



Exclusion within excluded: an empirical insight from Bihar, India

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Abstract

The Scheduled Castes in India have suffered from severe exclusion in social, economic and political spheres since many centuries. In the post independent era, the constitution of India provided certain protections and safeguards to this section of the society. Some degree of mobility has been noticed in the last half century. But social and economic conditions of this section of Indian society have not changed significantly. Moreover, all sub castes of the Scheduled Castes have not been equally benefited. Economic disparity has increased substantially within the Scheduled Castes. Under such circumstances, the present study tries to examine exclusion within selected Scheduled Castes in Bihar. It also tries to explore the reasons for the exclusion within excluded.

Keywords: Scheduled castes, Sub castes, exclusion, economic disparity, hierarchical structure.

Introduction

The Scheduled Castes (SCs) are the sub-communities within the framework of the Hindu caste system and considered to be low status in society¹. They are the most deprived class of people with a conglomeration of Castes and sub-Castes within it². They continuously lag behind the other social groups in social, economic and political indicators of development³. This group had been victim of social injustice, cultural and economic deprivation and exclusion since centuries. Owning little land, with low levels of literacy, they suffer from low levels of urbanization, employment and wages due to lack of rapid industrial development⁴. The density of the poor is the highest among the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes⁵. They are mostly landless and engaged as agricultural labourers. Still, most of the sweepers and manual scavengers come from this group. They remained at the bottom of social hierarchy and have been socially deprived, discriminated and exploited⁶.

It will be unfair to state that there had been no changes in socio-economic conditions of this deprived section. With the dawn of independence, the Constitution of India provided certain protections and safeguards for the weaker sections especially SCs and STs to promote their educational, economic and political interests. But there is enough evidence to claim that despite constitutional provisions, the socioeconomic conditions of deprived sections are not improving satisfactorily. The Scheduled Castes in India are on the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder⁷. The social condition of the untouchables has not changed significantly even after 66 years of independence⁸. Despite positive improvements in the human development of SCs/STs due to reservation policy, the disparities in human development between SCs/STs and non- SCs/STs continue even today⁹. Some degree of social and economic mobility has been achieved by these sections during the last half a century since

independence¹⁰. But, all the sub-castes of the SCs have not been equally benefited.

The seeds of division that had been sown between touchable and untouchables percolated up to among untouchables themselves at more or less degree of intensity. Hierarchy does exist within untouchables or the SCs themselves. In each linguistic area, there are a few Harijans Castes which form a hierarchy¹¹. Even instance of untouchability has been reported within SCs themselves. Dom and Mehatar, sub castes of the Scheduled Castes are considered as untouchables within themselves. The Dom was an unclean untouchable in the Census of 1951¹². Chamar is often cited as symbol of pollution among non-scheduled. We often hear saying that you are just looking like Chamar or you are just behaving like Chamar. Similar instances are observed within Scheduled Castes themselves. It is often heard saying that you are just looking like Dom, Mehtar, Kanjar or you are just behaving like Dom or Mehtar or Kanjar. It means, there too is sense of superiority among untouchables themselves.

What is more important is nature of exclusion within Scheduled Castes themselves. The relatively less backward groups among the backward classes have taken greater advantage of the special facilities and the more backward groups have essentially remained where they were 25 years ago¹³. The benefits of the special educational facilities for the Scheduled Castes have not trickled down equitably to the most backward communities among them¹⁴. Particular Scheduled Castes in each state and region are dominating the educational opportunities such as Mahars of Maharashtra, Jatavas of Uttar Pradesh, and Pulayays of Kerala etc¹⁵. Among the Scheduled Castes, a few caste groups appear to be benefitting disproportionately from the reservation policy and this has escalated internal conflict among

them in recent times particularly in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Punjab and Bihar¹⁶.

In general, the socio-economic status of the Scheduled Castes in Bihar is lower as compared to their status in other states of India. Moreover, Bihar government constituted a State Mahadalit Commission in 2007 to make special projects and earmark special funds for the overall development of these most deprived sections among Scheduled Castes. In the light of report of this commission, the Scheduled Castes in Bihar were divided into Dalits and Mahadalits on the question of exclusion among the Scheduled Castes. Under these circumstances, the present study tries to examine exclusion within the selected Scheduled Castes in Bihar. It also tries to explore the reasons for the exclusion within excluded.

Data and Methods

A primary field survey has been carried out in the two selected districts of Bihar. One district (Paschim Champaran) from north Bihar and second district (Bhojpur) from central Bihar have been selected. These two districts have been taken on the basis of differing socio-political dynamics at two ends. In the first district, there has been the least resistance by the lower and the intermediate castes against the exploitation by the feudal powers. On the other hand, in the latter district, there has been strong fight by the lower and the intermediate castes on the issue of wages and ownership of the lands. These two districts have witnessed two kind of socio-political dynamics and hence so selected for the present study. Four hundred sample households have been taken to interview the respondents. 200 hundred sample households have been taken from each district. These 200 hundred sample households from each district have been stratified into 150 SC households and 50 non-SC households. Musahar, Chamar, Dusadh, Dhobi, Nat and Dom sub castes were taken from the Scheduled Cates of the selected districts in Bihar. And, 50 non-SC households comprise of OBC and others (neither OBC nor SCs) in each district. For the purpose of the present study, a multi-stage disproportionate stratified random sampling method was used to select the sample households. Location quotient has been used to identify high SCs concentrated blocks in turn villages. Once village selected, households have been selected randomly. A structured interview schedule (or schedule) coupled with some open-ended questions were administered on the respondents. Exclusion within Scheduled Castes has been measured by education development index, economic status index, household basic amenities index and social integration index. Principal component analysis (PCA) has been used to devise these indices. Moreover, methodology to compute indices has been given wherein these have been used.

Results and discussion

Exclusion in educational development: Educational Development Index (EDI) was computed by using basic concepts of a suggestive framework for computation of EDI which was developed by a team of experts from MHRD, IAMR,

the World Bank and NUEPA. To compute this index, literacy rate, percentages of completed levels of primary, high school, graduation and above and finally attendance status (percent) were used. These variables seem to fall under outcomes component of that suggestive framework (rest three were access, infrastructure, and teachers). The value of this index varies between 0 and 1 indicating the lowest to the highest educational development respectively. Higher the value higher will be the educational development.

Table-1 depicts the Educational Development Index (EDI) by sub castes/social groups in Paschim Champaran and Bhojpur districts. For the combined population of two districts, Dhobi (0.679) and Chamar (0.622) sub castes were far ahead among SCs in terms of educational development. Dom (0.038), Musahar (0.105) and Nat (0.125) sub castes were at bottom in terms of educational development among SCs. There was a sharp gap between SCs (0.351) and non-SCs (0.738) in terms of educational development.

Now, turning to assess variation in the educational development of sub castes/social groups in two selected districts, it was found that overall educational development of Bhojpur (0.534) was quite better than that of Paschim Champaran (0.378). The dynamics of district wise variation in educational development will be discussed in successive paragraphs. Dhobi (0.612) followed by Chamar (0.507) sub castes were better position in terms of educational development among SCs in Paschim Champaran whereas Chamar (0.753) followed by Dhobi (0.735) sub castes were at advantageous position in terms of educational development in Bhojpur. Thus, in both districts, Dhobi and Chamar sub castes were dominating in educational development among SCs.

Dom (0.028) followed by Musahar (0.035) in turn followed by Nat (0.041) were lagging behind among SCs in terms of educational development in Paschim Champaran whereas in Bhojpur Dom (0.048), followed by Nat (0.191) in turn followed by Musahar (0.194) sub castes were at disadvantageous position in terms of educational development among SCs. Thus, Dom, Nat, and Musahar sub castes were the most backward ones among SCs in terms of educational development in both districts. Dusadh sub caste was at middle position between relatively better educational position of Dhobi and Chamar and the worse educational position of Dom, Musahar and Nat sub castes. There was sharp gap between SCs and Non-SCs in terms of educational development in both districts but the gap between them was more pronounced in Bhojpur district.

Let's try to find out the possible reasons for the differential educational development among SCs on the one hand and between SCs and Non-SCs on the other hand. The reasons for the district wise differential in educational development will also find the place. Starting with the reasons for disparities between SCs and Non-SCs in terms of educational development or in terms of overall development, possibly one will reach very near to explore the reasons for differential educational

development among the Scheduled Castes. It is worth to note that the reasons for disparities in educational development among the Scheduled Castes cannot be explored in isolation. Historical roots, structural organisation of the society, socio-political and socio-cultural dynamics etc., are likely to come into play.

The most important reason for the poor educational development of the Scheduled Castes (Ex-Untouchables) in comparisons to non-SCs is denial of rights to the former to have education since many centuries. Though, in post independent India, there are some special provisions for their educational development but the damages of many centuries have not been overcome in the short span of just more than a half century. Its impact still persists on educational development of this community. In addition to this, some other vital reasons for the poor educational development of SCs in comparison to non-SCs are poor economic background and discrimination against the Scheduled Castes students^{17,18}. It is noteworthy to accept that education is no more priority when total time and energy are engaged in managing two square meals.

The Scheduled Castes as single community had got crushed under one common grinding stone of the denial of educational, economic, social and many other rights. Then why are some sub castes like Chamars and Dhobis in the present study relatively better in educational development than other SCs in the same study areas? Why are sub castes like Dom, Musahar and Nat so deprived in terms of educational attainment?

It is true that the Depressed Classes have gone through the same course of subjugation but hierarchal Hindu social order did have impact on the Depressed Classes in terms of sowing seeds of division within them. Hierarchy does exist within themselves

either in terms of social distance or economic advancement or in any other forms but not so intensely as it exists between the Castes Hindu and the Scheduled Castes. Role of this aspect on differential educational development within Scheduled Castes may not be discarded.

Early starts have always edge over late beginners. Those sub castes who entered the schooling system through their children earlier have advantages over the sub castes who started sending their children to the schools too late. Chamar and Dhobi sub castes may be included in the former category while Dom, Musahar and Nat sub castes may be placed in the latter group. What might be the stimulus for forerunner sub castes for sending their children to schools? For Dhobi sub caste, their traditional occupation i.e., washing clothes may be attributed for that initiation. During this course, they come across to different segments of society and interact relatively more than any other sub castes of Scheduled Castes. Possibly, they got benefited from these interactions. Chamar sub castes, on the other hand, due to their personal efforts and by dint of little bit resources tried to come forward and took initiative for sending their children to schools. That gradually culminated in relatively better educational attainment.

Culture also has its roles to play. It may be noted that every community has some its unique cultural traits. If a particular community lives in same type of situation for long time, it becomes accustomed to that situation. It begins to consider same is its fate. What we are doing is alright. Ours is not job to study or send the children to school. We are comfortable with this situation. But external stimulus may change the way of thinking. Thus, different cultural traits have its role in differential educational development among the selected Scheduled Castes in the present study.

Table-1: Educational Development Index (EDI) by Sub castes/Social Groups.

Paschim Champaran		Bhojpur		Total	
Sub castes	EDI	Sub castes	EDI	Sub castes	EDI
Dom	0.028	Dom	0.048	Dom	0.038
Musahar	0.035	Nat	0.191	Musahar	0.105
Nat	0.041	Musahar	0.194	Nat	0.125
SC Total	0.279	SC Total	0.421	SC Total	0.351
Total	0.378	Dusadh	0.492	Dusadh	0.444
Dusadh	0.394	Total	0.534	Total	0.456
Chamar	0.507	Dhobi	0.735	Chamar	0.622
Dhobi	0.612	Chamar	0.753	Dhobi	0.679
Non-SC Total	0.642	Non-SC Total	0.830	Non-SC Total	0.738
Others	0.863	Others	0.953	Others	0.907

Lack of inspiration for education is one of the factors for differential educational development within the Scheduled Castes. Particularly in Musahar, Dom and Nat communities, there is no educational environment. If any person from these communities anyhow manages to pass matriculation or intermediate or even graduation and if he/she fails to get job, it becomes great blow to others to start or continue their study. It impacts negatively on them. People say that see him/her after having graduation does not have job. Then why to study, what is benefit of this? Opposite of this may also happen. One successful person from these communities may change their thinking. But one rarely finds any persons having good job from these communities (Dom, Musahar and Nat). The threshold required for good job is not accessible.

Overall, educational development of the population in Bhojpur was relatively better than that of Paschim Champaran. Many reasons may be attributed for this differential educational development in these two districts. At first hand, its location is very near to state capital, Patna whereas Paschim Champaran is located at north-west part of state at distance of around 200km from the state capital. There are no relatively bigger towns at radius of 100km except district headquarter-Bettiah. Bhojpur is relatively more urbanised than Paschim Champaran. Nearby location to the state capital and relatively higher urbanisation has its own benefits for proving stimulus for educational development.

But, in our case, relatively better educational development in Bhojpur than Paschim Champaran should be explored in terms of socio-economic and socio-political dynamics. At first, the block and in turn villages in which field survey was conducted was the strong hold of upper castes especially Rajputs and Bhumihars which are economically very powerful. It might have its reflections on overall educational attainment. Bhojpur is one of the districts of Bihar wherein there have been conflicts between powerful upper castes specially Bhumihars and poor landless labourers on the issue of minimum wages and ownership of land under ceiling Act.

Though, there is cause and effect relationship between poverty and social conflict¹⁹. But it also has its another dimension. Labourers were incapable to read the rules governing the minimum wages. So, they felt cheated by Maliks-land owners²⁰. This might have compelled them to send their children to school. Naxalite movement going on in those areas was quite successful in convincing labourers (mainly constitutes SCs and intermediate Castes) about their cause of misery. People were provided books about Marx, Lenin and Mao and through these they came to know that every individual should get food and education²¹. The combined effects of these development might have been reflected into overall better educational attainment of the Scheduled Castes in study area (Bhojpur).

In case of North Bihar, the underclass has not been politically mobilised against the dominant class. They failed to get political

voice as compared to central Bihar. So, it can be said safely that underclass here failed to get the benefits (increased minimum wages and awareness of exploitive system) that were got by the same underclass in central Bihar. This might have reflected in relatively lower educational development of the Scheduled Castes in Paschim Champaran.

Exclusion in Economic Status: Before proceeding to compute Economic Status Index (ESI), it is worth to check the internal consistency (reliability) of all the variables. Cronbach's Alpha (a single correlation coefficient which is the average of all the correlation coefficients of the items within a test) score was 0.609 which indicates that the scale has fairly good internal consistency (reliability). It means the items taken were fairly positively connected to each other.

Suitability of data for factor (principal component analysis commonly known as factor analysis) analysis is mentioned here. Though, the Kaiser- Meyer Olkin (KMO) index ranges 0 to 1 but 0.6 suggested as the minimum value for a good factor analysis. For the factor analysis to be considered appropriate, Bartlett's test of sphericity should be significant ($p < 0.05$)²². Kaiser-Meyer Olkin (KMO) measure of sample adequacy value is 0.683 (minimum 0.6 is suggested). Bartlett's test of sphericity value was $p < 0.001$ ($p < 0.05$ is suggested for significant). Correlation matrix suggested that correlation coefficients of 0.3 and above should not be few i.e., many coefficients should be greater than 0.3 and here it was found to meet this condition. These three evidences allow the suitability of data for factor analysis (principal component analysis). Further, there was only one eigen value greater than one. Nature of scree plot too suggests for only one component. This one component explains a total of more than 79.0 percent of the variance. Further, extraction method was principal component, only one component was extracted and varimax rotation solution was used which is used mostly in social sciences.

There were 11 sub castes/social groups (Musahar, Chamar, Dusadh, Dhobi, Dom, Nat, SCs total, OBCs, others, non-SCs total, and a total as a whole for each unit of analysis i.e., Paschim Champaran, Bhojpur and Total). This makes 33 different cases. So, 33 cases (N=33) with 4 items or 4 variables (percentage households having cultivation as principal source of household income, percentage households having land holding of ≥ 4.0 hectare of size class, total average area (in hectare) under principal crops and percent household members having regular wage/salary as activity status) were subjected to principal component analysis using SPSS version 20 to compute composite index (economic status index). ESI values don't necessarily vary between 0 and 1. There is no such boundary. It may vary between minus infinity to plus infinity. It is quite sure that higher the value better will be economic status of the community or area, as the case may be.

Table-2 shows economic status index (based on PCA) by sub castes/social groups. OBC has not been compared for the sake

of convenience, though it has been included as one case in computing index. For the combined population in the present study, it may be noted that Dom (-1.183), Nat (-1.073) and Musahar (-0.814) sub castes were economically most backward among SCs. On the other hand, Dhobi sub caste (0.279) followed by Chamar sub castes (-0.012) were relatively better off among SCs. There was sharp gap between SCs and non-SCs in terms of economic status index which indicates that the economic deprivation of the former as compared to latter. It is not so difficult to explore the reasons for economic deprivation of the Scheduled Castes as compared to non-Scheduled community. It is mostly attributed to the structural set up of Indian society and historical injustices.

The Scheduled communities have been denied the right to possess the property since many centuries. Its cumulative effects still persist. The fixed economic and other rights cause forced exclusions of certain Castes from economic and other rights that other castes enjoy²³. The Scheduled Castes continuously lag behind the other social groups in economic development. The density of poor is the highest among the Scheduled population. Though, Dhobi (0.279) and Chamar (-0.012) sub castes seem to be relatively better off among SCs but in comparison to non-SCs (1.249), they were far behind in terms of economic status in the present study.

It is to be acknowledged that the Scheduled Castes as a unit have been subjected to denial of social and economic rights, then why there is inequality within them in terms of economic status? In this line, one hypothesis may be proposed that those sub castes which are dominant in number are economically better than those who are marginal in number. To prove this

hypothesis politics seems to come into play. Politics is all about number game. The political parties choose the leaders from that sub castes that are numerically higher. It is acknowledged that the leaders are unable to cross the boundary of their sub castes. It is also acknowledged that they are unable to bring out the problems of the small and minority sub castes among the Scheduled Castes. The benefits in any terms that should reach equally to all sub castes could not reach to those sub castes that are numerically smaller. This hypothesis holds quite good in case of Chamar sub caste and up to some extent in case of Dusadh sub caste which are numerically dominant in Bihar. But it does not hold good in case of Dhobi sub caste which is well off and that stands at fifth position in absolute number among SCs. It also does not hold good in case of Musahar sub caste which is one of the poorest sub castes being at third position in terms of population among SCs in Bihar. Different sets of reasons are responsible for their differential economic status which will be discussed later in this paper.

In case of Chamar sub caste, Jagjivan Ram, a Chamar by sub caste had been Dalit (Scheduled Castes) face in congress. No question of his integrity to participate in freedom struggle, serving as cabinet minister in independent India in general and raising the voices of depressed classes in particular. But it is acknowledged that the programmes for the development of the Scheduled Castes have benefited mostly the cluster of families of the leader of the dominant sub castes. Jagjivan Ram may be cited as one example from north India in general and from Bihar in particular. In case of Dusadh sub caste, similar interpretation may be forwarded for Ram Vilash Paswan who have been one of the forefronts of the Dalit (Scheduled Castes) face in the post independent era at least in the Hindi heart land.

Table-2: Economic Status Index based on PCA by sub castes/social groups.

Paschim Champaran		Bhojpur		Total	
SGs/sub caste	ESI	SGs/sub caste	ESI	SGs/sub caste	ESI
Dom	-1.348	Dom	-1.019	Dom	-1.183
Nat	-1.299	Nat	-0.848	Nat	-1.073
Musahar	-0.941	Musahar	-0.688	Musahar	-0.814
Dusadh	-0.829	SCs Total	-0.197	SCs Total	-0.469
SCs Total	-0.731	Chamar	0.176	Dusadh	-0.118
Total	-0.434	Total	0.386	Total	-0.021
Chamar	-0.200	Dhobi	0.484	Chamar	-0.012
Dhobi	0.048	Dusadh	0.593	Dhobi	0.279
Non SCs Total	0.425	Non SCs Total	2.075	Non SCs Total	1.249
Others	0.924	Others	2.847	Others	1.888

Now turning our attention to Dhobi sub caste, which seems to economically quite well off among SCs. The most prominent reason for their advancement lies in their traditional occupation of washing clothes. Though, it may be meagre in amount but, they used to get fixed return for their labour. For our purpose, amount of return they used to get for their service is not so important. What much matters are interactions they used to have with different strata of the society. Usually, Scheduled Castes have been isolated from the main stream of the society. But among SCs, Dhobi sub caste had been only player that have been benefited of this social capital. Coupled with their personal efforts, they tried to climb up on the ladder of socio-economic status. These culminated in their relatively better economic position among SCs.

Dom, Nat and Musahar sub castes relatively still live into isolation from the main stream of the society. Though, every population group has its distinct culture so for these sub castes. In case of these sub castes, relationship between poverty and culture comes into play. Culture of poverty is a subculture of Western society with its own structure and rationale, a way of life handed on from generation to generation along family lines²⁴. Here, we will not be going to be entrapped into the complexity of the definition of culture of poverty, rather to observe economic deprivation of Dom, Nat and Musahar sub castes in the lines of the some of the characteristics of culture of poverty as stated by Lewis (1966)²⁴.

One may oppose vehemently that what is true in Western society is not necessarily true in society like India. Anyway, Lewis (1966)²⁴ expresses that this type of life style (culture of poverty) breaks the national boundaries and regional and rural-urban differences within nations. He further adds that practitioners of this society exhibit notable similarity in the structure of families, in the interpersonal relations, in spending habits, in their value systems etc. Such characteristics coincides with that of Dom, Nat and Musahar sub castes in both districts. Nuclear families, large size family, lack of interpersonal relations, and even in spending habits.

Lewis (1966)²⁴ expresses that people in a culture of poverty produce little wealth and receive little in return. There are low wages, lack of property, lack of saving, absence of food reserves in the home and chronic shortage of cash in the family and the individual in a vicious circle. Most of the observations were true in case of Dom, Musahar and Nat sub castes in both districts. Addition to empirical findings, focused group discussions conducted during field survey validates such phenomena.

In words of Lewis (1966)²⁴ those individuals grow up in such culture has strong feeling that what will happen has already been decided and cannot be changed. People are psychologically not ready to take full advantage of improving opportunities. His observation does not end here. Anyway, these arguments are quite true in case of Dom sub caste. They are still dependent upon making bamboos items and selling them in

nearby market. They still rear pigs. Rearing pigs is not a criminal offence or not something like manual scavenging. But they keep them in the household premises which pollutes their living environment and makes it very unhygienic due to which people of the other castes maintain distance from them. If they cannot afford to domesticate pigs outside the household premises, they can at least leave this occupation and opt other opportunities. But they will not do this as they are psychologically not ready for that.

Now turning to variation of economic status of population in two districts, it was found that the economic status of people in Bhojpur (0.386) was relatively better than that of Paschim Champaran (-0.434). This may be attributed to relatively higher percentage of persons getting regular wage/salaries, relatively higher percentage of households falling in the largest size class of land holding, relatively higher percentage of households reported cultivation as principal source of income, and relatively larger total average area under all crops than that of Paschim Champaran. Among SCs, Dhobi (0.048) and Dusadh (0.593) sub castes were relatively better in terms of economic status in Paschim Champaran and Bhojpur respectively. On the other hand, Dom, Nat and Musahar were at bottom in terms of economic status in both districts. In both districts, SCs were lagging behind than non-SCs in terms of economic status but gap between them was more pronounced in Bhojpur in the present study.

Exclusion in housing and household amenities: There were 11 sub castes/social groups (Musahar, Chamar, Dusadh, Dhobi, Dom, Nat, SCs total, OBCs, others, non-SCs total, and a total as a whole for each unit of analysis i.e., Paschim Champaran, Bhojpur and Total). This makes 33 different cases. So, 33 cases (N=33) with 7 items or 7 variables viz., percentages of pucca dwelling, good dwelling, tap water as source of drinking water, drinking water source in household premises, separate kitchen for cooking, electricity as fuel for lighting and attached latrine were subjected to principal component analysis using SPSS version 20 to compute composite index (Household Basic Amenity Index). Suitability of data for factor (principal component analysis commonly known as factor analysis) analysis is mentioned here. Kaiser- Meyer Olkin measure of sample adequacy (KMO) value is 0.757 (minimum 0.6 is suggested). Bartlett's test of sphericity value is significant ($p=0.000$) but $p<0.05$ is suggested for significant. Correlation matrix suggested that correlation coefficients of 0.3 and above should not be few i.e., many coefficients should be greater than 0.3 and here it was found to meet this condition. These three evidences allow the suitability of data for factor analysis (principal component analysis).

Further, there was only one eigen value greater than one. Nature of scree plot too suggests for only one component. This one component explains a total of more than 69.0 percent of the variance. Further, extraction method was principal component, only one component was extracted and varimax rotation

solution was used which is used mostly in social sciences. Higher the value of composite index better will be household basic amenity for a group.

Now, Table-3 depicts household basic amenity index based on PCA by sub castes/social groups. It may be noted that for the combined population, household basic amenity index was the highest for Dhobi households (0.580) followed by Chamar households (0.516) among SCs. It implies that Dhobi and Chamar sub castes were living better quality of life as compared to their fellow sub castes. On the other hand, Musahar households (-1.238) followed by Dom households (-1.206) were living poor quality of life as evidenced by low value of household basic amenity index for these two sub castes. Household basic amenity index was fairly higher for non-SC households (1.322) than SC households (-0.475) indicating poor quality of life of latter than former.

Now, across two districts, Dhobi households (0.852) followed by Chamar households (0.845) were in better position in terms of household basic amenity index among SCs in district. On the other hand, Dom households (-1.395) followed by Nat households (-1.246) were at disadvantageous position among SCs in terms of household basic amenity index in that district. In Bhojpur district, too, Dhobi households (0.284) followed by Chamar households (0.186) were at better position in terms of household basic amenity index among SCs. On the other hand, household basic amenity index was the least for Musahar households (-1.342) followed by Dom households (-1.017)

indicating their worst position among SCs in terms of quality of life in Bhojpur district. In both districts, non-SC households than SC households were in quite better position in terms of household basic amenity index but gap between them was sharp in Bhojpur district.

Exclusion in Social integration: Here, too, there were 11 sub castes/social groups (Musahar, Chamar, Dusadh, Dhobi, Dom, Nat, SCs total, OBCs, others, non-SCs total, and a total as a whole for each unit of analysis i.e., Paschim Champaran, Bhojpur and Total). There are 33 cases (N=33) equipped with 5 variables viz., percent respondents (households) inviter or invited by all castes and categories, joined any organization, participation in common development goals for the village, material support received by all the castes and full satisfaction with the behaviour of people were subjected to principal component analysis using SPSS version 20 to compute composite index (Social Integration Index). Suitability of data for factor (principal component analysis commonly known as factor analysis) analysis is mentioned here. Kaiser- Meyer Olkin measure of sample adequacy (KMO) value is 0.770 (minimum 0.6 is suggested). Bartlett's test of sphericity value is significant ($p=0.001$) but $p<0.05$ is suggested for significant. Correlation matrix suggested that correlation coefficients of 0.3 and above should not be few i.e., many coefficients should be greater than 0.3 and here it was found to meet this condition. These three evidences allow the suitability of data for factor analysis (principal component analysis).

Table-3: Household Basic Amenity Index (HBAI) by sub castes/social groups.

Paschim Champaran		Bhojpur		Total	
Sub Castes/SGs	HBAI	Sub Castes/SGs	HBAI	Sub Castes/SGs	HBAI
Dom	-1.395	Musahar	-1.342	Musahar	-1.238
Nat	-1.246	Dom	-1.017	Dom	-1.206
Musahar	-1.134	Nat	-0.635	Nat	-0.940
Dusadh	-0.498	Dusadh	-0.606	Dusadh	-0.552
SCs Total	-0.425	SCs Total	-0.522	SCs Total	-0.475
Total	-0.106	Total	0.012	Total	-0.043
Chamar	0.845	Chamar	0.186	Chamar	0.516
Dhobi	0.852	Dhobi	0.284	Dhobi	0.580
Non-SCs Total	0.875	Non-SCs Total	1.613	Non-SCs Total	1.322
Others	1.555	Others	2.234	Others	1.805

Further, there was only one eigen value greater than one. And, nature of scree plot too suggests for only one component. All the components are retained above the point at which the shape of the curve changes direction and becomes horizontal. Components above the elbow or break in the plot that contribute most to explain the variance in the data set. And, hence only one component qualifies this condition. So, only one component was retained which explains a total of more than 65.0 percent of the variance. Further, extraction method was principal component, and varimax rotation solution was used which is used mostly in social sciences.

Table-4: Social Integration Index based on PCA by sub castes/social groups.

Sub castes/SGs	Social Integration Index (SII)		
	Paschim Champaran	Bhojpur	Total
Musahar	-0.678	-0.842	-0.760
Chamar	0.119	-0.148	-0.015
Dusadh	0.250	-0.568	-0.159
Dhobi	-0.017	0.648	0.316
Dom	-1.211	-1.285	-1.248
Nat	-0.533	-2.229	-1.381
SCs Total	-0.347	-0.737	-0.542
Others	2.014	1.417	1.715
Non-SCs Total	1.481	1.214	1.347
Total	0.112	-0.250	-0.069

As per Table-4, social integration index was the highest for Dhobi sub caste followed by Chamar sub castes among SCs in the present study. On the other hand, social integration index was the least for Nat followed by Dom and Musahar sub castes among SCs. Higher social integration index indicates that Dhobi and Chamar sub castes had better interactions or access or acceptance among non-Scheduled population as compared to other sub castes of Scheduled Castes. There was sharp gap between SCs and non-SCs in terms of social integration index which indicates lesser interactions, acceptance or accessibility of SCs among non-SCs population.

Now, social integration was quite better in district as compared to Bhojpur district. Dusadh followed by Chamar sub castes and Dhobi followed by Chamar sub castes had better social integrations among SCs in Paschim Champaran and Bhojpur

districts respectively. On the other hand, the least social integrations were for Dom followed by Musahar sub castes and Nat followed by Dom sub castes among SCs in Bhojpur districts respectively. In both districts, social integration was higher for non-SC than SC population but the gap between them was narrowly higher in Bhojpur district. Higher social integration index for non-SCs than SCs indicates that non-SCs population had higher acceptance in society as a whole.

Conclusion

The Scheduled Castes have been the most victimized group of caste-based discriminations. They have been subjected to extreme social and economic exploitations. Consequently, they are still socially, economically and politically backward. Some degree of social and economic mobility has been achieved by this section of society during more than six decades after independence. But all the sub-castes of the Scheduled Castes have not been equally benefited. Benefits of the special provisions for the development of this weaker section must reach equally to every sub caste of the Scheduled Castes. Exclusion within excluded was observed in this study. Dhobi and Chamar sub castes of the Scheduled Castes seems to be in relatively better position among Scheduled Castes in every parameter taken to assess the intra-group differential. On the other hand, Musahar, Dom and Nat sub castes interchangeably seems to be remained at bottom among the Scheduled Castes in parameters taken to assess intra-group differential. Dusadh sub caste seem to be remain at intermediate level of development among the sub castes taken into consideration in the present study.

Different set of reasons are responsible for the exclusion within excluded. These are hierarchal structure of Indian society, benefit of early start of education, differential numerical strength, crisis of visionary leadership, efforts at personal level, culture of poverty etc. Whatever reasons responsible for this anomaly, it is not desirable at any count. Exclusion within the Scheduled Castes will bring out discontent among them. This discontent will divide the Scheduled Castes. This move will be a setback on the larger aspect of political empowerment and inclusive development of the very downtrodden community in the long run. Such development will also be a blow to the unity of broader Scheduled Castes' organization. Its glimpses have been observed in case of Malas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh. Its glimpses also have been observed in Punjab and Haryana in terms of classification of Dalits into different blocks or groups.

Dividing the Scheduled Castes in the lieu of exclusion within them is not a judicious decision. This move will split them into fragments. Their political unity will shatter, if any. The vested interest groups get benefit of this disunity. The Scheduled Castes will have to lose their bargaining power in politics. The issue of the weakest of the weaker section of the Indian society should be addressed but not at the cost of dividing them.

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