0.926. It is evident that urban factor is an important contributory factor explaining the higher level of performance among the Munda and Oraon.

- Significantly although the Lohara is predominantly in Ranchi and their performance does not match with the Oraon and Munda in so far as literacy and education levels are concerned, when it comes to gender equity there is not much of a difference (overall GDI 0.826).

Table 6.9: Levels of education amongst the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Caste (Households)	Age 6 yrs +			Incomplete primary			Primary + incomeplete middle			Middle + incomplete secondary		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Ho (184)	480	488	966	92 (19.2)	68 (13.9)	160 (16.6)	63 (13.1)	20 (4.1)	83 (8.5)	64 (13.3)	23 (4.7)	87 (9.0)
Lohara (58)	146	137	283	54 (37.0)	50 (36.5)	104 (36.7)	14 (9.6)	10 (7.3)	24 (8.4)	14 (9.6)	7 (5.1)	21 (7.4)
Mahali (48)	103	94	197	28 (27.2)	17 (18.1)	45 (22.8)	15 (14.6)	7 (7.4)	22 (11.2)	12 (11.7)	3 (3.2)	15 (7.1)
Munda (37)	90	96	186	22 (24.4)	12 (12.5)	34 (18.3)	8 (8.9)	10 (10.4)	18 (9.6)	15 (16.7)	13 (13.5)	28 (15.0)
Oraon (63)	158	165	323	25 (15.8)	32 (19.4)	57 (17.6)	19 (12.0)	25 (15.2)	44 (13.6)	22 (13.9)	25 (15.2)	47 (14.6)
Santhal (150)	310	323	636	88 (28.4)	82 (25.2)	170 (26.7)	54 (17.4)	37 (11.3)	91 (14.3)	39 (12.6)	28 (8.6)	67 (10.5)
All 8 tribes 544	1302	1319	2621	311 (23.9)	264 (20.0)	575 (21.9)	177 (13.6)	111 (8.4)	288 (11.0)	166 (12.7)	100 (7.6)	266 (10.1)

Caste (Households)	Secondary + incomplete H.school			Sr.Secondary + incomplete college			Graduate + post Grad.			Total literates		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Ho (184)	23 (4.8)	3 (0.6)	26 (2.7)	2 (0.4)	4 (0.8)	6 (0.6)	4 (0.8)	2 (0.4)	6 (0.6)	248 (51.7)	120 (24.5)	368 (38.2)
Lohara (58)	3 (2.1)	1 (0.7)	4 (1.4)	3 (2.1)	-	3 (1.1)	1 (0.7)	1 (0.7)	2 (0.7)	89 (61.0)	69 (50.4)	158 (55.9)
Mahali (48)	2 (1.9)	1 (1.1)	3 (1.5)	1 (1.0)	-	1 (0.5)		1 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	58 (56.1)	29 (30.9)	87 (44.7)
Munda (37)	15 (16.7)	13 (13.5)	28 (15.4)	5 (5.6)	12 (12.5)	17 (9.1)	18 (20.0)	16 (16.6)	34 (18.3)	83 (92.2)	76 (79.2)	159 (85.5)
Oraon (63)	30 (19.0)	28 (17.0)	58 (18.0)	19 (12.0)	15 (9.1)	34 (10.5)	37 (23.4)	22 (13.3)	59 (18.3)	152 (96.2)	147 (89.1)	299 (92.6)
Santhal (150)	20 (6.5)	8 (2.5)	28 (4.4)	2 (0.6)	-	2 (0.3)		1 (0.3)	1 (0.2)	203 (65.5)	156 (47.9)	359 (56.6)
All 8 tribes 544	96 (7.4)	54 (4.1)	150 (5.7)	32 (2.5)	31 (2.4)	63 (2.4)	60 (4.6)	43 (3.2)	103 (3.9)	842 (64.8)	603 (45.8)	1445 (55.2)

- For the rural-based Mahali, Santhal and Ho their percentage at different levels of education sharply declines from the secondary level onwards. The overall GDI of the Santhal (0.738) is the least among them, followed by Mahali (0.548) and Ho (0.476). Though Ho are at the bottom of scale, there are six graduates (four males and two females) among them.

West Bengal

Coming to West Bengal, of those who have either an incomplete primary education or have completed primary education, as many as 53.9 percent are males and 41.7 percent are females with an overall percentage of 48.0 percent. The gender disparity is 0.774. At the middle level of education, 8.5 percent male and 2.3 percent female have attained this level of education. The gender disparity is markedly high at 0.270.

As we move up to the secondary/sr. secondary level of education, 3.9 percent male and 1.9 percent female have attained this level of education. The gender disparity is 0.486.

As for higher education, there are only 11 graduates from in 557 households. Of these 11 graduates, 9 are Santhal. There is only one female Santhal in this category.

Like the Scheduled Castes of West Bengal, their literate population is insignificantly represented at levels of education above the primary/incomplete primary. At the middle level they are 5.5 percent, at the secondary/sr. secondary level they are 2.9 percent and at the highest level only 0.5 percent. Of the 56.8 percent total literates among the tribals in West Bengal, as large a number as 48 percent have done the primary/incomplete primary level of education. The corresponding figure for the Scheduled Castes is 49.8 percent out of 57.4 percent literates.

- At the level of individual tribes, the general pattern of higher concentration of the literates at the primary/incomplete primary level is almost uniformly reflected. Also reflected is a generally low gender disparities with the exception of the Lodha (0.532). Among the Munda (1.087) and Bhumij (0.982) there is hardly any disparity.

Table 6.10: Levels of education among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Caste (Households)	Age 6 yrs +			Incomplete primary			Primary + incomeplete middle			Middle + incomplete secondary		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Bhumij (72)	212	191	403	102 (48.1)	116 (60.7)	218 (54.1)	45 (21.2)	14 (7.3)	59 (14.6)	26 (12.3)	2 (1.0)	28 (6.9)
Lodha (44)	90	79	169	22 (24.4)	9 (11.4)	31 (18.3)	8 (8.9)	5 (6.3)	13 (7.7)	4 (4.4)	5 (6.3)	9 (5.3)
Mahali (22)	50	46	96	24 (48.0)	20 (43.5)	44 (45.8)	10 (20.0)	2 (4.3)	12 (12.5)	2 (4.0)	-	2 (2.0)
Munda (22)	46	44	90	15 (32.6)	22 (50.0)	37 (41.1)	10 (21.7)	4 (9.1)	14 (15.6)	3 (6.5)	1 (2.3)	4 (4.4)
Oraon (78)	189	180	369	82 (43.4)	60 (33.3)	142 (38.5)	32 (16.9)	20 (11.1)	52 (14.1)	13 (6.9)	5 (2.8)	18 (4.9)
Santhal (298)	698	678	1376	247 (35.4)	202 (29.8)	449 (32.6)	94 (13.5)	38 (5.6)	132 (9.6)	62 (8.9)	15 (2.2)	77 (5.6)
All 12 tribe (557)	1331	1263	2594	513 (38.5)	441 (34.9)	954 (36.8)	205 (15.4)	86 (6.8)	291 (11.2)	113 (8.5)	29 (2.3)	142 (5.5)

Caste (Households)	Secondary + incomplete H.school			Sr.Secondary + incomplete college			Graduate + post Grad.			Total literates		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Bhumij (72)	5 (2.4)	-	5 (1.2)	2 (0.9)	-	2 (0.5)	-	-	-	180 (84.9)	132 (69.1)	312 (77.3)
Lodha (44)	3 (3.3)	2 (2.5)	5 (3.0)	2 (2.2)	-	2 (1.2)	-	-	-	39 (43.3)	21 (26.6)	60 (35.5)
Mahali (22)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36 (72.0)	22 (47.8)	58 (60.4)
Munda (22)	-	-	-	2 (4.3)	-	2 (2.2)	1 (2.2)	-	1 (1.1)	31 (67.4)	27 (61.4)	58 (64.4)
Oraon (78)	7 (3.7)	8 (4.4)	15 (4.1)	2 (1.1)	2 (1.1)	4 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	-	1 (0.3)	137 (72.5)	95 (52.8)	232 (62.9)
Santhal (298)	24 (3.4)	10 (1.5)	34 (2.4)	5 (0.7)	1 (0.1)	6 (0.4)	8 (1.1)	1 (0.1)	9 (0.7)	440 (63.0)	267 (39.4)	707 (51.5)
All 12 tribe (557)	39 (2.9)	21 (1.7)	60 (2.3)	13 (1.0)	3 (0.2)	16 (0.6)	10 (0.8)	1 (0.1)	11 (0.5)	873 (67.2)	581 (46.0)	1474 (56.8)

- Within this overall pattern it is interesting to note that the Mahali comes next only to Bhumij and Munda, with 60.4 percent literates. However, there is none who has gone beyond the middle level. Even at the middle level they are the least with only 2 persons. The gender disparity is low at 0.703.

Although the overall literacy rates among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand and West Bengal seem to be at par. We must remember that the urban weightage of Oraon and Munda in Jharkhand is quite high. If we adjust for this factor in the overall literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes, it is higher in West Bengal. However, notwithstanding this in Jharkhand from the secondary level upward is better.

Enrolment and Dropout :

In our study, in addition to different levels of literacy and education we could also collect some valuable data on enrolment pattern at the level of elementary education, comprising primary and middle level school education. We also sought to obtain data on those who are continuing after enrolment, and those who dropped out. Finally, we sought to identify the main reasons for dropout.

Scheduled Castes
Bihar

Generally speaking taking into account all the nine castes with 392 households, the total total enrolment is 341 students, of which 232 are males, 109 females. The average female enrolment ratio (females to total enrolment) is 32.0 percent.

Table-6.11: Enrolment and dropout at the level of elementary education (primary and middle school) of the Scheduled Castes in Bihar (Age group 6-14 years)

Caste (Households)	Enrolment			Continuing (%)			Dropout (%)			Female Enrol-ment (%)
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Chamar (159)	108	54	162	98 (90.7)	49 (90.7)	147 (90.7)	10 (9.3)	5 (9.3)	15 (9.3)	33.3
Chaupal (29)	20	4	24	20 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	24 (100.0)	0	0	0	16.7
Dusadh (113)	68	41	109	63 (92.6)	39 (95.1)	102 (93.6)	5 (7.4)	2 (4.9)	7 (6.4)	37.6
Musahar (69)	11	2	13	5 (45.5)	0	5 (38.5)	6 (54.5)	2 (100.0)	8 (61.5)	15.4
Dhobi (8)	10	3	13	10 (100.0)	3 (100.0)	13 (100.0)	0	0	0	23.1
All 9 castes (392)	232	109	341	209 (90.1)	100 (91.7)	309 (90.6)	23 (9.9)	9 (8.3)	32 (9.4)	32.0

- For the Dhobi, out of eight households 13 have enrolled and all of them are continuing. However, surprisingly even the Dhobi have a low female enrolment ratio of 23.1 percent.

- The Chaupal presents a similar pattern with no dropout. Out of 29 households, as many as 24 are enrolled with no dropouts. Their female enrolment ratio is even lower at 16.7 percent.

- Both the Dusadh and the Chamar have very low percentage of dropouts (6.4% and 9.3% respectively). Compared to others both have reasonably good female enrolment ratio with 37.6 and 33.3 percent respectively.

- The condition of the Musahar seem to be worst. Out of 69 households, only 13 have enrolled, of which 8 have dropped out (61.5 percent). The only two females who enrolled have discontinued.

Jharkhand

As we move to the state of Jharkhand where the Chamar and the Dom are located in urban industrial town of Ranchi we observe a predictable pattern.

Table 6.12 : Enrolment and dropout at the level of elementary education (primary and middle school) of the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand (Age group 6-14 years)

Caste (H.H)	Enrolment			Continuing (%)			Dropout (%)			Female Enrolment (%)
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Chamar (16)	8	9	17	8 (100.0)	5 (55.6)	13 (76.5)	0	4 (44.4)	4 (23.5)	52.9
Dom (21)	18	15	33	13 (72.2)	8 (53.3)	21 (63.6)	5 (27.8)	7 (46.7)	12 (36.4)	45.5
All 7 castes (56)	33	30	63	26 (78.8)	18 (60.0)	44 (69.8)	7 (21.2)	12 (40.0)	19 (30.2)	47.6

- All the seven castes in Jharkhand with 56 households in both rural and urban areas have a total enrolment of 63 students. Of these, 44 students (69.8%) are continuing. The overall female enrolment ratio demonstrates near gender parity (47.1%).

- Coming to Chamar, we find 17 students enrolled from 16 households with 13 (76.5%) continuing. The female enrolment ratio of 52.9 percent indicates an enthusiasm for female education where the number of female enrolment exceeds male enrolment

As evident from a 44.4 percent dropout, this enthusiasm is not sustained. Among the Dom, we find as many as 33 students have enrolled from 21 households. However, as compared to the Chamar where all the dropouts are females, among the Dom, the dropouts are from both males and females with higher percentage of the latter (46.7%). The female enrolment ratio of 45.5 percent reflects an eagerness for female education.

West Bengal

In the state of West Bengal, all the twenty castes with 443 households have enrolled 472 students. The dropout rate is higher than in Bihar with 27.2 percent. When it comes to female enrolment it is substantially better than in Bihar at 42.2 percent.

Table 6.13: **Enrolment and dropout at the level of elementary education (primary and middle school) of the Scheduled Castes in West (Age group 6-14)**

Caste (House-holds)	Enrolment			Continuing (%)			Dropout (%)			Female Enrolment %
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bagdi (65)	33	16	49	23 (69.7)	11 (68.8)	34 (69.4)	10 (30.3)	5 (31.2)	15 (30.6)	32.7
Bauri (47)	42	17	59	20 (47.6)	14 (82.4)	34 (57.6)	22 (52.4)	3 (17.6)	25 (42.4)	28.8
Bhuiya (30)	17	14	31	12 (70.6)	12 (85.7)	24 (77.4)	5 (29.4)	2 (14.3)	7 (22.6)	45.2
Chamar (48)	24	23	47	18 (75.0)	13 (56.5)	31 (66.0)	6 (25.0)	10 (43.5)	16 (34.0)	48.9
Dhobi (34)	21	25	46	20 (95.2)	23 (92.0)	43 (93.5)	1 (4.8)	2 (8.0)	3 (6.5)	54.3
Dom (20)	12	8	20	11 (91.7)	6 (75.0)	17 (85.0)	1 (8.3)	2 (25.0)	3 (15.0)	40.0
Kami (23)	26	14	40	17 (65.4)	12 (85.7)	29 (72.5)	9 (34.6)	2 (14.3)	11 (27.5)	35.0
Konai (21)	4	4	8	0 (100.0)	2 (50.0)	2 (25.0)	4 (100.0)	2 (50.0)	6 (75.0)	50.0
Mal (70)	35	31	66	23 (65.7)	23 (74.2)	46 (69.7)	12 (34.3)	8 (25.8)	20 (30.3)	47.0
Patni (30)	16	8	24	10 (62.5)	3 (37.5)	13 (54.2)	6 (37.5)	5 (62.5)	11 (45.8)	33.3
Sarki (30)	20	28	48	16 (80.0)	26 (92.9)	42 (87.5)	4 (20.0)	2 (7.1)	6 (12.5)	58.3
All 20 castes (392)	274	200	474	191 (69.7)	154 (77.0)	345 (72.8)	83 (30.7)	46 (23.0)	129 (27.2)	42.2

- We find substantially high level of enrolment amongst the Kami (40 students in 23 households), the Sarki (48 students in 30 households), the Dhobi (46 students in 34 households) and the Bauri (59 students in 47 households).

- We find comparatively lower enrolment among the Bagdi (49 students in 65 households), the Patni (24 students in 30 households), with the lowest among the Konai (8 students in 21 households).

- The dropout is the least amongst the Dhobi (6.5%) followed by the Sarki (12.5%), the Dom (15.0 %), the Bhuiya (22.6%), and the Kami (27.5 %).

- The female enrolment ratio is highest amongst the Sarki (58.3%) and the Dhobi (54.3%) followed by the Chamar (48.9 %), Mal (47.0%), the Bhuiyan (45.2%). This demonstrates much larger range of castes in West Bengal displaying very high level of consciousness for female education.
- The relatively high rate of dropout may reflect the discontinuity at primary and middle level consistent with our analysis of levels of education in West Bengal. It may be noted that while the dropout rate in Bihar is 9.4 percent, the same time relative enrolment of students per household is much less than in West Bengal.

Scheduled Castes

Jharkhand

Moving into the tribal belt of Jharkhand, we have an enrolment of 540 students from 544 households spread among eight tribal communities. Of those enrolled, 78.1 percent are continuing their education. The female enrolment ratio is quite satisfactory at 45.0 percent.

Table- 6.14: Enrolment and dropout at the level of elementary education (primary and   middle school) of the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Tribe (House-holds)	Enrolment			Continuing (%)			Dropout (%)			Female Enrol-ment (%)
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Ho (184)	105	50	155	88 (83.8)	36 (72.0)	124 (80.0)	17 (16.2)	14 (28.0)	31 (20.0)	32.3
Lohara (58)	36	39	75	24 (66.7)	22 (56.4)	46 (61.3)	12 (33.3)	17 (43.6)	29 (38.7)	52.0
Mahali (48)	29	14	43	25 (86.2)	11 (78.6)	36 (83.7)	4 (13.8)	3 (21.4)	7 (16.3)	32.6
Munda (37)	19	14	33	18 (94.7)	13 (92.9)	31 (93.9)	1 (5.3)	1 (7.1)	2 (6.1	42.4
Oraon (63)	27	42	69	23 (85.2)	35 (83.3)	58 (84.1)	4 (14.8)	7 (16.7)	11 (15.9)	60.9
Santhal (150)	76	82	158	62 (81.6)	61 (74.4)	123 (77.8)	14 (18.4)	21 (25.6)	35 (22.2)	51.9
All 8 tribes (544)	297	243	540	243 (81.8)	179 (73.7)	422 (78.1)	54 (18.2)	64 (26.3)	118 (21.9)	45.0

- At the outset we can single out Oraon, Munda and Lohara who are largely located in Ranchi. Amongst these three, the dropout is the lowest among the Munda with 6.1 percent, followed by the Oraon with 15.9 percent, and surprisingly it is the highest among the Lohara with 38.7 percent. In fact it is the highest among all sample STs of Jharkhand. When we examine the enrolment ratio it is female centric among the Oraon with 60.9 percent, extremely good among the Lohara with 52.0 percent, and lower (42.2%) among the Munda.

- Among the rural-based communities of Ho, Santhal, and Mahali, the dropout rate is the lowest among the Mahali with 16.3 percent, followed by Ho with 20.0 percent and the Santhal with 22.2 percent. However it has to be noted that the overall enrolment of students among the Ho is the lowest (155 in 184 households).

- Although the Lohara have the highest dropouts, their enrolment status is the best (75 students in 58 households). This indicates the definite urge for education with a very high female enrolment rate but a compulsion to withdraw from education at an early age.

West Bengal

As we move to West Bengal, the pattern of enrolment and dropout among the Scheduled Tribes shows a similarity with that of Scheduled Castes in West Bengal, in terms of high enrolment of students (594 students in 557 households). The dropout rate (22.4%) is somewhat lower than among the Scheduled Castes (27.2%), with a marginally lower female enrolment at 40.7 percent than its Scheduled Castes counterpart (42.2%).

Table-6.15: **Enrolment and dropout at the level of elementary education (primary and middle school) of the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal (age group 6-14 years)**

Tribe (House-holds)	Enrolment			Continuing (%)			Dropout (%)			Female Enrol-ment (%)
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Bhumij (72)	50	48	98	35 (70.0)	39 (81.3)	74 (75.5)	15 (30.0)	9 (18.7)	24 (24.5)	49.0
Lodha (44)	16	3	19	8 (50.0)	2 (66.7)	10 (52.6)	8 (50.0)	1 (33.3)	9 (47.4)	15.8
Mahali (22)	16	14	30	13 (81.3)	10 (71.4)	23 (76.7)	3 (18.7)	4 (28.6)	7 (23.3)	46.7
Munda (22)	11	15	26	8 (72.7)	9 (60.0)	17 (65.4)	3 (27.3)	6 (40.0)	9 (34.6)	57.7
Oraon (78)	52	44	96	43 (82.7)	37 (84.1)	80 (83.3)	9 (17.3)	7 (15.9)	16 (16.7)	45.8
Santhal (298)	195	108	303	157 (80.5)	86 (79.6)	243 (80.2)	38 (19.5)	22 (20.4)	60 (19.8)	35.6
All 12 tribes (557)	352	242	594	272 (77.3)	189 (78.1)	461 (77.6)	80 (22.7)	53 (21.9)	133 (22.4)	40.7

- When we move to individual tribes we find that the dropout rate is the lowest among the Oraon (16.7 %), followed by the Santhal (19.8%), Mahali (23.3%) and the Bhumij (24.5%).

- The dropout rate is high among the Munda with (34.6%) and the highest among the Lodha (47.4%).

- It is interesting whilst the Munda have high dropout rate, their female enrolment ratio is female centric (57.7%).

- The Bhumij with 49.0 percent, the Mahali with 46.7 percent and the Oraon with 45.8 percent is very satisfactory to high levels of female enrolment.

- Surprisingly, among the Santhal female enrolement is relatively low at 35.6 percent.

- The Lodha stand with the lowest total enrolment, highest dropouts and lowest female enrolment of 15.8 percent.

Reasons for dropout

While searching for reasons as perceived by the households we have not gone into their distribution with respect to individual castes systematically, except for highlighting some instances. This is because quantitatively the number of dropouts per caste is not substantially large. It is only at the aggregate state level that the patterns make some sense.

We are basically trying to identify certain *economic* (affordability, compulsion for child labour), *domestic* (sibling care, household duties) and *other reasons* (health, indifference) which have been generally cited as reasons for dropout.

When we observe the reasons for dropout amongst the Scheduled Castes in Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal, a pattern emerges.

Scheduled Caste
Bihar

The predominant reason cited by the Scheduled Castes in Bihar is affordability (75.0%) for pursing studies at the elementary level. Associated with this is the compulsion to earn as child labour (37.5%). Household duties (28.1%) and sibling care (25.0%) also figure as reasons which cannot be discounted.

Table-6.16: Reasons for dropouy among the Scheduled Castes in Bihar

| Caste (H.hold) | Total Enrol ment | Drop out | Economic | | Domestic | | Other | |
			Afford ability	Child labour	Sibling care	H.hold duties	Health	Indiffer ence
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chamar (159)	162	15	13	1	2	1	1	1
Chupal (29)	24	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Dusadh (113)	109	7	5	5	Nil	2	1	Nil
Musahar (69)	13	8	4	4	4	4	1	Nil
Dhobi (8)	13	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
All 9 Caste (392)	341	32	24 (75.0)	12 (37.5)	8 (25.0)	9 (28.1)	3 (9.4)	1 (3.1)

Now highlighting some pattern at the level of individual castes, among the Chamar affordability is the predominant factor; among the Dusadh both affordability and child labour provide the compulsion; and in the case of Musahar it is the whole range of factors, including affordability, child labour, sibling care and household duties. The multiple compulsions of the Musahar indicate small number of enrolment (13 students). Only the Chaupal and Dhobi in Bihar register no dropout.

Jharkhand

As we move to Jharkhand household duties (52.6%) becomes the consspicuous reason. The factor of affordability is not insignificant (36.8%). It is interesting that the compulsion of household duties as well as affordibility is entirely concentrated among the Chamar and the Dom who constitute 37 out of 56 households. It means that none of the rural households of Jharkhand cite affordability and household duties, and for that matter, compulsion of child labour, sibling care or health as reasons for dropout. The only reason cited by the two Scheduled Caste households of Jharkhand is indifference.

Table 6.17: Reasons for dropout among the Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand

Caste (H.H)	Total		Economic		Domestic		Other	
	Enrol ment	Drop Out	Afford ability	Child Labour	Sibling care	H.hold duties	Health	Indiffer ence
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Chamar (16)	17	4	2	Nil	Nil	2	Nil	Nil
Dom (21)	33	12	4	Nil	Nil	8	Nil	Nil
All 7 Castes (56)	63	19	7 (36.8%)	Nil	Nil	I0 (52.6%)	Nil	2 (10.5%)

Significantly amongst the Dom, household duties weigh heavily whilst affordability is no less significant a reason. This may be attributed to be higher cost of living index in Ranchi.

West Bengal

As we move to West Bengal, interestingly enough, indifference is cited as the reason in the case of 70 dropouts (54.3%). Close to that is the factor of affordibility (49.6%). The compulsion for child labour is cited in the case of 46 dropouts (35.7%). Whilst in 34 cases (36.4%) household duties come in the way.

Table-6.18: Reasons fir dropout among the Scheduled Castes in West Bengal

Caste (H.hold)	Total		Economic		Domestic		Other	
	Enrol ment	Drop out	Afford Ability	Child labour	Sibling care	Household duty	Health	Indiffere nce
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Bagdi (65)	49	15	2	2	1	4	Nil	6
Bauri (47)	59	25	9	12	Nil	Nil	1	9
Bhuiyan (30)	31	7	6	3	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Chamar (48)	47	16	9	4	1	6	Nil	8
Dhoba (34)	46	3	1	1	Nil	Nil	Nil	1

Dom (20)	20	3	2	1	1	Nil	Nil	3
Kami (23)	40	11	6	4	1	5	Nil	10
Konai (21)	8	6	4	2	Nil	4	Nil	5
Mal (70)	66	26	8	7	8	12	Nil	15
Patni (30)	24	11	8	4	Nil	2	Nil	6
Sarki (30)	48	6	2	4	4	1	Nil	6
All 20 Castes (443)	474	129	64 (49.6%)	46 (35.7%)	17 (13.2%)	34 (26.4%)	1 (0.8)	70 (54.3%)

Note: Since a single dropout can give more than one reason the summeriation of each percentage which is calculated with respect to tatal dropouts, will not add up to percent.

- In West Bengal, significantly `affordability' and `indifference' figure prominantly as reasons for dropout amongst the Chamar, Kami, Konai and the Patni. Amongst the Bagdi and Sarki, the `indifference' factor is cited  more than  `affordability'. Amongst the Bauri, the `child labour' factor is predominant.  Amongst the Mal the reason cited most is `indifference', followed by `household duties', affordability, `sibling care' and `child labour'.

- The Konai like the Musahar in Bihar face problems like indifference, affordability, household compulsions and child labour even when its enrolment is very poor. One conspicuous feature among the Scheduled Castes in all the three States is that health is not cited as a reason for dropout.

We note that in the case of Bihar and West Bengal there is a broad band of reasons. What is significant is citing `indifference' by the highest number as the cause for dropout among the Scheduled Castes of West Bengal.

Scheduled Tribes

Jharkhand

Amongst the Scheduled Tribes of Jharkhand `affordability' (61.9%), followed by `indifference' (42.4%), compulsion for `child labour' (39.8%), and `household duties' (20.0%) are the reasons cited for dropouts.

Table 6.19: Reasons for dropout among the Scheduled Tribes in Jharkhand

Caste (H.hold)	Total		Economic		Domestic		Other	
	Enrol Ment	Drop Outs	Afford ability	Child labour	Sibling care	Household Duty	Health	Indiffer nce
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Ho (184)	155	31	21	12	1	NIL	NIL	23
Lohara (58)	75	29	17	12	2	4	NIL	5
Mahali (22)	43	7	5	2	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
Munda (22)	33	2	2	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL	NIL
Oran (63)	69	11	8	3	NIL	1	NIL	NIL
Santhal (150)	158	35	18	18	9	21	3	21
All 9 tribes (544)	540	118	73 (61.9%)	47 (39.8%)	12 (10.2%)	26 (20.0%)	3 (2.5%)	50 (42.4%)

▪ We must remember that the Oraon and the Munda are entirely urban-based while the Lohara have a few households in rural areas. Considering this, the dropout among the Oraon is substantial while that of the Lohara is quite high. Among the Oraon, affordability is the only reason cited. However, the Lohara also have domestic reasons and the factor of indifference.

• With the Santhal indifference, household duties, affordability and child labour figure as important constraints leading to dropout.

• Amongst the Ho, indifference, affordability and compulsion to child labour are significant reasons for dropout.

West Bengal

Compared to Jharkhand, in West Bengal `indifference' figures as the most important reason for dropout  (67.7%),  followed by `affordability' (50.4%),

`compulsion' for child labour (38.8%), `household duties' (30.0%) and sibling
care (24.1%).

Table 6.20: Reasons for dropouts among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal

Caste (H.hold)	Total		Economic		Domestic		Other	
	Enrol ment	Drop outs	Afford Ability	Child labour	Sibling care	Househo ld Duty	Health	Indiffere- nce
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Bhumij (72)	98	24	3	3	NIL	3	NIL	15
Lodha (44)	19	9	7	5	NIL	2	NIL	8
Mahali (22)	30	7	5	2	2	1	1	7
Munda (22)	26	9	9	6	6	NIL	NIL	9
Oran (78)	96	16	10	4	9	4	NIL	14
Santhal (298)	303	60	27	15	12	29	NIL	34
All 12 tribes (557)	594	133	67 (50.4%)	45 (38.8%)	32 (24.1%)	40 (30.0%)	1 (0.8%)	90 (67.7%)

- The `affordability', `child labour' and `household duties' as reasons for dropout, figure least among the Bhumij while `indifference' figures prominantly.

- As for the Munda and the Oraon we find a broad range of factors including `indifference', `affordability', sibling care and `compulsion' for `child labours'.

- The Santhal too have multiple factors like `indifference', household duties, affordability, child labour and sibling care.

- Finally, the Lodha with low enrolment suffer from `indifference', `affordability', `child labour' and also `household duties'. Significantly the range of factors operating among the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal is more than in Jharkhand.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion : Whither Scheduled Communities?

Introduction : The origin and evolution of the scheduled communities can be traced to the British imperial engagement with the ubiquitous system of caste hierarchy based on ritual purity and pollution. That entire groups could be placed in different positions on an ascending scale of pollution to purity in a system of institutionalised asymmetries, with prescribed degrees of inclusion and exclusion in almost all spheres of life - cultural, social, political and economic - appeared alien and ostensibly unfair to the British. Although this system was generating its own contradictions and conflicts manifesting these in major social reform movements, the colonial administration responded by creating the category of *Depressed Classes* with a view to ameliorating the conditions of the deprived and socially discriminated castes at the bottom of the ritual hierarchy. The structural process, once initiated, further evolved in the direction of empowering these groups politically. The evolution from amelioration to political empowerment marked a parallel shift of the concept of `Depressed Classes' to `*Scheduled Castes'*. From protective discrimination at the level of access to education, health, employment etc., it now got extended to granting them *separate electorates* for their entry into the political process. Unless precise identifications of such castes and their enlistment in a legally authenticated `schedule' was carried out this was not possible. While in principle, politically empowering the deprived groups was unexceptional, what was not acceptable was their being made an integral part of the Communal Award which was meant for political representation of Muslims, Christians and other minority communities. This led to the historic Poona Pact (1932), in which the political space for the participation of deprived groups was further enlarged, but not in 'communal' terms of separate electorates. The new concept that emerged was that of the *reserved constituency,* which has outlived the colonial regime.

The scheduling of tribes followed a somewhat different course. Initially, they were clubbed with the deprived castes as Depressed Classes. But over a period of time they were systematically weaned out of the Depressed Classes and subsequently, from the category of Scheduled Castes also. Unlike the Scheduled Castes, they did not form a part of the hierarchical caste system but were affected by it. In effect, their relatively egalitarian socio-politico-economic organisation was disrupted by colonial and feudal exploitation, leading to periodic insurrections and rebellions against these (exploitative) interests. The proper scheduling of tribal communities, who suffered from mass scale land alienation's reducing them to impoverishment, took place only after independence.

The present study has taken place after six decades of independence and political democracy, which has witnessed the political resurgence of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The formation of the north eastern States, and more recently of the two new States of Jharkhand and Chattisgarh, is a manifestation of struggles for greater tribal control over governance of their own populations in these traditionally dense (tribal) territories. Scheduled Castes have thrown up national and State level leaderships and political organisations which can capture or share power through the parliamentary process in the States, even when they are not in numerical majority. These developments suggest that the political environment for the development of Scheduled Communities has been improving over time.

The broad objective of our study is an empirical portrayal of the social development profile of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the three States of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. We have covered two panchayats in Bihar, two in Jharkhand and four in West Bengal. In addition, the two urban areas, Ranchi in Jharkhand and Jhargram in West Bengal, completed the ten locations from which samples were drawn. In reality, Jhargram proved not too different from a rural location, as far as our scheduled communities are concerned.

Two `secular' aspects of social development have been pursued. The first relates to the *material* basis of the secular domain, including the whole range of activities associated with livelihood and economic well-being; housing, which is a basic need reflecting the quality of life; and health, which is so vital for the reproduction of labour and society. The second aspect we have covered is literacy/education, which is basic to *empowerment*. We had to curb our interest in analysing the `sacred' domain of ritual and socio-cultural transactions, as well as our interest in political empowerment, as we realised that the survey method by itself was not a sufficient instrument for the pursuit of these objectives, nor could the limitations of time and resources permit further enlargement of the scope of our study. We are conscious, however, that these aspects hold enormous significance for a study on social development, and propose that a separate project can specifically address these objectives.

Since our survey is limited to ten locations in the three States, it is obvious that only the scheduled communities that have come up in our sample provide the basis of our study. As many as 24 Scheduled Castes and 15 Scheduled Tribes figure in our randomised samples in the ten locations. * All these castes and tribes have been included in our analysis at the State level. However, analysis at the level of individual Scheduled Castes/Tribes within each State, involves only those 14 Scheduled Castes and 8 Scheduled Tribes which have 20 households or more in our sample.

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* These are:
  Scheduled Castes : Bagdi, Bauri, Bhoogta, Bhuiyan, Chamar, Damai, Dhobi, Doai, Dom, Dusadh, Kami, Kaora, Konai, Lohar, Mahar, Mal, Musahar, Chaupal, Dabgar, Namasudra, Nat, Pan, Patni, Saki.

  Scheduled Tribes: Asur, Bhumij, Chik Baraik, Ho, Kisan, Kora, Lodha, Lohara, Mahali, Munda, Nagesia, Oraon, Santhal, Sarvar, Sauria Paharia.

The scope of our study is limited in another important sense. No comparisons are possible with the non-Scheduled Caste/Tribe populations. Without such a comparative framework, we are aware, the logic of this kind of inquiry will remain incomplete. Further, generalisations at the level of the three States, and inter-state comparisons are strictly with reference to the ten locations in these States. However, we assert that within our limited orbit of generalisations, the insights and patterns that are revealed cannot be ignored, and merit serious thinking.

Any portrayal of a profile of social development of scheduled communities is broad enough to give the portrayer a certain degree of flexibility. We have gone through different levels of conceptual abstractions and analysis in an attempt to penetrate the reality, which circumscribes them. We hope this study will contribute however little, to an understanding of how social scientific portrayals can be attempted at levels of abstractions beyond rich descriptions.

While introducing our field of scheduled communities, we noted their general work participation and their distribution in agricultural labour, non-agricultural labour and other non-agricultural occupations. The scheduled communities had varying rates of work participation. * The question that naturally arose was: what did these varying rates of work participation signify? Did a high or low participation necessarily indicate a better or worse economic status of the given Scheduled Caste/Tribe?

Earner Status : This led us in our study to develop the twin concepts of **earner status** and **earning status** of scheduled communities. The earner status is defined as the percentage of average number of earners per household to the average size of the household, of the scheduled communities. Thus a high or low earner status of a

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* According to the 1981 Census, the work participation of Bhuiyan in West Bengal is the highest at 56.9 percent and lowest for the Dhobi again in West Bengal with a work participation of 27.0 percent. Amongst the tribal communities, it is highest among the Mahali in West Bengal with a work participation of 45.4 percent, and lowest among the Oraon of Bihar with 36.1 percent. It may be noted that the range is much larger for the Scheduled Castes.

scheduled community indicates a high or low work participation per household for that community.

We have taken the position that, while theoretically, the average per capita household income for a scheduled community is the best measure of its earning status, in practical terms, collection of primary household data on income is notorious for its inexactitude for a variety of well known reasons. We have therefore used consumption expenditure, which is relatively reliable, as a proxy to income. Particularly for the economically and socially backward communities, consumption levels correspond reasonably with their earning status. We must be clear in our mind, however, that consumption expenditure is a *reflection* of earning status, *not* a measure of actual earning.

Our argument is that earner and earning status need not correlate. It follows that earner and earning statuses of scheduled communities will present various combinatorial manifestations. These, in turn, will provide the basis for inferences and interpretations. In our study, this is one level of theoretical abstraction, within which the profiling of social development of scheduled communities has been attempted.

The *earner* status has been classified as low, moderate, high, very high and highest, spanning a range of 20 percent to 60 percent and above. The Dhobi of Bihar and the Dhobi and Chamar of West Bengal have the lowest earner status (20%-30%). At the moderate level (31%-40%), are the Dusadh of Bihar; Chamar and Dom of Jharkhand; and the Patni and Konai of West Bengal.   Castes, which have a high earner status (41%-50%), are the Chamar of Bihar; and the Dom, Mal and Bagdi of West Bengal.   The Chaupal and Musahar of Bihar; and the Bauri, Sarki and Bhuiyan of West Bengal have very high earner status (51% - 60%). The only Scheduled Caste having an earner status above 60 percent is the Kami of West Bengal (62%).

It is to be noted that the Chamar in the three States occupy three different earner statuses – low, moderate and high. The Dom has a moderate earner status in Jharkhand and high status in West Bengal. The Dhobi in both the States of Bihar and West Bengal

have a low earner status. The same caste may have different earner statuses in different locations.

None among the tribal communities is in the low earner status. Only the urban-based Munda and Oraon have moderate earner status. As we move up to high earner status, we have the Lohara and Mahali of Jharkhand; and the Santhal in West Bengal. The Ho and Santhal of Jharkhand; and Mahali, Lodha, Oraon and Bhumij of West Bengal have very high earner status. Only the Munda of West Bengal have an earner status above 60 percent.

Interestingly, the Oraon and Munda in the urban area of Jharkhand have an earner status quite the reverse of that of the Oraon and Munda in rural-based West Bengal.

When compared to 1981 Census work participation figures, the earner status of the Dhobi in Bihar and West Bengal; the Dom and Chamar of Jharkhand; the Dusadh in Bihar; and the Patni and Bhuiyan of West Bengal more or less, remain unchanged. The work participation has increased among Chamar in Bihar and West Bengal; Chaupal and Musahar in Bihar; Dom, Mal, Bagdi, Bauri, Sarki, Kami and Konai in West Bengal.

Among the tribal communities, the work participation of Munda, Oraon and Mahali of Jharkhand remain, by and large, at the same level. Whilst it has increased among the Lohara, Ho and Santhal of Jharkhand; and Mahali, Bhumij, Oraon, Munda and Lodha in West Bengal.

The work participation of scheduled communities in many cases has shown an increase in our study.

Earning Status : While the classification of earner status is free from any conceptual problem, it is the earning status of households, and of whole communities, i.e. complex, problematic and contentious. As we have noted, household income ideally is the best

indicator of earning status but in real terms is very difficult to capture with reasonable accuracy. We have therefore concentrated on *per capita annual expenditure* for each scheduled community as a better practical way out. The recall memory for income is far more weaker than remembering the expenditure on actual consumption needs of daily living. Even so, the entire consumption expenditure cannot be fully captured. In order to reach a better assessment of economic status of communities we can always fall back on different kinds of assets held by them.

As we have done in the case of earner status, we have classified earning status similarly into categories ranging from low (Rs.2000) to highest (Rs.5500 and above) per capita annual consumption for scheduled communities.

The profile of scheduled communities that emerges from their earning status, as expected, is different from the configuration of their earner status. Interestingly, the Chamar and Konai of West Bengal have low earning status. Those classified as having a moderate earning status are the Chamar and Chaupal of Bihar; and Dom, Mal, Bauri and Bagdi of West Bengal. As we move up to the high earning category, the Musahar in Bihar; the Dom in Jharkhand; and Patni, Sarki, Bhuiyan and Kami in West Bengal have high consumption expenditure. Those with very high consumption expenditure include the Dhobi of West Bengal; the Chamar of Jharkhand, and the Dusadh of Bihar. Finally, the Dhobi of Bihar emerges as having the highest earning status.

None of the tribal communities are in the low earning status category. The Lohara and Ho of Jharkhand; Mahali and Oraon of West Bengal have a moderate earning status. The high earning status category is reached by the Munda in both Jharkhand and West Bengal; the Santhal, Lodha and Bhumij in West Bengal; and very high consumption level of expenditure has been reached by the Oraon and Santhal in Jharkhand. Surprisingly, it is the rural-based Mahali in Jharkhand who have the highest earning status among all tribal communities in our sample.

One conspicuous finding relates to the expenditure on food and non-food items. The expenditure on food for the scheduled communities is significantly high varying between 64 and 69 percent of the total consumption expenditure. Only in the case of the Dhobi in Bihar is the expenditure on non-food items greater (60%), when in absolute terms, their expenditure on food items is the highest among all. The Munda and Oraon of Jharkhand come next (44% expenditure on non-food items). Most of the scheduled communities spend around one-third or less of their consumption budget on non-food items. This is a clear indication of the fact that the scheduled communities we have studied have a long way to go to achieve a minimum decent level of living.

*We propose that the **poverty threshold** should be demarcated at the point where the expenditure is such that from that point onwards the expenditure on non-food items begins to exceed the expenditure on food items, assuming of course, that expenditure on non-food items is not unduly influenced by excessive and wasteful expenditure on addictions.*

Class Stratification of Communities : Normally when we stratify populations according to the structure of classes, it is generally the household, which is the unit of analysis. In this study we are dealing with entire communities in portraying a social development profile. Consequently the situation of whole caste/tribal communities is being assessed. When this assessment is being done in terms of earning and earner status, in effect we are in some sense entering the material basis of class domain where the unit is the community. Since this is so, it will be useful to attempt class stratification of communities with collectivities (castes/tribes) as the units of analysis.

While pursuing this mode of class analysis, we are aware that this is a level of abstraction, which is qualitatively different from classic class analysis. In the classic mode of analysis, class formations are identified across communities where each community contributes to the different layers of classes. Such a structuring of classes, whether in the Marxist framework of relations of production or Weberian scheme of life

chances, lead us to theoretical issues such as *class for itself* as against *class in itself* and issues such as *social mobility,* in the analysis of social change and transformation

In recent times, ethnically conscious communities in search of stable and strong identities have increasingly inhibited the growth of class-consciousness. Socio-cultural deprivations felt by collectivities have tended to overshadow the awareness of exploitative structures in class term. This seems to have led to the preference for the formation of elite leadership within the framework of ethnically conscious communities in search of identities, which cut across class. Since we are dealing with entire communities in the ethnic frame, class orientations in terms of earning and earner statuses of scheduled communities acquire Weberian overtones. Consequently, ethnic consciousness and contradictions assume primacy in the perception of social development and change.

Given this theoretical orientation, we argue that it is useful to analyse entire communities in a stratification scheme similar to that of Weberian class analysis in an innovative way. Within this perspective we propose to profile the scheduled communities we have studied in terms of their earning and earner status.

In this scheme of class stratification we have categorised five layers of classes. The lowest layer comprises scheduled communities with *low* earning status in combination with low to highest level of earner status. Second category from the bottom, comprises scheduled communities with *moderate* earning status in combination with different levels of earner statuses. Likewise, the next three class categories in the ascending order combine, *high, very high* and *highest* earning statuses with different levels of earner status.

Our findings indicate that amongst the Scheduled Castes, the Chamar and the Konai of West Bengal are at the bottom of our class stratification. There are no tribal communities in this class.

In the class next to the bottom we have the Chamar and Chaupal of Bihar; and the Dom, Mal, Bagdi, Bauri of West Bengal. Amongst the tribal communities, those who belong to this class are the Lohara and the Ho of Jharkhand; and the Mahali and Oraon of West Bengal.

In the next higher class are the Musahar of Bihar, the Dom of Jharkhand, and the Patni, Sarki, Bhuiyan and Kami of West Bengal. The tribal communities in this class are the Munda of Jharkhand; and the Santhal, Lodha, Bhumij and Munda of West Bengal. The Dusadh of Bihar; the Chamar of Jharkhand; and the Dobha of West Bengal are the Scheduled Castes, which belong to the second highest class category. Among the Scheduled Tribes, in this category belong the Oraon and Santhal of Jharkhand.

The only caste to belong to the upper most class is the Dhobi of Bihar; and the only tribal community, is the Mahali of Jharkhand.

What comes out conspicuous is that the tribal communities which span both Jharkhand and West Bengal, except for the Munda, all the others have a better earning status in Jharkhand.

Table 7.1: Earning and earner status of Scheduled Communities in the States of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal (Ascending order of earning status and descending order of earner Status).

Earning Status (Class category)	Earner Status (Worker particpn.)	Scheduled Communities				
		Caste			Tribe	
		Bhr.	Jhk.	WB.	Jhk.	WB.
Low	X Mod.	-	-	Konai	-	-
	X Low	-	-	Chamar	-	-
Mod.	X Highest	-	-	-	-	Oraon
	X V. High	Chaupal	-	Bauri	Ho	Mahali
	X High	Chamar	-	Dom Mal Bagdi	Lohara	-
High	X Highest	-	-	Kami	-	Munda
	X V. High	Musahar	-	Sarki Bhuiyan	-	Lodha Bhumij
	X High	-	-	-	-	Santhal
	X Mod	-	Dom	Patni	Munda	-
V. High	X V.High	-	-	-	Santhal	-
	X Mod	Dusadh	Chamar	-	Oraon	-
	X Low	-	-	Dhoba	-	-
Highest	X High	-	-	-	Mahali	-
	X Low	Dhobi	-	-	-	-

Note : 1. Ascending order of Earning status is as follows : Low = Rs. 2000 - 2500; Moderate = 2501 - 3500; High = 3501 - 4500; V.High = 4501 - 5500; Highest = 5501 and above.

2. Decending order of Earner status is as follows : Highest = 61% and above; V.High = 51% - 61%; High = 41% - 50%%; Moderate = 31% - 40%; Low = 20# - 30%.

We have already noted the distribution of scheduled communities within the five class categories ranging from 'Low' to the 'Highest' earning status. What becomes even clearer, by intersecting earning status with earner status, is the ranking of these communities within each class category. The logic of ranking that is followed is simple. Given the same earning status, the community which has a higher earner status, will

have a lower rank within the same class. This is so for the simple reason that a larger number of earners per household will have to be supported with the same earning. For example, the Konai and the Chamar of West Bengal belong to the lowest class category. But within this class, the position of the Konai is worse than that of the Chamar as it has to support more number of earner (and their dependents) as compared to the Chamar. In this way we have been able to arrive at a more precise ranking of communities.

We must not lose sight of the fact, that our categorisation of class will not bear resemblance with the class categorisation of the wider society. At best, the highest class of the scheduled communities will be comparable to the lower-to-middle class status of communities in the wider society. Therefore, the class differentiation within the scheduled communities presents a reality confined to the universe of the scheduled communities.

Gender Gap in Work Participation : While discussing earner status, it is important to draw our attention to the difference between male and female work participation. Barring exceptions, female work participation is lower than that of the male. The question arises, how large or small are the gender gaps amongst the scheduled communities? Smaller the gap, greater the gender equity in earner status. In our study, the Musahar and Chaupal castes of Bihar are exceptional in as much as, gender differentials in earner status are in favour of female earners; while among the Mahali of Jharkhand and Oraon of West Bengal, there is no gender differential.

Among the tribal communities the gender gap varies between zero percent and 21.4 percent. The Munda of Jharkhand (21.4%) and West Bengal (17.3%) have the largest gender gap. The Santhal of West Bengal (12.6%) and Oraon of Jharkhand (12.0%) come next. The rest have gender gaps between zero percent and 7.2 percent.

Differentiation between the Scheduled Castes is much larger when it comes to gender-gap. At one extreme we have the Musahar and Chaupal having a larger earner

status for females; at the other end we have gender gaps ranging from 31.1 percent (Konai of West Bengal) to 38.7 percent (Dhoba of West Bengal).

A very interesting pattern that emerges from the study is a general, if not invariant, inverse association of earner status of with gender gap (in earner status) of scheduled communities. Simply stated, high earner status of a scheduled community is generally associated with small gender gap between male and female earner status, and vice versa.

One proposition that is often stated is that, as the earning status of a social group increases, particularly in the agrarian economy, the earner status of the group declines, in which female withdrawal from work participation is more pronounced than male. The Dhobi of Bihar and West Bengal provide a classic illustration of this trend. They have the highest earning status, and among the lowest earner status, with low female earner status and a large gender gap.

Table 7.2: Earner status and gender gap in earner status between male and female earners in the three States

Bihar			Jharkhand			West Bengal		
Caste	ES (%)	Gender gap in ES (%)	Caste	ES (%)	Gender gap in ES (%)	Caste	ES (%)	Gender Gap in ES (%)
Musahar	52.8	(-) 7.8	Dom	38.8	5.4	Kami	62.0	7.0
Chaupal	52.7	(-) 1.4	Chamar	31.5	24.7	Sarki	59.4	12.6
Chamar	43.7	11.9	**Tribe**			Bhuiyan	54.6	13.0
Dusadh	37.6	11.4	Santhal	56.6	3.2	Bauri	51.3	11.0
Dhobi	28.4	31.5	Ho	53.7	2.8	Bagdi	50.2	27.1
			Lohara	47.2	7.2	Dom	43.4	27.6
			Mahali	57.2	NIL	Mal	40.8	24.9
			Oraon	36.8	12.0	Patni	39.2	32.0
			Munda	34.1	21.4	Konai	36.0	37.1
						Dhoba	29.6	38.7
						Chamar	24.7	37.0
						Tribe		
						Munda	63.6	17.3
						Mahali	58.8	5.6
						Oraon	57.6	NIL
						Lodha	54.3	4.7
						Bhumij	51.4	15.8
						Santhal	48.7	12.6

Note : ES = Earner status

(-) represents female predominant earner status.

Literacy : A basic, time tested formulation is that literacy and education levels provide value additions for human resource development, thereby empowering people to alter the conditions of their life and living, contributing to social change and development. In our study we have enquired into educational levels of the scheduled communities, from the 'incomplete primary' stage to higher education at the graduate and post-graduate levels. Since a very small percentage of our population have attained the higher levels of school and college education, we propose to focus on the literacy level. The *literacy rate* in our

analysis covers the whole gamut from 'incomplete primary' level of exposure, to the highest level of education.

We wish to examine how literacy level of the scheduled communities relate with their earning statuses. Does literacy make a difference in their earning status? Similar to the classification of earning and earner statuses we have classified literacy levels from 'low' to the 'highest' in five categories. We have then taken literacy level as the independent variable to examine the earning statuses of the scheduled communities.

If we relate literacy levels with the earning status of scheduled communities we have three situations. First, in which the level of literacy of the scheduled communities is proportionate to their earning status. This represents a normal distribution. In the second situation, communities have earning status incommensurably higher than their literacy level. In the last situation, the earning status level is incommensurably lower than their literacy level.

Our findings provide an interesting pattern. In the first situation of normal distribution we have the Konai of West Bengal who have low literacy as well as a low earning status. The Chamar of Bihar; the Bauri and the Mal of West Bengal; and the tribal community of Ho in Jharkhand; all have moderate literacy level with moderate earning status. Among those who have high literacy and high earning status, we have the Dom of Jharkhand; and the tribal communities of Munda and Santhal of West Bengal. Finally the Dhobi of Bihar is the only scheduled community which combines highest literacy level with highest earning status.

In the second situation we have those scheduled communities which have earning status comparatively higher than their literacy level. The Chaupal of Bihar combines moderate earning status with low literacy, while the Musahar of Bihar combines high earning status with low level of literacy. The tribal Lodha of West Bengal have high earning status with moderate level of literacy, whilst the tribal Mahali of Jharkhand the highest earning status with moderate literacy. Amongst those who have very high

earning status with high literacy level are Dusadh of Bihar and tribal Santhal of Jharkhand.

In the third situation, we have those scheduled communities who have lower earning status in comparison to their literacy level. The Chamar of West Bengal combines high literacy level with low earning status. The Dom and Bagdi of West Bengal; the tribal communities of Lohara in Jharkhand; and the Mahali and the Oraon of West Bengal have high literacy level combined with moderate earning status.

Table 7.3: Literacy level and earning status of Scheduled Communities in the States of Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal

Literacy level	Earning status	Scheduled Communities					
		Caste			Tribe		
Ascending Order		Bhr	Jhk	WB	Bhr	Jhk	WB
Low	X Low	-	-	Konai	-	-	-
	X Mod	Chaupal	-	-	-	-	-
	X High	Musahar	-	-	-	-	-
Mod	X Mod	Chamar	-	Bauri Mal	-	Ho	-
	X High	-	-	-	-	-	Lodha
	X Highest	-	-	-	-	Mahali	-
High	X Low	-	-	Chamar	-	-	-
	X Mod	-	-	Dom Bagdi	-	Lohara	Mahali Oraon
	X High	-	Dom	-	-	-	Munda Santhal
	X V. High	Dusadh	-	-	-	Santhal	-
V. High	X High	-	-	Kami Sarki Patni Bhuiyan	-	-	Bhumij
Highest	X High	-	-	-	-	Munda	-
	X V. High	-	Chamar	Dhoba	-	Oraon	-
	X Highest	Dhobi	-	-	-	-	-

Note: Ascending order of literacy level is as follows: Low = 20% - 30%; Moderate = 31% - 40%; High = 41% - 50%; V.High = 51% - 60%; Highest = 61% and above.

The two incommensurate situations give rise to a few questions. If the earning status is more than proportionately higher than the literacy level, then does it mean that there are factors other than literacy contributing to this? Does the asset position make the difference or the size of the family? For example, the Musahar in Bihar combine low literacy with high earning status. We are aware that they are good rearers of pigs, they have a steady additional flow of income by selling meat. At the same time we know that they have the smallest household size among all the scheduled communities. It is therefore not surprising they have a high earning status inspite of their low literacy.

When the earning status is lower than the literacy level, the questions that arise are (a) Is literacy level a *sufficient* condition for raising the earning status? (b) A high literacy rate, made high with a large base of incomplete primary/primary level of education, may not be a *necessary* condition for raising earning status.

It should be of some concern to the State of West Bengal, that except for the Lohara of Jharkhand, all the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes with earning status lower than their level of literacy are from that State.

Gender Disparity in Literacy : While analysing effective literacy we have gone into the problem of *gender equity*. The universal trend is lower female literacy in relation to male. We have attempted to analyse this problem through a Gender Disparity Index (GDI) which is the ratio of female to male level of education falling within the scale of 0 to 1.000. * The performance of the three States in respect of GDI unfolds a very clear pattern.

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 * Please refer to page 176.

Table 7.4: Gender Disparity Index (GDI) in Effective Literacy in the three States

States	Gender Disparity Ratio	
	SC	ST
Bihar	0.465	-
Jharkhand	0.736	0.707
West Bengal	0.740	0.682

The gender disparity is highest among the Scheduled Castes of Bihar. Whereas for the Scheduled Castes of Jharkhand and West Bengal they are uniformly lower.

As for the Scheduled Tribes the gender disparity is somewhat higher in West Bengal compared to Jharkhand.

In Bihar with respect to individual castes, the gender disparity among the Dhobi is the lowest (0.771), but the performance of the same Dhobi caste in West Bengal reaches a near non-discrimination level of 0.924. The highest gender discrimination is to be found among the Chaupal of Bihar (0.273).

In Jharkhand the gender discrimination in literacy is uniformly low among the Scheduled Castes. When it comes to tribal communities of Jharkhand, the overall GDI is high but it is marked by sharp differentiation among the tribes. The Ho (0.476) and the Mahali (0.548), surprisingly, give evidence of fairly high level of gender discrimination. The urban-based Oraon (0.926), Munda (0.858) and Lohara (0.826) score high on the GDI.

In West Bengal gender discrimination in literacy is generally low. But interestingly it is lower among the Scheduled Castes than Scheduled Tribes. However, the differentiation within the Scheduled Castes is greater than that of Scheduled Tribes. The Konai (0.378), the Bauri (0.414) and the Dom (0.500) have high gender discrimination. It is lowest among Dhobi (0.924), Chamar (0.870) and Sarki (0.806).

As for the Scheduled Tribes, the variation is from 0.613 for the Lodha to 0.910 for the Munda.

Gender Disparity and Gender Gap : It is not out of place to highlight a few linkages between gender disparity levels in literacy and gender gaps in work participation. Interestingly, the relationship between gender disparity in literacy and gender gap in work participation emerges sharply. The Dhobi in Bihar with the highest GDI has the largest gender gap in work participation. In comparison the Chaupal with the lowest GDI has the lowest gender gap in work participation. More or less this pattern is observable among all the five Scheduled Castes in Bihar. This confirms that the lower level of gender discrimination in literacy is accompanied by a higher level of withdrawal of female work participation in Bihar.

However this association does not seem to hold between the Chamar and the Dom in the urban city of Ranchi. Both these castes have low gender discrimination in literacy. But when it comes to withdrawal of women from work participation, it is very pronounced among the Chamar. This means that even when the Dom has achieved a high level of GDI, this has not resulted in any marked withdrawal of their women from the work force. In terms of a social development this is a progressive sign.

In West Bengal, the overall pattern of low gender discrimination combining with high gender gap is not consistent at the level of the individual caste. The Bagdi, Bauri, Bhuiyan, Chamar, Mal and Patni more or less conform to the overall pattern. The Dom and the Konai of West Bengal not only have low GDI but large gender gap. The position of women in this situation is regressive. We have another situation in which a low gender discrimination combines with low gender gap. The Kami, the Sarki, and the Bhuiyan belong to this category. In this circumstance women suffer less gender disparity as also, lesser withdrawal from the work force. From a social development view, like the Dom in Jharkhand, this is a progressive trend.

The picture in the tribal context whether in Jharkhand or in West Bengal provide, by and large, a progressive social development pattern. If a comment has to be made, it is about the Munda of Jharkhand and West Bengal, who appear to be emulating the pattern of low gender discrimination and withdrawal of women from work participation.

Three distinct patterns that have emerged from this analysis configure three different trends in social change and transformation process. First, more specifically, the tendency to withdraw women from the work force with progressive reduction in gender disparity in literacy and education, presumably is also on account of an improvement in the earning status of a given community. The second pattern, which is characterised by high level of literacy and high level of both male and female work participation, is suggestive of a more gender-oriented egalitarian system. Lastly, the communities with lower effective literacy level characterised by high gender disparity in literacy and substantial gender gap in work participation, points to those communities that are the least socially developed.

Education Level : While examining the empowering role of literacy we have noted that the distinction between literacy and education is very important. In our broad definition of literacy, statistically speaking, a person who has not completed the primary level of education, is as much of a literate as one who has completed the post graduate level of studies. It is necessary to know how literacy and educational attainment relate to each other.

Table 7.5: Educational levels amongst the Scheduled Communities in the three States

State	SC								ST							
	Upto primary		Middle		School		High Ed		Upto primary		Middle		School		High Ed	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Bihar	33.5	20.1	6.1	2.5	12.6	2.9	3.6	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jhar-khand	43.4	37.7	11.2	7.3	11.9	4.0	4.6	3.3	37.5	28.4	12.7	7.6	9.9	6.5	4.6	3.2
West Bengal	55.0	44.1	7.8	3.0	4.5	1.4	1.0	0.1	53.9	41.7	8.5	2.3	3.9	1.9	0.8	0.1

When we examine the educational attainments of scheduled communities in the three States, what is most conspicuous is that the literacy rate is highest in West Bengal but its educational level from the school stage onward, is the lowest. Both in Jharkhand and in Bihar there are significant percentage differences at these levels of education in comparison to West Bengal. A similar pattern is in evidence with respect to the tribal communities in Jharkhand and West Bengal. This clearly indicates that West Bengal has a very large base of literates with very low level educational attainment. Whilst in Bihar and Jharkhand, they have a relatively smaller base of elementary education, but a significantly larger apex of higher level of education.

Dependency : We have noted earlier, with reference to agrarian system that except for small pockets of dependence, the class of labour, by and large, are free from ties of attachment with their employers. This is reflected in the very low incidence of borrowings from the informal credit market. In Bihar we found some evidence of pockets of interest-free borrowings from willing landowners. Such loans are usually tagged to assured labour supply to creditor-land owners during peak periods of labour demand, at wages below the prevailing market rate. The difference in wages works out as the 'hidden interest' on the so-called interest-free loans. Landowners in such cases devise 'invisible ties' of attachment by creating structures of obligation. This situation is non-existent in West Bengal.

Housing and Health : Housing which is indicative of quality of life for the scheduled communities brings out some interesting features. Firstly, most housing is self-constructed and self-owned. The differentiation that takes place among scheduled communities is with respect to katcha and pucca houses. In West Bengal the general pattern overwhelmingly is that of katcha housing. But this appears to be more of a cultural than economic phenomenon. Secondly, urban housing of scheduled communities is universally pucca, but there is a significant percentage of rented housing. As in West Bengal, the rural based tribal communities in Jharkhand, live preponderantly

in katcha houses. Finally, State intervention in the form of Indira Awas Yojana is conspicuously absent in West Bengal.

In health-seeking behaviour there is a general trend towards reaching out to scientific allopathic treatment in Primary Health Centres, District Hospitals and private clinics. The scheduled communities, however, have not withdrawn from the traditional mode of treatment. They are utilising modern facilities and resources. Except for Scheduled Castes with urban bias in Jharkhand, health care support of State agencies is most markedly visible in West Bengal and almost invisible in Bihar.

Concluding Remarks : In conclusion, strictly from our universe of samples, certain contours of the three States with respect to scheduled communities can be presented. Bihar seems to emerge as a State in which the resource base enjoyed by Scheduled Castes does not have a wide mass base. Whether it is the ownership of land, asset holding, literacy and education, health care and housing amenities, their reach do not cover a large population. The differentiation among the caste communities at these levels is quite sharp. The inequities are more conspicuous.

In Jharkhand the rural-urban factor clearly emerges as an important causal variable although the Lohara tribal community poses a paradox. Rural Jharkhand with its tribal communitarian imprint presents a picture of pervasive distribution of resources and assets at the level of the agrarian economy. Only in Jharkhand, do we find substantial percentage of households declaring non-agricultural occupations as their main occupation, even when many of them are petty land-owners, cultivating their own land. The differentiation among the tribal communities, particularly in the rural areas, is relatively less.

The pattern that emerges in West Bengal presents some paradoxes. Literacy is widespread but mostly at the level of primary/incomplete primary level. The scheduled communities hardly figure at higher levels of education. Land ownership among the scheduled communities is significantly more extensive than in the other two States, but

among the agricultural implements they own it is the plough which is practically to be found in most landowning households. Tribal communities in West Bengal, which are common to Jharkhand, have a somewhat better economic status in Jharkhand. Scheduled communities, which have an earning status, lower than their literacy levels (except for the Lohara of Jharkhand), are all in West Bengal. These relative differences between two adjacent States but within a common cultural space can provide sources of alienation. Given that West Bengal has such an enviable record of land reforms there is cause for anxiety.

If we compare and contrast West Bengal with Bihar, they seem to present two distinct models. In Bihar the resource distribution is not extensive, but it is generating an upward mobile elite among the Scheduled Castes. West Bengal seems to reflect a non-elite generating mass base with a more even distribution of resources. Bihar has a narrow base with a growing elite pyramid.

Our study clearly suggests that literacy should not only have a wide base at lower levels of education, but should extend its base at higher levels of education. Only then will the value additions to human resource make for effective empowerment. Second, the material resource base at the level of instruments and forces of production has to be commensurately augmented for the empowerment to act on the factor of production. In order to do this, communities that are less endowed have to be accorded priority targeting. Third, that market accessibility for their products, circumventing intermediate levels of exploitation, are a necessary condition for providing requisite and efficient outlet of goods produced by the large masses of primary producers in these poorer communities.