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GENDER INEQUALITY IN LITERACY AND EDUCATION AMONG EDUCATIONALLY BACKWARD SCHEDULED CASTES OF MAYNAGURI BLOCK, JALPAIGURI DISTRICT, WEST BENGAL

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Abstract

In India, access to education varies greatly across caste, gender and ethnic boundaries. The socio-economically backward scheduled castes have been characterised by low level of literacy and educational attainment. While, all members of the backward scheduled castes suffer from caste disadvantage, the females belonging to the backward castes have been doubly disadvantaged in the acquisition of literacy and educational attainment, on account of their social status and gender. Hence, this paper has attempted to study the gender gap in literacy and education among the educationally disadvantaged scheduled castes in Maynaguri block of Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal. The data related to the study have been largely collected through household surveys and personal interviews. Results have shown that females belonging to all four sampled castes are lagging behind their male counterparts in the attainment of education, particularly higher education. Besides, females belonging to Turi caste are much behind the males in attainment of literacy as compared to other castes. The results have shown a low Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) in elementary education among all the castes, while girls have lesser access to elementary education as compared to the boys.

Keywords: Inequality, Gender, Literacy, Education, Enrolment.

Introduction

The complex social stratification in Indian society is reflected in inequalities in educational attainment, employment and income across caste, gender and ethnic boundaries (Sivanandan, 1979; Dreze and Sen, 1995; Anitha, 2000; Wankhede, 2016). However, gender often seems to operate in a manner that women tend to lie at the bottom of all four

broad social groups, such as general category, scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and other backward castes (Aggarwal, 1987; Chanana, 1993; Agrawal and Aggarwal, 1994). Gender has become a negative parameter for women in their race for equality and social justice. Over the last few decades, development in India has served to enhance the opportunities for many upper-class, urban women (Dunn, 1993). The

upper class, urban women have better access to education and employment and as a result, they are participating in the economy quite proportionately with men (Karlekar, 1982; Liddle and Joshi, 1986; Dunn, 1993). On the other hand, a greater chunk of female population in the country suffers from considerable impoverishment, thus has been characterised with a low level of literacy and educational attainment. Several empirical studies have suggested that females belonging to scheduled castes are subjected to discrimination both on account of caste and sex which take them down in literacy and educational attainment (Raju, 1988; Wazir, 2000). As a result, representation of females from scheduled caste category remains minimal in the formal sector of economy in general and high prestigious jobs in particular in India. Therefore, the Government of India has taken many initiatives to improve the literacy and educational attainment of females through different plans and programmes. However, critical scrutiny of the literacy chart, education and employment in high profile jobs at once reveals that scheduled caste females are lagging far behind than their male counterparts, although their male population also have performed quite poorly in these sectors (Dunn, 1993; Wankhede, 2016). Besides, gender inequality in access to rewards, resources, positions, rights, and privileges has varied greatly within the scheduled caste category, and inequalities are more prominent among the socio-economically backward scheduled castes (Rao, 2002; Sarkar and Kasemi, 2019a). Females belonging to the castes like Turi, Ghasi Bagdi, Dom, Bauri, Lohar and Mal are far behind their male counterparts in literacy and education in West Bengal (Majhi and Sardar, 2019; Sarkar and Kasemi, 2019b). However, this phenomenon of deprivation among females in the backward

scheduled castes of West Bengal has remained almost invisible in the social science literature.

Education is viewed as an instrument of social change, social mobility, equality and integration. It is only education which can bring backward scheduled caste women out of poverty and oppression. Therefore, the issue of enrolment, sustenance, educational attainment and good performance among the female population of the deprived scheduled castes needs a fresh look when one talks about equality in educational opportunities among every section of the Indian society. This situation calls for a thorough empirical probe to know the constraints and impediments which have prevented the females belonging to disadvantaged castes from attaining education.

Objective of the Study

The major objective of the present study is to highlight gender disparity in literacy rate and educational attainment among the educationally backward scheduled castes of Maynaguri block, Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal.

Study Area

Maynaguri community development block is an administrative division in Jalpaiguri Sadar sub-division of Jalpaiguri district in the state of West Bengal, India. The block occupying an area of 631.04 km² is located between the latitudes of 26° 34' 00" N to 26° 57' 00" N and longitudes of 88° 49' 00" E to 88° 57' 00" E (Fig. 1). The block has recorded 75.63 per cent of literacy rate against the district average of 73.25 per cent in 2011. However, the male and female literacy rates in the block are 81.98 per cent and 68.84 per cent, respectively. Scheduled caste population accounts for 71.20 per cent to the total population in the block, and it is highest among all

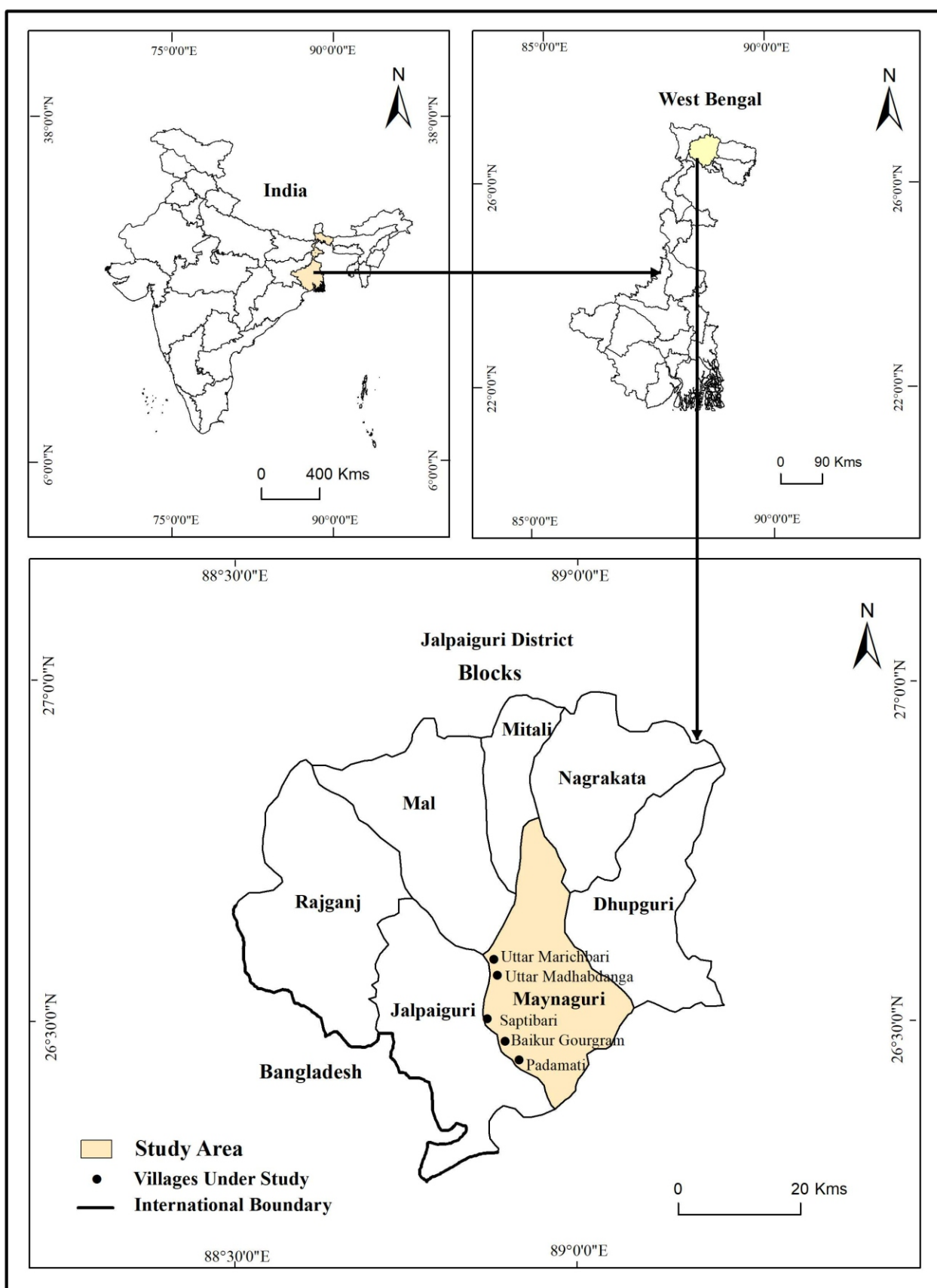


Fig. 1

the blocks of Jalpaiguri district. Majority of the scheduled caste population in the block is rural in character as 93.36 per cent of its population lives in rural areas. Therefore, five villages such as Saptibari, Baikur Gourgram, Padamati, Uttar Madhabdanga and Uttar Marichbari have been selected to collect primary data for the present study.

Database and Methodology

The data related to the study have been collected from both secondary as well as primary sources. Data about total population and total number of literates in individual scheduled caste population for Jalpaiguri district have been collected from special tables available for individual scheduled caste population, Census of India, 2011. The primary data have been generated through a comprehensive field survey carried out during October-December, 2019. Out of the 59 scheduled castes in Jalpaiguri district, most backward scheduled castes, namely Turi, Lohar, Bhuiya and Ghasi have been selected for the collection of primary data taking into account total literacy rate and having at least two thousand population. Five villages such as Saptibari, Baikur Gourgram, Padamati, Uttar Madhabdanga and Uttar Marichbari have been selected out of the 79 villages on account of having maximum population in the scheduled caste category in Maynaguri block. Snowball sampling technique has been employed to identify the number of household (s) existing among the four sampled castes in selected villages. A total of 186 households of different castes such as Bhuiya (67), Turi (42), Lohar (39) and Ghasi (38) have been found in four sampled castes in the selected villages of the block. However, following simple random sampling without replacement technique, 40 per cent households from each caste

constituting 74 households have been selected for survey. Relevant information has been collected from the head of the households by employing a pre-designed comprehensive semi-structured questionnaire. Household survey has been followed by personal interviews. Sixty-four semi-structured interviews (16 for each caste) have been conducted to learn the underlying reasons for low female literacy, low female enrolment in elementary schools and low educational attainment (as found during household survey) among the four sampled castes. Interviews have been conducted with teachers working at government primary and higher secondary schools, government officials, Gram Panchayat Pradhan (leader of local self-government of villages in rural areas) and prominent elders aged 35 years and above. Purposive sampling technique has been employed to reach the respondents for personal interviews and following indices have been calculated to interpret the results.

Gender Disparity Index (GDI) in Literacy

Gender disparity index in literacy shows a degree by which a gender is left behind the other in level of literacy. To measure the gender disparity between males and females in literacy rate among the four sampled castes, Sopher's disparity index (1974) as modified by Kundu and Rao (1986) has been employed as under:

$$DI = \left[\left(\frac{\log X_2}{X_1} \right) + \left\{ \frac{\log((200 - X_1))}{(200 - X_2)} \right\} \right]$$

where, DI is the disparity index, X_1 is the literacy rate of deprived group (females), X_2 is the literacy rate of dominant group (males). If the value of $DI = 0$, it indicates perfect equality. Thus, the greater the value of DI, the higher is the extent of inequality between two

groups of variables and vice versa.

Gender Disparity Index in Educational Attainment

Gender disparity index in educational attainment shows a degree by which a gender is lagging the other in achievement of different levels of education. To measure the gender disparity at different levels of educational attainment based on data collected from the field, Gender Disparity Index (GDI), devised by Chakraborty (1999) has been used. GDI has been calculated as under:

$$GDI = \left(\frac{Y_p \times X}{Y \times X_p} \right)$$

where, X is the total male population aged 7 years and above and X_p is the male population at a given level of education. Similarly, Y is the total female population aged 7 years and above and Y_p is the female population at a given level of education.

Thus, GDI is the ratio of female-to-male education within the scale of 0.00 to 1.00. The lower female education in relation to male education has been indicated by the score that is always less than 1.00. The higher the score on the scale 0.00 to 1.00, the lower is the gender disparity between males and females at a given level of education. In other words, a lower score indicates higher gender disparity; conversely, a higher score indicates lower gender disparity. In this study, GDI has

been calculated for primary, middle and secondary and above levels of education.

Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) in Elementary Education

Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) is the ratio of number of children aged 6-14 years enrolled in elementary schools to the total number of children of the same age group, expressed as a percentage. The NER for male and female children, among the castes under study, have been calculated separately on the basis of data collected through household survey from the selected villages of Maynaguri block.

Results and Discussion

Levels of Literacy

Caste-wise distribution of literacy rate among the four castes in Maynaguri block has been shown in Table 1. The study reveals that all the castes have a low level of literacy, where about 5 persons out of every 10 can read and write a language. Out of these four castes, Bhuiyas have recorded highest literacy rate of 57.47 per cent. High literacy rate among Bhuiyas is attributed to their relatively high monthly household income as compared to other castes. As a result, they are in a position to send their children to schools, therefore, the rate of literacy is high among them. On the other hand, Ghasis have lowest

Table 1
Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise Rates of Literacy, Gender Disparity Index and Monthly Median Household Income

Castes	Literacy Rate (per cent)			Gender Disparity Index	Income (Rs.)
	Total	Male	Female		
Turi	52.94	65.71	39.39	0.30	6194
Lohar	54.10	64.52	43.33	0.24	6987
Bhuiya	57.47	67.44	47.73	0.21	8356
Ghasi	48.28	58.62	37.93	0.24	4873

Source: Compiled by Authors

literacy rate of 48.28 per cent and also have lowest monthly household income (Table 1). While interacting with the heads of the Ghasi households, it has been found that under the condition of intense poverty, they are more concerned about their survival than sending their children to schools. Therefore, literacy rate is very low among Ghasis.

Gender Disparity in Literacy Rate

Table 1 reveals that Turis have the highest disparity index of 0.30 points. This is due to the low female literacy rate among Turis, which accounts for a gap of 26.32 percentage points as compared to their male counterparts. It has been observed that the status of females in Turi caste is generally low. Females belonging to this unprivileged caste are doubly disadvantaged on account of their caste status and poor living conditions. Financial constraints, engagement of females in economic activities and indifferent attitude of parents for sending girls to schools are the major reasons reported by 81.25 per cent of respondents for low rate of literacy among Turi females (Table 2). Turi caste is followed by both Lohar and Ghasi castes with a dispar-

ity index of 0.24 points each between males and females (Table 1). The findings of equal gender disparity in literacy rate among Lohars and Ghasis is quite surprising, taking into account the nature of total literacy and monthly household income of these two castes. Total literacy and monthly household income are slightly higher among Lohars than that of Ghasis even then gender inequality among Lohars is found to be high when compared to Ghasis with low income and low rate of literacy. This finding indicates that Lohar women have low status in society. However, high gender disparity index (0.24) among Ghasis is due to their intense poverty and other social constraints (Table 1). Conversely, Bhuiyas have recorded the lowest gender disparity index of 0.21 points among these castes. This indicates that females belonging to Bhuiya caste enjoy somewhat parity with males in acquisition of literacy.

Gender Disparity at Different Levels of Educational Attainment

The present study on gender disparity in educational attainment is based on data collected during household survey. The

Table 2
Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise Opinions of Respondents for Poor Female Literacy Rate

Reasons	Turi	Lohar	Bhuiya	Ghasi
	Percentage of Respondents			
Financial Constraints	25.00	25.00	18.75	31.25
Indifferent Attitude of Parents	31.25	25.00	31.25	25.00
Engagement in Economic Activities	25.00	18.75	06.25	18.75
Siblings Care and other Domestic Activities	06.25	06.25	12.50	12.50
Inadequate Infrastructural Facilities	00.00	06.25	12.50	00.00
Fear of Harassment by Boys	06.25	00.00	06.25	00.00
Stereotype School Calendar	00.00	06.25	00.00	06.25
Lack of Social Awareness	06.25	12.50	12.50	06.25
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Compiled by Authors

results of the study show that females are lagging behind males in attaining all the levels of education like primary, middle and secondary and above. It has been found that Turi caste has recorded highest GDI of 0.71 points, among all the castes under study, in attainment of primary level of education (Table 3). Thus, Turi females are much behind the males in acquisition of primary level of education. On the other hand, Bhuiyas have witnessed lowest GDI of 0.84 points between males and females in the attainment of primary level of education. However, Lohars (0.83 points) and Ghasis (0.80 points) have recorded little higher level of GDI than Bhuiyas in attainment of primary level of education (Table 3).

While taking into consideration middle level of educational attainment, Turis have again recorded highest GDI of 0.27 points, while Lohars have witnessed lowest GDI of 0.51 points in this level of education. The results have revealed that Turi females are almost two times behind the Lohars in the attainment of middle level of education. However, Lohar caste has recorded highest GDI of 0.29 points in attainment of secondary and above level of education among these castes (Table 3). It suggests that Lohars are not encouraging their females for higher education. Comparatively high female NER recorded by Lohar caste (Table 4) suggests

that elderly females of this caste have been highly disadvantaged in attaining enrolment at primary level of education. Lohar caste is followed by Ghasi caste by recording GDI of 0.33 points, which is further followed by Turi caste (0.35 points) in this level of education (Table 3). Among all the castes under study, Bhuiyas have witnessed lowest GDI of 0.39 points in attainment of secondary and above level of education.

On the whole, this study reveals that Turis have recorded highest disparity among all the castes at primary and middle levels of education. It is interesting to note that Lohar caste has witnessed least disparity at middle level of education but highest disparity at secondary and above level of education. Bhuiyas have registered least disparity at primary and secondary and above levels of education among all the castes. While, Ghasis have witnessed intermediate position in disparity at all the levels of education. The results further highlight that gender disparity increases from primary to middle and middle to secondary and above level of educational attainment among all the castes. This indicates that females are still not encouraged for higher level of education.

Net Enrolment Ratio in Elementary Education

NER is an important indicator in

Table 3
Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise GDI at Different Levels of Educational Attainment

Castes	Gender Disparity Index (GDI)		
	Primary	Middle	Secondary and Above
Turi	0.71	0.27	0.35
Lohar	0.83	0.51	0.29
Bhuiya	0.84	0.49	0.39
Ghasi	0.80	0.33	0.33

Source: Compiled by Authors

Table 4
Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise Net Enrolment Ratio in Elementary Education

Castes	Net Enrolment Ratio		
	Total	Male	Female
	Percentage		
Turi	76.92	85.71	66.67
Lohar	81.82	83.33	80.00
Bhuiya	87.50	88.89	85.71
Ghasi	72.73	83.33	60.00

Source: Compiled by Authors

measuring rate of access to elementary education in general and male-female differentials in enrolment in particular. Higher the ratio more is the access to elementary education. In this study, Bhuiyas have shown highest access to elementary education by recording NER of 87.50 per cent (Table 4). Comparing among the castes, Bhuiyas have also recorded highest female NER of 85.71 per cent and lowest male-female difference of 3.18 percentage points in enrolment. This comparatively high NER among Bhuiyas is attributed to their relatively high monthly income, resulting in high affordability to send their children to schools. After Bhuiyas, Lohars have recorded relatively high NER of 81.80 per cent and female NER of 80.00 per cent. Like Bhuiyas, Lohar caste also has accounted a marginal gap of 3.33 percentage points in the enrolment of females than males. Lohar caste is followed by Turi caste by recording a NER of 76.92 per cent. However, Turi males have recorded comparatively high NER of 85.71 per cent than Lohars (83.33 per cent). While, Turi females recorded low NER of 66.67 per cent, accounting for a gap of 19.04 percentage points with their male counterparts and it is about 7 times more than Bhuiyas and Lohars. Thus, the study suggests that females belonging to this community are largely behind the males in terms of access to elementary educa-

tion. Among all the castes under study, Ghasis have recorded a lowest NER of 72.73 per cent. Because, Ghasi parents are less enthusiastic about sending their children to schools on account of their intense poverty and other social constraints (Table 1 and 5). Also, Ghasis have recorded a lowest female NER of 60.00 per cent resulting a gap of 23.33 percentage points with their male counterparts. This male-female differential in NER in Ghasi caste is the highest among the four castes. Thus, females belonging to this caste are highly disadvantaged in terms of access to elementary education. Due to financial constraints, indifferent attitude of parents in educating girl children, engagement of girls in economic activities and deficiency in mother's education, females have low access to elementary education as compared to the males (Table 5).

Educational Attainment

The results show that majority of the literate population in all the four castes has below primary level of education. Comparing among the castes, Turis have recorded highest percentage (41.66 per cent) of literate population with below primary level of education, followed by Bhuiyas (38.00 per cent), Lohars (33.33 per cent) and Ghasis (28.57 per cent) (Table 6). However, Ghasis have recorded highest percentage (32.14 per cent) of popula-

Table 5
Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise Opinions of Respondents for Low Female Net Enrolment Ratio in Elementary Education

Opinions	Turi	Lohar	Bhuiya	Ghasi
	Percentage of Respondents			
Financial Constraints	25.00	25.00	18.75	31.25
Indifferent Attitude of Parents	25.00	25.00	18.75	25.00
Engagement in Economic Activities	12.50	06.25	06.25	18.75
Deficiency in Mother's Education	12.50	18.75	12.50	06.25
Siblings Care and other Domestic Activities	06.25	06.25	12.50	06.25
Lack of Social Awareness	06.25	12.50	12.50	12.50
Children are not Interested in Schooling	06.25	06.25	00.00	00.00
Fear of Harassment by Boys	00.00	00.00	06.25	00.00
Inadequate Infrastructural Facilities	06.25	00.00	12.50	00.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Compiled by Authors

tion with primary level of education. While Bhuiyas, witnessed lowest position among the castes by recording 26.00 per cent of its population with primary level of education. Further, Lohars have recorded highest percentage (18.18 per cent) of population at middle level of education. On the other hand, Turis have witnessed lowest percentage (13.88 per cent) of literate population having attained middle level of education.

It has been observed that Lohar caste has recorded highest percentage (15.09 per

cent) of literate population with secondary and above level of education (Table 6). Lohar caste is followed by Ghasi caste (14.28 per cent), which is closely followed by Bhuiya caste with 14.0 per cent of people having attained secondary and above level of education. However, Turis have recorded lowest percentage of literate population (11.10 per cent) with secondary and above level of education. It is interesting to note that Lohar caste is more educated than other castes as it has witnessed highest percentage of population with middle

Table 6
Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise Level of Educational Attainment

Level of Educational Attainment	Turi	Lohar	Bhuiya	Ghasi
	Educational Attainment (per cent)			
Illiterate	05.55	06.06	04.00	10.71
Below Primary	41.66	33.33	38.00	28.57
Primary	27.77	27.27	26.00	32.14
Middle	13.88	18.18	18.00	14.28
Secondary and Above	11.10	15.09	14.00	14.28
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Compiled by Authors

Table 7

Maynaguri Block: Caste-wise Opinions of Respondents about Poor Educational Attainment

Opinions	Turi	Lohar	Bhuiya	Ghasi
	Percentage of Respondents			
Financial Constraints	31.25	25.00	18.75	37.50
Relative Neglect to Education	18.75	18.75	12.50	18.75
Unattractive Education	06.25	12.50	12.50	12.50
Lack of Social Awareness	25.00	18.75	12.50	25.00
Traditional Occupation	06.25	06.25	31.25	00.00
Failure in Studies	06.25	12.50	06.25	06.25
Poor Treatment in Schools	06.25	06.25	06.25	00.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Compiled by Authors

and secondary and above level of education. While, Turi caste is at lowest level in educational attainment by recording highest percentage of literate population with below primary level of education.

The study further reveals that about 85.00 per cent literate population of the four castes has attained only middle or less level of education (Table 6). Financial constraints, relative neglect to education and inadequate social awareness and traditional occupations have been found to be the major impediments in attaining higher level of education by these backward castes (Table 7). On the other hand, highest percentage of secondary and above level of education among Lohars is attributed to their relatively high monthly household income and their less engagement with the traditional caste-based occupation. However, high ranking of Ghasis after Lohars in attainment of secondary and above level of education is quite surprising, taking into account their financial constraints, lack of social awareness and their relatively neglect to education (Table 7).

Conclusions

Major Findings of the present study are:

- Rate of literacy is low among all the castes. Bhuiyas and Ghasis have respectively recorded highest and lowest rate of literacy.
- Females have low rate of literacy than their male counterparts. Turis have recorded highest disparity, while Bhuiyas have witnessed least disparity in the rates of literacy between males and females.
- Females are also at lower level than males in attainment of primary, middle and secondary and above level of education. The results further highlight that gender disparity increases from primary to middle level and from middle to secondary and above level of educational attainment.
- Bhuiyas have registered highest access to elementary education as they have recorded highest NER, while Ghasi caste has recorded lowest NER.
- Bhuiya and Lohar caste have registered a marginal gap in the enrolment of females at elementary level than males. On the other hand, very high male-female differential witnessed by Ghasi caste suggests that females

- belonging to this caste have little access to elementary education.
- About 85.0 per cent of the literate population of all the four castes could attain only middle or less level of education. Financial constraints and other social impediments are restricting these castes from attaining a higher level of education.
 - The study suggests that Turi, Ghasi, Lohar and Bhuiya castes of Maynaguri block of Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal need a special attention by way of incentives and other facilities with an individual caste-based approach for enhancing their literacy and educational qualifications in general and for females in particular.
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