NIEPA Occasional Paper 20

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

LITERACY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES
TRENDS AND ISSUES

Yash Aggarwal

National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration
NEW DELHI, INDIA
1995

LITERACY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Yash Aggarwal

Abstract

The distribution of Scheduled Caste population in India depicts the characteristics of a `dispersed minority' thus making the delivery of target oriented programmes a difficult task. The analysis shows that despite the constitutional and other safeguards, the literacy situation among many castes constituting the statutory defined group of SCs has either not changed at all or has improved at a pace which is at variance with the stated targets of development plans. Illiteracy rate among SC rural female is approximately five times higher than that of non-scheduled urban males. While physical barriers to access may have been removed, the social barriers and economic differentials still persist as nearly half of SC households do not have even a single literate person. Due to low educational attainment among many castes, the benefits of protective discrimination have been enjoyed by a few to the total exclusion of a vast majority of scheduled castes. Before setting our eyes on EFA, is it not appropriate to ensure that atleast one member of each family is literate?

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LITERACY AMONG SCHEDULED CASTES: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Yash Aggarwal

I. THE DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGE

The development policy in India is based on the premise of 'growth with equity'. It did not take much time for the development planners in independent India to realize the bi-directional linkages between social well-being and economic development. To facilitate rapid economic transformation, a literate and skilled workforce was considered inevitable. Realising its significance, the founder fathers of the Indian constitution postulated an early achievement of this objective by universal provision of elementary education to all children so that they grow into a fully literate society[1]. Consequently, the First Five Year Plan while taking note of the existing intra and inter-regional imbalances, underlined the need for sustained efforts to raise the quality of primary education and to achieve equity in access to educational opportunities particularly at the school level. Removal of barriers hindering access to the centres of learning was an essential component of the new policy thrust[2].

India has followed a four fold strategy for socio-economic development; first, to eradicate illiteracy as early as possible through adult and functional literacy programmes; second, to make adequate provision for the universal basic education with improvements in educational infrastructure and quality of educational services;

---

1 The Constitution of India directs the state to provide free education to all children upto the age of 14 years within the first decade of development planning–an objective yet not within the realm of possibility.

2 This was necessary as some caste groups suffered social and economic deprivation as a result of rigidities of caste system and historical factors of neglect and isolation.

third, to make investments, on priority basis, for poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes; and fourth, to selectively invest in basic social services having bearing on the quality of life in general and those of the poor and deprived in particular. These services include health care, immunization, education, water and sanitation. A successful implementation of this strategy in the last four decades of development planning would have by now reduced the intra and inter-regional socio-economic differentials to a nearly zero level but the reality is much different.

India is still short of achieving universal primary education and is working to fulfil this objective by the turn of the century-indeed a challenging task[3]. The outcome of social and economic reforms is uneven and far from satisfactory as far as achievement of the stated goals is concerned[4]. In India, a large section of population continues to be outside the reach of development programmes and is yet to be reached by the state driven initiatives. The losses and leakages in the organization of anti-poverty and social welfare programmes through multi-level administrative hierarchy are enormous and accountability down the line is missing. The differentiation in intra and inter-sectoral programmes accentuate as one moves from the policy formulation at the national level to the operational area[5]. The trickle down theory has failed to raise the living standard of the poor and vulnerable. These concerns are reflected in the persistence of intra and inter-regional disparities and perpetuation of social stratification and economic inequities. The share of population lacking basic facilities is still large--most of whom are below the poverty line[6]. The statutory defined SCs and

---

3 The recently concluded summit of nine most populous countries (New Delhi 16 December, 1993) has again reiterated the resolve of providing EFA by the year 2000. The DPEP is one of the large scale intervention to achieve EFA in a planned manner and to promote participatory and decentralized management.

4 The progress was extremely slow as compared to many ASEAN countries which have shown significant improvements in literacy rate..

5 For example, MNP is viewed as an integrated package of social services but is being implemented by a variety of agencies in a variety of areas.

6 The Planning Commission estimates indicate that 211 million persons were below poverty line in 1989/90. These represent 28 percent of rural and 19 percent of urban population.

STs constitute a major share of those below the poverty line despite the fact that the framework of socio-economic development adopted four decades ago was biased in their favour. The magnitude of unfinished task and its growing complexity raises some vital questions: was the level of investments for the welfare and self-reliance programmes for SCs too small or the task was much complex than what was perceived four decades ago. Perhaps both are true and the midway corrections did not remedy the situation.

There is a considerable amount of research into various issues related to educational development among the SCs. Some scholars (Chitnis 1984, Premi 1989, Pimpley 1980) have examined the questions related to the problems faced by the SC/ST students at various stages of education. The Commission for SC/ST in its report (1986/87) reviewed the implementation of schemes for the advancement of education among the SC/ST students. The analysis of disparities between the SCs and others has been an important area of investigation in the recent years (Raza and Aggarwal, 1981). There are not many studies which have presented a comprehensive picture of various issues affecting educational outcome. The present paper is an attempt in this direction.

This paper seeks to explore educational development among the various strata of SC population. While doing so it begins by examining the special characteristics of the SC population in India and briefly traces the historical and contemporary factors for their underdevelopment. This is followed by an analysis of literacy situation and the disparities therein. Eighth Plan initiatives and their implications for the Education for All are examined in the concluding section. The paper concludes by raising some isuues having bearing on government policies and programmes for promoting socio-economic well-being of the SCs.

II. SPECIAL MEASURES FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SCs

Ever since the beginning of development planning in independent India, special consideration was given to the measures for social and economic development of SCs and these may be classified into three broad categories:

i) *Legislative measures* to ensure equality of opportunity and for protecting the vital interests of the deprived particularly against discrimination in access to educational facilities on caste and creed considerations. These include abolition of untouchability, and equality of opportunity in matters related to education, employment, representation on legislative and in statutory bodies and other areas of social, political and economic life. While untouchability has been abolished by law, it continues to play a significant role in the social and economic fields. The imbalances in the location of primary schools and provision of other facilities have been reduced, but perpetuate. While bonded labour has been abolished, it is still prevalent in many related forms. While the employment of children is prohibited in hazardous and dangerous industries, large concentration of child workers is reported in household industries in many geographical areas. The existing legislative measures have not succeeded as a deterrent due to the inability of law enforcing agencies to implement the laws. Increased use of education and mass media is necessary for generating awareness among the masses about the legal protection that is available to the deprived against exploitation by others.

ii) *Overcoming economic barriers* in the way to access to basic facilities like education, health and other social services. The measures for promotion of education fall in three categories:

a) relaxation of norms for opening of primary and upper primary schools in habitations predominantly populated by SC population;

b) relaxation in norms for admission and entrance to degree/ professional and other courses in institutions of higher education;

c) scholarships, free-ships and provision of free text books, hostels, uniforms and transportation etc., so that the private cost of education does not stand in the way of social and economic development of SC, ST and families belonging to backward communities[7]. Post matric scholarship scheme offers on a continuous basis, financial support to those willing to pursue higher education. The scheme was evaluated at NIEPA and many inadequacies of the scheme were brought out.

Recent data on educational levels of population, their enrolment status and utilization of free schooling and other financial assistance was collected through 42nd Round of NSS. Table 1 provides the NSS estimates on the amount of scholarships and the share of SC, ST and OBC students. It is evident that, of those getting the scholarships, the SCs constitute as much as 68 to 80 percent. However, the adequacy of the scholarship and other incentives is debatable on the ground that it is inadequate to offset even the direct private cost of education.

iii) *Promoting the economic interest* of the SCs and STs through reservations in central and state government jobs commensurate with their share in the total population. Barring a few professions, these reservations have been applied all across the administrative hierarchy. Recruitment of primary school teachers, especially women teachers, from SC community is given special priority. Overall, SC teachers account for only 11 percent at primary, 8.6 percent at upper primary, 5.9 percent at secondary and 4.8 percent at higher secondary stage[8].

---

7 Pre-matric and post-matric scholarships, free uniforms, textbooks and attendance scholarships are some important schemes aimed at overcoming economic hardships to SC families.

8 Aggarwal & Sarika (1992). op.cit.

Since the average level of educational attainment is very low among the SCs, their share in the skilled and professional segment of the labour market also continues to be low. Most of the SC workers are in the unorganized sector and work as agricultural labourers. While the share of SC workers in Group D posts is higher than their share in the total population, their representation in group A and Group B services is far lesser (table 2). This lop-sided distribution has to undergo changes so that equity is attained at all levels of the labour market.

III. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULED CASTE POPULATION

Besides the natural resource endowments and the economic base of a region, there is a strong association between its topographic features, settlement structure and the nature of social services required. It is, therefore, essential to understand the nature of spatial distribution of SC population in India. The SCs are not a homogenous group but consist of more than 400 major caste groups having varying numerical strength and areas of geographical concentration. Due to occupational differentiation, some castes are predominantly rural while others are exclusively urban based. Agricultural labourers, cobblers, weavers and artisans etc., tend to concentrate in rural areas. The spatial distribution of SC population is such that they can be described as `dispersed minority'[9].

The share of SCs in the total population has increased from 14.6% in 1971 to 15.74% in 1981 and to 16.5% in 1991 showing relatively higher growth rate as compared to others[10]. There were 19.6 million SC households in 1981 giving an average family size of 5.3 persons (table 3). 41.1 percent of household had six or more family members whereas 4.9 percent households were single member households. The average SC

---

9 Aggarwal Y. and Sarika sibou (1992) Educating Scheduled Castes, NIEPA, New Delhi.

10 The size of SC population has been affected due to the removal of area restrictions in 1976 and the additions and de-listing of SCs by the President of India. In view of these factors, the exact growth of SC population with a constant base is difficult to determine.

household size is higher as compared to non-scheduled households.

The dispersal of SC population is the outcome of historically obtained caste hierarchy and the corresponding occupational stratification. There are well defined spatial clusters of districts with similar patterns of concentration of SC population (Aggarwal and Sibou, 1992). The largest among these is a cluster consisting of contiguous districts in the states of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. A similar cluster comprising contiguous districts in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh is discernible in the South. Some of the clusters cut across the present state boundaries. The frequency distribution of the districts according to the share of SC and ST population in each district as presented in table 4 shows the following[11]:

i) The SC population is dispersed across the whole national space excepting the areas of tribal concentration. This pattern of their spatial distribution is a function of the widespread prevalence of agriculture in Indian economic space. Since the SC population forms a significant part of the toilers in the rural India - those who work on land without owning it - their distribution is fairly ubiquitous. For most of the districts, the share of SC population to total population of the district ranges from 10% to 25%. In 44 districts, out of a total of 452 in 1991, more than 25 percent of the district's population is classified as SC (Table 4).

ii) 88 percent of the SC population is concentrated in rural areas as compared to about 72 percent for the non-scheduled population. The share of SC urban population to total urban population is more than 25 per cent in only 5 districts and is less than 10 percent for 168 districts (table 4). 68 districts have more than 25 per cent of its rural population classified as SC. These data clearly show the relatively greater concentration of SC population in rural as compared to urban areas.

---

11 The 1991 census was not conducted in Jammu and Kashmir. The state has therefore been excluded from the analysis.

iii) For 66 districts, the share of SC population is less than 5 per cent--many of these districts being without any SC population. The districts with less than 5% SC population are generally the areas of tribal concentration. Unlike the SCs, the spatial distribution pattern of tribal population depicts the characteristics of a `concentrated minority'. This is because of the fact that tribal societies are closely knit and have their own cultural identity and life styles. The problems of underdevelopment for STs emerge due to their **isolation** in hilly and forested terrains, whereas in the case of SCs, it is due to **discrimination and exploitation** by the upper castes/classes.

Due to their low status in occupational hierarchy, and the economic deprivation, the SCs enter the unorganised component of the labour market as it provides them with an opportunity to participate in work at an early age and to continue to work without retirement[12]. This is reflected in higher work-participation rates among SCs as compared to non-scheduled population (table 5). 55 percent of the SC workers in rural areas are agricultural labourers. Trade and commerce absorbs only 2.9 percent of SC workers as compared to 9.4% from the non-scheduled workers (table 6).

The `dispersed minority' character and economic deprivation of SC population has made the task of meeting their educational needs more difficult as it requires an efficient and effective organisational and delivery network to reach the unreachable. The marginal cost of enrolment and producing a graduate in such areas is always higher as compared to normal situations. In view of the special problems faced by the SC students and the families to which they belong, a pool of specially trained teachers is needed. Majority of children belonging to SC communities have to be taught in locations most deficient in the provision of educational and other social services. The school infrastructure in such areas is of poor quality. Generally the standard target group oriented programmes are difficult to implement for a dispersed minority like SCs. Not only is the cost of delivery high but the monitoring, evaluation and sustainability

---

12 More workers in primary sector does nor necessarily mean more productivity. There is high degree of under-employment in the agricultural sector.

of reforms pose special problems. Due to concentration of tribals in selected areas, special programmes for their educational advancement are easy to mount and monitor. However, in the case of SCs, such an approach is not possible in view of widely dispersed population across the national space.

IV. BRIDGING PHYSICAL BARRIERS AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIALS

The educational reforms in India as well as in other developing countries in 1950s and 1960s were based on the premise that the low levels of literacy were the result of uneven spread and limited access to schooling facilities particularly in the rural areas. Therefore, large investments for opening of new schools and the expansion of existing educational facilities was the first and top-most priority in the five year development plans. The supply side constraints were no doubt removed to a considerable extent but without ascertaining the demand elasticity, relevance and utility of the education to those for whom it was meant[13]. Reforms in curriculum were not only piecemeal and slow but failed to meet the aspirations of the most. Many instances of gender bias and discrimination in the curriculum and teaching styles are still pesisting. For the continuation of first generation learners, the quality and relevance of education is as crucial as providing access within a reasonable distance. The end result of reforms undertaken during 1950s and 1960s was that state education departments became monolithic structures and as much as 95-98 percent of recurrent expenditure was consumed by staff salaries leaving hardly anything for innovations and quality improvement programmes. This affected significantly the quality of education[14].

As a result to expanding network, the enrolment at various stages recorded significant improvements. In 1993/94, Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) for Class I-V for boys was

---

13 The educational progress was measured quantitatively in terms of the new schools opened, increase in enrolment and the number of teachers appointed. Since, the increase in enrolment was also necessary to justify the appointment of additional teachers, the enrolment data was often fudged.

14 The quality of education suffered the most during the period of rapid expansion of educational network. Quantity often overshadowed the concerns for quality.

115.3 percent and 92.9 percent for girls[15]. But there are miles to go before the situation can be termed as satisfactory as the wastage and stagnation among deprived, SCs & STs continue to plague educational reforms. The drop-out rates are highest among the SC children (table 7). At the all India level, 47 percent of boys and 53.4 percent of girls enrolled in grade I fail to reach grade V. The drop-out rates for I-VIII are 64.4 percent for boys and 73.6 percent for girls[16]. The emphasis in the coming years should be more on retention of children who are already enrolled. Achieving a minimum level of learning by improving quality of education for students belonging to such categories should be seen as an important objective though its realisation is faced with many difficulties.

In a recently conducted study in four districts of Uttar Pradesh, the achievement levels in arithmetic and language competencies for class V students were found to be extremely low[17]. Mean achievement levels in Arithmetic were 14.9 in Varanasi, 10.3 in Sitapur and 13.4 in Nainital out of a total score of 40. Mean achievement in reading comprehension was 15.2 percent in Varanasi, 12.5 in Sitapur and 17.6 in Nainital out of a total score of 44. Similar results are also reported in Baseline Beneficiary Assessment Studies conducted under District Primary Education Programme in the states of Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra, Haryana, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. There are many factors which contribute to such dismal performance[18]. The reasons for dropping-out of the school include: not interested in education, participation in household activities and other economic reasons. These results, nevertheless, indicate the challenge that lies ahead in improving the quality of primary

---

15 MHRD (1994) *Selected Education Statistics 1993-94*, MHRD, New Delhi.

16 Annual Report, Ministry of Human Resource Development, 1992-93.

17 MHRD, Education for All: The Indian Scene, 1993.

18 In 42nd round of NSS an enquiry was made to determine the reasons for drop-out. For details see Aggarwal Yash (1992) Education and Training Sector in India: A Status Review, NIEPA.

education[19].

The gap (social) between the first generation learners and the teachers, particularly in under-developed areas is too large to be overcome by removing supply side constraints alone. Teachers educational and social background, motivation, content and quality of inservice training and teaching skills are important determinants of teacher's preparedness to handle first generation learners in situations where multi-grade teaching and non-availability or unusual delays in the supply of instructional materials are common[20]. In a recently conducted survey in Kolar district of Karnataka, 28.8% of class V students indicated that they face difficulty in understanding teachers language[21]. Similar results also emerge from the analysis of data collected under Base Line Benificiary Assessment studies conducted under DPEP.

Although the share of SC teachers to total teachers has improved considerably, it is far less than the reservations available (table 8). As one moves along the educational hierarchy, the share of SC teachers declines. Within the SC teachers, the share of SC women teachers is far less[22]. Table 9 illustrates the share of SC women teachers to total SC teachers. SC Women teachers account for about 20 percent of total SC teachers in government primary and upper primary schools which increases to 25-26 percent at secondary and higher secondary stages. It is the lack of SC teachers in

---

19 The goal of EFA includes achievement of a minimum level of learning by approximately all the children at the primary level and introduction of this concept at upper primary stage on a large scale. The report of a Committee set up by the Government of India in 1991 (Dave Committee) contains a framework and defines the Minimum Levels of Learning (MLL) to be attained by each learner at primary stage.

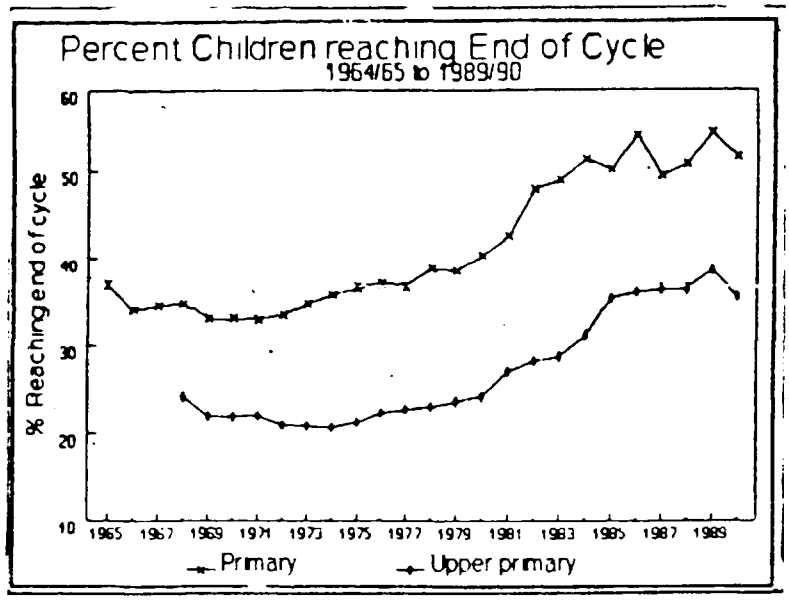
20 Most of the single teacher primary schools were converted into two teacher schools with considerable improvements in the provision of school buildings and learning materials. Recent estimates indicate that the scheme of Operation Blackboard launched in 1987/88 has covered about 91 percent of primary schools in the country. Reviews have shown the large gaps in intent and reality, particularly in the supply and use of instructional materials.

21 Aggarwal Yash (1994) Base Line Assessment Survey: Kolar, NIEPA.

22 SC teachers account for 11% at primary, 8.6% at upper primary, 5.9% at secondary and 4.8% at higher secondary stage.

general and that of women SC teachers that continues to be a barrier in better enrolment of SC children in general and that of the girls in particular. Table 9 also illustrates that the share of SC women teachers to total SC teachers is higher for private unaided schools as compared to government managed schools. Although no conclusive evidence is available, it is possible that the SC educated females are generally in urban areas and prefer to work in private rather than government schools.

Centralised models of educational planning and management and a homogenous curricula intended to prepare the children for higher education are ill suited to ensure the promotion of mass education. In a highly segmented labour market, the primary education seem to be providing least advantage over illiteracy. It is only the 'degree' that makes the real difference[23]. Most of the children suffer on two counts: first, the financial constraints to meet the private cost of education, and second the opportunity cost of education is high in terms of foregone earnings.



The dys-functional nature of the primary education in the initial phases of expansion (1950s and 1960s) is reflected in the fact that as the barriers to access were removed, the internal efficiency of the system declined. This is duly reflected in the trends in retention rates which showed a steep decline (figure in the box). The quality of education, particularly in the

23 Aggarwal Yash (1988) Education and Human Resource Development: Emerging Challenges in the Regional Context, Commonwealth, New Delhi.

newly established schools was adversely affected[24]. The quality of education suffered as a large number of schools were established without proper infrastructure in the hope that learning would take place anyway and eventually these schools will be equipped with the required materials. Schools without teachers and teachers without schools can often be found in rural hinterland. The policy planners ignored the lessons of national and international research which showed that a minimum threshold level of educational services need to be maintained if effective teaching and learning is to take place. Even today, many rural children belonging to SC, ST and other deprived groups come to primary schools either with a hope or under compulsion from their parents/society but mostly leave in despair.

Another representative indicator of the spread of education is the average years of schooling among various populations groups. On this count, the achievement of SC population are extremely low. The average years of schooling for the SC population are not only extremely low but the increase between 1971 and 1981 was also unsatisfactory (table 10). At this rate, many decades will be required before the goal of universal education becomes attainable. On an average, each member of the SC community had one year of schooling or its equivalent in 1981[25]. The corresponding average for females is even less than half year. The inter-state variations in average years of schooling as shown in table 10 are also extremely large. An average SC in Kerala was five times more educated in 1981 as compared to an average SC person in Uttar Pradesh.

The patterns of socio-economic underdevelopment of the Indian masses are deeply rooted in the historical processes whereby the work got separated from knowledge and

---

24 Many primary school teachers considered it below their dignity to work in rural areas. Senior secondary school teachers looked at the primary schools with contempt. College teachers thought that institutions of higher education have no responsibility towards the feeder schools, although schools are often blamed for the poor performance of higher education.

25 Kerala ranks at the top and the state of Bihar at the bottom as far as the average years of schooling for SCs are concerned. The corresponding values being 2.86 and 0.52 years respectively.

power. The working class was denied access to education as it was considered the privilege of a few elite groups. The denial of education was necessary to prevent them from acquiring rights in productive assets, mainly the land, which was concentrated in the hands of a few landlords belonging to upper castes who seldom soiled their hands. Soon after attainment of independence this relationship was sought to be changed through a comprehensive package of land reforms. But the implementation of land reforms met with severe resistance from the landed peasantry and the outcome is dismal in many states. This is one of the reasons for the continued backwardness among the working class including the SCs in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The other aspect that development planners overlooked in a stratified nature of Indian society which forms the basis for the perpetuation of inequities is the differences between physical accessibility and social availability. While the former is achieved through minimizing the friction of distance and the access time, the latter is based on the premise of equity in the social hierarchy. The artificial gap between the two has persisted as caste and creed continue to play an important role in the village economy, political representation and social integration. For a convergence between the two, structural changes in the socio-economic setup would be necessary in societies divided along caste, religion, region and gender considerations. It is in this context that the innovations in education have failed. On the contrary, schools with poor enrolment and retention in both rural and urban areas are usually found in the areas of concentration of out of school children, who often are deprived and poor. This is nothing else but a reflection of the perpetuation of the gap between social and physical distance. **Financially cheap solutions in difficult circumstances have neither helped in the past nor can be trusted in the future. In fact, the difficulties were confounded as the cheap solutions did not work in the past.** However, this is not to deny the role of cost-effectiveness, the need for cost-sharing and cost recovery wherever possible.

Many studies have shown that some groups have often taken more advantage of the educational incentives and benefits as compared to others. While it is true that the social and economic differentials persist between the scheduled castes and others, it would be naïve to assume that some 400 different castes constituting the statutory defined group of Scheduled Castes are homogeneous in nature. The intra-caste differentials in terms of social acceptability, occupational stratification, educational attainment and access to means of production within the caste groups are alarmingly high - a fact not duly recognized by the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution while proposing a uniform strategy of 'protective discrimination'[26]. Some of the caste groups among SCs are far better educated and endowed than many among the non-scheduled population. On the other extreme are caste groups who do not have even a single literate person. As long as the most deprived groups remain outside the education sphere, the improvements in their social standing and economic status will be difficult to bring about[27]. It is only the inequitable investment, biased in favour of the deprived, that can bring about equity in the outcome. The individual at the lowest end requires the maximum and not the least support. Therefore, a move towards equity can succeed only if the norms are continuously revised and targeted more in favour of the most deprived. However, this has not happened in the case of large groups of beneficiaries.

V. OUTREACH OF EDUCATIONAL NETWORK: SC HABITATIONS POORLY SERVED

It is claimed that a near universal access to primary schools is available either within the habitation with a population of 500 or more or at a distance of 1 km. from it. However, a large number of smaller habitations particularly those with a population of

---

26 The analysis of educational attainment among different caste groups has shown that while considerable progress has been achieved by a few caste groups, the majority of them have gained little. For details see Aggarwal Yash and Sarika Sibou (1992) *Educating Scheduled Castes*, NIEPA, 1992.

27 ibid

less than 300, are without any type of schooling facility either within the habitation or at a distance of 1 km.

The availability of a school or some other type of learning centre within the habitation considerably influences the enrolment of girls and the children belonging to the weaker sections like small and marginal farmers, SCs and STs. Table 11 presents the data on total number of predominantly SC habitations and those having schooling facilities. The share of predominantly SC populated habitations is more in smaller as compared to large habitations. For example, 1.4% of all large habitations are predominantly SC as compared to 9.3% for habitations in population size of 500 or less. In order to promote education among SCs, relaxation in norms for opening of primary and upper primary schools in habitations predominantly populated by SCs is available. Despite these provisions, the habitations predominantly populated by SCs continue to be relatively disadvantaged particularly in the location of upper primary schools. For example, 15% of all habitations with population in the range of 500-1000 have had upper primary schools within the habitation, the corresponding value in the case of habitations predominantly populated by SCs is only 8.6%. It is the perpetuation of this type of imbalances in the provision of services that coincides and breeds with other types of deprivations as well. Thus the relaxation of norms for setting up of educational institutions in SC dominated habitations has not been fully implemented. Systematic planning exercises are seldom conducted for opening of new schools and to upgrade the existing schools. A scientific approach to spatial planning based on micro-level assessment of demand and supply will go a long way in ensuring that predominantly SC habitations are fully provided with adequate primary and upper primary schooling facilities. Considerable progress is reported in opening/upgradation of schools in unserved habitations but the data on location of schools by habitations size is not available. It is presumed that imbalances in access would have been reduced considerably as a result of recent efforts.

The data provided by the Fifth All India Educational Survey, although useful for determining access, does not provide further information about the availability of various types of facilities and adequacy of the schools particularly those located in SC habitations. For better understanding, it is necessary to know as to how many of the schools located within the SC habitations are incomplete and what is the behaviour of school performance indicators like enrolment, retention and achievement in these schools as compared to others. Such data are lacking.

VI. THE OUTCOMES SO FAR: LEVELS AND DISPARITIES IN LITERACY

Literacy rate is a useful indicator of the outcome of educational efforts[28]. It is no doubt true that during the last four decades, the literacy rate has improved for almost all segments of the population. In the case of SCs, it has increased from 14.7% in 1971 to 21.4% in 1981 and to 37.4 percent in 1991 (unless otherwise stated, the 1991 literacy rate is for population aged 7 and above). The SC rural female literacy is only 19.5 percent (table 12). The 1981 and 1991 literacy rates are not strictly comparable because of the change in the definition of the numerator and the denominator used in the calculation of literacy rate.

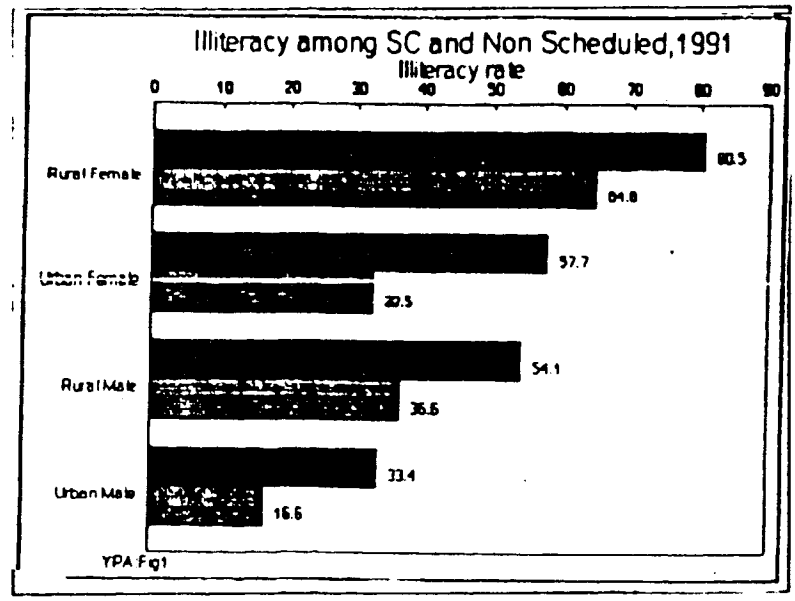
Even with general improvements in educational scene, the magnitude of unfinished task is large. During the seventies the net addition to illiterates has been nearly one and half times that of the net addition to the number of literate. At the time of 1991 Census, India had 329 million illiterates (aged 7 and above), the largest in any country. In eighties, for the first time, the literacy rate crossed 50% mark, a condition that literate are more than illiterates but even then illiterates increased by about 24 million in 1981/91 period[29]. The outcome in respect of female literacy is deplorable as they

---

28 Another indicator reflecting the outcome of educational efforts is the average years of schooling for the total as well as the literate population. For methodological details and empirical analysis see Aggarwal (1988).

29 The increase in literacy rate beyond 50 percent has been possible due to change in one of the key assumptions. Earlier, all population was considered in the denominator for the calculation of literacy rate. Now this has been changed and all children below seven years age were considered illiterate and excluded from the calculation of literacy percentage.

still constitute three fourths of the net addition to illiterates during eighties. Even among the SCs, the illiterates outnumber literate.



Illiteracy rate among SC rural females is nearly five times that of non-scheduled urban males (figure). It is significant to note that the NS urban females have carved a niche for themselves and rank next to NS urban men only. Therefore the essential differentiation in literacy rates is because of rural/ urban dichotomy and not because of gender. As we move down from the non-scheduled, urban male in relatively developed regions to SC, female and rural areas in the relatively less developed regions, the inequities accentuate. The rural female whether belonging to SC or NS group form the bottom layer, although the former is more deprived than the latter. Similar patterns were prevalent in 1981 as well (Aggarwal, 1987). The perpetuation of these trends indicate that the relative position of different groups has not changed much as a result of development planning. Rather the absolute gap in the literacy rates of different social groups is widening[30].

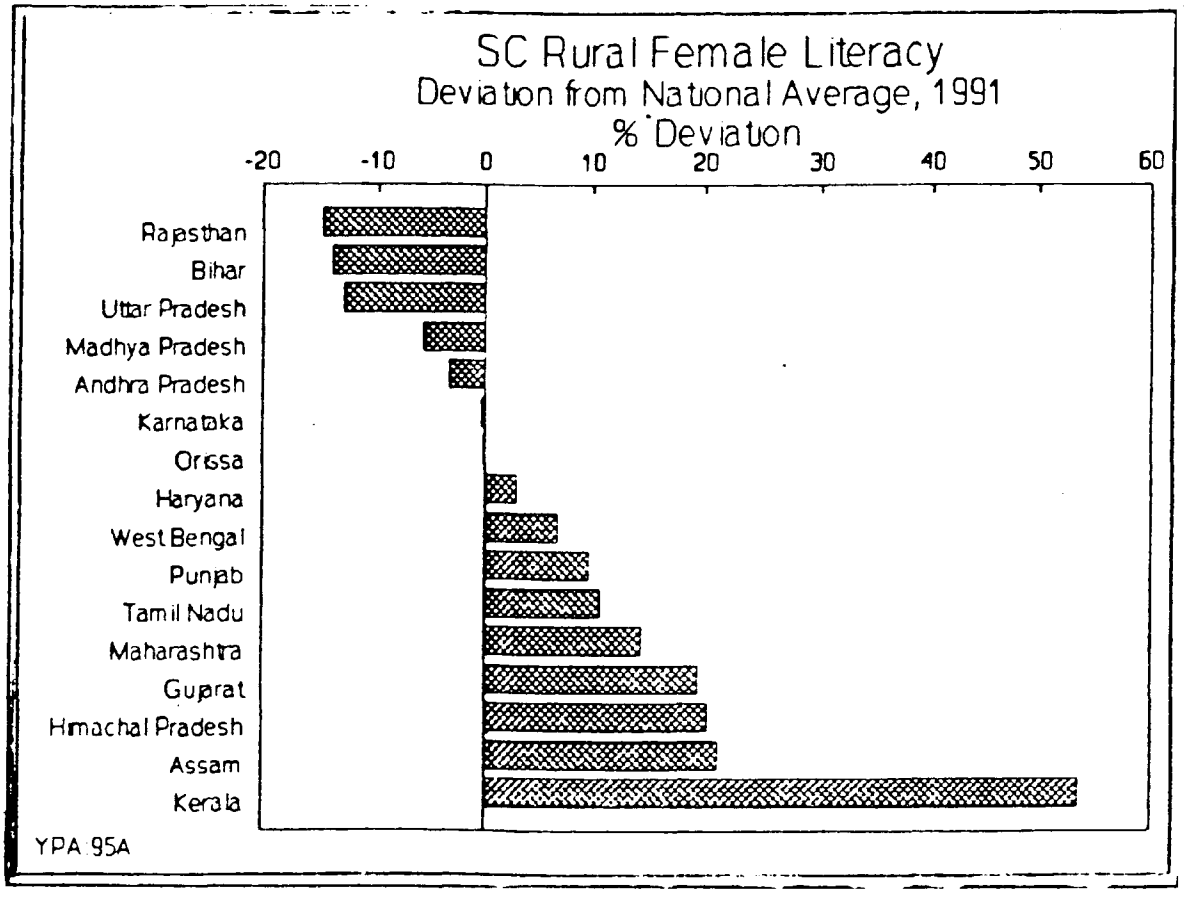
Like the 1968 Policy on Education, the 1986 policy and the revised NPE, 1992 have reiterated deep concern at the persistence of disparities and call for a time bound programme for minimizing the gap in the levels of educational attainment of the SCs and others. Ambitious targets continue to be set for various educational objectives. A

30 In 1981, the gap between the literacy rate of SC rural females and SC urban male was 37.1 percentage points which increased to 47.1 percentage points in 1991.

number of new initiatives are also proposed in the POA, 1992. Introduction of attendance scholarships and other incentives for the SC girls is likely to create a new environment for the education.

6.1 Inter State Disparities

The literacy rate for SC males/females as well as for rural/urban groups of population are far less than the corresponding rates for non-scheduled population (NS) groups. Literacy rates (1991) for SCs in various states/UTs are presented in Table 13. Deviation from the national average for SC rural female literacy is presented in the figure in the box. The states of Rajasthan, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have extremely low literacy rates and so are the deviations from the national average.



Even among the SCs, the inter-state and intra-group differentials are large. The gap is least for urban male and highest for rural females. The inter-state variations in SC

rural female literacy are largest. The low levels of literacy among rural females are the outcome of historical factors, the inability of the contemporary policies and the limited outreach of social reforms.

Since, literacy among rural SC females is least, therefore, it could be taken as a proxy for the unfinished task. Rajasthan has the lowest SC rural female literacy of 4.7 percent--close to total illiteracy. The task for NLM is, therefore, no small in a state like Rajasthan. Similarly, the efforts needed for universal coverage and retention of children in the state is stupendous. For a number of states there is a long way to go before the goal of EFA becomes achievable. Outcomes of TLC will be short lived if universal primary education is not realised simultaneously in the educationally backward districts. The data in respect of states with more than one million SC illiterates are presented in Table 14. Of a total of 69.5 million SC illiterates, the females account for 58 percent, the rural for 86 percent and the rural females for 50 percent. The states having the largest number of SC illiterates are: Uttar Pradesh (16.9 million), Bihar (11.3 million) and West Bengal (10.3 million). These three states taken together account for 46.3 percent of SC illiterates in the country (Table 15).

6.2 Illiterate Households

Illiteracy comes in many forms. In some cases old age members of the family are illiterate but the younger generation is going to school. On the other extreme are the households where all the family members including the younger children in school going age group have never gone to school and are illiterate. In between these two extremes are a variety of combinations into which various families can be classified. However, the latter form of illiteracy is far more serious as compared to the former category. The latter not only constrains the educational development but also impedes the social and economic transformation of any society. Complete illiteracy is a bigger curse than partial illiteracy in the family. In order to understand these aspects, household data on educational attainment of the family members is vitally needed both

at the micro as well as the macro level.

In India, not much socio-economic information is available for households, particularly in terms of their educational characteristics but whatever little is available is quite revealing and has not been fully taken into account for planning of educational programmes. While information on the educational attainment of the head of HHs is captured in many surveys, efforts to identify totally literate or illiterate families are scarce. Some tabulations of the Census, 1981 provided limited information on the educational characteristics of the household. Table 16 and table 17 present the data on literacy among SC households. Of all SC households, 49.5 percent have all member of the family as illiterates. Single member households have an illiteracy rate of 83.4 which gradually declines to 35.9 for the households having 6 or more members including young children. Thus there are serious constraints in providing access to certain households to formal schools, non-formal education centres and the participation of adults in the programmes of adult literacy. 35.9 percent of households having a family of six or more persons are found to be totally illiterate. There is no ways by which these families would have been able to avail of the educational facilities, scholarships, free textbooks and uniforms, incentives and other promotional efforts of the state and the central government in the field of primary education. What are these households? Why illiteracy is high among these HHs? Why their children did not attend school despite incentives and facilities being available? Can we do something to improve their educational standards? These are some of the questions which need to be addressed seriously in educational reforms package for the future.

Clearly there is something wrong the way the educational reforms are designed and targeted. Before setting our eyes on EFA, is it not appropriate to ensure that atleast one member in each family is literate? Achieving this limited goal would mean literacy programmes for about 10 million SC persons all of whom belong to totally illiterate families. The rate of return for such investment may come out to be much higher than any other type of investment. This type of household approach is necessary if the

maximum returns from investment in education are to be ensured. This is also justified from the equity point of view. It would also help in reducing intra-caste differentials and ensuring that those who need the educational facilities the most are in a position to get it. Let the motto for next five years be to have atleast one literate person in each family. It is in this context that TLC is of little significance. While the debate on target group oriented approach versus area intensive approach can continue among the academicians, it must be seen that the most needy are the first to get the support through whatever means that gets delivered.

VII. RECENT REFORMS IN EDUCATION

In India, the causes of low enrolment and school inefficiencies are deeply rooted in the regional socio-economic ethos. This is particularly true of the educational attainment of SCs, STs and the poor families. It is heartening to note that the general awareness about the role of education and community participation in the smooth functioning of educational services has been increasing in the past few years and the results are somewhat encouraging[1]. The regions with acute educational problems are the present states of Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh[2]. This group of states is often referred in the literature as `Hindu Belt' and `BIMARU' states. These areas constitute the bedrock of underdevelopment and the resistance to social reforms is maximum in this area. Land reforms have also not been implemented fully in these areas.

In education, reforms are a continuous process. However, a variety of new measures were taken up after the formulation of 1986 policy. These include revitalisation of the existing schemes in the area of non-formal and adult education; and the launch of new schemes like Operation Blackboard for quality improvement in primary education. The scheme of Operation Blackboard has now been revised to include upper primary schools also. Schools having more than 100 children will have a third teacher, if not available so far. Recently, another large scale initiative has been launched in

educational backward districts of the country (District Primary Education Programme). While it may not be possible to review all schemes, a brief discussion on important schemes having bearing on the education of SCs is concerned. These are Total Literacy Campaign, Decentralised Planning and management, and DPEP.

7.1 Total Literacy Campaign

The old approach of adult education centres has now been replaced with a campaign approach which is target oriented and area specific mode of imparting literacy. The Total Literacy Campaign is now operational in about 200 districts of the country[31]. In many districts the TLC has been successfully completed and the post-literacy campaigns (PLC) are under implementation. The number of districts, and their distribution according to the share of SC and ST population is given in Table 18. A similar analysis in respect of urbanization of districts covered under TLC is presented in table 19. The following points emerge from the analysis.

i) The districts with relatively high concentration of SC population have been adequately covered. Column 6 of the table 18 shows that while 16.7% districts with less than 5% SC population were covered, 40-45 percent of the districts having more than 10% of SC population have been covered under the TLC programme. This is a redeeming feature of TLC coverage. As a result of TLC in the selected districts, the literacy rates of SCs are expected to increase substantially–in the absence of data, it is difficult to quantify.

ii) The coverage of tribal districts is less than expected (column 7). while 44% of the districts having less than 10% of the tribal population have been covered, the coverage in terms of the districts with pre-dominantly ST population is only 12%. It is, therefore, necessary to extend the coverage of TLC to the tribal dominated belt. The

---

31 In many parts of the country, selected Blocks/Taluks of the district have been taken up for literacy campaigns.

existing levels of literacy in these areas are significantly lower than others. Normal package of TLC may not be appropriate for tribal districts. Therefore, alternative strategies will have to be evolved before it becomes too late.

iii) There is a visible bias in favour of urban districts in the coverage of TLC. The degree of urbanization is relatively greater in TLC districts as compared to the overall situation in the country (Table 19). While only 23 districts out of a total of 85 (27 percent) had less than 8% urbanization, the corresponding coverage for districts with 56% or higher urbanization was 53% (10 out of 19 districts). The urban bias in the coverage of TLC districts needs to be corrected for the overall success of the programme. This will also ensure that the areas of SC and ST concentration are also adequately covered.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the selection of districts covered under TLC is biased in favour of relatively more urbanized districts and not many districts with concentration of tribal population have been covered so far. There is an urgent need to reconsider the criterion for selection of districts for TLC coverage so that the above bias can be eliminated.

7.2 Decentralised Planning and Management:

The 1990s have seen a dramatic change in the development strategy for planning and management of education. Although, the seventh plan postulated the district level planning for delivery and management of school education, little was done to operationalise it. The Eighth Plan has also reiterated the same principle of educational planning. Recent initiatives in the form of Bihar Education Project (BEP), Uttar Pradesh Basic Education Project, the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education project (APEP), the Shiksha Karmi project in Rajasthan and the newly launched initiative for District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) are based on the premise of micro-planning and community participation in needs assessment and management of educational

services. About 40 educationally backward districts have been selected for implementation of the first phase of the DPEP[32].

The recently enacted constitutional amendments (73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments) bestow the constitutional status to local bodies in rural and urban areas. It empowers the village panchayats in rural areas and local bodies in urban areas to manage social services like health and education. The states are expected to enact laws and hold panchayat level elections for constitution of village panchayats and the associated bodies. The constitution of Village Education Committees will facilitate the close monitoring of educational services. Adequate representation has been provided for women and SCs and STs in the village bodies. These models of decentralisation call for a greater role and hence the preparedness on the part of village community. Decentralised management can usher in an era where the flexibility in plnning can suit the local socio-economic conditions and implementation can be monitored more closely. The education and training sector has a key role for making this model of decentralised planning a success.

7.3 District Primary Education Programme:

The DPEP is one of the recent initiatives of the Government of India to mobilise adequate financial resources from internal and external sources to promote the decentralised planning and management of primary education in the educationally backward districts of the country. Achieving UPE in a manner that all children attain the MLL is the main objective of DPEP. In the first phase of the project 42 districts spread into seven states of Assam (4), Haryana (4), Karnataka (4), Kerala (3), Tamil Nadu (3), Madhya Pradesh (19) and Maharashtra (5) are taken up[33]. While the DPEP

---

32 DPEP (1993) Guidelines for Formulation of District Plans, MHRD, New Delhi

35 The criteria for the selection of districts under DPEP was two fold: the female literacy rate should be less than the national average or the district should have been

does not enunciate special provision for the development of education among SCs, but it is visualised that the focus of activities like girls education will include a major part of inputs required for the education of girls belonging to SC category. However, it will be interesting to know the coverage of SC population in these districts. Table 20 presents the distribution of DPEP districts according to the concentration of SC population. While the share of SC population to total population is considerably higher than the national average in 19 of the 42 district being covered, it is seen that the areas of large concentration of SC population are not fully covered (see all India rank of population concentration). It is expected that in the selection of second round of districts, special consideration will be given to the selection of districts with large concentration of SC population.

VIII. SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The findings of this study have a number of implications for the planning of the programmes not only of the educational sector but also of the other development agencies. The analysis has brought out some important characteristics about the spatial spread of literacy among the different strata of the SC population. Some of the factors which have acted as impediments in the educational development of the SC population have also been examined. Finally, an attempt was made to examine the salient characteristics of the work-force participation among the SC population as it constitutes an important determinant of economic status. The main findings of the study may be summarized as under:

i) The SC population is dispersed across national space. While their proportion is less in the urban areas, they tend to concentrate in the rural areas.

---

earlier covered under TLC. The former relates to educational backwardness and the latter to demand management for primary education as a result of the success of TLC. The final choice of the districts was made by the concerned states.

ii) The relative deprivation of the SC population in general is evident from the comparison of literacy rates of the SC population with non-scheduled population. The persistence of large absolute differences in the levels of literacy between the two groups cannot be attributed to the historical factors separating the work from knowledge.

iii) The literacy rates for the non-scheduled population clearly brings out the relatively more diffusion of literacy in urban areas as compared to the rural areas. Within the urban areas also, it is the urban male population which occupies the highest position in the hierarchy.

iv) The SC population in general has not only been characterised by the persistence of the very low levels of literacy but also shows large inter-state and intra-group differentials. As one moves from the urban males to the rural females, the inequities become more and more sharp.

v) A large number of SC households have been found to be totally illiterate. The programmes of educational development must concentrate on those families which do not have even a single literate persons. The social returns on investment in education would be highest for such families.

vi) The coverage through TLC has been biased in favour of districts having higher degree of urbanisation. While adequate coverage is being to given to SC population in these districts, the areas of tribal concentration are being left out.

vii) The co-existence of the social and economic deprivation in the case of SC population is evident from the fact that the work-force participation rate in the case of SC population not only happens to be much higher than the non-scheduled population, but the SC workers are largely concentrated in the primary sector. Even within the primary sector, they are largely landless labourers. The position with respect to female

workers is much worse as nearly two third of them are employed as agricultural labourers. The position in some rural hinterlands is much worse.

It is not difficult to conclude from the above discussion that any generalized all India strategy of educational development would not yield the desired results as the problems of inequities are deeply rooted in the regional sub-systems of interdependencies and can, therefore, be satisfactorily analysed and remedial action for their minimisation can be effectively undertaken only within a regional frame. The recent initiative in the form of Total Literacy Campaigns and the District Primary Education Programme are expected to give better deal and flexibility for the local issues to be resolved. Before setting our eyes on the goal for EFA, it would be more appropriate to initiate reforms which ensure that each household has atleast one literate person.

Table 1
SC Students Receiving Scholarships

(1986/87)

Fractile Group	% students having scholarships	Average amount	% Belonging to SC, ST and OBCs
RURAL MALE			
0-20	6.63	173	86.5
80-100	5.51	300	79.0
ALL	6.12	206	81.6
RURAL FEMALE			
0-20	4.43	92	82.5
80-100	3.51	135	75.3
ALL	4.34	137	78.1
URBAN MALE			
0-20	5.05	143	78.5
80-100	1.71	470	18.2
ALL	3.56	208	68.1
URBAN FEMALE			
0-20	6.55	167	83.4
80-100	2.29	734	43.9
ALL	4.20	294	72.1

Source: NSS 42nd Round

Table 2
Number of SC Employees in Central Government Services

Year	Group A		Group B		Group C		Group D	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1971	741	2.6	1,794	4.1	136,259	9.6	221,248	18.4
1975	1,201	3.4	2,695	5.0	174,119	10.7	230,864	18.6
1980	2,375	4.5	5,055	8.5	235,555	13.4	247,607	19.5
1985	4,228	7.3	6,932	10.1	298,065	14.9	257,931	20.8
1990	5,331	8.6	10,497	11.3	336,880	15.2	237,400	21.5
1991	5,689	9.1	12,115	11.8	376,015	15.7	249,101	21.2

Source: Aggarwal Y and Sarika Sibou (1992) Educating Scheduled Castes, NIEPA.

Table 3
Distribution of SC Households by Family Size, 1981

Family size	No. of HHs	% Distribution
1	960,520	4.9
2	1,818,726	9.3
3	2,443,814	12.5
4	3,090,301	15.8
5	3,220,719	16.4
6+	8,047,448	41.1
all	19,581,528	100.0

Source: Census of India, 1981

Table 4
Share of SC and ST Population in Districts, 1991

% Share	Number of Districts					
	Scheduled Caste			Scheduled Tribes		
	All	Rural	Urban	All	Rural	Urban
< 5	66	71	49	259	245	338
5-10	61	53	119	43	41	46
10-15	84	64	173	31	27	15
15-20	133	111	75	21	24	8
20-25	64	79	21	12	15	5
25-30	29	37	4	10	8	6
30-35	11	22	1	4	9	3
35-40	2	5	0	8	2	2
40-45	1	2	0	7	11	1
45-50	0	1	0	6	4	1
50-60	1	1	0	12	15	2
60-70	0	0	0	6	9	1
70-80	0	0	0	9	7	4
>80	0	0	0	24	29	10

Source: Census of India, 1991.

Table 5
Work Participation Rate: Main Workers
1981 and 1991

	Work Participation Rate					
	All Groups		Scheduled Castes		Non Scheduled Pop	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
All Population	33.3	34.1	36.1	36.1	32.0	32.8
Male	51.6	50.9	52.6	50.9	50.9	50.7
Female	14.0	15.9	18.5	20.0	11.6	13.5
Rural Population	34.8	35.7	37.3	37.6	33.1	34.2
Male	52.6	51.8	58.7	52.0	51.8	51.3
Female	16.0	18.6	19.7	22.0	13.4	15.9
Urban Population	29.2	29.5	30.2	29.5	29.0	29.4
Male	48.5	48.6	46.8	46.5	48.7	49.0
Female	7.3	8.1	11.5	11.3	6.5	7.4

Source: Census of India, 1991

Table 6
Distribution of Main Workers, 1991

	SC Population			NS Population		
	Persons	Rural	Urban	Persons	Rural	Urban
Cultivators	25.4	29.4	3.7	39.7	52.1	4.9
Agr labourers	49.1	55.1	15.6	19.7	24.8	5.1
livestock	1.7	1.7	2.1	2.2	2.4	1.6
Mining	0.8	0.5	2.1	0.5	0.4	0.9
HH inds workers	2.4	2.2	3.4	2.6	2.4	3.1
Non HH workers	5.1	2.9	17.4	9.0	4.1	22.8
Construction	2.3	1.2	8.6	2.0	1.1	4.5
Trade	2.9	1.6	10.5	9.4	4.2	24.0
Transport	2.3	1.0	8.9	3.2	1.4	8.2
Other services	8.0	4.4	27.8	11.6	7.0	24.7

Note: HH refers to Household
Source: Census of India, 1991

Table 7

Distribution of Main Workers, 1991

Classes	Scheduled Castes			All Communities		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
I-V	47.2	53.4	49.6	46.7	49.7	47.9
I-VIII	64.3	73.6	67.8	59.4	68.3	65.4
I-X	76.5	85.6	79.9	72.7	79.5	75.4

Table 8
Number of Total and SC Teachers According to Schools

(No. in thousands)

Survey	Total Teachers			SC Teachers			% SC Teachers		
	rural	urban	total	rural	urban	total	rural	urban	total
Primary schools									
Third (1973)	1,171	327	1,500	121	22	142	10.3	6.6	9.5
Fourth (1978)	1,027	261	1,287	98	17	116	9.6	6.7	9.0
Fifth (1986)	1,180	313	1,493	140	25	165	11.8	8.0	11.1
Upper Primary schools									
Third (1973)	404	177	582	24	7	31	5.9	4.0	5.4
Fourth (1978)	566	219	815	45	12	57	7.9	5.6	7.0
Fifth (1986)	720	282	1,002	66	20	86	9.1	7.2	8.6
Secondary schools									
Third (1973)	218	166	384	7	4	11	3.4	2.3	2.9
Fourth (1978)	344	206	550	13	7	20	3.9	3.2	3.6
Fifth (1986)	469	254	724	29	13	43	6.2	5.3	5.9
Higher Secondary schools									
Third (1973)	49	75	124	1	1	2	2.7	1.3	1.9
Fourth (1978)	94	194	288	3	5	7	3.1	2.5	2.5
Fifth (1986)	162	264	426	9	11	21	5.9	4.2	4.8

Source: Aggarwal Y and Sarika Sibou (1992) Educating Scheduled Castes, NIEPA.

Table 9
Share of SC Women Teachers to Total SC Teachers

	Government	Local Body	Private aided	Private unaided
Primary				
SC Teachers	61,217	88,464	10,602	4,591
SC Female Teachers	12,579	16,538	4,529	1,724
% SC Females	20.5	18.7	42.7	37.6
Upper Primary				
SC Teachers	35,230	35,172	11,288	4,259
SC Female Teachers	7,265	10,294	4,182	1,173
% SC Females	20.6	29.3	37.0	27.5
Socondary				
SC Teachers	17,219	4,931	17,406	3,069
SC Female Teachers	4,580	1,391	4,105	729
% SC Females	26.6	28.2	23.6	23.8
Higher Secondary				
SC Teachers	9,060	5,154	5,530	851
SC Female Teachers	2,281	761	1,594	281
% SC Females	25.2	14.8	28.8	33.0

Source: NCERT (1992) Fifth All India Educational Survey Vol II, NCERT, New Delhi

Table 10
Average Years of Schooling: SC Population, 1981

State	SC Males		SC Females		All SC Pop.	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
Andhra Pradesh	0.59	1.30	0.18	0.49	0.39	0.90
Bihar	0.42	0.93	0.03	0.10	0.23	0.52
Gujarat	2.08	2.57	0.75	1.03	1.43	1.82
Haryana	0.70	1.52	0.08	0.25	0.41	0.93
Himachal Pr.	0.90	2.01	0.26	0.80	0.59	1.41
Jammu & Kashmir	0.75	1.73	0.14	0.50	0.46	1.13
Karnataka	0.86	1.60	0.23	0.56	0.55	1.09
Kerala	1.73	3.21	1.15	2.53	1.44	2.86
Madhya Pr.	0.67	1.31	0.11	0.25	0.39	0.80
Maharashtra	1.39	2.68	0.40	1.02	0.91	1.87
Manipur	1.73	2.23	0.80	1.21	1.28	1.72
Meghalaya	1.53	2.05	0.60	0.90	1.09	1.54
Orissa	1.06	1.35	0.19	0.31	0.63	0.82
Punjab	0.85	1.61	0.24	0.66	0.57	1.17
Rajasthan	0.51	1.09	0.03	0.10	0.28	0.61
Sikkim	0.54	1.54	0.17	0.82	0.37	1.19
Tamil Nadu	1.12	1.54	0.35	0.67	0.74	1.11
Tripura	1.37	1.81	0.44	0.80	0.92	1.32
Uttar Pr.	0.60	1.31	0.04	0.16	0.27	0.76
West Bengal	1.03	1.67	0.33	0.59	0.70	1.15
Arunachal Pr.	2.67	2.41	0.88	1.01	1.82	1.89
Chandigarh	1.67	2.84	0.43	1.24	1.14	2.15
D.N. Haveli	1.47	2.89	0.63	1.62	1.00	2.21
Delhi	1.60	2.80	0.42	1.09	1.07	2.03
Goa	1.14	2.42	0.48	1.20	0.81	1.81
Pondicherry	0.88	2.25	0.26	0.92	0.58	1.59
All India	0.84	1.52	0.19	0.47	0.50	1.00

Source: Aggarwal Y and Sarika Sibou (1992) Educating Scheduled Castes, NIEPA.

Table 11
Habitations with Primary and Upper Primary Schools:1986

Category	Habitation size					
	>5000	2000-5000	1000-2000	500-1000	<500	Total
Number of Habitations						
All Habitations	6407	44072	110619	197389	623377	981864
SC Habitations	91	1360	5311	13038	57980	77780
Schools Within Habitations						
Primary	6267	42359	101171	156413	196133	502343
Upper Primary	5598	29453	42289	29435	22176	128951
Schools Within SC Habitations						
Primary	90	1271	4671	9539	13726	29297
Upper Primary	56	626	1165	1124	1359	4330
Share of SC Hab to Total Habitations	1.4	3.1	4.8	6.6	9.3	7.9
% Habitations Covered (All types)						
Primary	97.8	96.1	91.5	79.2	31.5	51.2
Upper Primary	87.4	66.8	38.2	14.9	3.6	13.1
% Habitations Covered (Non SC)						
Primary	97.8	96.2	91.6	79.7	32.3	52.3
Upper Primary	87.7	67.5	39.1	15.4	3.6	13.8
% SC Habitations Covered						
Primary	98.9	93.5	87.9	73.2	23.7	37.7
Upper primary	61.5	46.0	21.9	8.6	2.3	5.6

Source: Aggarwal and Sibou (1992) based on Fifth All India Educational Survey, NCERT, 1990.

Table 12

Literacy Among Scheduled Caste and Non Scheduled Population in India 1971 to 1991

Population Group	Literacy Rate					
	Scheduled Caste Population			Non Scheduled Population		
	1971	1981	1991@	1971	1981	1991@
All Population	14.7	21.4	37.4	33.8	41.3	57.7
Male	22.4	31.1	49.9	44.5	52.4	69.5
Female	6.4	10.9	23.8	22.3	29.4	44.8
Rural Population	12.8	18.5	33.3	27.5	34.2	49.9
Male	20.0	27.9	45.9	38.1	46.1	63.4
Female	5.1	8.4	19.5	15.9	21.7	35.4
Urban Population	28.7	36.6	55.1	55.1	60.4	75.9
Male	38.9	47.5	66.6	63.7	68.5	83.4
Female	17.0	24.3	42.3	44.9	51.2	67.5

@ literacy rates for 1981 and 1991 are not comparable beacause of the change in the denominator used for calculating literacy rate.

Table 13
SC literacy by States, 1991

State	All			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Andhra Pradesh	31.6	41.9	20.9	26.8	37.0	16.2	54.1	64.9	43.0
Arunachal Prades	57.3	66.3	41.4	55.3	65.0	37.3	62.0	69.4	50.4
Assam	53.9	63.9	43.0	52.0	62.2	40.7	65.7	73.7	56.7
Bihar	19.5	30.6	7.1	17.5	28.3	5.5	39.2	52.7	22.9
Goa	58.7	69.6	47.5	56.1	67.7	43.9	61.8	71.7	51.5
Gujarat	61.1	75.5	45.5	55.6	71.2	39.0	70.1	82.4	56.5
Haryana	39.2	52.1	24.2	37.7	50.6	22.5	46.4	58.7	31.9
Himachal Pradesh	53.2	65.0	41.0	52.0	63.9	39.8	70.3	78.9	60.2
Karnataka	38.1	49.7	26.0	31.4	43.2	19.2	59.2	70.1	47.6
Kerela	79.7	85.2	74.3	78.6	84.2	73.1	84.5	89.6	79.6
Madhya Pradesh	35.1	50.5	18.1	30.2	45.7	13.3	52.3	67.3	35.4
Maharashtra	56.5	70.5	41.6	50.3	65.9	34.0	67.1	78.2	54.9
Manipur	56.4	65.3	47.4	56.7	65.4	47.5	56.2	65.1	47.3
Meghalaya	44.3	54.6	31.2	37.1	47.3	24.4	53.0	63.3	39.7
Mizoram	77.9	77.5	81.3	75.8	74.8	85.0	82.3	83.2	75.0
Orissa	36.8	52.4	20.7	35.5	51.2	19.4	47.8	62.1	32.3
Punjab	41.1	49.8	31.0	39.6	48.5	29.2	47.0	54.8	38.1
Rajasthan	26.3	42.4	8.3	22.1	37.6	4.7	43.4	61.4	22.9
Sikkim	51.0	58.7	42.8	47.5	23.9	39.1	76.6	84.2	68.7
Tamil Nadu	46.7	58.4	34.9	42.5	54.5	30.3	62.2	72.6	51.7
Tripura	56.7	67.2	45.4	55.2	66.1	43.7	64.1	73.4	54.4
Uttar Pradesh	26.9	40.8	10.7	24.8	38.9	8.5	42.3	54.8	27.4
West Bengal	42.2	54.6	28.9	40.0	52.7	26.3	54.0	63.9	42.7
Chandigarh	55.4	64.7	43.5	48.6	57.6	35.8	56.5	65.9	44.6
Dadra & N. Havel	77.6	88.0	66.6	77.2	87.4	66.5	79.9	90.7	67.0
Daman Diu	79.2	91.9	67.6	82.2	94.3	71.5	74.3	88.0	61.1
Delhi	57.6	68.8	43.8	55.5	69.0	38.5	57.9	68.7	44.5
Pondicherry	56.3	66.1	46.3	50.1	60.1	39.9	65.0	74.7	55.3
India	37.4	49.9	23.8	33.3	45.9	19.5	55.1	66.6	42.3

Table 14
States with One Million and More SC Illiterates

(000s)

STATE	ALL	MALE	FEMALE	RURAL ALL	RURAL MALE	RURAL FEMALE	URBAN ALL	URBAN MALE	URBAN FEMALE
Uttar Pr	16,809	7,305	9,505	15,228	6,630	8,598	1,581	675	906
Bihar	7,849	3,562	4,286	7,302	3,330	3,972	547	233	314
West Bengal	7,544	3,083	4,461	6,585	2,683	3,902	960	401	559
Andhra Pr	5,941	2,567	3,373	5,242	2,296	2,945	699	271	428
Madhya Pr	4,939	1,972	2,967	4,137	1,681	2,456	801	290	511
Tamil Nadu	4,819	1,902	2,917	4,085	1,633	2,452	734	269	465
Rajasthan	4,389	1,811	2,578	3,719	1,568	2,151	670	243	427
Karnataka	3,683	1,525	2,158	3,102	1,306	1,796	580	219	361
Orissa	2,662	1,014	1,648	2,426	925	1,501	236	89	147
Maharashtra	3,102	1,084	2,018	2,238	785	1,453	864	299	565
Punjab	2,746	1,252	1,494	2,239	1,021	1,219	507	232	275
Haryana	1,551	661	890	1,307	559	748	244	102	142
INDIA	69,534	29,045	40,489	60,050	25,327	34,726	9,484	3,721	5,763
% TO TOTAL	100	42	58	86	36	50	14	5	8

Note: The states have been arranged in descending order of Rural Female Illiterates

Table 15
Distribution of Illiterates by Major States
(IN 000s)

STATE	ALL	RURAL	URBAN
Uttar Pradesh	24.2	25.4	16.7
Bihar	11.3	12.2	5.8
West Bengal	10.8	11.0	10.1
Andhra Pradesh	8.5	8.7	7.4
Madhya Pradesh	7.1	6.9	8.4
Tamil Nadu	6.9	6.8	7.7
Rajasthan	6.3	6.2	7.1
Karnataka	5.3	5.2	6.1
Orissa	3.8	4.0	2.5
Maharashtra	4.5	3.7	9.1
Punjab	3.9	3.7	5.3
Haryana	2.2	2.2	2.6
Other States/UTs	5.0	4.1	11.2
INDIA	100	100	100

Note: The states have been arranged in
Descending Order of Female Illiterates

Table 16
SC: All Illiterate Households, 1981

Family Size	No. of SC Households	All Illiterate Households	% All Illiterate Households
1	960,520	800,741	83.4
2	1,818,726	1,333,566	73.3
3	2,443,814	1,476,059	60.4
4	3,090,301	1,671,416	54.1
5	3,220,719	1,528,670	47.5
6+	8,047,448	2,885,769	35.9
all	19,581,528	9,696,221	49.5

Table 17
Distribution of Literates by Household Size, 1981

Family Size	Number of Literates							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
1	83.4	16.6						100
2	73.3	21.4	5.2					100
3	60.4	27.1	10.5	2.0				100
4	54.1	25.6	13.3	5.5	1.5			100
5	47.5	24.4	14.3	8.3	4.2	1.4		100
6+	35.9	20.7	14.9	10.4	7.3	4.9	5.9	100
all	49.5	22.8	12.4	6.8	3.9	2.2	2.4	100

Table 18
Districts Covered by TLC According to ST/ST Population
1991

% Share	All districts		Dists under TLC		% Coverage	
(1991)	SC	ST	SC	ST	SC	ST
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
< 5	66	259	11	115	16.7	44.4
5-10	61	43	22	19	36.1	44.2
10-15	84	31	34	9	40.5	29.0
15-20	133	21	60	6	45.1	28.6
20-25	64	12	23	2	35.9	16.7
25-30	29	10	11	3	37.9	30.0
30-35	11	4	5	1	45.5	25.0
35-40	2	8	0	2	0.0	25.0
40-45	1	7	0	2	0.0	28.6
45-50	0	6	0	2	0.0	33.3
>50	1	51	1	6	100.0	11.8
Total	452	452	167	167	36.9	36.9

Table 19
Distribution of TLC District by Urbanization

Percent Urbanization	All Districts	TLC Districts	% TLC Districts
0.00- 8.00	85	23	27.1
8.01-16.00	117	37	31.6
16.01-24.00	110	43	39.1
24.01-32.00	55	21	38.2
32.01-40.00	35	17	48.6
40.01-48.00	15	7	46.7
48.01-56.00	16	9	56.3
>56.00	19	10	52.6

Table 20
Districts Covered Under DPEP (Phase I)

State Name	District Name	% Urban	% SC Pop	All India Rank		TLC/PLC
				Pop	SC Pop	
Assam	Dhubri	12.2	4.8	277	376	
	Darrang	4.9	5.0	283	375	*
	Marigaon	5.2	13.8	381	355	*
	Karbi Anglong	10.6	4.2	376	395	
Harayana	Kaithal	14.7	21.4	354	286	
	Jind	17.2	19.6	332	275	*
	Hisar	21.1	23.2	201	116	
	Sisra	21.2	26.7	339	224	*
Karnataka	Belgaum	23.5	11.4	36	128	
	Kolar	23.3	25.7	156	64	
	Mandya	16.2	13.8	230	236	*
	Raichur	20.8	17.2	143	133	*
Kerala	Kasaragod	16.4	7.6	317	361	*
	Wayanad	3.4	4.1	372	396	*
	Malappuram	9.1	8.3	60	212	*
Madhya	Guna	19.5	18.1	280	228	
Pradesh	Tikamgarh	16.9	22.8	335	251	
	Chhatarpur	19.3	23.7	303	198	*
	Panna	13.0	20.4	369	310	
	Satna	19.7	17.8	258	206	*
	Rewa	15.2	14.8	245	234	
	Shahdol	21.1	7.7	215	318	
	Sidhi	6.5	11.4	270	297	
	Mandsaur	23.1	15.9	244	217	
	Ratlam	31.9	13.7	330	319	*
	Dhar	13.1	6.9	271	347	
	Rajgarh	16.8	18.0	326	282	
	Sehore	18.0	20.3	347	289	
	Raisen	15.7	16.6	342	307	
	Betul	18.6	10.8	299	323	*
	Surguja	12.1	5.5	178	335	
	Bilaspur	17.0	18.1	31	35	*
	Raigarh	9.5	11.4	218	265	*
	Rajnandgaon	15.7	10.3	262	306	*
Maharashtra	Aurangabad	32.8	13.8	160	184	*
	Parbhani	22.5	11.0	175	230	*
	Latur	20.4	19.1	224	176	*
	Nanded	21.7	18.1	139	120	*
	Osmanabad	15.2	16.3	287	254	*
Tamil Nadu	Tiruvannamalai	10.0	18.1	127	108	
	South Arcot	15.8	27.1	11	6	*
	Dharmapuri	9.5	14.3	126	154	

Note : * indicates districts covered under TLC/PLC programme

References

Aggarwal Yash (1992) Education and Training Sector in India: A Status review, NIEPA, 1992.

Aggarwal Yash and Sarika Sibou (1992) Educating Scheduled castes, NIEPA, 1992.

Census of India, 1991 (1992) Final Population Totals, Paper 2 of 1992, New Delhi

Chitnis Suma (1972) Education for Equality: case of Scheduled castes, Economic and Political weekly, Annual Number Vol VII.

Chitnis Suma (1984) A Long Way to Go, Allied Publishers, new Delhi.

Dubey S N and Usha Mathur (1972) Welfare programmes for the Scheduled castes: Content and Administration, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol VII(4).

Government of India (1992) National Policy on Education 1992, MHRD, New Delhi.

Government of India (1992) NPE: Programme of Action 1992, MHRD, New Delhi.

Government of India, Ministry of Education (1966) Report of the Education Commission 1964-66; Education and National Development, New Delhi.

Government of India, Ministry of Education (1986) National Policy on Education, 1986, New Delhi.

Government of India, Ministry of Education, (1986) Programme of Action, New Delhi.

Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, (1993) Education for All: The Indian Scene, Department of Education, MHRD, New Delhi.

Prem Chand (1993) Statistical database for Literacy, Vol-2, NIAE, New Delhi.

NCERT (1994) Research Based Interventions in Primary Education: The DPEP Strategy, NCERT, New Delhi.

NIEPA (1991) Education for All by 2000: the Indian perspective, NIEPA, New Delhi.

Premi Kusum (1989) Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes in Industrial training Institutes: A study of Five States, Vikas, New Delhi.

Raza Moonis, Aggarwal Y.P. (1983); Inequities in the Levels of Literacy :A Regional Analysis, Occasional Paper No.4 National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi.

Raza Moonis and Aggarwal Yash (1986 a), Inequities in the Levels of Literacy in India, in NCERT (ed), School Education in India : Present Status and Future Needs, NCERT, New Delhi.

Raza Moonis and Aggarwal Yash (1986 b) Transport Geography of India, Concept, New Delhi.

Tyagi P.N. (1993) Education for All: A Graphic Presentation, NIEPA, New Delhi.