

# **Governance & Marginalised People**

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**December, 2022**

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### Some MDG indicators for India and other poor countries

		India	Bangla desh	Viet nam
<b>Infant Mortality Rate</b>	<b>1990</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>39</b>
	<b>2019</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Stunted children under 5</b>		<b>36</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Immunized against measles</b>		<b>74</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>96</b>
<b>Rural population with adequate sanitation</b>		<b>70</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>Attendance ratio of girls to boys in secondary school (net) (%)</b>		<b>83</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Total Fertility Rate (TFR)</b>		<b>2.0</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1.8</b>

# POVERTY RATE

■ 1991  
■ 2020

(2011 purchasing power parity, at \$1.90 a day)

China

66.3  
0.5

Sri Lanka

3  
0.9

Vietnam

51.9  
1.9

Pakistan\*

59.1  
24.3

Bangladesh

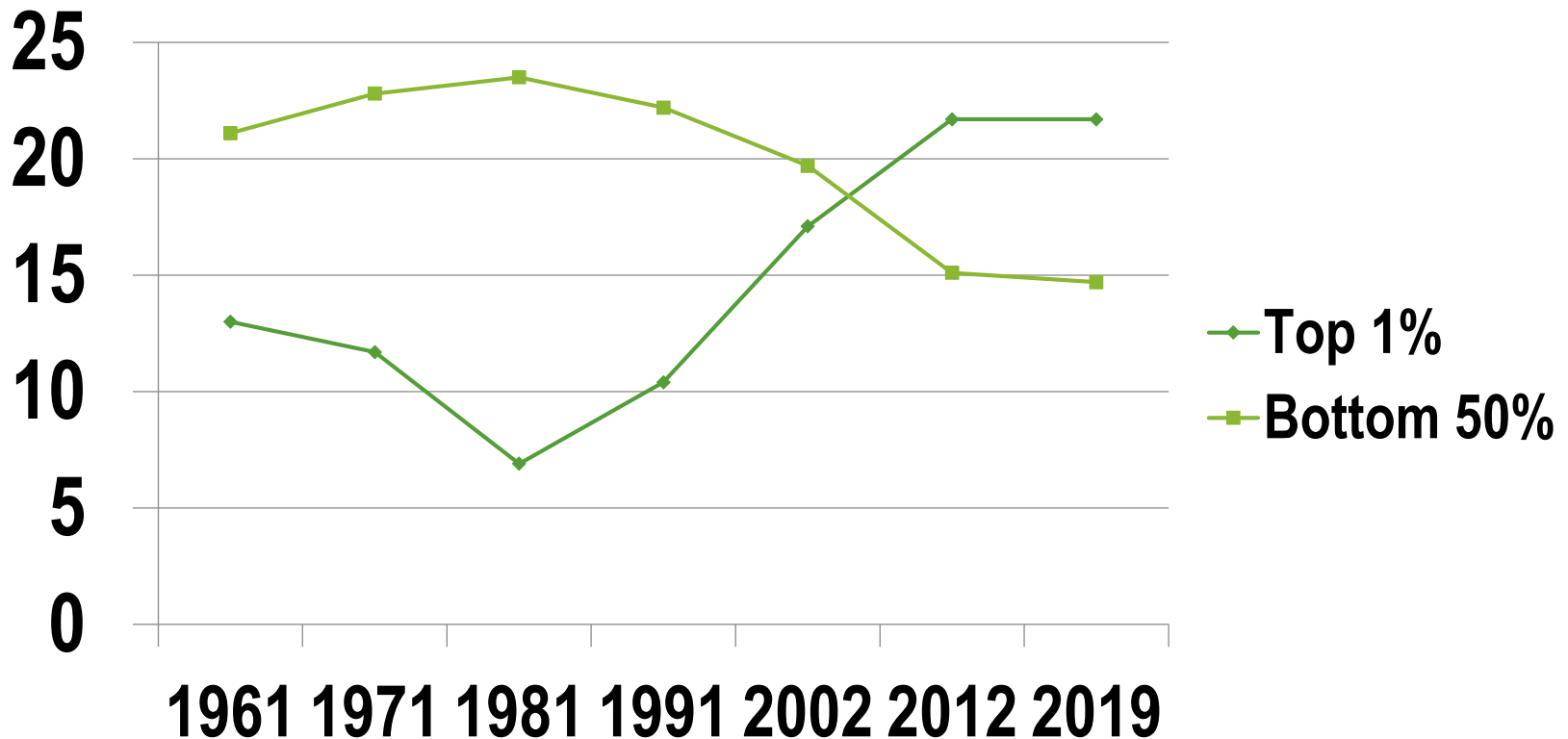
43.7  
14.5

India

47.6  
22.5

\*Data based on its own poverty line, not the global \$1.90-PPP line

# Share of population groups in total income, in %



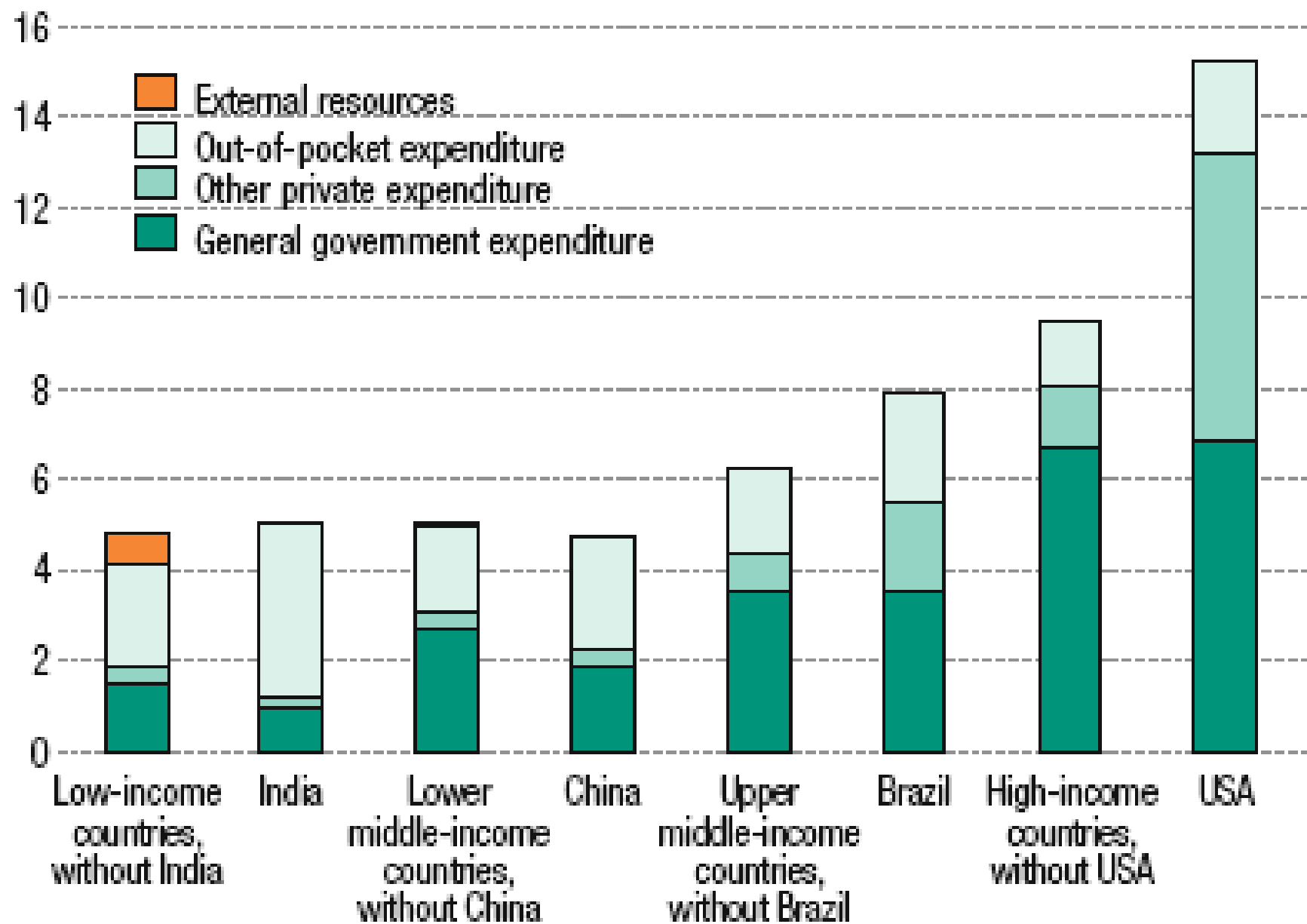
# Variation in Annual Household Income between 2016 and 2021 (at 2011–12 Prices)

<b>Population Slabs</b>	<b>Per Cent Change</b>
• Q1 Poorest 20%	-53
• Q2 Lower middle 20%	-32
• Q3 Middle 20%	- 9
• Q4 Upper middle 20%	+ 7
• Q5 Richest 20%	+39
• All-India average	8

- EPW October 22, 2022

Figure 5.1 Percentage of GDP used for health, 2005<sup>4</sup>

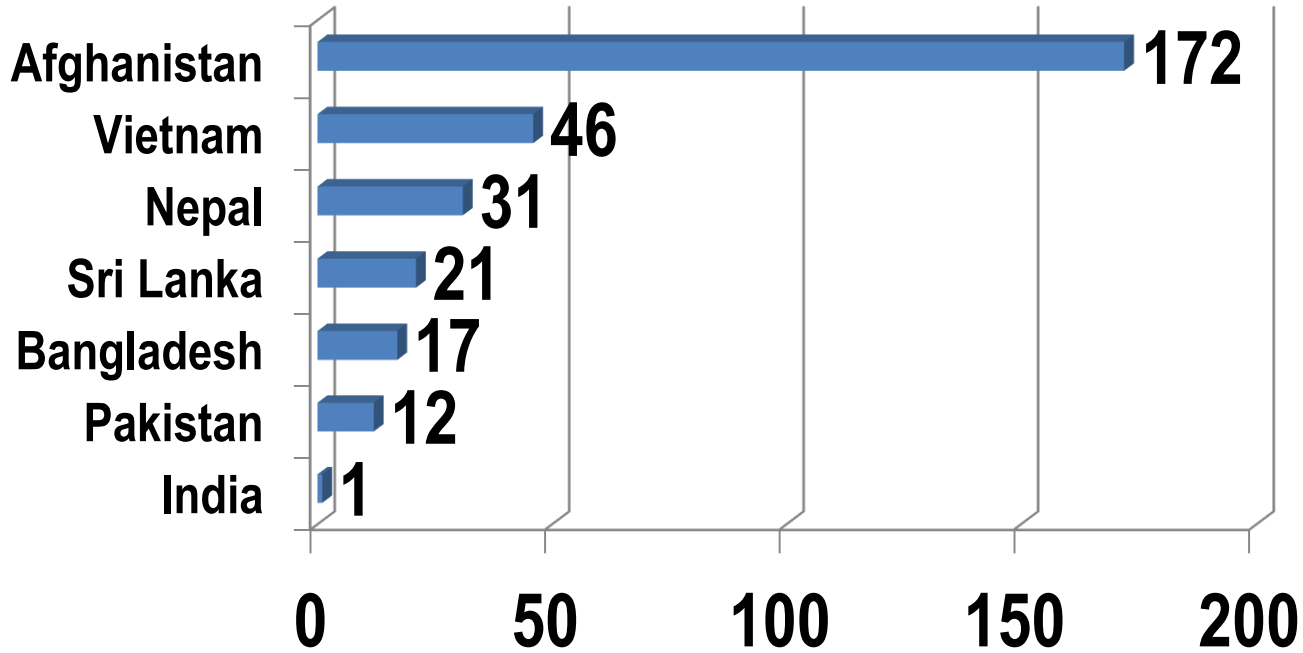
Percentage GDP



# Tax-GDP Ratio for Selected Countries

<i>Developed Countries</i>	<i>Developing Countries</i>
Sweden- 50.1	Brazil- 34.2
Denmark- 49.1	Turkey- 32.5
France- 44.7	Russia- 32.3
Netherlands- 39.5	South Africa- 31.2
UK- 37.4	Ghana- 22.4
USA- 27.3	<b>India- 17.1</b>

# Net ODA per capita \$



***GOI likes to project itself as a donor,  
and not as a recipient of aid***

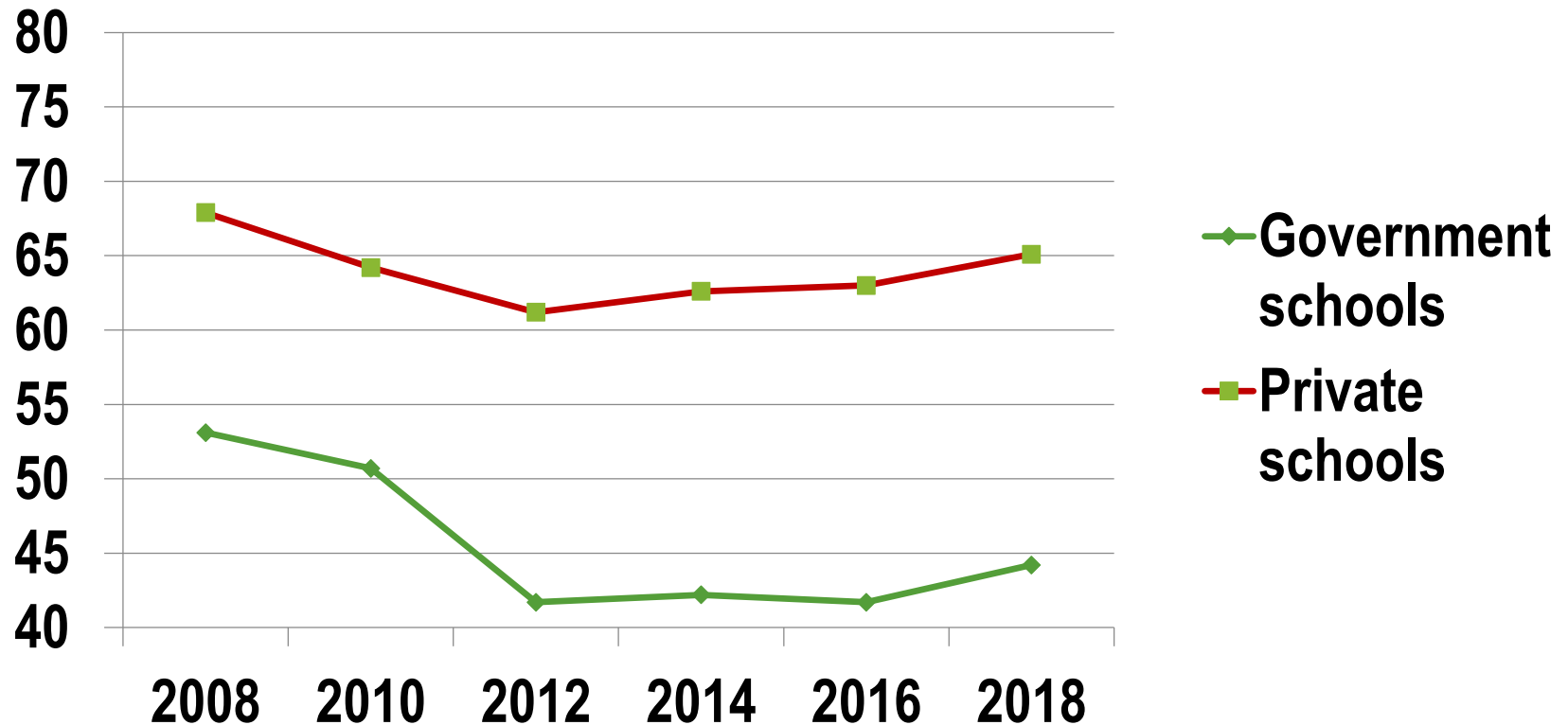


# Issues in M & E

- Very few states evaluate their programmes
- Too much of data, too little information
- Data is not reliable
- Data is not used for remedial action

***Use technology to monitor attendance***

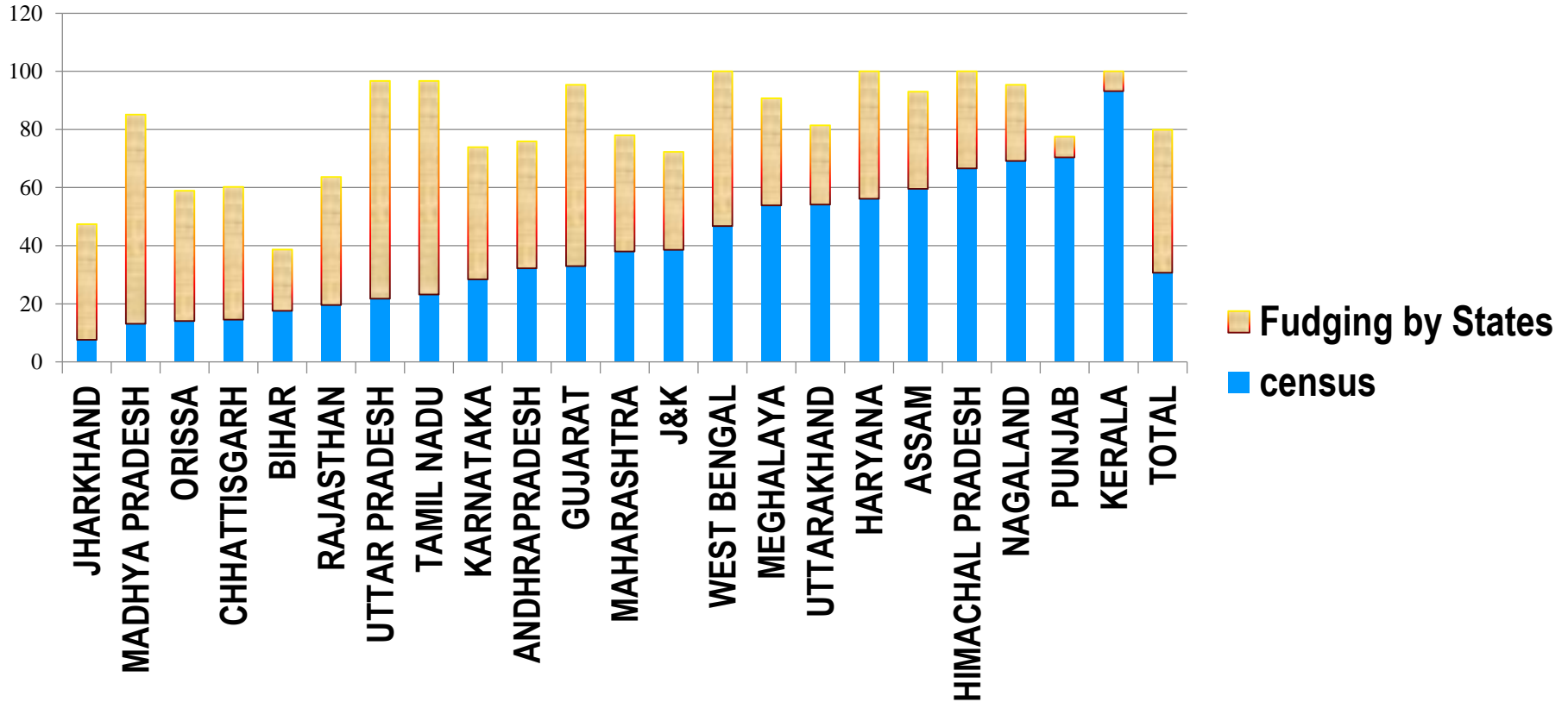
# % Children in schools in Std V who can read Std II level text



# Maharashtra Underweight children (%)

<b>District</b>	<b>Evaluated 2015-16</b>	<b>reported June 2015</b>
<b>Buldhana</b>	<b>41.30</b>	<b>9.16</b>
<b>Dhule</b>	<b>47.50</b>	<b>11.47</b>
<b>Gondia</b>	<b>40.10</b>	<b>7.49</b>
<b>Jalna</b>	<b>43.60</b>	<b>7.41</b>
<b>Nashik</b>	<b>42.90</b>	<b>10.25</b>
<b>Osmanabad</b>	<b>44.50</b>	<b>8.54</b>
<b>Parbhani</b>	<b>42.30</b>	<b>6.94</b>
<b>Washim</b>	<b>42.90</b>	<b>6.28</b>
<b>Yavatmal</b>	<b>49.10</b>	<b>9.09</b>

# Coverage of toilets by Census 2011 and by state governments



# ICDS in Gorakhpur (UP)

- 86% of budget spent on buying RTE, with only 100 calories, as against a norm of 500 calories
- **63% of food and funds are misappropriated**
- RTE is stored in unhygienic conditions, and lacks taste
- Half of RTE ends up as cattle feed
  - Only 5 out of 35 AWCs visited were running on a regular basis
- ***Each AWC centre pays Rs 2000 per month as bribe to the Supervisor***

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# Thailand during 1977-86

- **Malnutrition reduced from 50% to 25% and Anemia to 27%**
- **Interventions included intensive growth monitoring, nutrition education, supplementary feeding, Iron and Vitamin supplementation and salt iodisation, along with primary health care**
- **Food Coupons introduced in 1988 which enabled malnourished children to get eggs**
- **one worker per 20 children, per child expenditure \$11**





A simple latrine in rural Bangladesh



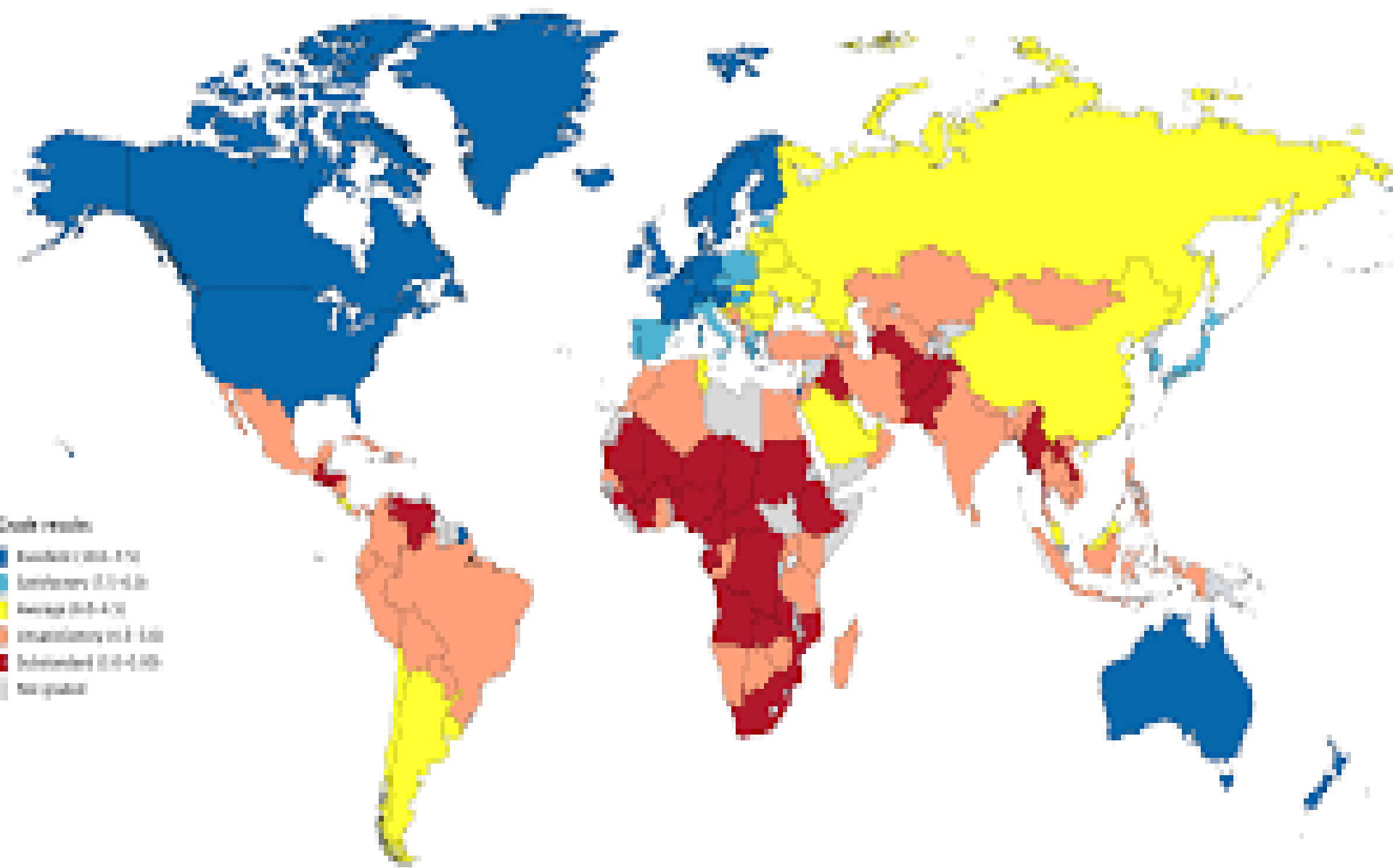
# Six dimensions of governance

- **Voice and Accountability**
- **Political Stability and Absence of Violence**
- **Government Effectiveness**
- **Regulatory Quality**
- **Rule of Law**
- **Control of Corruption**

*India doesn't do well on programme delivery and "ease of doing business"*

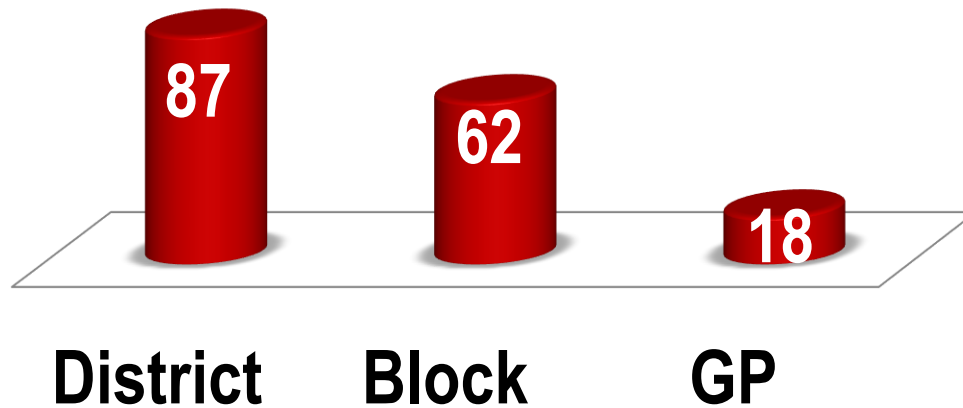
Grade results

- Excellent (90-100)
- Satisfactory (75-89)
- Average (60-74)
- Unsatisfactory (45-59)
- Substandard (30-44)
- No grade



**Archaic procedures, states' inability  
to spend & uncertainty of fund  
availability at the grassroots level**

# Level wise % of functionaries receiving salary on time (Jharkhand)



# Measure

- Outcomes
- Quality
- Absenteeism
- Level of satisfaction
- Who is benefiting?
- States' contribution
- Analyse available information, put it on website

***Use digital technology***

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***Discourage bogus reporting***

# Minimum Government?

- India's civil service is not large by international standards
- But there is a skills imbalance, and costs are rising sharply
- Too many support staff, too few line staff
- Support staff is permanent, line staff is contractual
- Supervisory regular staff is awfully short
- High salaries have not improved service delivery <sup>22</sup>

***Burden of weak supervision falls heavily on the poor***

# ESTIMATED EMPLOYMENT ('000)

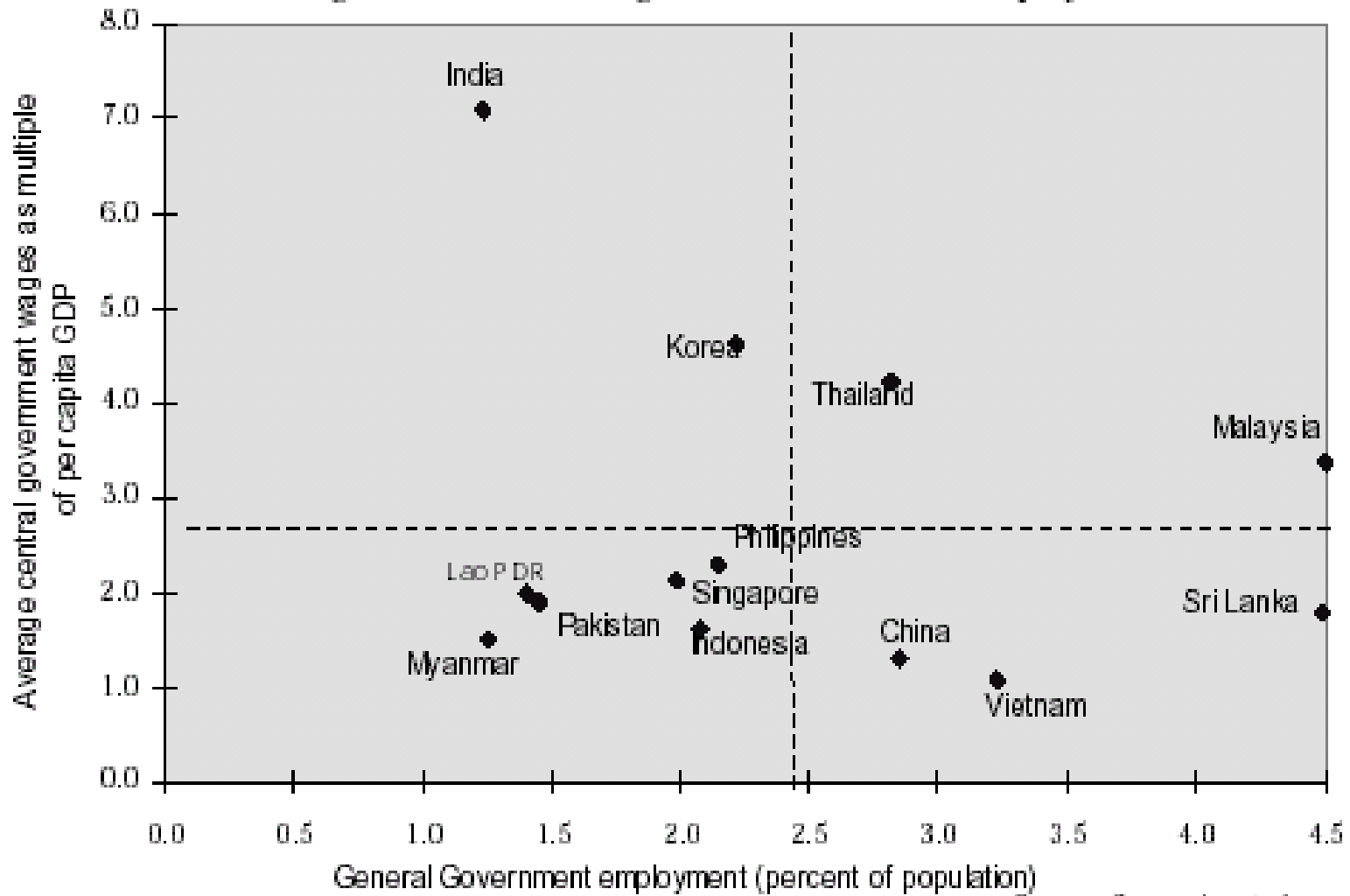
Year	Central	State	Quasi Govt.		Local	Grand
	Govt.	Govt.	Central	State	Bodies	total
2000-01	3261	7425	3291	2901	2261	19138
2011-12	2520	7184	3449	2349	2107	17609

# Civil Service Strength by Divisional Status 1970-2012 (as % of the total)

Division	Singapore		India (central govt)
	1970	2012	
I	5.3	52.1	3
II	27.3	28.2	8
III	29.7	14.1	63
IV	37.7	5.6	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>54,195</b>	<b>67,814</b>	<b>31 lakhs</b>

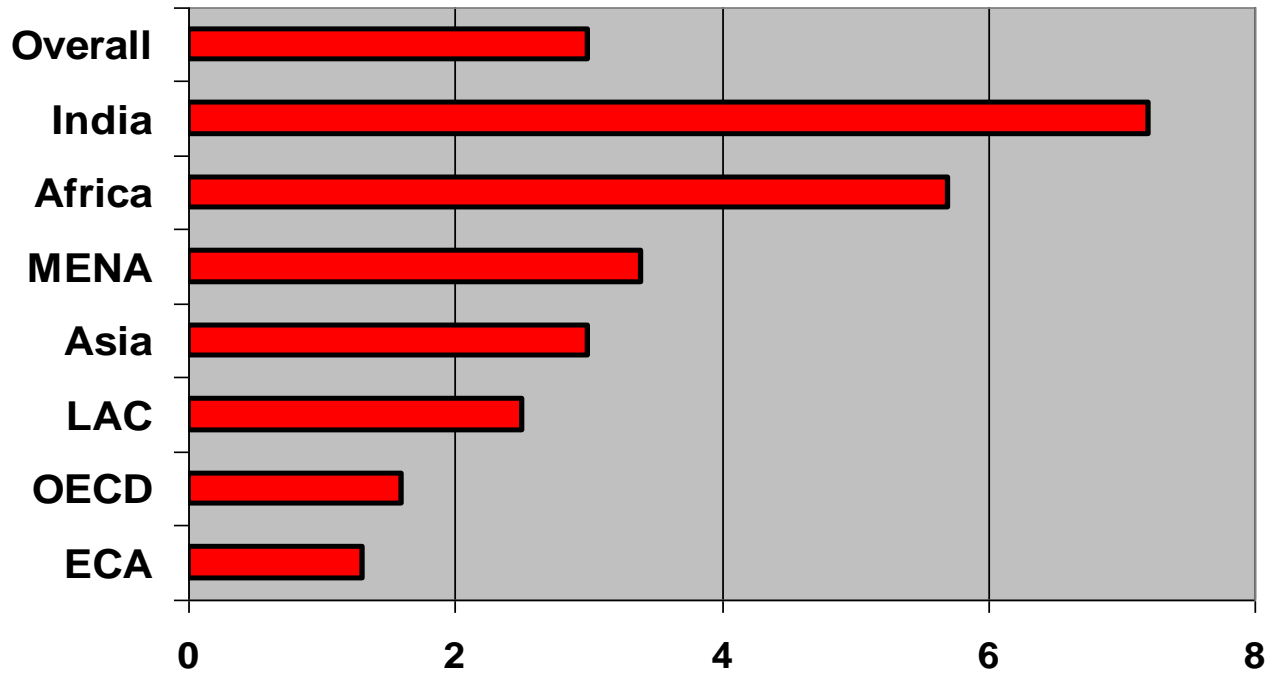


Figure 5. Relative Wages and Government Employment, Asia



Source: Comparison study

## Average Government Wage as Multiple of per capita GDP



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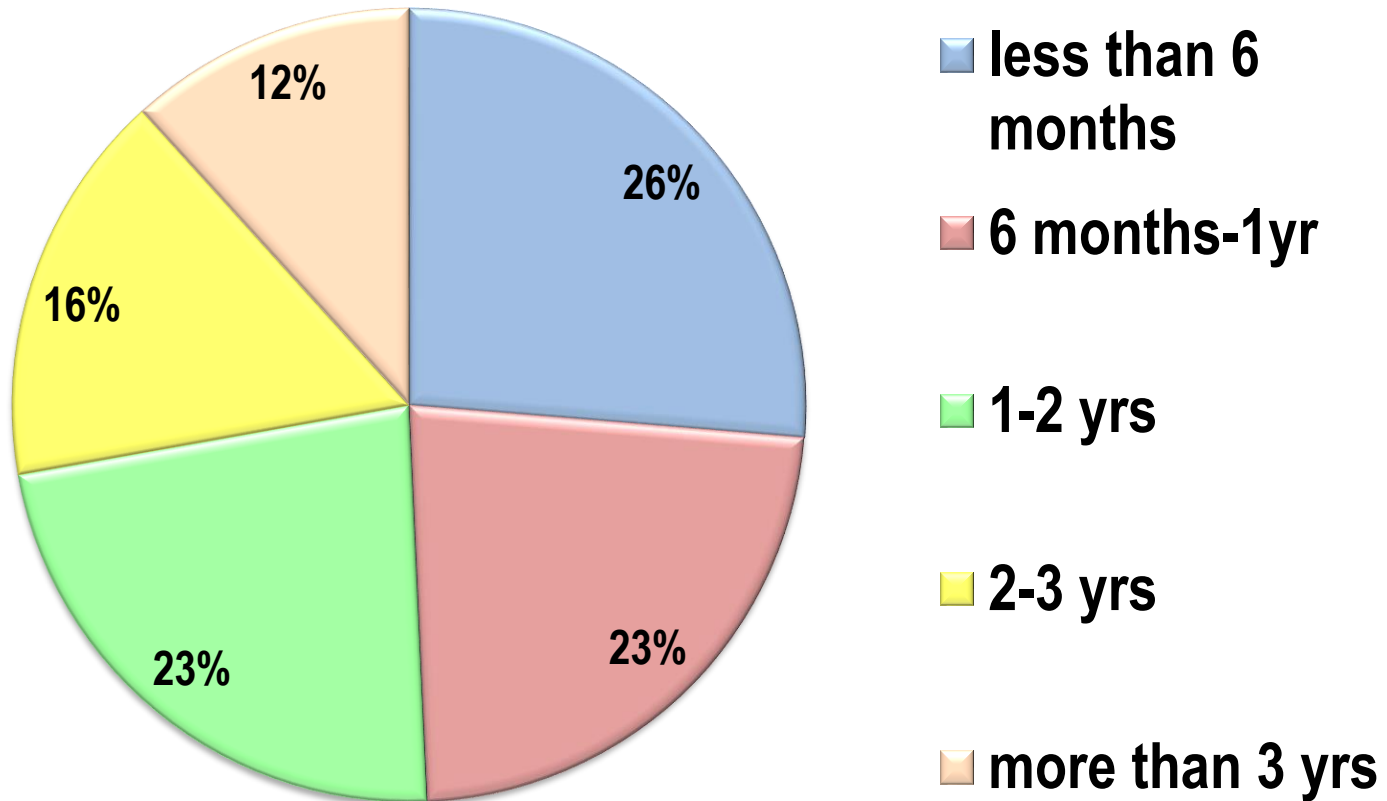
	Population 2011 (crores)	Total number of Govt. servants (lakhs)	No of govt servants per 1000 population
<b>Maharashtra</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>26.3</b>	<b>23.5</b>
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	<b>7.2</b>	<b>15.8</b>	<b>22.9</b>
<b>Bihar</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>2.5</b>
<b>UP</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>11.39</b>	<b>5.7</b>

# Politician – civil servant Interface

- Short tenures & quick transfers result in low expertise and poor outcomes
- Corruption (grand vs petty) is condoned
- Emergence of middlemen as conduits
- Focus on inputs & short-term benefits, rather than on outcomes
- Present BJP regime - Authoritarian & majoritarian – helps electorally, suits bureaucracy & the Police

*Bureaucracy is pliable, complicit, and generally corrupt, except at the top*

# Tenure period of senior officials in the last 10 years (Jharkhand)



# To curb transfer industry

- Publicize short tenures, GOI to set example
- Amend Cadre Rules to provide for average minimum tenure of two years
- Civil Service Boards
- Contractual postings for 3 years for Chief Secretary in consultation with leader of opposition, Cabinet Secretary & Chief Justice

***Link devolution of funds with good governance***

# Why are we doing badly?

- Poor monitoring
- Bogus reporting
- Flawed Design of ICDS, NREGA, etc
- Weak accountability
- Under-investment in health & maintenance
- Panchayats are interested only in construction
- Archaic procedures
- Devolution is not linked with performance

***Vast leakages***

# PM on the IAS

**“Babus will do everything? By dint of becoming IAS Officers they will operate fertilizer warehouses and chemical warehouses, even fly aero planes. What is this big power we have created. What are we going to achieve by handing over the reins of the nation to the Babus?”**



# Relations between politicians, IAS and people

- **Politicians**                      **Rich and powerful husband**
- **Civil servants**                      **Illiterate and ~~ugly~~ wife,  
negligent mother**  
*(but having affairs with the private sector)*
- **People**                              **neglected children**

**Despite high salaries India's administration is characterized by high corruption and poor program delivery**

**'Indian government looks after service providers, but not service provision'**

**- World Bank**

# Why Civil Service Reforms?

**A good civil service is necessary but not sufficient for good governance; a bad civil service is sufficient but not necessary for bad governance**



**Government Hospital**



**Government School**



**Government Bus**



**Government Job**

# Urban Poor in India





# India: Urban Housing Shortage

• EWS (Poorest)	21.78 Million
• LIG (Poor)	2.89 Million
• MIG/HI (Middle & Upper class)	0.04 Million
<b>Total</b>	<b>24.70 Million</b>

**98 per cent of shortage in Urban Housing under EWS & LIG Categories. However most new houses are being constructed for the middle & upper class.**

***Iniquitous distribution of urban space***

# Housing

- Reserve at least 30% of all new housing space for the poor, and make it part of mandatory reforms
- Promote rental schemes
- Revive the scheme of night shelters
- All new housing schemes to construct 30% of affordable houses of 25-30 sq m for the poor
- Pass a law for the contractors to pay for space for the labourers in the night shelter before their tenders are considered

***Tax vacant property heavily***

***ARHS launched in 2020***



# The urban poor in Delhi

- Delhi has about 0.6 million rickshaw pullers and more than 0.3 million vendors, mostly run by first-generation rural migrants.
- But the city government has put a limit of 99,000 on licences to pull rickshaws. Thus, about 80% rickshaws operate illegally in Delhi. No limit on the number of cars.
- A vast majority of street vendors have no license either. They all operate outside the legal economy, harassed by the police and municipal authorities.

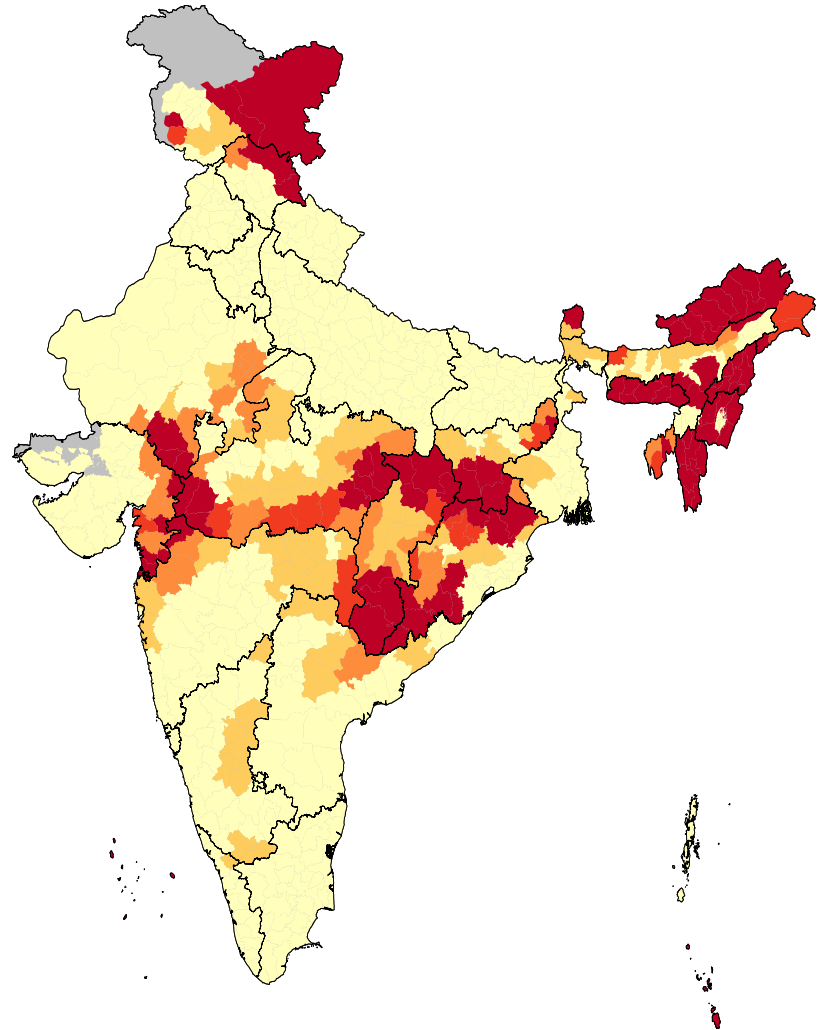
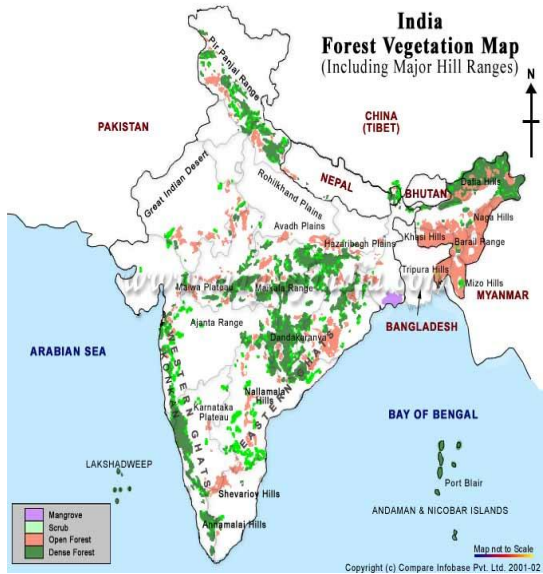
***Government passed a new law to facilitate their livelihoods. 10 million vendors would benefit***

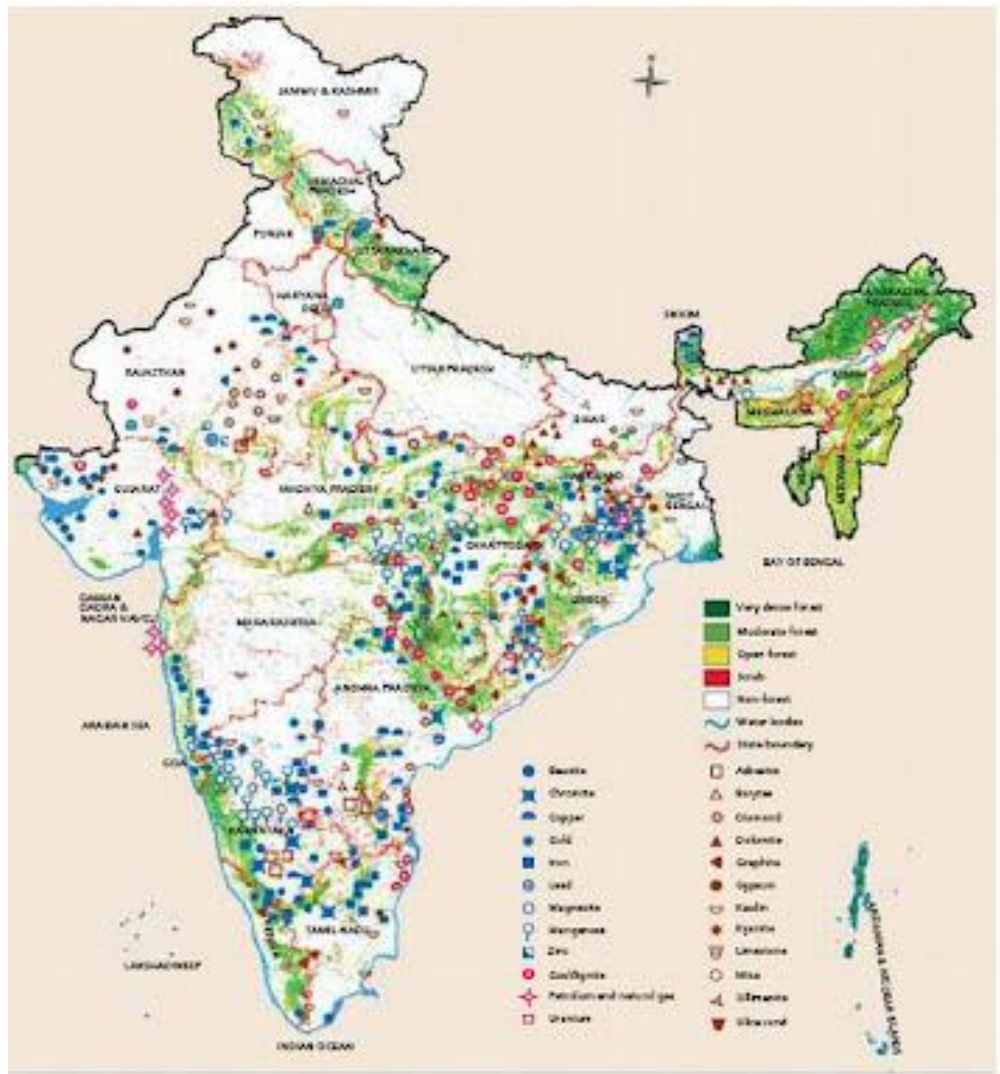


# Tribals in Central India: Governance and Development Issues



# Forest – tribal linkages





# Incidence of Poverty and Its Rate of Decline during 1993–94 to 2011–12

<b>Social group</b>	<b>1993–94</b>	<b>2011–12</b>	<b>Rate of annual decline</b>
<b>ST</b>	<b>62.6</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2.1</b>
<b>SC</b>	<b>60.1</b>	<b>29.4</b>	<b>3.9</b>
<b>OBC</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>20.7</b>	<b>3.5</b>
<b>Others</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>6.1</b>
<b>All</b>	<b>45.1</b>	<b>21.9</b>	<b>3.9</b>

## Literacy Rates (in per cent)

	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
All	30	36	52	65	73
STs	11	16	30	47	59
Gap	18	20	22	18	14

# Unresolved Issues

- Land alienation
- Lack of rehabilitation after involuntary displacement
- Tribals' access to forests
- Ineffective implementation of pro-tribal laws
- Poor programme delivery, poor infrastructure, staff absenteeism
- Huge surrenders and diversion of funds

***Lack of monitoring***

***Political marginalisation***

***Insurgency***



# Cashew plantations in Orissa

- Cashew plantation raised by the Cashew Development Corporation on 120,000 hectares of “Government Wastelands” on tribal lands
- Tribals shifted to hills, which led to soil degradation
- Corporation made losses, it gives annual leases for harvesting of cashew crops to private parties (*Land Reforms in reverse!*)
- Often such plantations are in a degraded condition
- It is ironical that these plantations that deprived the tribals of their possession were funded by a scheme called, ‘Economic Rehabilitation of the Rural Poor’.

*Mid-term Review of the 9<sup>th</sup> Plan*

# Section 211 of the UP ZALR Act

- (1) Where any land held by a Scheduled Tribe tenure-holder is in occupation of any other person, the Assistant Collector may, suo moto or on the application of such tenure-holder put him in possession of such land after evicting the occupant and may, for that purpose **use or cause to be used such force** as may be considered
- (2) Where any person, after being evicted from any land under subsection (1), reoccupies the land, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years but which shall not be less than six months,
- (3) Every offence punishable under sub-section (2) shall be cognizable and non-bailable.”

# **Tribal impoverishment through large scale displacement**

- **By 1990 about 8.5 million tribals (about 12.6% of all tribals) had been displaced by mega projects and Protected Areas.**
- **Tribals only 8% of the population but 55% of those displaced.**
- **6.4 million displaced adivasis left to fend for themselves without any rehabilitation.**
- **No state accountability to those displaced from forest lands due to non-recognition of their rights.**

# Scheduled Areas Act largely ignored by the States

- Consultation for land acquisition in Orissa, Andhra & Gujarat is not with village panchayat or Gram Sabha
- Provisions regarding minor minerals, village markets and village plans diluted in many states
- Majority of the powers entrusted with the Gram Sabha by the Central Act were subsequently transferred to the GP or Taluka Panchayat or Zilla Parishad
- MFPs are to be owned by panchayats & Gram Sabha but several MFPs are still 'nationalised';
- ownership of MFPs subjected to existing laws, such as Maharashtra

***Controversy over definition of MFP***

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# FOREST POLICY BEFORE 1988

**1. FOREST LANDS TO PRODUCE TIMBER**

**2. PRIVATE & COMMON LANDS TO PRODUCE FUELWOOD & FODDER**

***Tribal women were put behind bars in Odisha for keeping brooms in their houses in 1995!***

**‘I Bribed Odisha CM’:  
1964 IAS Topper Says it  
Took Rs 50 Cr to Get  
Oppressive Law Against  
Tribal Women Scrapped**

## 6th Five Year Plan (1980-85) of Madhya Pradesh

To produce 25 m cu m of industrial wood it would be necessary to subject 5.5 m ha of production forest lands to the intensive management, that is, to clear-felling and planting. .... with the massive plantation programme being launched in the state, there would be extensive **monocrops of teak** in the forests. .. we should clear-fell and plant roughly one lakh hectare annually if we want production of industrial wood to keep pace with demand in future.



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# The New Forest Policy 1988

- **Tribals' needs are the first charge on forests**
- Environment and basic needs given highest priority
- Economic benefits last priority
- Clear felling of natural forests banned
- Exotic species cannot be introduced in forest
- No Mining leases unless sufficient safeguards
- Industry to depend on farmers for raw material
- No subsidy to industries

***largest experiment in participatory forest management launched in 1990***

# Changes - before and after 1988

## Old

- market
- end products
- one time
- timber from dead trees
- monoculture
- single purpose
- felling
- plantation

## New

- subsistence
- intermediate products
- recurrent
- non-timber from living trees
- polyculture
- multi-purpose and multi-layer
- gathering
- regeneration

# NTFPs – problems in marketing

- Declining production
- Monopoly with traders, industry and govt. parastatals
- Restriction on self-collection, processing, storage & sale
- Distorted markets even for non-nationalised products
- Women entrepreneurs unable to look for far-off markets
- Seasonality, local supply in excess of local demand

*Policy for foodgrains vs policy for NTFPs*

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# Forest Rights Act

- Acknowledges historical injustice done to forest dwelling communities
- Recognises existing practices by forest dwellers of habitation, cultivation, usage and management as rights for *bonafide livelihood needs*
- Grants ownership rights over MFPs
- No removal or eviction of people from forest unless FRA rights have been recognized
- No diversion under the Forest (Conservation) Act unless concerned Gram Sabhas give their consent

***Authority under FRA is with Gram Sabha, SDM, & DM  
Rights over 5.2 m ha recognised so far, 1.7 mha IFR***

# Progress under FRA

	Area under IFR as % of total forest cover	Area under CFR as % of total forest cover
Karnataka	0.2	0.3
Jharkhand	2.6	1.8
Odisha	5.2	1.9
Telangana	4.2	6.3
Madhya Pradesh	4.2	7.6
Andhra Pradesh	5.5	9.4
Chhattisgarh	6.1	14.6
Gujarat	4.1	31.7
Maharashtra	2.7	21.6
<b>India</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>5.0</b>



# FRA Committee 2010 - Overall Finding

- With some exceptions, the implementation of the FRA has been poor
- Its potential to achieve livelihood security and changes in forest governance along with strengthening of forest conservation, has hardly been achieved
- Little progress in NE states, Bihar, Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, HP, Goa, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu

***Post-Claim Issues neglected***

# Problems with FRA

- area settled is much less than their occupation
- boundaries of the settled area not demarcated
- Rejections done without assigning reasons
- Poor linkage with NREGA funds
- OTFDs not helped with old documents for residence
- No assistance in marketing of MFPs

***Spirit of CFR totally ignored***

***19 lakh claims rejected***

***Compensatory Afforestation Fund Act 2016 dilutes  
FRA***

# Why is bureaucracy not improving implementation or changing anti-tribal policies

- Ignorance
- Indifference
- Unwilling to challenge vested interest
- Collusion
- Conviction about the supremacy of markets

# Gender & Employment Issues



# Gender in SDGs

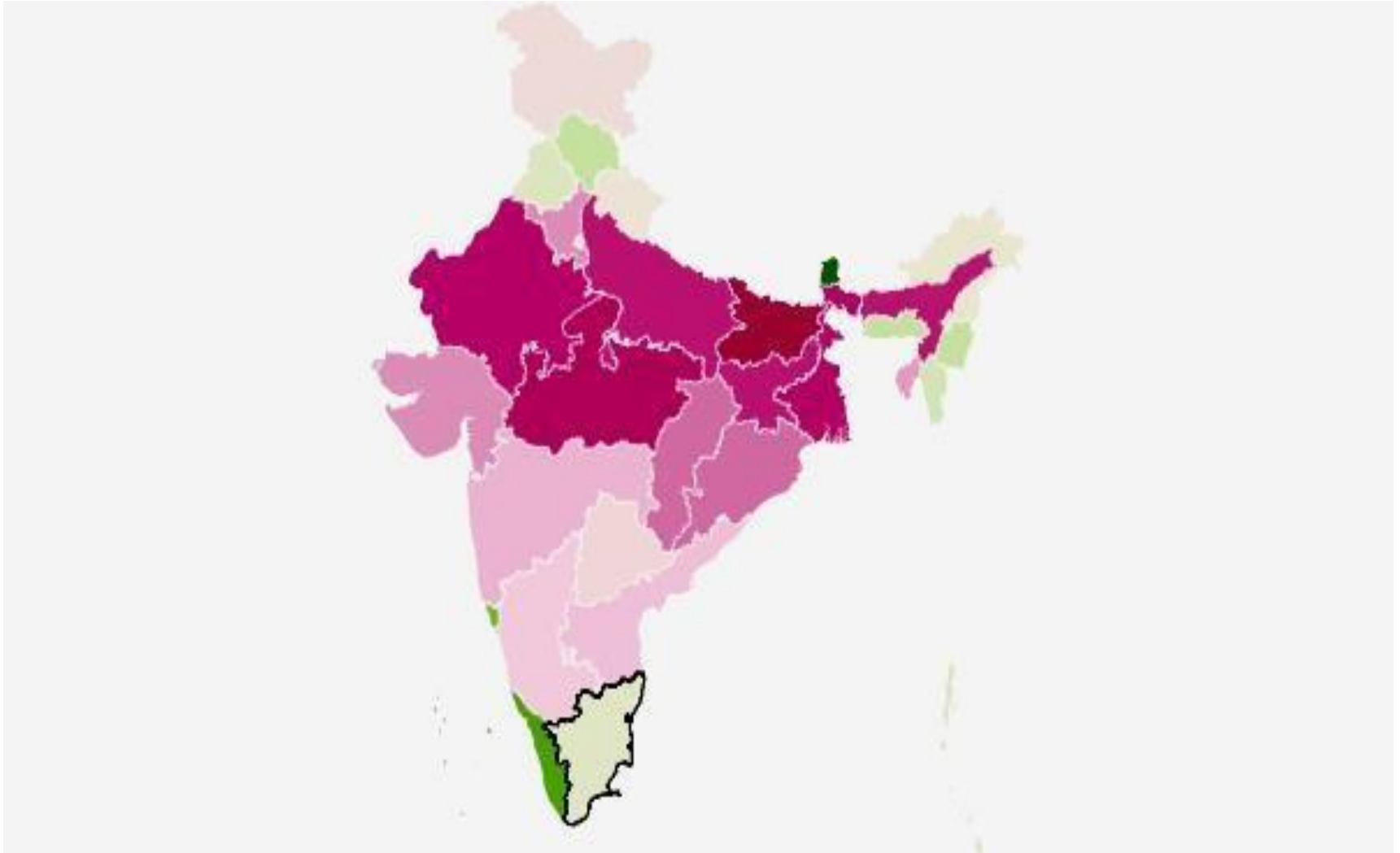
- 1.4 Ensure that all men and women have **equal rights to ownership and control over land** and other forms of property, inheritance
- 5.1: End all forms of discrimination against all women
- 5.5: Ensure women's full and effective participation
- 5.1.3 Sex Ratio at Birth - Females per 1,000 males
- 5.3.2 Percentage of women aged 20-24 years who were married before 18 years of age

# Gender Equality – Where does India Stand ?

- ❖ HDR 2020 - India's gender inequality index (GII) places it 129 out of 162 countries!
- ❖ Gender Development Index – India at .829 in lowest group (5) and in the category of middle income countries only Iraq is marginally lower! Bangladesh GDI=.895
- ❖ Gender Social Norms Index – biases and beliefs that impede progress towards gender equality ... India 98.28, Pakistan 99.81, Sweden 30

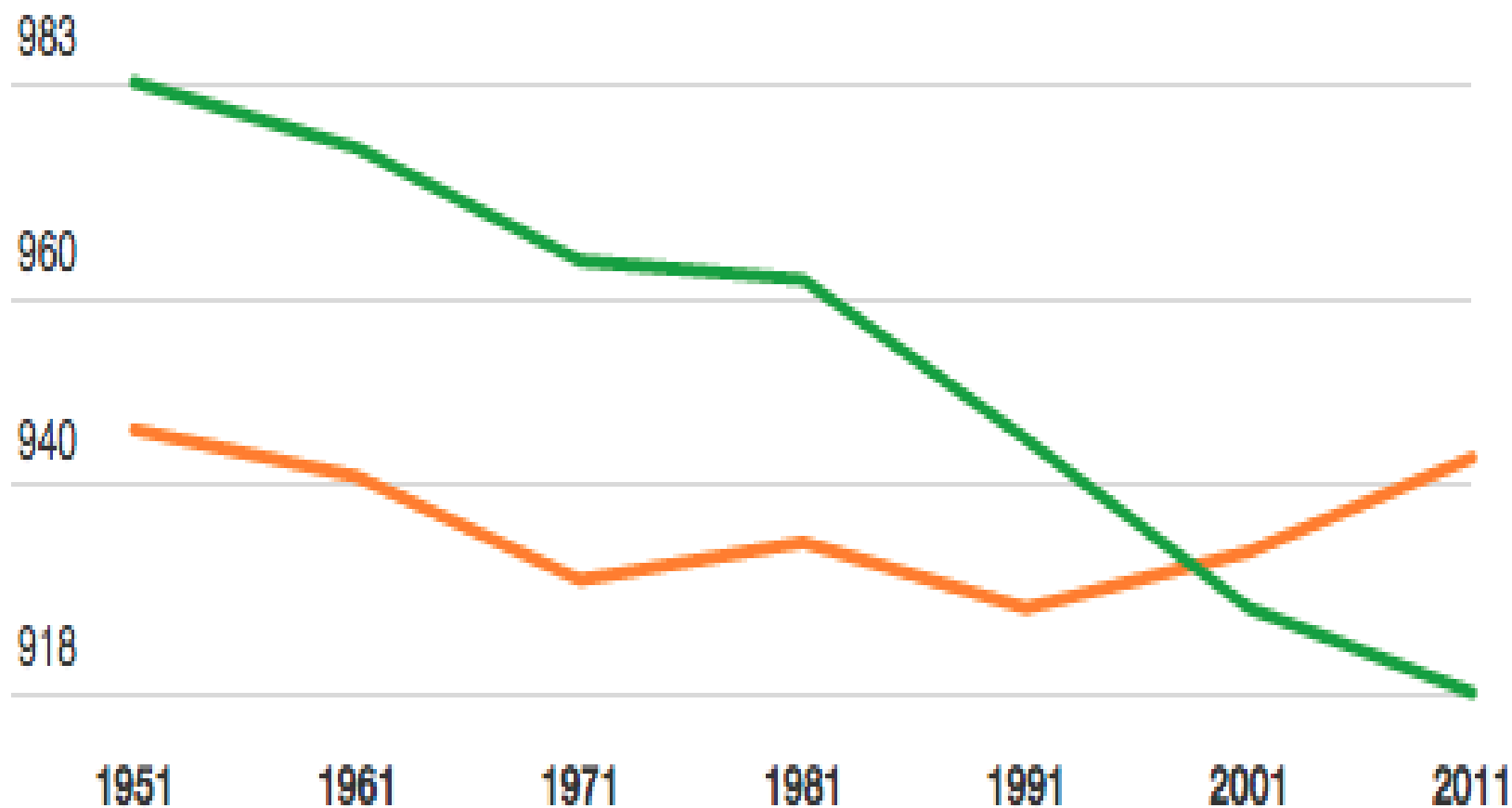
***India fell by 28 ranks in GGG Report 2021***

# Women Empowerment Index



# Declining Child Sex-Ratio\*, 1951 to 2011

Sex Ratio Child Sex ratio

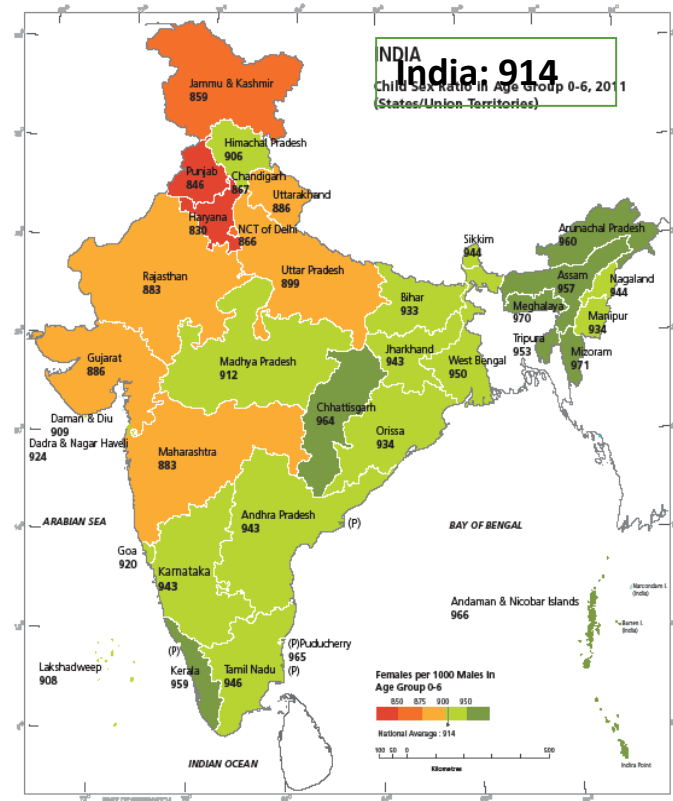
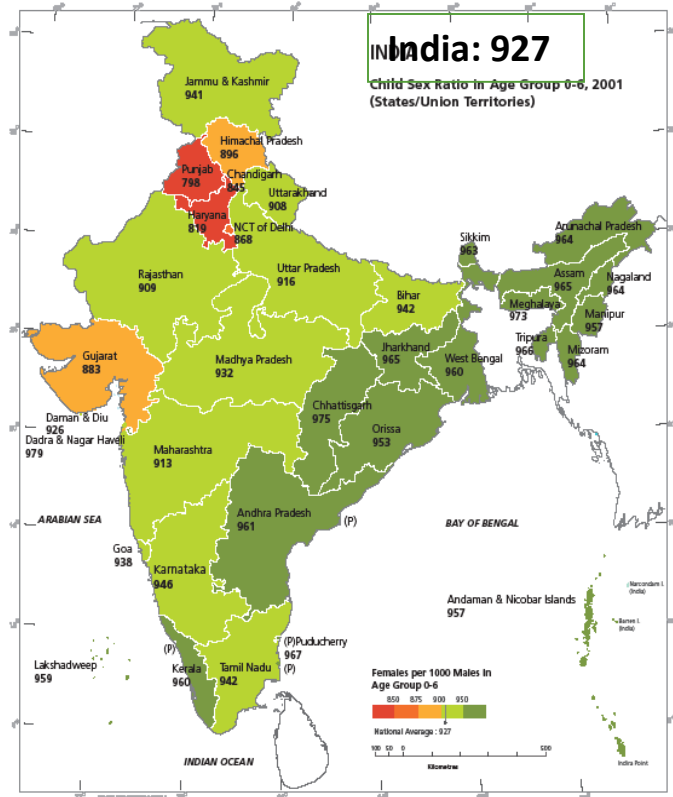


\*Girls per 1,000 boys (under the age of 6)



# Indicator 5.1.3 Child Sex Ratio

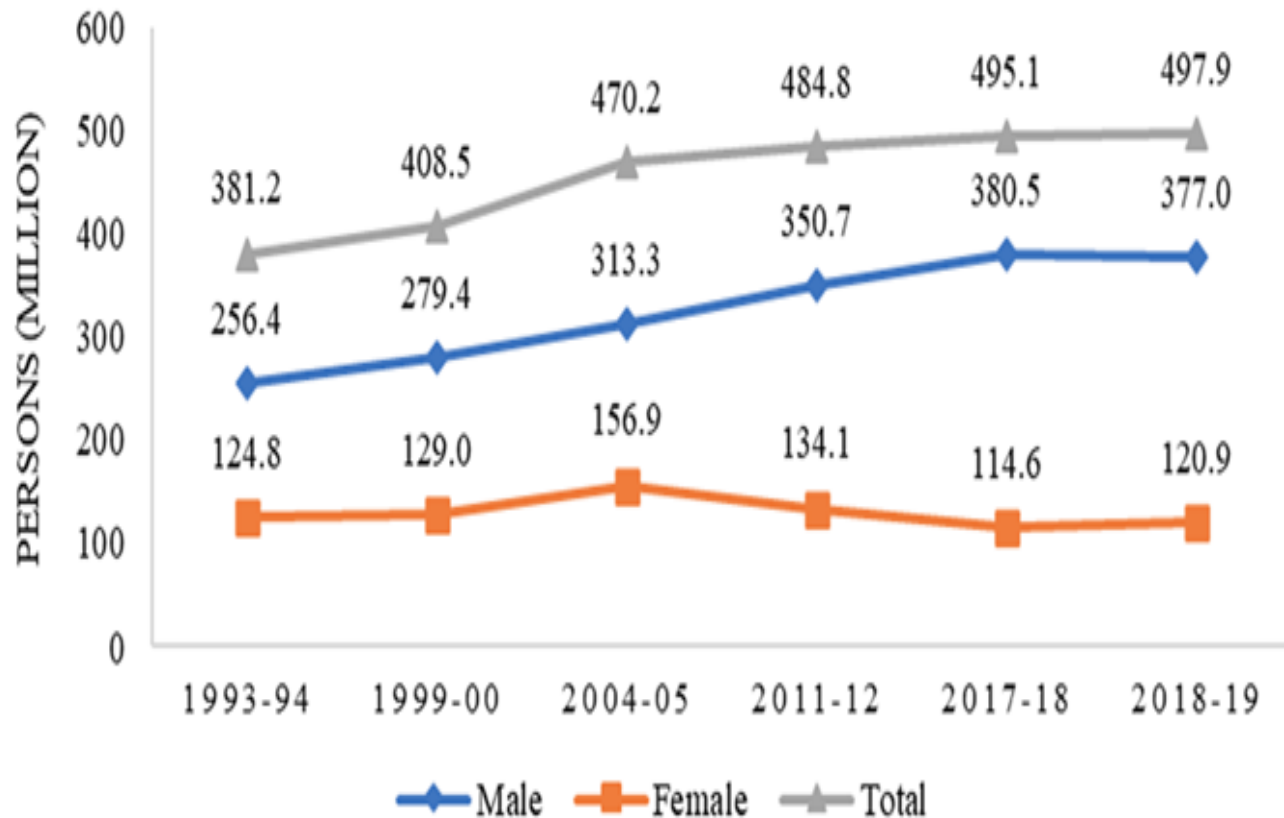
2011 Age Group 0-6 Census 2001 and 2011 (p) 2011



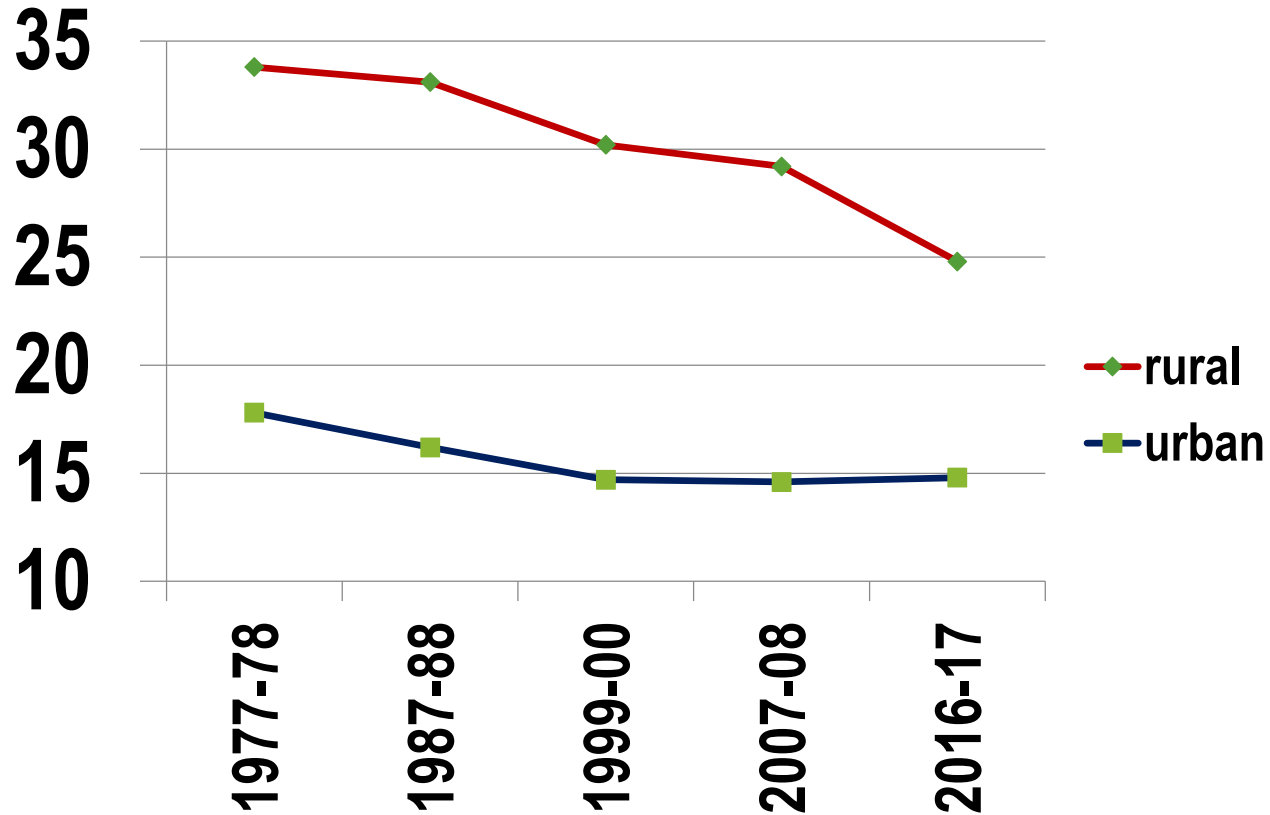
## 8.5.2: Workforce participation ratio

	1983	1999-00	2018-19
<b>Total population in million</b>	<b>723.3</b>	<b>996.1</b>	<b>1347.0</b>
<b>Share of 15-59 years' population in total</b>	<b>58.2%</b>	<b>58.8%</b>	<b>60.3%</b>
<b>Total employed in million</b>	<b>303.8</b>	<b>399.5</b>	<b>468.8</b>
<b>Employed as % of total population</b>	<b>42.0</b>	<b>40.1</b>	<b>34.8</b>
<b>Employed as % of 15-59 years</b>	<b>72.1</b>	<b>68.2</b>	<b>57.7</b>

# Labour Force in millions

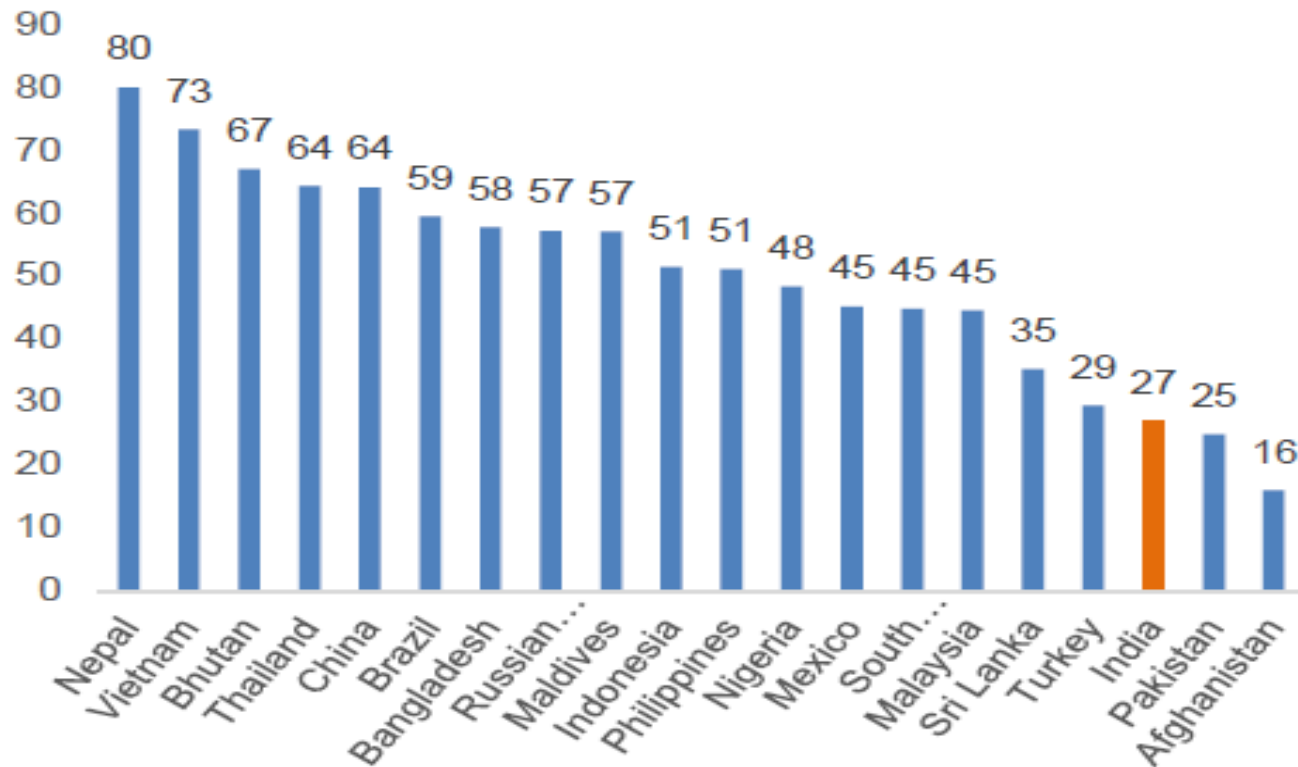


# % of 15-59 age women in work force



# Female Labour Participation Rate %

*LFP; percent*



# Women and displacement

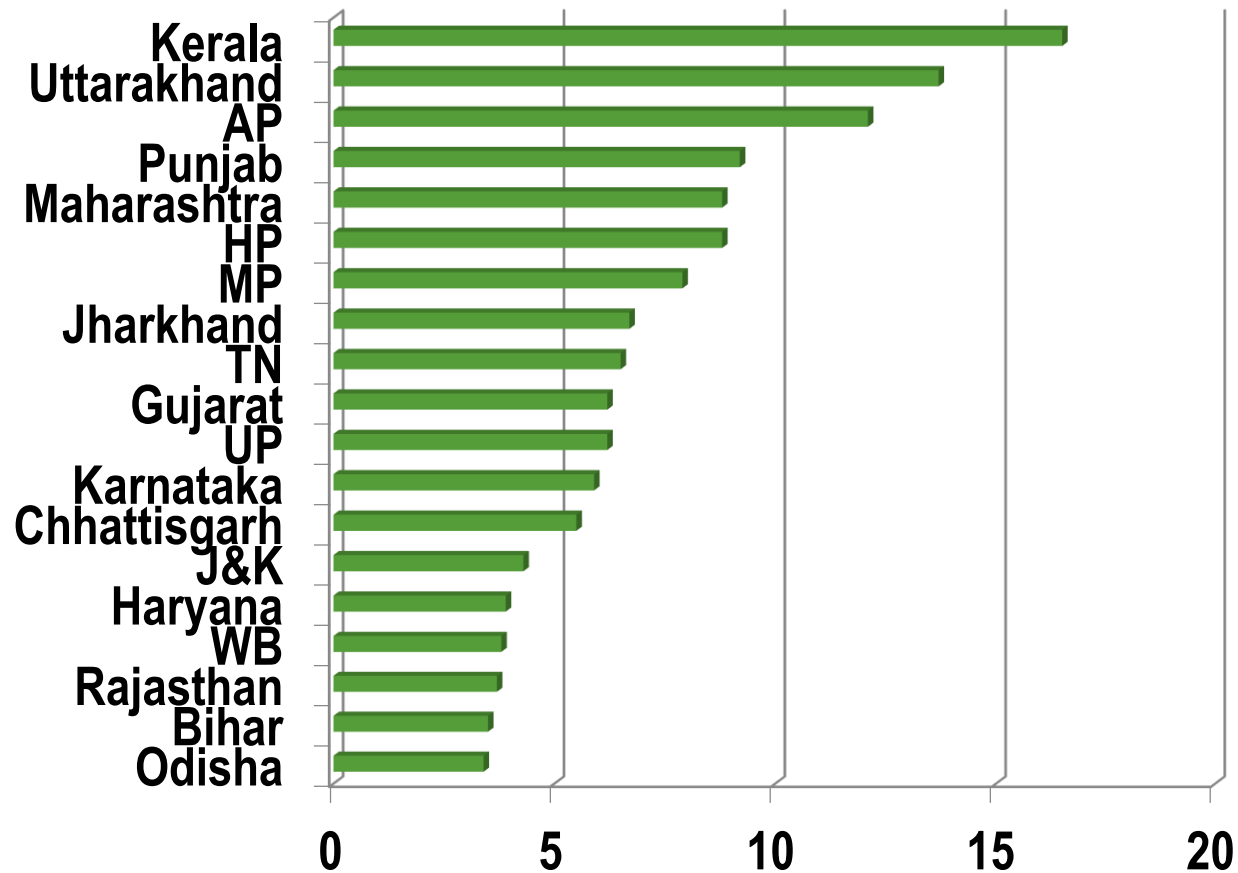
**In Narmada, which has the best resettlement package announced by government so far, every major son of 18 + is to be treated as a separate family, but no such rights to major unmarried girls**

# Explanations?

- Organisation of households in India
- Control over property & wealth
- Social and cultural norms, influenced by caste/class and religion
  - Laws of Manu (IX, 3): “Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; **a woman is never fit for independence**”.

***Inter-regional differences?***

## Landownership by women in landed Households





# Why land rights to women?

- Constitutional equality & policy of no discrimination
- Assetlessness leads to subordination & dependence
- Control over assets will lead to greater expenditure on family needs
- As men migrate, women control agriculture, but with little access to credit, extension, and markets
- Joint titles? Pattas to group of women?
- Women leave parents' village, but men too leave for urban jobs

*Equity & family welfare*

## Section 171 of the UP ZALR Act

- After a landowner's death, his land will devolve to the male issues in equal shares.
- **Widow added in 1999, and unmarried daughters added in 2008.**
- A married daughter would be entitled to a share in the absence of the above claimants, only when the deceased had no father, widowed mother, brother or unmarried sister.

# Hindu Succession (Amendment) Act, 2005

- 2005 Act brings all agricultural land on par with other property and makes Hindu women's inheritance rights in land legally equal to men's across States
- Deleted Section 4 (2) of the 1956 Act that made the inheritance of agricultural land subject to the devolution rules specified in State-level tenurial laws
- Covers inequalities on several fronts: agricultural land; joint family property; parental dwelling house
- It declares **all daughters, including married daughters, as coparceners in joint family property**
- It deletes Section 23 of the 1956 HSA, thereby **giving all daughters (married or not) the same rights as sons** to reside in or seek partition of the family dwelling house. Section 23 did not allow married daughters (unless separated, deserted or widowed) even residence rights in the parental home. Unmarried daughters had residence rights but could not demand partition.

# Is India one of the worst places in the world to be a woman?



Birth	Childhood	Adolescence	Youth	Middle Age	Old Age
<p><b>Sex Selection:</b> 50 million girls are missing</p> <p><b>Nutrition:</b> 49% of female children are mal-nourished</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Education:</b> 20-40% of girls do not attend primary school in the least developed states</li> <li>▪ <b>Child Marriage:</b> Underage marriage in rural areas is three times as high as urban areas</li> <li>▪ <b>Girl Labour:</b> 19,20,000 girls are working</li> <li>▪ <b>Child Trafficking:</b> More than 200,000 child commercial sex workers form 40% of the total population of commercial sex workers in India</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Sexual Violence:</b> Half of children have or will experience sexual abuse; between 2000 and 2011, reported rape cases increased by 50%</li> <li>▪ <b>Sanitation:</b> 90% of women use ashes and husks while menstruating; girls miss an average of five school days per month and 23% drop out after they begin menstruating; over 70% of women have some kind of RTI</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Honour Killings:</b> 1,000 honour killings occur each year across India, 20% of the global figure of 5,000</li> <li>▪ <b>Dowry:</b> Although laws against the dowry system are in place, the practice continues; 8,620 dowry deaths were reported in 2011, a rise of 91% since 2006</li> <li>▪ <b>Domestic Abuse:</b> 35% of Indian women suffer physical violence at the hands of their partners</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Sexual Harassment:</b> 80% of women report sexual harassment in their workplace</li> <li>▪ <b>Divorce:</b> Indian divorce laws are skewed against women</li> <li>▪ <b>Political Empowerment:</b> Representation of women in Parliament is 11%, lower than sub-Saharan Africa</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Widowhood:</b> Women in old age face discrimination and abuse</li> <li>▪ <b>Old-Age homes:</b> There are only 50 specialty homes for women in the whole country</li> </ul>

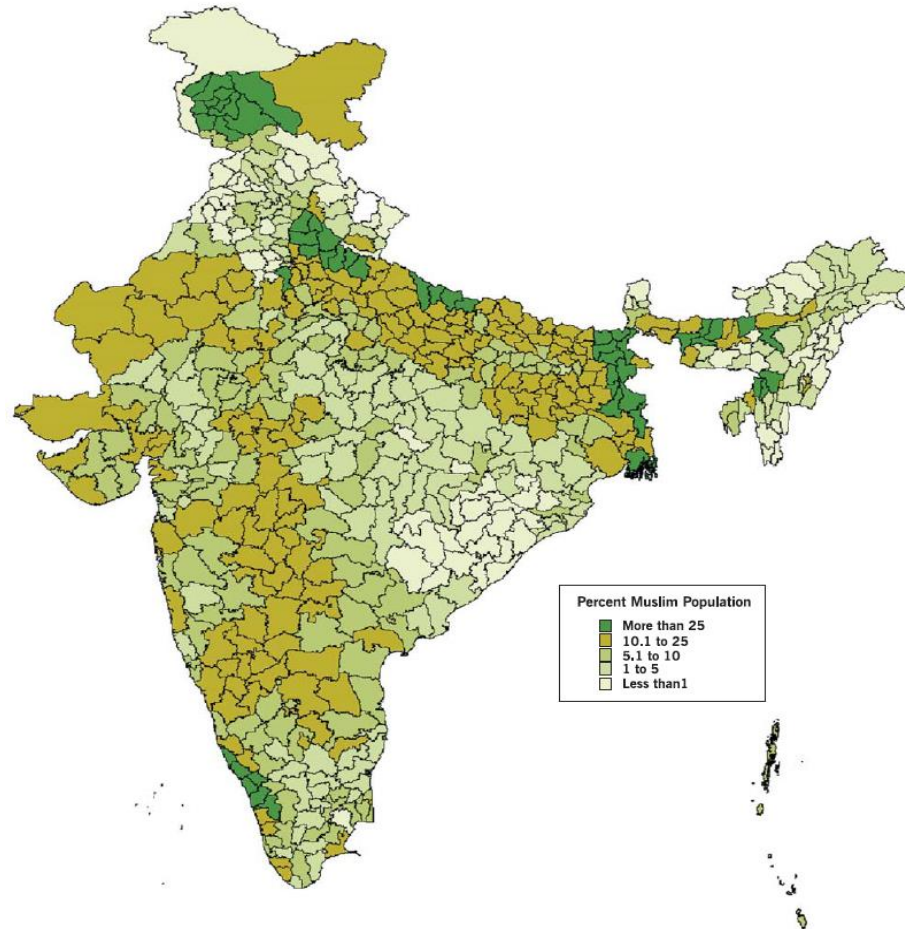
# Social Harmony & Communal Conflict in India



**Who was Poonjabhai Thakkar's  
son?**

**Who was Ramtanu  
Pandey?**

Fig. 3.3: District-wise Concentration of Muslim Population





# Poverty by Religious Groups

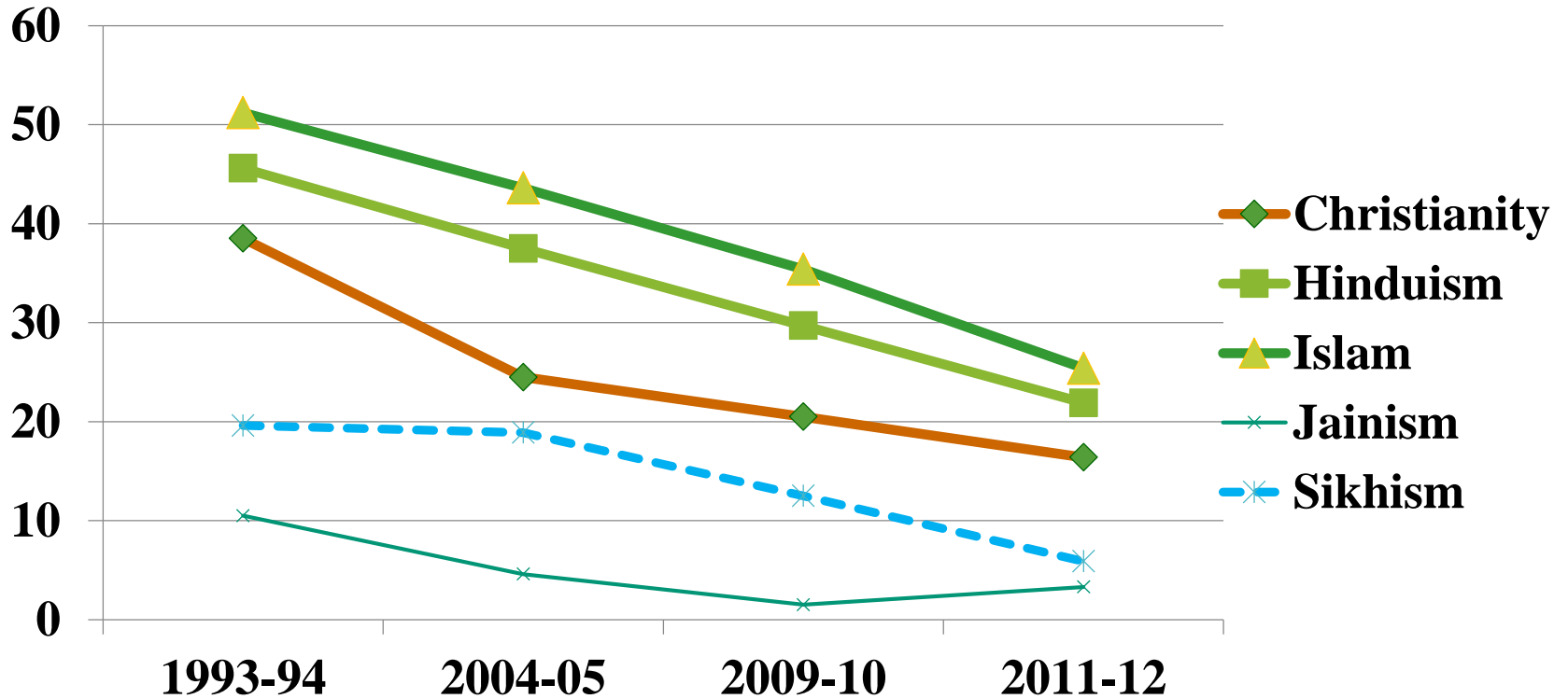
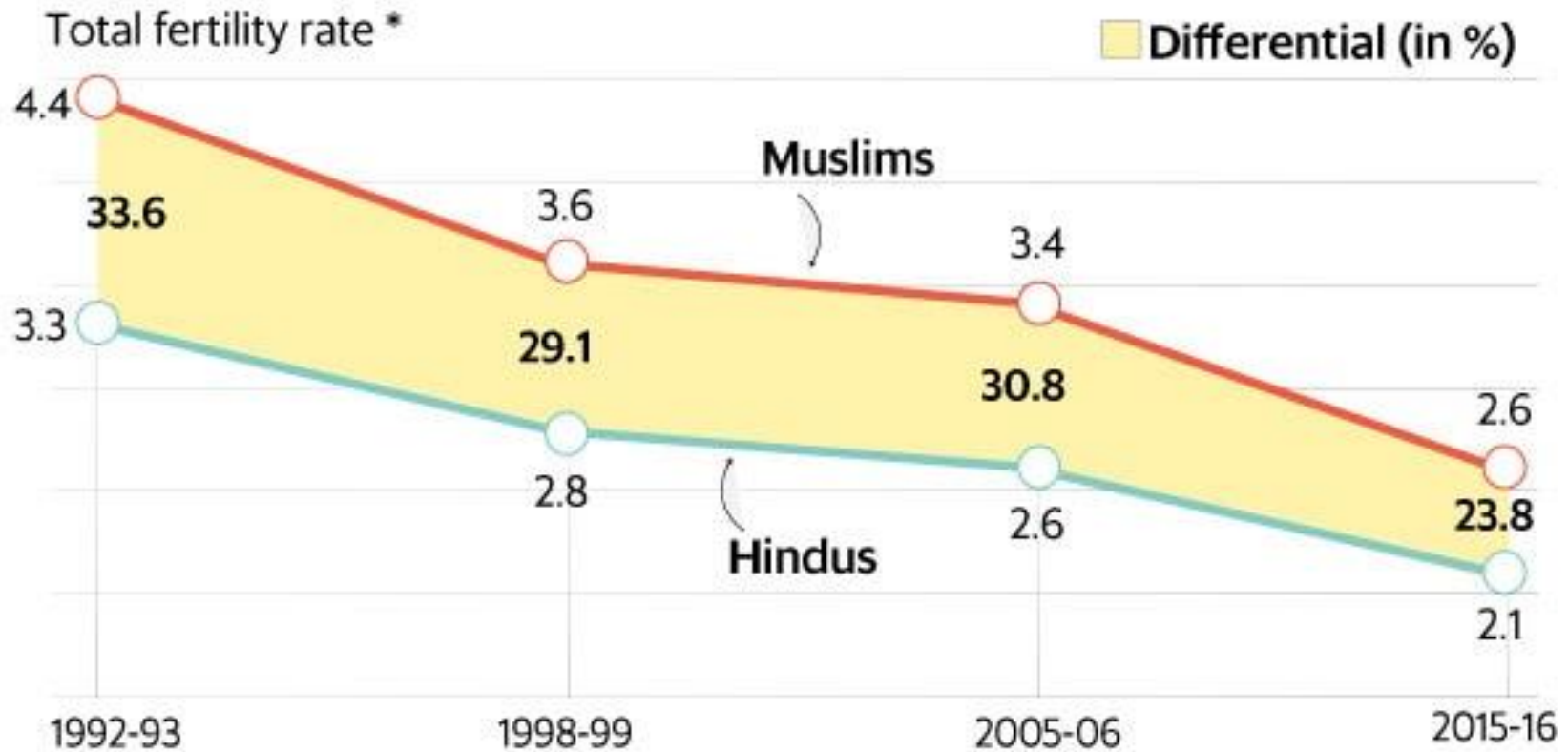


Chart 1

# After staying around 30% since 1992-93, the Hindu-Muslim fertility differential narrowed to 23.8% in 2015-16



\* Average number of children a woman will have in her lifetime at current fertility levels

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS)

## In 'Secular' India Muslims should have

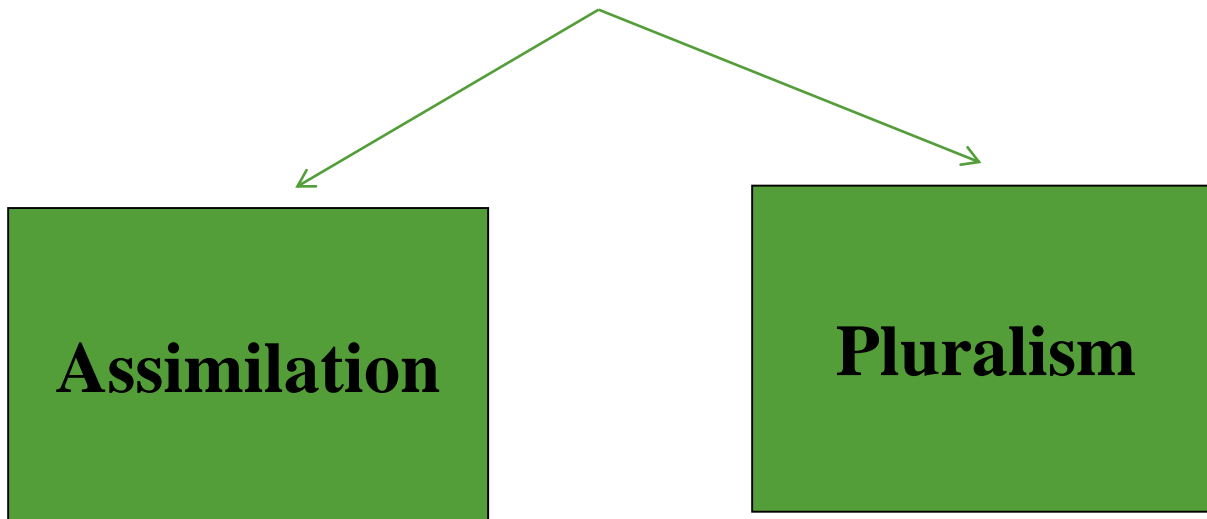
1. Individual equality, but no group rights
2. Individual equality + cultural rights (AMU, separate personal law), but no affirmative action
3. Individual equality + cultural rights (AMU, separate personal law) + reservation in government jobs
4. Individual equality + cultural rights (AMU, separate personal law) + reservation in government jobs + proportional representation in Parliament/Assemblies + restoration of Art 370

# Policy Framework

Majoritarianism or control

Vs

Non-discriminatory



# Policy Framework

**Assimilation**

**vs**

**Pluralism**

**Political assimilation  
and cultural pluralism**

# Debatable Constitutional Provisions

25. Freedom to practice and *propagate* religion

30. Right of minorities to **establish and administer** educational institutions

~~370. GOI laws need concurrence of State Government~~

---

44. Uniform Civil Code

48. Organisation of agriculture and animal husbandry:

State shall take steps for preserving and improving the breeds, and *prohibiting the slaughter, of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle.*

# Muslim share in education in Rampur town (U.P.)

- Share in population 72%
- Share in those who appeared in class XII 27%
- Share in those who passed class XII 21%
- Share in those who got First Division 5%

***“Anyone can discriminate against the Muslims only when they qualify and compete. How many Muslims are competing?”***

# Muslim share in jobs (as % of the total)

Class I    Class II    Class III    Class IV

---

• Central govt	1.6	3.0	4.4	5.1
• State govts	3.3	4.5	4.6	6.4

---

***Only 39 percent of Muslims in the age group of 15-24 were enrolled in schools against 44 percent for SCs, 51 percent for Hindu OBCs and 59 percent for Hindu upper castes***



کہا مجنوں سے یہ لیلیٰ کی ما نے  
کہ بیٹا تو اگر کر لے ایم اے پاس  
تو فوراً بیاہ دوں لیلیٰ کو تجھ سے  
بلا دقت میں بن جاؤں تری ساس  
کہا مجنوں نے یہ اچھی سنائی  
کجا عاشق کجا کالج کی بکواس

کجا یہ فطرتی جوش طبیعت  
کجا ٹھونسی ہوئی چیزوں کا احساس

بڑی بی آپ کو کیا ہو گیا ہے  
ہرن پہ لادی جاتی ہے کہیں گھاس  
یہ اچھی قدر دانی آپ نے کی  
مجھے سمجھا ہے کوئی ہرچرن داس  
دل اپنا خون کرنے کو ہوں موجود  
نہیں منظور مغز سر کا آماس  
یہی ٹھہری جو شرط وصل لیلیٰ  
تو استعفیٰ مرا با حسرت و یاس

# Akbar Allahabadi on Muslim reluctance to education

Kaha Majnu se ye Laila ki Maa ne,  
Ki Beta tu agar kar le M.A pass,

To fauran byaah doon Laila ko tujh se,  
Bila diqqat main ban jaaun teri saas (bila diqqat- without any problem)

Kaha Majnu ne: Yeh achchi sunaai!!  
Kuja aashiq, kuja college ki bakwaas? (kuja-kahaan)

Kuja ye fitrati josh-e-tabiyat  
(Love is by nature spontaneous and unrestrained!)  
Kuja thaunsi hui cheezon ka ehssaas! (Where do you bring in this stuffed learning by rote?)

**Bari bee, aapko kya ho gaya hai?  
Hiran pe laadi jaati hai kahin ghaas?**

**Ye achchi qadardaani aapne ki! (qadardaani- (here) well  
judged worth)**

**Mujhe samjha hai koi Harcharan Dass?!**

**Dil apna khoon karne ko hoon maujood (The blood of my  
heart can be readily shed!)**

**Nahin manzoor maghaz-e-sar ka aamas (This cudgelling of  
the brain is sadly too much to ask!)**

**Yeh thahri jo shart-e-wasal-e-Laila (If this be the condition  
for the consummation of my love)**

**To istifaa mera ba hasrat-o-yaas! (Here's my resignation-  
regretfully and with a sense of loss!)**

## Qualified Muslims in UP PSC Subordinate Services Examination (2012-15)

<b>Total Selected</b>	<b>4926</b>
<b>Muslims</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>Percentage of Muslims in Total</b>	<b>2.3</b>
<b>Total OBCs</b>	<b>1388</b>
<b>Muslim OBCs</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>Percentage of Muslim OBCs</b>	<b>4.1</b>

# Debatable Constitutional Provisions

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---

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# **Bias & Prejudice against Muslims?**

# Prejudice leads to

- distortion and filtering of facts
- preference for confirmation of opinion rather than objective reality
- friendship only with 'people of your own kind'
- hatred and legitimisation of violence

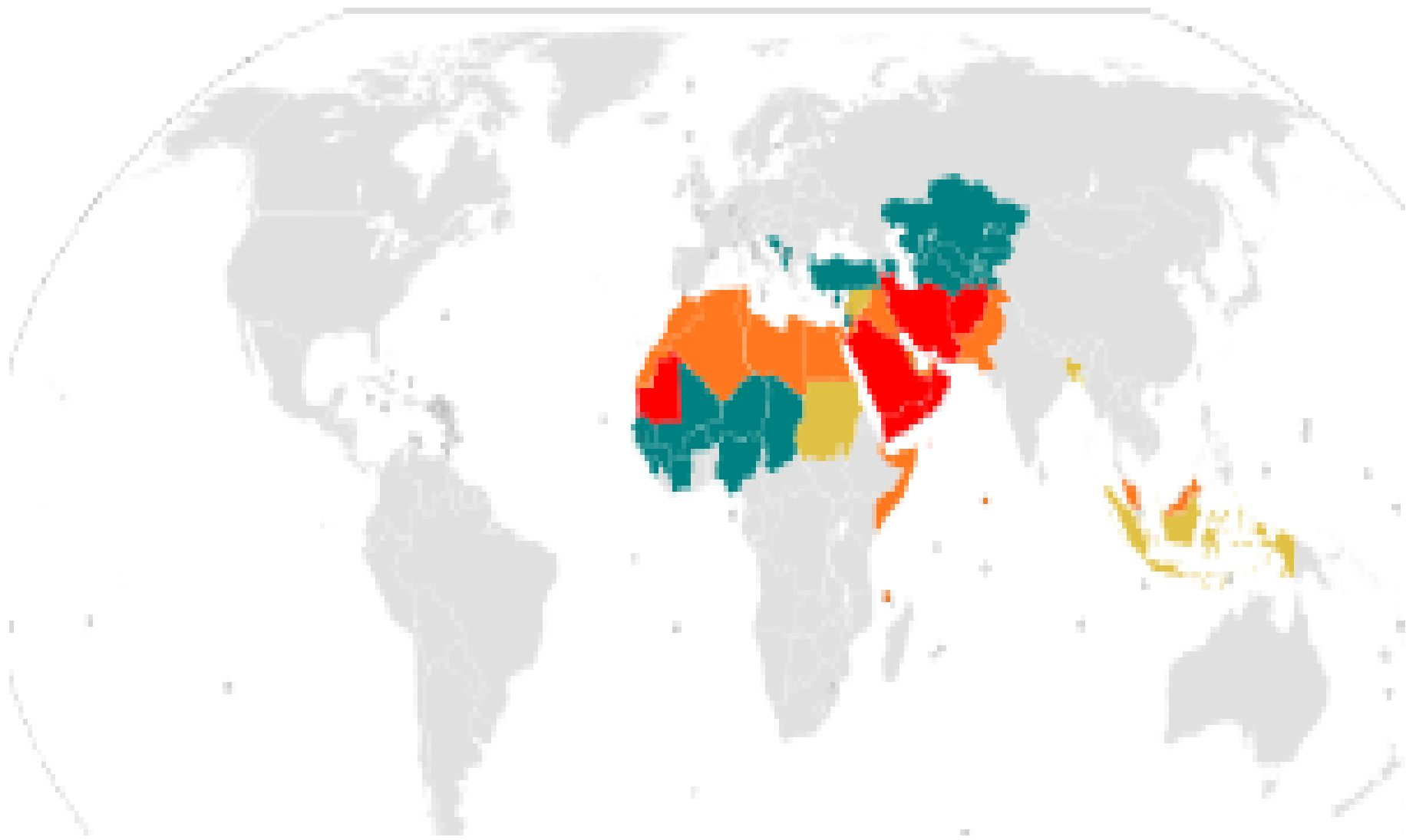
*What kind of policies reduce prejudice?*

*Convents vs Madarasas*

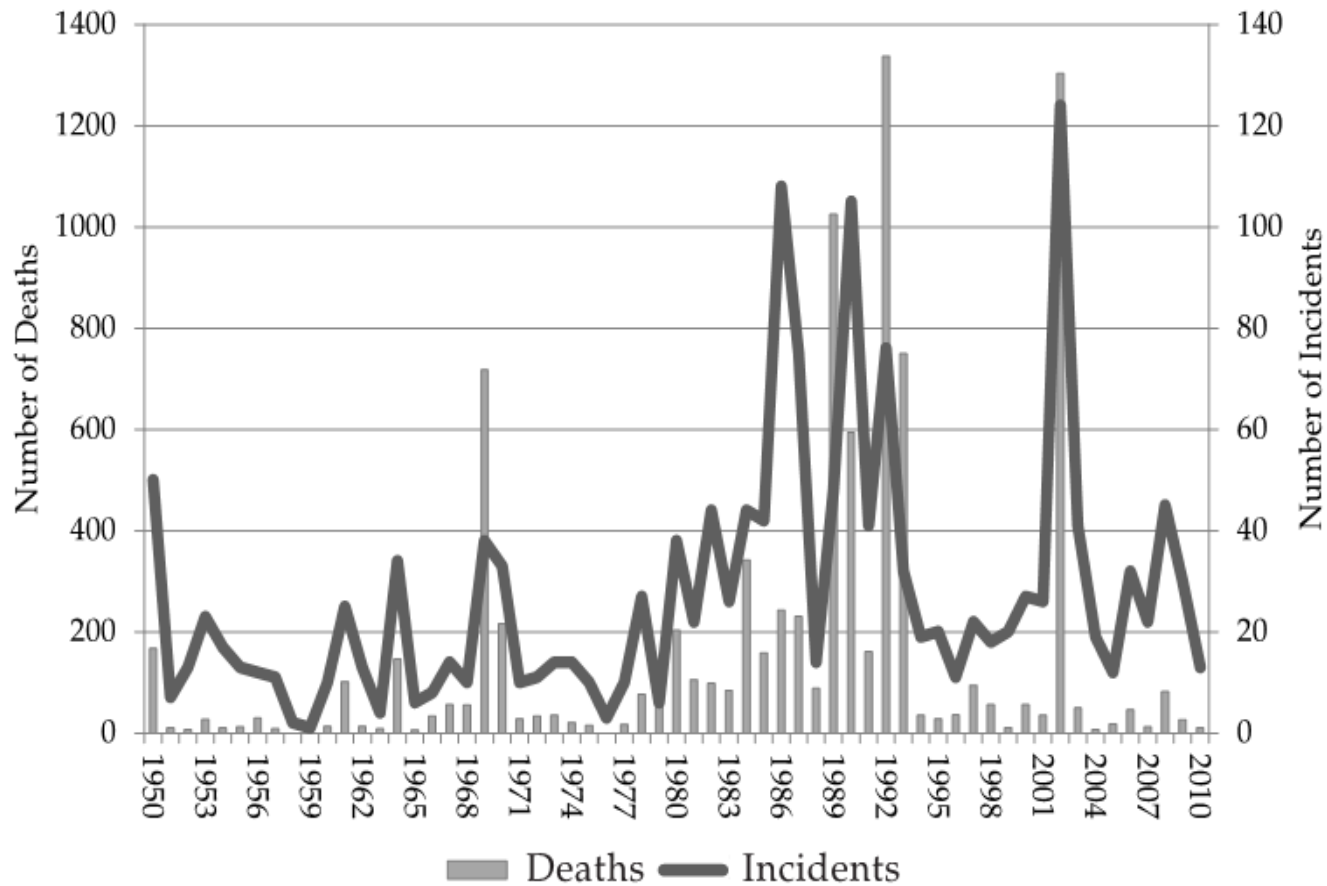


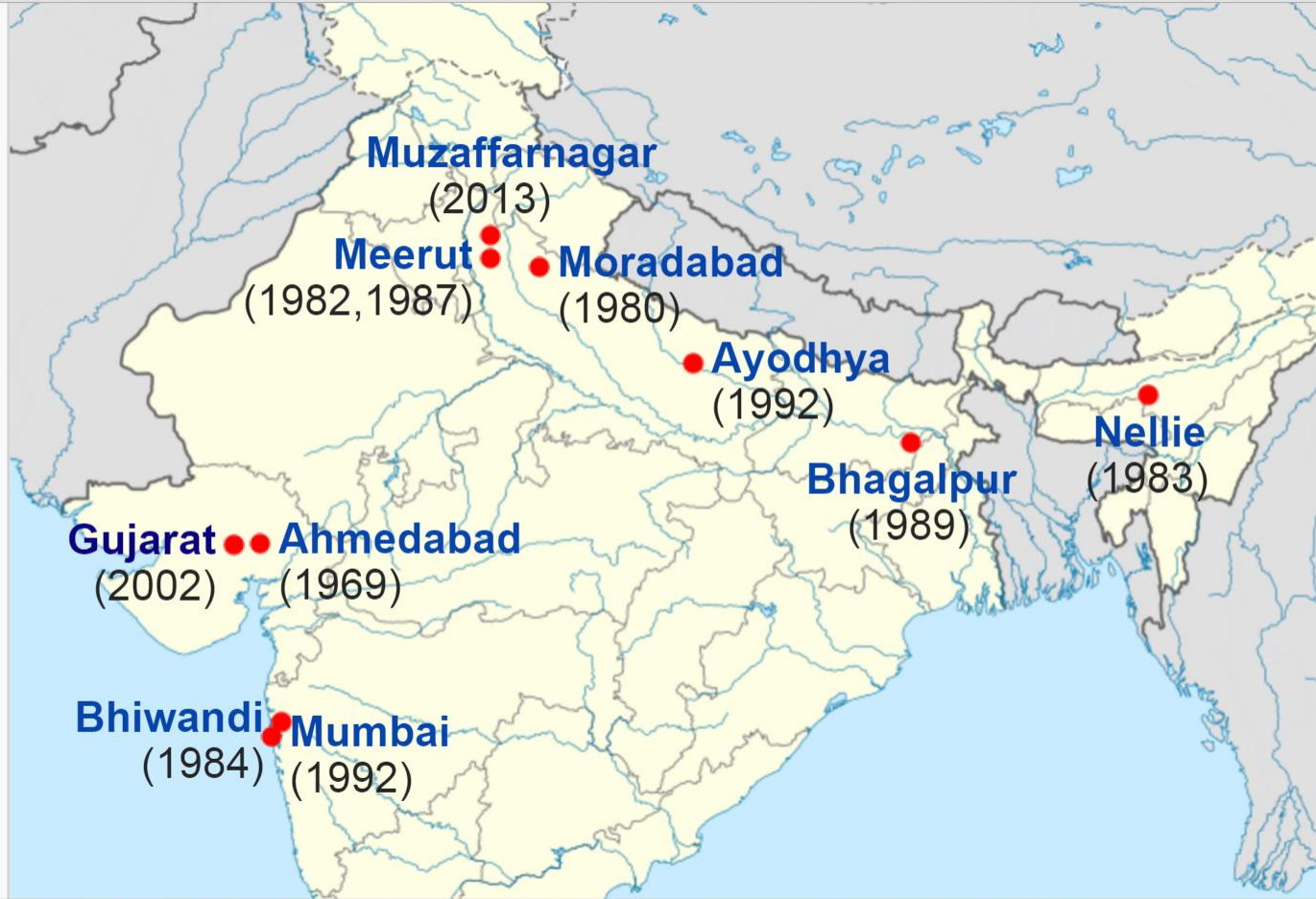
उत्तर प्रदेश द्वारा माध्यमिक कक्षाओं के लिए स्वीकृत "हमारा इतिहास और नागरिक शास्त्र" के दो अंश नीचे उद्धृत हैं—

- (१) "हर्ष ने बंगाल के राजा शशांक पर चढ़ाई कर दी और उसके राज्य को अपने राज्य में मिला लिया। उसने नेपाल पर भी आक्रमण किया और उस पर विजय प्राप्त की। कामरूप के राजा ने उसका प्रभुत्व स्वीकार कर लिया। हर्ष का साम्राज्य सिंध से असम तक और हिमालय पहाड़ से नर्मदा तक फैला हुआ था। उसकी मृत्यु के बाद भारत में छोटे-छोटे राज्य स्थापित हो गये। और भारतवर्ष का पुराना वैभव नष्ट हो गया।"
- (२) "रानी दुर्गावती, जिसने देश के सम्मान पर आँच न आने दी, वह जानती थी किसी न किसी दिन मुगल सम्राट की गृद्ध दृष्टि उसके छोटे से राज्य पर अवश्य पड़ेगी। अकबर की लोभलिप्सा जाग उठी।"



# Trends in Hindu-Muslim Violence





## Casualties in some important riots :-

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Name of place	No. of people killed		
	Hindus	Muslims	Others & unidentified
Aligarh (1961)	1	12	-
Ranchi/Hatia(Aug. 1967)	20	156	1
Ahmedabad (Sept. 1969)	24	430	58
Bhiwandi (May 1970)	17	59	2
Jalgaon (May 1970)	1	42	-
Firozabad (1972)	3	16	2
Aligarh(1978)	6	19	3
Jamshedpur (1979)	12	107	8
Moradabad (Aug. 1980)	18	142	0
Meerut (1987)	41	131	
Bhagalpur (1989)	50	896	53
Bombay (1992-93)	275	575	50

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# Field inspection by NC Saxena

- Inside the Feroze Building, I met Shabana, aged 11, who still bears many marks of knife injuries on her body. I visited the houses of Abdul Rasheed, Sheru, Anwar, Sherdin, Zafar Ali, Abdul Aziz, Irshad, Kalwa, Moin, Salim Iqbal, Abdul Zayyam and Wali Mohd., all deceased in the unfortunate police action on October 1. I was shown bullet marks on the walls, blood-stained clothes belonging to the deceased and many photographs of the houses which were taken soon after the incident which prove not only the fact of entry of force inside the houses, but also looting and wanton destruction of property.
- After detailed enquiries I was convinced that at least the killing of eighty innocent people by the PAC were not accounted for in the Police records..

# Home Ministry on the role of administration

- **With few exceptions, it has been observed by almost all the commissions of enquiry that police were not sincere in meeting the important objective of protecting minorities, or the people who were in a weaker position and were either victim or target of killing in a communal disturbance. There were serious allegations that the police remained passive on many occasions. In many instances, police remained idle while looting, arson, and murders were committed in their very presence. In certain cases, police were an active participant in the violent mob.**

# Who is to be blamed?

**Problem**

**Guilty party**

<b>Violence/Lynching</b>	<b>Administration/Police</b>
<b>Irrational Prejudice</b>	<b>Hindus</b>
<b>Rational Conflict</b>	<b>Muslims</b>



# **Coping strategy for Muslims in a Talibani Hindu nation**

- **Concentrate on individual mobility through higher education, specially Science and Management**
- **Take advantage of OBC reservation and join Class II and I jobs in large numbers, especially Police**
- **Learn English and make it compulsory in all Madarsas**
- **In some districts open an English medium Madarsa with 25% seats reserved for poor/dalit Hindus**
- **Make AMU and Jamia the best Universities in India, so that these Universities, and not St Stephens becomes the first choice for bright Hindu students**

# Coping strategy for Muslims in a Talibani Hindu nation

- Set up Cultural Societies with the help of like-minded Hindus to promote amity and harmony, and reduce prejudice
- Openly support abolition of triple Talaq and polygamy
- Persuade the young not to take up the suicidal path of militancy and violence
- Adopt neutral names and dress
- Promote Sufi Islam and give up Salafism

***"If you cannot maximize your gains, concentrate on minimizing your losses"***