



Marginalisation of Muslims

in Ten Minority Concentration Districts

Bringing the Equity

Question Back into the Political Discourse

A Development Audit Report by the
SPECT Foundation

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in Ten Minority Concentration Districts

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Written By:

Dr. Banojyotsna Lahiri
Dr. Sazid Ali

Reviewers

Aditya Nigam
Ghazala Jamil
Navsharan Singh
Satish Deshpande
Farah Naqvi

Contributors:

Mohd. Shoaib Khan
Monjima Kar
Prashant Tandon
Rizak Mohammad
Ansar Imran SR
Sahil Razvi

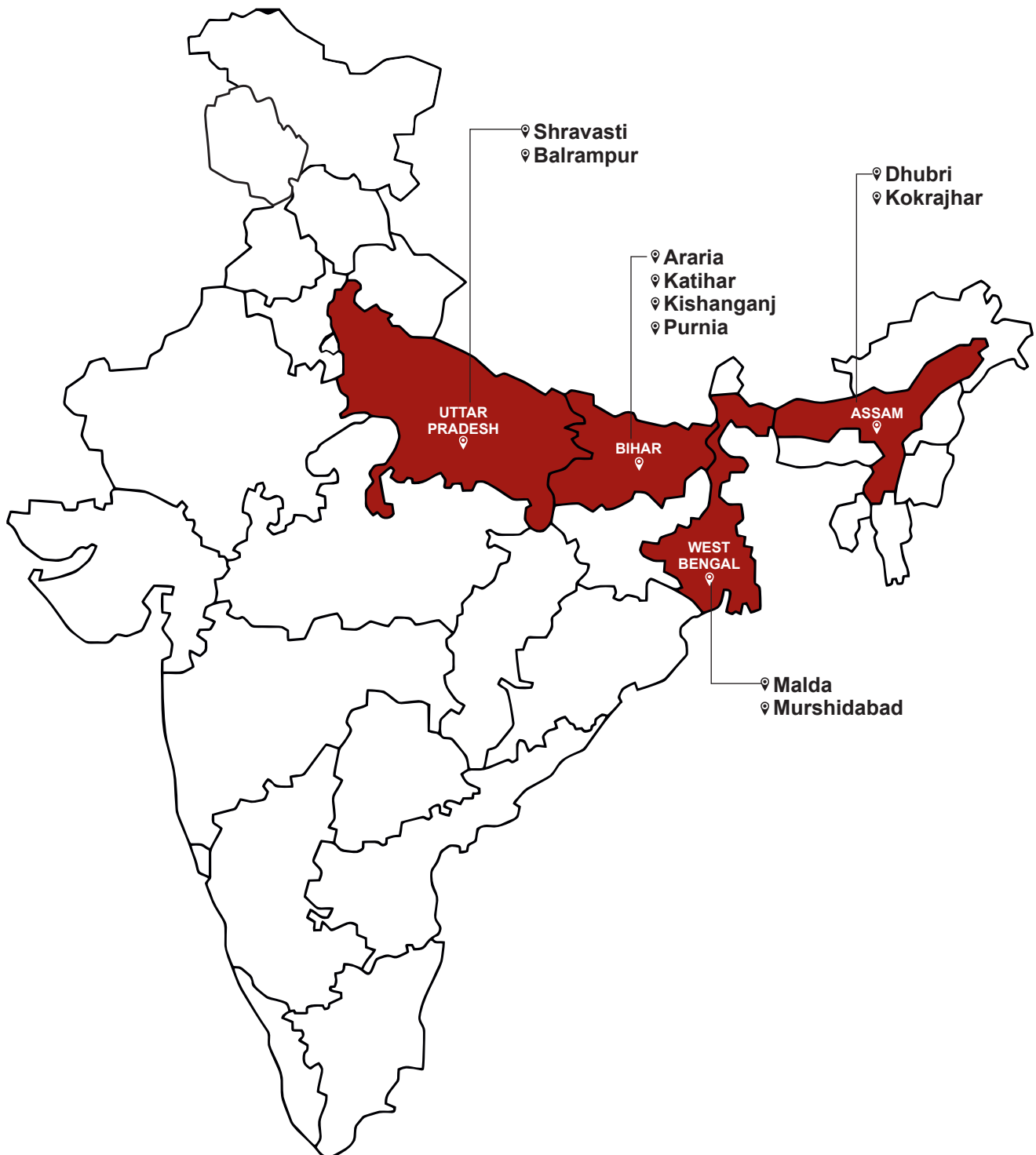
Preface

This is the first report in a series, where we intend to do development audits of districts that have a sizable minority population and are utterly backward in the socio-economic scale in the country. In this opening series we have chosen 10 districts that are part of the 90 Minority Concentrated Districts identified based on the recommendation of Sachar Committee Report (2006). These districts have also made the news, because of recurring propaganda against them by the ruling dispensations and which is also amplified by an embedded media. We will show how the basic socio-economic indices in these districts are abysmal, and although that does not make the news, they are indeed the reality in these districts. In the first part of this series, we have chosen districts: two districts- Balrampur and Sravasti are in Uttar Pradesh, four districts- Araria, Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia are in Seemanchal region of Bihar, two districts- Malda and Murshdabad are in West Bengal and the remaining two districts- Dubri and Kokrajhar are in Assam.

This report is produced by SPECT Foundation, an initiative aimed at doing research and advocacy work on issues of socio-economic backwardness of communities (particularly Muslims) at the margin of Indian society and who have faced systematic discrimination and neglect by the state.

This report was preceded by a number of consultations with civil society activists and researchers who have experience of working in this field and have deep understanding on issues concerning minorities and other marginalised communities. We would like to thank Shoaib and Monjima for helping us in collating the data. Special thanks to Rizak Mohammad and Ansar Imran SR for helping us in making infographic illustrations, maps and designing the report.

FOCUSED DISTRICTS



Summary of key findings & Recommendations

Among the 76 recommendations made by Sachar Committee Report (2006) to ameliorate the conditions of Muslims, was a multi-sectoral development programme to provide basic amenities, and improve opportunities for employment in identified backward districts with minority concentration. In the 11th Five Year Plan (2008-09), out of 136 districts which had a minority population above 25 %, 90 Minority Concentration Districts (MCDs) were identified for the Multi-sectoral Development Programme (MsDP) covering 34% of the minority population in the country. It was an area/spatial development initiative, with focused attention on districts, blocks and towns to address development deficits by creating necessary infrastructure for socio-economic development and providing basic amenities. This Development Audit Report is part of a series that the SPECT foundation will be bringing out on the socio-economic conditions in these districts.

I. Objectives of the Report

The conversation around the socio-economic backwardness of the Muslim community, as well as the systemic underdevelopment of Minority Concentration Districts (MCDs) has largely disappeared from the public domain in the last 8-10 years. After the shocking revelations of the Sachar Committee Report, further revelations by the Amitabh Kundu Committee (2014), necessitated a targeted and programmatic approach to address the socio-economic underdevelopment that plagues India's Muslim community. But the current ruling dispensation, displaying an anti-Muslim bias, has turned the narrative on its head, pushing instead the baseless idea of "Muslim appeasement". The tragic chronicle of extreme socio-economic backwardness among Muslims has been replaced by a range of concocted narratives that stigmatise, stereotype or seek to criminalise India's Muslim community. This report provides an overdue factual corrective.

In this first report we assess socio-economic parameters in the following 10 districts in 4 border states, which are part of the identified MCDs:

- Bihar (Araria, Purnia, Kishanganj, Katihar)
- Assam (Dhubri, Kokrajhar)
- Uttar Pradesh (Shravasti, Balarampur)
- West Bengal (Malda, Murshidabad)

II. Why were these ten districts selected for the first round of development audit?

The purpose of the Development Audit Reports is to map the socio-economic backwardness that has accumulated over the last one decade, particularly in districts with a considerable Muslim population. These 10 districts have 1.41 crore Muslims,

which is 52 % of these districts, and represent 8.18 % of the total number of Indian Muslims. They account for 45 % of Assam's total population (3.12 crore) and nearly 15.5 % of West Bengal's total population (9.12 crore).

These ten districts were also chosen in the first round because they have been particularly targeted by the BJP, its affiliates and the media in recent years for various reasons, including alleged population explosion and 'illegal infiltration' from neighbouring countries. What seems to escape any attention is that these districts, inundated by flood every year, suffer from abject multidimensional poverty and lack of resources. There are huge gaps in the existing structures of livelihood that diminish opportunities and shrink resources for the people of these districts. In most of these districts, data shows that the Muslim community in particular has remained even more cut off from basic resources. And, the myth of 'appeasement of Muslims', regularly peddled by a propaganda machinery, is demonstrably based on utter falsehood.

III. What we are trying to counter

In July and August 2022, several news channels conducted heated debates on the so-called "rise of radical Islam" in many districts of states that lie on India's borders. The narrative was propelled by the state, and news channels ably amplified it, speculating about 'foreign hands' and alleging a myriad conspiracy. Reports were filed by the Police in several states, and BJP leaders along with the mainstream national media pushed a coordinated campaign to bolster a narrative of 'foreign backed infiltration of Muslims', that has led to the sudden rise in their population. This was predictably linked to 'jeopardising national security.'

The police reports and this conspiracy narrative remain blind to many factual possibilities for population shifts on the ground. They refuse to acknowledge the complex social processes of ghettoization in rural areas, including from forced internal displacement. The increase in the Muslim population in some villages could well have resulted from internal migration or forced displacement which invariably happens after both large scale or continuous low scale attacks on Muslims, something that has been widespread throughout the country in the last decade. For example, after the Muzaffarnagar pogrom of 2013, a substantial (70-80 thousand) Muslim population from the villages of Muzaffarnagar, was forced to relocate to neighboring districts like Shamli (Kairana, Kandhla etc.) and others. Instead of examining the range of such socio-economic-political reasons for any (real or imagined) demographic shifts, the purported increase of the Muslim population continued to be seen and projected by the police as part of some sinister game plan.

The media in India, which has long stopped challenging these motivated state-led narratives which incriminate minorities, Dalits and the working class, did not try to puncture or question the police narrative in any way.

IV. What we are trying to achieve

A responsible media would have punctured the baselessness of this motivated narrative, focusing instead on the socio-economic backwardness of these remote border districts and the abject poverty that plagues them. A responsible media would have put the lens on the lack of basic facilities and resources in these districts, be it healthcare, employment or education; it would have highlighted how the minority communities, particularly the Muslim community, bear the brunt of this development deficit. The media has failed miserably to do so. This report attempts to fill that void.

This development audit is an attempt to re-start the conversation on socio-economic backwardness in these 10 border districts, the impact on Muslim communities there and to highlight how the abject underdevelopment of these districts needs to be the talking point, rather than falsities that stigmatise minorities.

KEY FINDINGS OF THE DEVELOPMENT AUDIT

A. BIHAR

Districts: Araria, Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia

Araria, Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia were among the 7 districts of Bihar identified for the targeted reach of developmental programs under the MsDP in Minority Concentration Districts. Out of the total 1.08 crore population in these four districts, 49 lakhs are Muslims. These four districts together are home to 47 % of Bihar's Muslim population as against the state-wide average of 17 %.

The conditions of these four districts on the basic developmental parameters is abysmally low and all the four districts come under the low-income group category. Instead of focusing on development, these districts have regularly been targeted for population increase, illegal infiltration and bogey of appeasement by the BJP and its affiliates. However, the data suggest quite the contrary.

Decadal Population Growth (DPG)

- DPG data in the census, showed that all the four districts recorded significant decline in the population growth between 1991-2001 and 2001-11. In Purnia and Katihar districts the decline has been as high as 6.9 % and 2.56 % respectively.

Education

- The literacy rates are far lower than the state average.
- The student-teacher ratio at the primary, upper-primary, secondary and higher secondary for these districts are higher than the state average and much higher than the national average.
- All indicative of extremely poor educational infrastructure in these districts, and need for state support.

Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awaas Yojana (PMGAY)

- Evidence of systematic discrimination against minorities in scheme distribution.
- Between 2016-17 to 2021-22 only 31.20 % of the beneficiaries were from the minority category which is 17.5 % less than the total average of Muslim population (48.5 %) in these four districts.

MGNREGA

- Between 2014-15 to 2020-21, there was greater demand for work in this region compared to the state average, which indicates the higher number of unemployed unskilled labour in these districts. However, despite this high demand, they were provided fewer work opportunities in terms of total person days and the number of families who completed a hundred days' work.
- In 2014-15 the number of families who completed hundred days work in the region was just 4.29 % of total families who completed hundred days work in Bihar, even though these districts comprise 10.53 % of the total population of Bihar.
- After the Covid-19 pandemic, in 2020-21 the percentage of families demanding work reached a high of 14-15 %, and the number of families completing hundred days work reached 18.4 % of the total numbers of such families in Bihar i.e., after Covid, the demand for work under MGNREGA increased significantly in these four districts.

B. UTTAR PRADESH

Districts: Shravasti and Balrampur

- According to the 2011 Census, Uttar Pradesh (UP) has 19.26 % Muslims, Balrampur has 37.51 % and Shravasti has a 30.79 % Muslim population. These 2 districts are among the 10 identified as Minority Concentration Districts in UP under the MsDP.

Decadal Population Growth (DPG) in UP

- Nine out of 11 districts with a Muslim population above 30 % have seen a 9.68 % average decline in DPG between 2001 to 2011.
- Only 2 districts with a Muslim population above 30 % have seen an increase in the growth rate. On the other hand, 8 out of 10 districts with lowest Muslim population in the state have recorded just 4.92 % decline.
- Shravasti recorded -5.02 % Decadal Population Growth (DPG) between 2001-11 which was 27.2 % in 1991-2001, thus a 32.23 % decline. On the other hand, Balrampur recorded a DPG of 27.72 % between 2001-11 which was 22.92 % in the decade of 1991-2001, an increase of 4.80 %, which is still not very high when we compare the DPG in other districts.
- **Education**
- According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate in UP is 57.25 %, with 65.31 % male and 48.42 % female literacy. However, Balrampur has only 49.51 % literacy and

Shravasti has an even lower literacy rate at just 37.89 %, far below the state and national average.

- The female population aged 6 years and above who ever attended school is low for Balrampur and Shravasti, at 53.1 % and 47 % respectively, below the state average of 67.4 %.
- According to NFHS-5 data, there are only 16.8 % women in Balrampur district who have completed 10 or more years of schooling, a gap of 22 % from the state average of 39.3 %. For Shravasti, the NFHS-5 data recorded 15.9 % women with 10 or more years of schooling which is again abysmally low, with a gap of 23 % from the state average.

Health Infrastructure

- Out of 75 districts in UP, Shravasti has the poorest health infrastructure- total 144 health centres: 125 Sub-Centres, 12 PHCs, 6 CHCs, no Sub-divisional hospital, and only 1 district hospital. This is in sharp contrast with a district like Prayagraj where the health infrastructure is at the high of 673- with 562 Sub-Centres, 86 PHCs, 20 CHCs, no Sub-divisional hospital and 5 district hospitals.
- Balrampur district ranks 23rd in the list with a total 253 health centres: 215 sub-Centres, 26 PHCs, 9 CHCs, no Sub-divisional hospital and 3 district hospitals.

Electricity and Clean cooking fuel

- Balrampur has 78.4 % and Shravasti has 73.7 % households with electricity, making it a gap of 12.6 % and 17.3 % respectively for both districts from the state average of 91 %.
- The percentage of households using clean fuel for cooking is also low for these two districts at 39 % and 36 % respectively lower than the UP state average of 49 %.

PMGAY

- In UP where Muslims are 19.26 %, only 10.77 % of total minorities have benefitted under the PMGAY. In Balrampur there are 17.48 % beneficiaries from minority category in Balrampur which is 20.8 % less than their total population (37.51% Muslims) in the district and in Shravasti there are 13.24 % beneficiaries from minority category which is 17.56 % less than the total population (30.79 % Muslims) of minorities in the district.

C. ASSAM

Districts: Dhubri and Kokrajhar

Of the two districts of Assam selected for the development audit, Dhubri shares its borders with Bhutan, while Kokrajhar shares a border with Bangladesh. The overall education and health scenario in both districts is abysmal and progressively deteriorating.

Education

- In Kokrajhar, the number of functional lower primary schools have declined, with more than 200 schools (presumably) shut down.
- Only some schools had mid-day meal facilities.
- In Gosaigaon block of Kokrajhar, with the highest Muslim population in the district, the number of lower primary schools is lowest.
- The dropout rate of students from higher education is also alarming.
- There are only 12 colleges in the district.
- There is not a single university in Kokrajhar. For college education and higher studies, the only option is to migrate.
- In Dhubri as well the number of primary schools saw sharp decline after the pandemic and the drop out rate from higher education is alarmingly high. There are only 14 colleges and no university in Dhubri.

Health

- Both Kokrajhar and Dhubri have poor infrastructure and poor health outcomes.
- Both districts have only one civil hospital and few primary health centers and diagnostic centers.
- As a result of poor health facilities, both districts reflect poor results in maternal health, infant health and overall malnutrition.

Details of education, health infrastructure and health indicators in these two districts are provided in the main body of the report.

Employment

- The 2011 census data reflects the poor condition of employment and salaried jobs in these two districts, especially in blocks with majority Muslim population.
- Bagirbari, Bilasipara, Chapar, Gossaigaon and in Dhubri where the Muslim population is more than 70%, the households with salaried jobs are 5% or less. In subsequent surveys also, the picture has not improved.
- During the COVID induced lockdown, while the demand for employment under MGNREGA enhanced across the country, the allocation of work under MGNREGA did not see significant rise in these districts, particularly in the Muslim majority blocks.

PMGAY

- There are noticeably large numbers of rejections in PMGAY applications, in blocks with a Muslim majority. The main report discusses this data in detail to analyse whether it points to systemic discrimination on grounds of socio-religious community or SRC (a term used by the Sachar Report).

The overall data analysis of these two districts in Assam point at systemic negligence, multidimensional poverty and lack of basic resources. Yes, this dismal scenario is not a focus of the dominant narratives being peddled about these districts.

D. WEST BENGAL

Districts: Malda and Murshidabad

West Bengal has a high population of Muslims (27%) and in the two districts selected for the development audit, Malda and Murshidabad, the Muslim population is even higher and concentrated at 51% and 66% respectively.

Decadal Population Growth

- Both districts, contrary to the incessant BJP propaganda of 'rising population owing to infiltration from neighboring Bangladesh', recorded negative decadal population growth, unlike other districts, which have low Muslim population. On basic developmental indices these two districts reflect extremely poor results.

Education

- Relatively few schools, colleges and universities in these districts have led to low literacy.
- Malda is second and Murshidabad fourth from the bottom, in terms of literacy rates.
- Deeper district level study shows that blocks with higher Muslim population have lower literacy rates in both Malda and Murshidabad.
- Despite repeated demands, there is still no fully functional university in Murshidabad, while in Malda there is just one. The number of schools and colleges are also lower than state average. The Sachar Committee had flagged the lack of educational resources for Muslims in Bengal and even after one and a half decade, the situation has not changed.

PMGAY

- There is comparatively better distribution of houses under PMGAY in these two districts, however, there is still a noticeable deficit in disbursal of demands relative to the state average.

Health

- Data reveals lack of public health facilities and the resultant health impact, particularly on women and children.
- The data on children shows large numbers of underweight, malnourished children with stunted growth; with high rates of anemia among both mothers and children.
- Both districts are performing far worse than the overall state average.

MGNREGA

- The only index where these districts performed relatively better was in the rise in MGNREGA works post-pandemic. This is because these are districts with high rates of out-migration for education and employment. The lockdown imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic drove this population back, leading to a rise in demand for work.

CONCLUSION:

The bias against Muslims by the BJP is now well-known. Their politics thrives on propagating a narrative of hatred, that deems any development for Muslims to be an act of “appeasement”. The possibility that the BJP government, either in the states or centre will act on its own and push the agenda of socio-economic development of minorities particularly the Muslims, seems remote. The mantle for raising demands to the central government for development of marginalised communities, including Muslims, clearly now falls on secular parties and organisations. However, many secular parties, appear to have succumbed to the prejudiced and motivated ‘appeasement’ bogey raised by the BJP and have become reluctant to address or even raise the issues of marginalisation of Muslims lest that jeopardise their majoritarian vote share. West Bengal, for example, has never has a BJP government. Bihar has largely been ruled by non BJP parties or occasionally in alliance, with BJP being a marginal player. Yet, even in these states, we find the Muslim community in particular being denied the fruits of development. The Muslim community is often considered a pliant vote bank by these opposition parties, who assume that they will be forced to vote for them in the face of continual attack and persecution by the BJP. Hence the issue of marginalisation of Muslims is not a priority issue even for the secular parties.

The socio-economic marginalisation of Muslims is part of the larger process of persecution of the community. It is also against the basic ethos of democracy if a community is systemically left underdeveloped and affirmative actions for its social welfare are intentionally and vindictively stymied. The abject state of the Muslim community in the country is therefore not an isolated problem for a single community alone. It reflects poorly on the overall developmental indices of the country. When we demonstrate the lack of public education or public health facilities in these districts, it also reflects on overall degeneration of public resources. For the sake of the overall development of democracy, concrete steps must be taken to ameliorate the overall underdevelopment of these areas with substantial Muslim population.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Implement recommendations of the Ranganath Mishra Commission and Amitabh Kundu Committee.
2. Spatial approach recommended by the Sachar Committee for targeted reach of minorities needs to be implemented at the block and village level, because within districts itself resources are distributed unevenly and developmental deficits exist at multiple levels.
3. The Central Government and Niti Ayog should do fresh surveys to assess the conditions of the minority population, especially Muslims, to understand the change, improvement or deterioration since the Sachar Committee Report.
4. Opposition parties should be more vocal about the systemic socio-economic marginalisation of the Muslim community and force the Central Government and BJP led state governments to take concrete actions.
5. Secular opposition parties should stop treating Muslims as a pliant vote bank and instead be more proactive in taking concrete actions to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims in states where they hold power.
6. The opposition should be more vocal in busting the myth of “Muslim appeasement” rather than succumbing to this fallacious, prejudiced and motivated narrative.

Introduction

Among the 76 recommendations made by Sachar Committee Report (2006) to ameliorate the conditions of Muslims, was a Multi-sectoral Development Programme (MsDP) also known as Pradhan Mantri Jan Vikas Karyakram (PMJVK) to provide basic amenities, and improve opportunities for employment in identified backward districts with minority concentration. In the 11th Five Year Plan, 2008-09, out of 136 districts which had a Minority population above 25 %, 90 Minority Concentration Districts (MCDs) were identified covering 34 % of the minority population in the country. It was an area/spatial development initiative with focused attention on districts, blocks and towns to address the development deficits by creating necessary infrastructure for socio-economic development and providing basic amenities.

The allocation and expenditure of funds under the MsDP/PMJVK has significantly decreased in recent years. In a written reply to a question in Lok Sabha, the Union Minister for Minority Affairs Shri Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi informed the house about the year wise (from 2014-15 to 2021-22) total allocation and expenditure under the scheme. According to the information provided, there has been a significant decline in both allocation and expenditure under PMJVK from 2020-21. The total budget allocated in 2019-20 was 1588.66 crore and total expenditure was 1698.29 crore, which has come down to 971.38 crore allocated and 1091.94 crore expenditure under the scheme in 2020-21, a decline of 39 % in allocation and a decline of 36 % in the total expenditure. Though the allocated fund (11.99 crore) and total expenditure (12.66 crore) increased in the next year (2021-22), it is still far below the total allocated and total expenditure in 2019-20. Thus instead of increasing the funds, the current government continues to decrease the fund, and that has not been the concern of the mainstream media.

In this report we have identified 10 such districts which have been part of the MCDs, covering 4 states and are located (eight out of ten selected districts) at the international borders. All these districts were particularly targeted by the Bharatiya Janata Party and its affiliates in recent years for various reasons, including alleged population explosion and 'illegal infiltration' from neighbouring countries. But inundated by flood every year, all these districts suffer from abject multidimensional poverty and lack of resources. The Muslim community in particular in most of these districts have remained even more cut off from these basic resources as the data will demonstrate.

1. <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=103356>, Full list of these districts are in the annexure

Why did we choose these ten districts to cover the first round of this social audit report?

The Muslim population in India, as per 2011 census, is 1722 Lakhs (172.2 Million) accounting for 14.2 % of India's total population of 12109 Lakhs (1210.9 million). Although Muslims are spread across different geographical areas, four states covered in this report are among the top five states having the largest Muslim population – Uttar Pradesh (385 lakhs), West Bengal (247 lakhs) and Bihar (176 lakhs), Maharashtra (129 lakhs) and Assam (106 lakhs). The share of Muslims in the total population of these four states are – Uttar Pradesh (19.3 %), West Bengal (27.0 %), Bihar (16.9 %) and Assam (34.22 %). Assam, Bihar, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh have a total 913.75 lakhs Muslims which accounts for 53 % of total Muslims population in India.

These ten selected districts are spread across the above-mentioned four states, and eight of these districts are located at the international borders. These 10 districts have 141.76 lakhs Muslims, which is 52 % of these districts, 8.18 % of total Indian Muslims and account for 45 % of total Assam's population (312 lakhs) and almost 15.5 % of West Bengal's total population (912 Lakhs).

This Social audit report aims to map the socio-economic backwardness that has accumulated over the last one decade, particularly in districts with a considerable Muslim population. These ten districts are chosen in the first round because of their targeting by the government and media.

This report busts the myth of 'appeasement of Muslims' that are regularly peddled by propaganda machinery. We rather show the immense gaps in the existing structures of livelihood that diminishes opportunities and shrinks resources for the residents of these districts.

Table: 1: Total Muslim Population in Four states

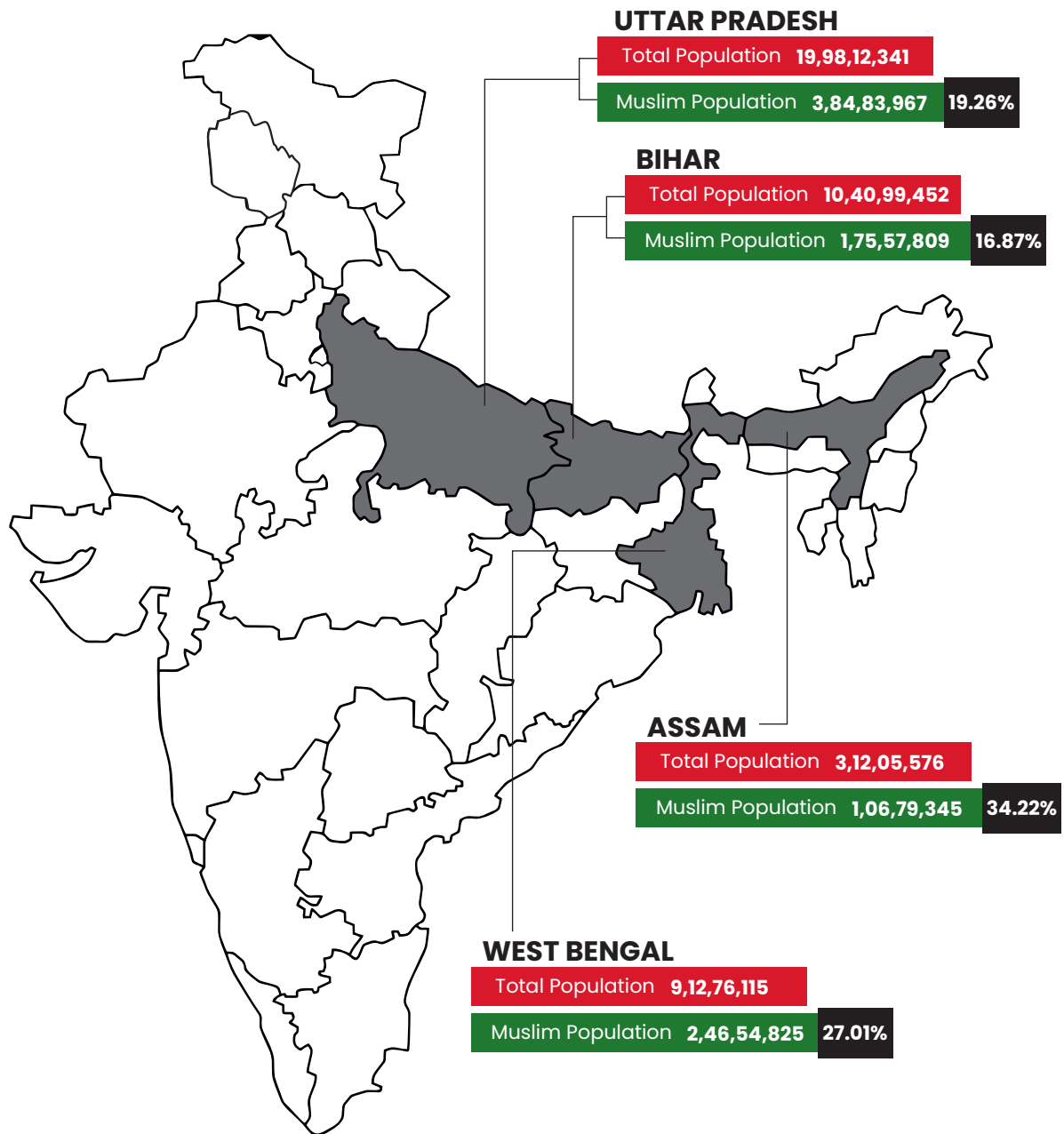
State	Total population in Lakhs	Total Muslims in Lakhs	Muslims in %
Bihar	1040.99	175.57	16.87
UP	1998.12	384.83	19.26
West Bengal	912.76	246.54	27.01
Assam	312.05	106.79	34.22
Total/average	4263.93	913.75	21.42
India	12108	1722	14.2

Table 2: Muslim population in Ten districts

Districts	Total Population in Lakhs	Total Muslims in Lakhs	Muslims in %
Araria	28.11	12.07	42.95
Katihar	30.71	13.66	44.5
Kishanganj	16.9	11.49	68
Purnia	32.64	12.56	38.5
Balrampur	11.17	4.19	37.51
Shravasti	21.48	6.61	30.79
Malda	39.88	20.45	51.27
Murshidabad	71.03	47.07	66.27
Kokrajhar	8.86	2.52	28.44
Dhubri	13.94	11.1	79.67
Total/average	274.77	141.76	52

Source: Census Survey of India, 2011, <https://www.census2011.co.in>

POPULATION

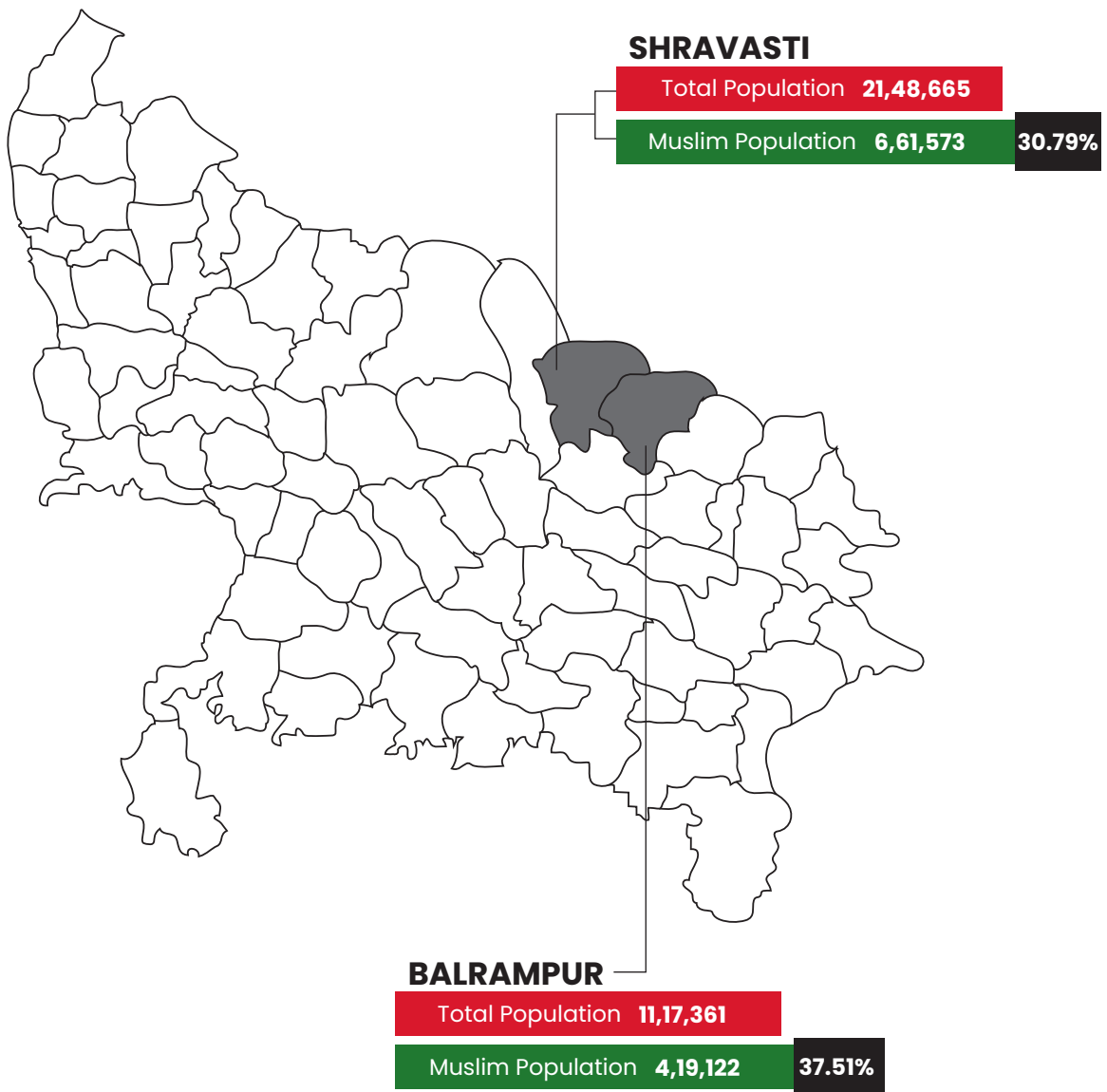


■ Total Population
■ Muslim Population

Data Source:-
Census Survey of India, 2011
<https://www.census2011.co.in>

POPULATION

UTTAR PRADESH



Data Source:-
Census Survey of India, 2011
<https://www.census2011.co.in>

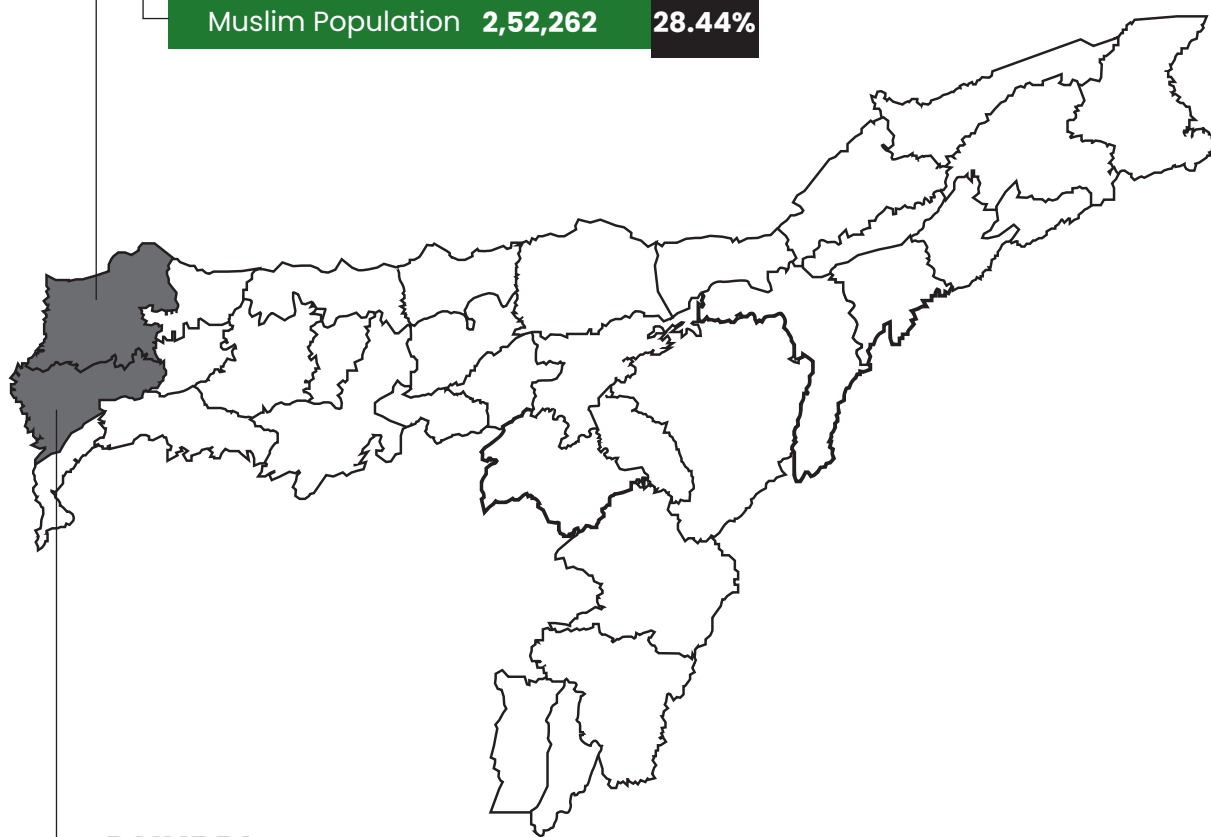
POPULATION

ASSAM

KOKRAJHAR

Total Population **8,86,999**

Muslim Population **2,52,262** **28.44%**



DHUBRI

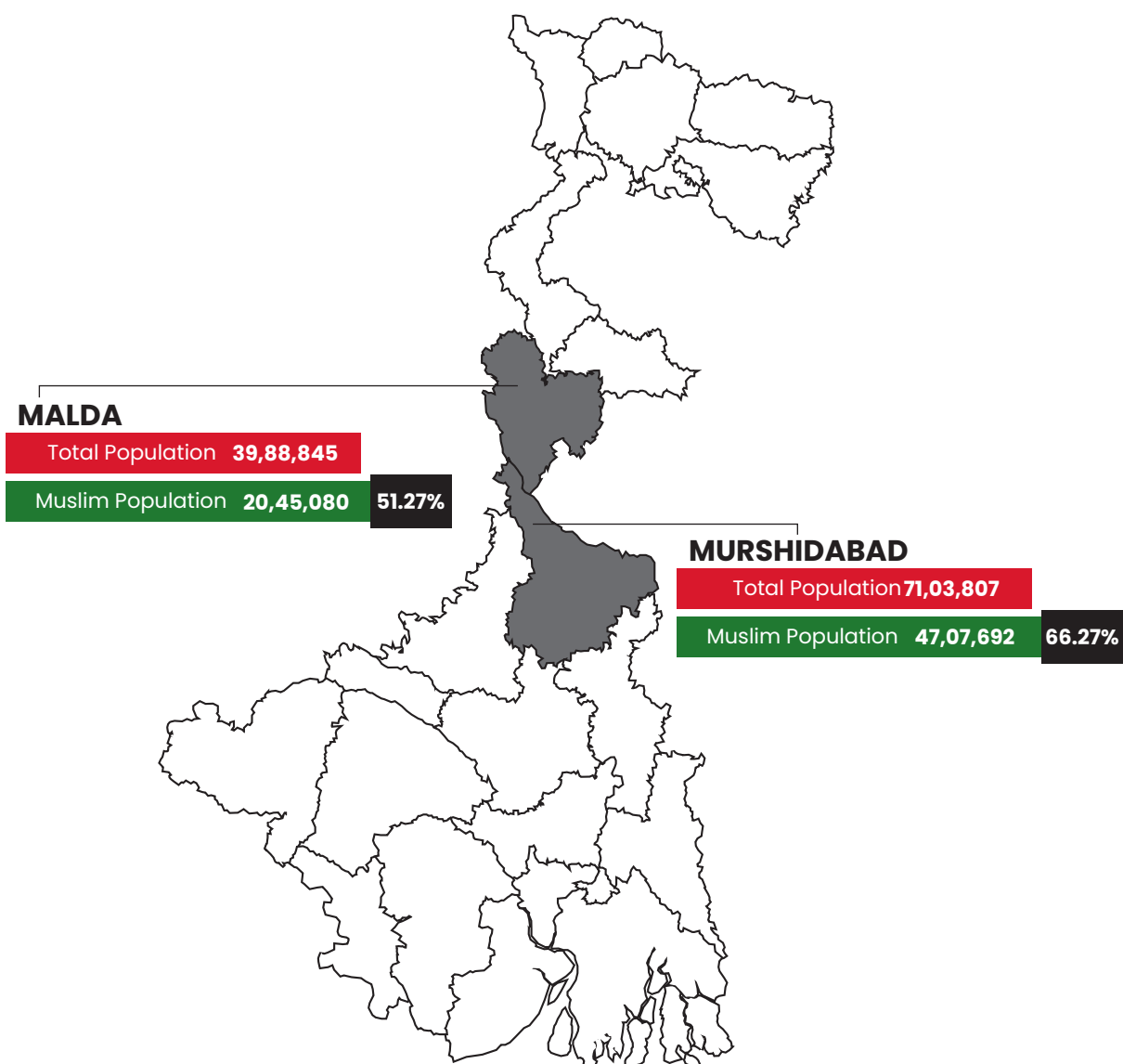
Total Population **13,94,144**

Muslim Population **11,10,714** **79.67%**

Data Source:-
Census Survey of India, 2011
<https://www.census2011.co.in>

POPULATION

WEST BENGAL



Data Source:-
Census Survey of India, 2011
<https://www.census2011.co.in>

POPULATION

BIHAR

ARARIA

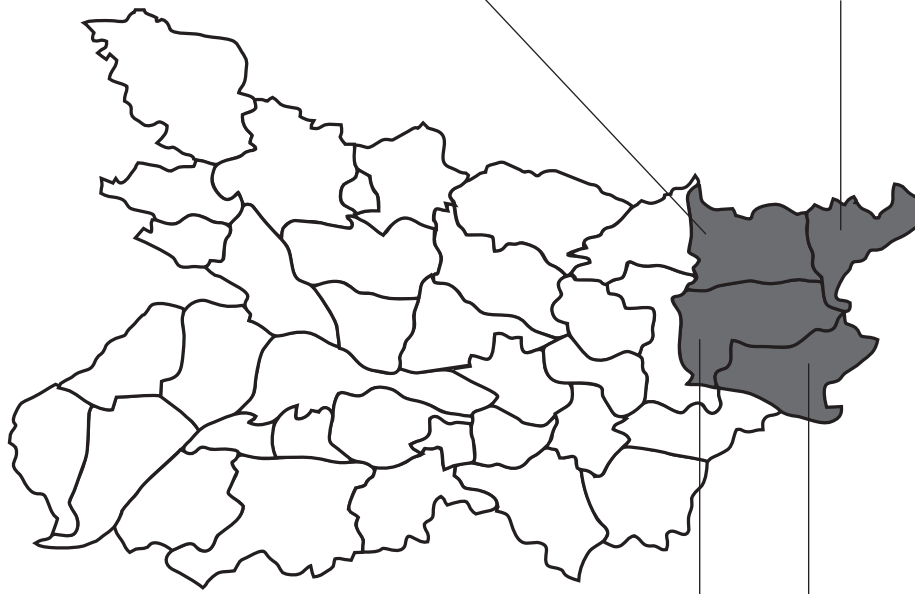
Total Population **28,11,569**

Muslim Population **12,07,568** **42.95%**

KISHANGANJ

Total Population **16,90,400**

Muslim Population **11,49,472** **68%**



PURNIA

Total Population **32,64,619**

Muslim Population **12,56,878** **38.50%**

KATI HAR

Total Population **30,71,029**

Muslim Population **13,66,607** **44.50%**

Data Source:-
Census Survey of India, 2011
<https://www.census2011.co.in>

Objectives of the Report

On one hand it provides a counter to the allegations of infiltration and population increase and on the other hand it delves into the developmental deficit faced by these districts by analysing the data of education, employment, housing and other basic amenities. This report aims to analyse what has been achieved, improved and what is still lacking in these districts, since the Sachar Committee Recommendations.

The conversation around the socio-economic backwardness of the Muslim community, as well as the systemic underdevelopment of Minority Concentration Districts (MCDs) have largely disappeared from the public domain in the country in the last 8-10 years. After the shocking revelations of the Sachar Committee Report, further revelations by the Amitabh Kundu Committee (2014), necessitated a targeted and programmatic approach to address the socio-economic underdevelopment that plagues the Muslim community of the country. But the current ruling dispensation, owing to its inherent anti-Muslim bias has turned the narrative on its head and has only touted a rather baseless chronicle of “Muslim appeasement” and has tried to criminalize the community in various ways. The narrative of socio-economic backwardness among Muslims have therefore been replaced with various concocted narratives that stigmatise, stereotype or criminalise the Muslim community.

One such prejudiced narrative that is being propagated and addressed in this report, is the speculated “skyrocketing” of Muslim population particularly in some of the border districts of the country.

What are we trying to counter? In July and August 2022, several news channels held heated debates on the so-called “rise of radical Islam” in many districts of the states that are placed on the borders of the country. The news channels amplified this narrative propelled by the state and speculated foreign hands and myriad conspiracies behind this.

The driving factor behind these multiple prime time shows were a few reports flagged by Uttar Pradesh, Assam and Rajasthan Police, that raised the bogey of rapid growth of Muslim population in some of the pockets in few border districts of the country. For example, according to the UP police, in seven border districts, Pilibhit, Lakhimpur Kheri, Shravasti, Siddharth Nagar, Maharajganj, Balrampur and Bahraich, Muslim population rose by 32 % during the last ten years. The Police also ‘raised the concern’ that the number of mosques and madrassas in these districts have also increased. According to UP police in 116 villages of these seven districts, the Muslim population rose by more than 50 %. In 303 villages, the police claimed the population has risen by more than 30 % in the last ten years. The police estimated that the number of mosques in

2. <https://organiser.org/2022/08/04/90620/bharat/116-villages-along-up-nepal-border-are-now-50-muslim-25-rise-in-madrasas-and-mosques-report/>

these districts rose by 25 %. Similarly, in Assam the Police report claimed that in four districts of Dhubri, Karimganj, South Salmara and Cachar have seen an increase of 30 % rise of Muslim population in the last ten years. Similar reports were raised by police in Bihar and Rajasthan too. In Bihar, the BJP leadership in the state raised similar noise about arbitrary growth of Muslim population in the Seemanchal area, in the districts of Araria, Purnia, Katihar and Kishanganj. They too projected this growth as engineered and posed it as a threat to national security. In Rajasthan the target was the district of Jaisalmer, where purportedly the Muslim population is growing and is posing a threat to the rest of the nation.

Following these reports filed by the Police in various states, the BJP leaders along with the mainstream national media raised a coordinated campaign and bolstered this narrative of 'foreign backed infiltration of Muslims', that has led to the sudden rise in their population. It was also inevitably linked to attempts to jeopardise national security.

There is something fundamentally flawed in this curated and touted narrative. The Police reports arbitrarily generalise the growth in Muslim population in border states, based on data from some villages and turns it into a communal narrative incriminating the entire Muslim community.

These reports also completely ignore factors or possibilities that increase of Muslim population in some villages could have been the result of internal migration or displacement which generally happens after large scale pogroms or low scale attacks on Muslims which have been rampant throughout the country in the last one decade. After the Muzaffarnagar pogrom of 2013, for example, a substantial (70-80 thousands) Muslim population from the villages of Muzaffarnagar, who were victims of the anti-Muslim violence, forced to relocate to nearby districts like Shamli (Kairana, Kandhla etc.) and other neighbouring districts. The police reports do not delve into the social processes of ghettoisation in rural areas, internal displacement of population but try to portray the purported 'increase of Muslim population' in a conspiratorial light.

The media in India for long has stopped challenging flawed and instigative narratives of the state, which incriminates minorities, Dalits or the working class. Rather the media has turned into a willing mouthpiece that only amplifies the narrative of the regime, without substantiation but with sheer sensationalism. They too did not try to puncture or question the police narrative in any way.

This campaign or propaganda on the border states is in convergence with the myriad anti-Muslim propaganda and frenzy that the current ruling regime has fanned since

3. <https://www.opindia.com/2022/08/rapid-demography-change-seen-in-border-areas-the-muslim-population-increased-by-32-recent-years-reports/>

4. <https://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/opinion-is-there-a-foreign-hand-behind-sharp-rise-of-muslims-in-up-assam-border-districts-2022-08-04-797406>,

5. <https://thewire.in/communalism/fact-checkbjp-sajay-jaiswal-claims-population-growth-bihar-districts>

6. Harsh Mander, Akram Akhtar Chaudhury, Zafar Egbal, Rajanya Bose, Wages of Communal Violence in Muzaffarnagar and Shamli, Economic & Political Weekly, October 22, 2016, vol II no 43.

coming to power in 2014. Right from the beginning the government in various platforms had harped on the “threat” of illegal immigrants entering the country through the ‘porous’ borders. The government has always raised the bogey of illegal Muslim immigrants entering the country and resulting in the depletion of resources.

What are we trying to achieve? A responsible media would have punctured the baselessness of this instigative narrative. A responsible media would have rather focused on the socio-economic backwardness of these remote border districts and the abject poverty that plagues them. The lack of basic facilities and resources, be it healthcare, employment and education and how the minority communities, particularly the Muslim community are one of the biggest sufferers of these lack of resources.

This report attempts to fill that void. This is an attempt to re-initiate the discourse on socio-economic backwardness in these ten border districts, the impact on Muslim communities there and to highlight how the abject underdevelopment of these districts need to be the talking point, rather than falsities that stigmatise the minorities. In the process we intend to the following:

- **To collate and analyse data on socio-economic backwardness of various districts:** Gopal Singh Committee report 1984, for the first time spoke about the backwardness of Muslims and ‘sense of discrimination’ prevailing among Muslims in India. But it was not allowed to be tabled in Parliament until 1989-90 and there was very little in terms of government policies to give assurance to the community.

The Sachar Committee report (2006), for the first time in Independent India provided a nation wide data/document about the socio-educational backwardness of Muslims in the country. It provided data with regional variations about educational and economic backwardness and layers of discrimination faced by the community and also within the community by the Arjals and Ajlafs Muslims. The Sachar committee report brought the debate of backwardness in the political discourse which was unprecedented because the Muslim political discourse was largely shaped by ‘emotional’ issues and ‘security’ concerns, but for the first time ‘Muslim backwardness’ became a matter of media highlights and demands/memorandums from the Muslim community and the civil society. Post Sachar India saw the rise of equity demands from the community which later led to Ranganath Mishra Commission (2007) and Kundu Committee (2014) to review and propose further policy framework and administrative measures to ameliorate the situation. However, the conversation around ameliorating socio-economic situations of Muslims came to a brutal stop in 2014 and all the enthusiasm and hope for positive change generated by the post-Sachar discourse abruptly ended. The relentless persecution of Muslims overshadowed the socio-economic discourses of the community.

7. <https://frontline.thehindu.com/cover-story/article30211868.ece>

This series of reports is an attempt to fill this gap by curating and analysing the existing government data and media reports on the socio economic conditions and a social audit of the government schemes and policies in districts with considerable Muslims population, which has been a neglected area in the last decade.

- **To bring the issue of equity back into the political discourse:** The rise of BJP led by Modi to power in 2014, shifted the debate more to issues related to security rather than progressive demands for equity. The political gains made after the Sachar Committee report were lost as soon as the question of Muslim persecution became overbearing. The competitive Hindutva politics embedded in discriminatory state practices and laws at the federal and provincial levels especially in states like UP, Assam, MP, Gujarat, Karnataka and skyrocketing rise of hate speeches, and lynching incidents across states brought the issue of persecution at the centre stage of Indian politics. This is a step backward from what the Sachar Committee and post-Sachar public discourse achieved. The challenges posed by the large-scale persecution of the community has consumed most of the energy that could have been used to bring a positive change in the socio-economic conditions of the community. The rampant persecution of Muslims has been the biggest concern in these years, but we believe that socio-economic backwardness needs attention because it is another means that also leads to persecution and marginalisation.
- **To dismantle the propaganda of ‘Muslim appeasement’:** One of the long and sustained allegations BJP and other right wing groups have made against Muslims is that they have been ‘appeased’ by the so called secular parties. The appeasement gimmick has been used to vilify Muslims and unite Hindu votes. However, the socio-economic data about Muslims in India depicts a contrary picture of sustained discrimination, negligence and an increasingly hostile political atmosphere. This report is also an attempt to bust the Hindutva narrative of appeasement.

The Methodology

Social Audit Verticals: In this report we have focused on five major verticals to assess the level of socio-economic development in these selected districts. These verticals are: **Population growth, educational backwardness, health infrastructure, employment and housing.**

These parameters are very basic to understand the living conditions of people. These districts as mentioned earlier have a significant Muslim population and are performing worse when it comes to these verticals.

For this report we have relied on secondary sources, mostly governmental, that are available in the public domain. We have largely accessed data from state and central government websites and annual handbooks.

Population growth has been one of the major polarisation strategies for the BJP in these districts, specifically in UP, Bihar and Assam. We have tried to understand the issue of population growth/Decadal Population Growth (DPG) in these districts. For population related derivations we have relied on the census of 2001 and 2011. We used the census data to understand the decadal population growth in these districts.

With secondary data we have enquired into the false claims of population explosion of Muslims. We have analysed the census 2011 data to find out the Decadal Population Growth (DPG) at the district level and compared the selected districts with other districts where Muslim population is relatively less. In most of the districts we have analysed, the census data reveals that the decline rates in districts with significant Muslim populations have been greater than the districts where Muslims are lesser in number.

The verticals like educational backwardness, health infrastructure are measured through the availability/lack of infrastructure. For educational backwardness we have used the 2011 census literacy rates, district and block wise, to provide a sense of Muslim backwardness in blocks within districts where Muslim population is larger in number. Then we have shown the lack of other educational infrastructure like colleges and universities in these districts using recent data from available public sources.

On the other hand for health infrastructure we have tried to show the number of health centres (sub-centres, Primary Health Centers (PHCs), Community health Center (CHCs), Sub-divisional Hospitals and District Hospitals) and the population that they are catering to. We have also used the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5, 2019-21) data to evaluate the status of public health and human development index in these districts.

For housing, we have used the Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana (PMGAY) data from the government website and tried to find out the beneficiaries according to the social categories to enquire into the patterns of discrimination in the distribution of housing facilities. For employment we have mostly analysed the MGNREGA and other available data.

Our findings on socio-economic backwardness in the field of education, employment, health indicators, and access to government schemes like PMGAY and MGNREGA point at systemic discrimination and negligence perpetrated against the Muslim majority areas by the administration. The overall underdevelopment in these remote border districts in India, along with the aggravated persecution and negligence of the Muslim population is something that needs to be reiterated and brought into mainstream narrative. This report does not include primary research from fieldwork. However, our future endeavours of district mapping might also necessitate field work and primary research in the coming days.

In order to analyse the data, we have adopted a two fold approach of comparing the data across districts, and overall state aggregates and have also done the internal comparison within blocks/tehsils. Within blocks/tehsils we have tried to understand the data according to the percentage of Muslim population in the respective blocks to find out how the prejudices and discrimination against Muslims operates at the very micro level of state administrative units. For example, we have analysed how the literacy rates in these districts differ from block to block and its correlations with the presence of Muslim population in those blocks.

Highlighting some of the major findings: As we explored the data pertaining to socio-economic indices of these districts that are available in public domain, the patterns of backwardness become stark. Most of these districts **lack basic infrastructure pertaining to health and education.** Out of these ten districts only Malda and Purnia have a single fully functional university. The number of colleges are far less than the average of the respective states. Even school education shows a high level of dropouts, as the number of students decline sharply as we go explore figures of registration of students from primary to higher secondary levels. The number of hospitals and health centres in these districts are scanty and unevenly distributed among blocks, as we further show. This has resulted in degeneration of specific health conditions, high infant mortality and maternal mortality. The basic livelihood resources pertaining to health and sanitation are also in miserable state, as the data subsequently reveals.

The question of residential facilities, through government schemes like **PM Awas Yojana** have also been explored in the report. The data yielded that were resourced from government websites, shows low rate of disbursement and high rate of rejection of Awas Yojana applications for Muslims and SC/ST population. In most of these districts the patterns of Awas Yojana disbursal shows clear prejudice against Muslims.

The other aspect that has been explored in the report is **scope of employment particularly rural employment through MNREGA** and other government schemes. Most of these districts have shown relatively lower rates of employment than the rest of

the states. Migration to cities in search of employment opportunities, from all these districts across the state, is the reality of the residents here. MGNREGA opportunities have remained low in comparison to the demands of employment under MGNREGA in all the districts. In fact, the completion of 100 days of work remains starkly low for families in some of these districts. Even during the Covid 19 induced lockdown, when the country witnessed a huge splurge of reverse migration of workers who walked back to their villages, the MNREGA opportunities in some of these districts did not rise significantly, although the demands for work was multiple times higher. Some districts however did witness a splurge in MNREGA after the lockdown.

Most of these districts in UP, Bihar and Assam are regularly **devastated by floods every year that** create havoc on the lives and livelihoods of people, destroying properties, crops and cattle. The floods happen almost every year, with no palpable measures to prevent, control and stop them or rehabilitate and compensate people afterwards. It's an annual devastation that mar the lives of people and yet no systemic prevention schemes are developed in these districts. The loss of money, properties or documents result in irreparable losses every year that remain unaddressed.

Similarly, this report glossed over other data pertaining to urbanisation, literacy rate, livelihood opportunities etc, and the data once again reflects the abject state of socio-economic verticals in these districts. Instead of focusing on these miserable socio-economic conditions, the peddling of the concocted narrative about "Rise of Muslim population and Islamic fundamentalism" shows the embedded character of the media, that has been reduced to the propaganda machinery for government and its prejudiced agenda.

We will now delve into details of the existing socio-economic conditions of the following ten districts of India.

- Bihar (Araria, Purnia, Kishanganj, Katihar)
- Assam (Dhubri, Kokrajhar)
- Uttar Pradesh (Shravasti, Balarampur)
- West Bengal (Malda, Murshidabad)

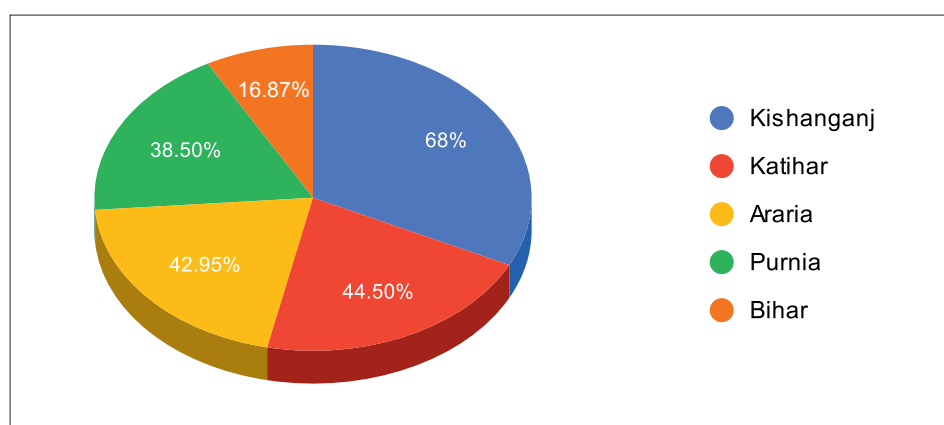
Four Districts of Bihar: Araria, Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia

Bihar is a landlocked state in northern India comprising 9 divisions and 38 districts. It is the third most populated state in India and is home to more than 103 million people. With only 11.3 % of its population living in cities, Bihar is one of India's least urbanised states after Himachal Pradesh (10.03 %). According to the education Ministry, 530 out of the 537 educational blocks in Bihar are declared as "educationally backward blocks" which is 98 % of the total educational blocks.

These four districts- Araria, Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia, come under the Seemanchal region of Bihar, accounting for 24 Assembly seats (MLA) and 4 Parliamentary Constituencies (MP), thus holding a very important place in the electoral politics of Bihar. Out of the total 1.08 crore population in these four districts, there are 49 lakh Muslims. These districts have 47 % Muslim population as against Bihar's state-wide average of 17 %. These four districts are also one of the poorest and most backward districts of Bihar. Although, It is largely believed that Muslim population in India lives in urban areas comprising cities and towns, Muslim population in these districts is largely concentrated in the rural areas.

The overall developmental scenario and economic backwardness in these districts have been a matter of concern. Lacklustre performance on the parameters of human development, poverty, lack of basic amenities like health and education, employment, patterns of migration, dependence on agriculture, lack of industries and urbanisation and yearly flood and diseases has made these districts and this region as one of the most underdeveloped regions of India.

Table 3: Muslim population in Bihar and four districts



Source: <https://maeeshat.in/snapshot-of-muslims-in-seemanchal-region/>

8. <https://news.careers360.com/education-ministry-bihar-educationally-backward-blocks-ssa-samagra-shiksha-abhiyan-uttar-pradesh-jharkhand>

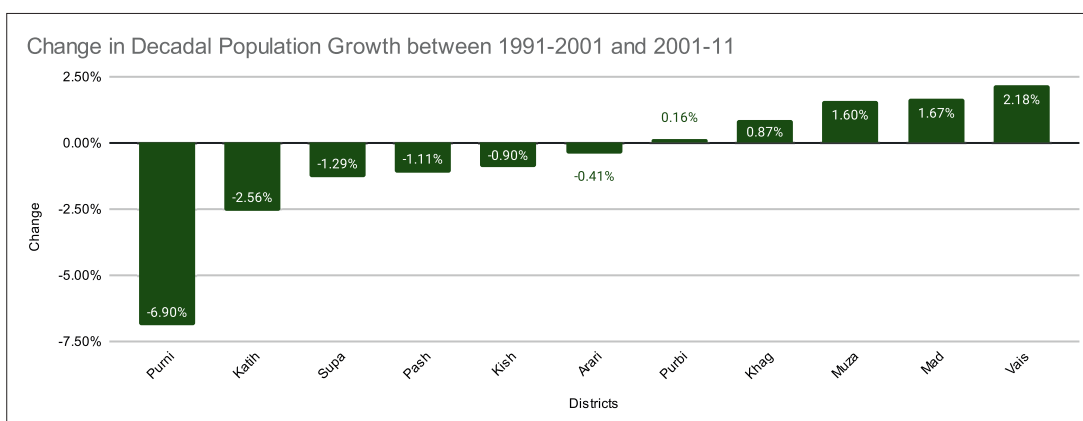
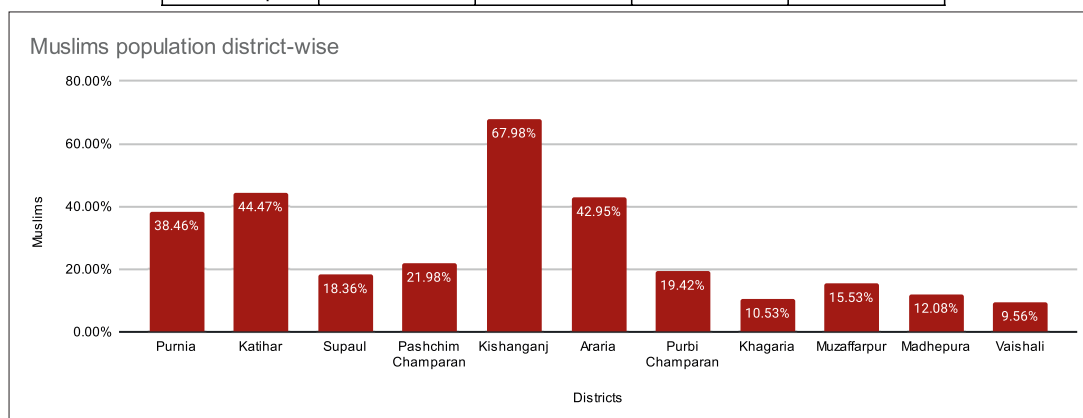
9. According to the 2011 Census, 40 per cent of Indian Muslims were residing in towns and cities <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/more-religious-minorities-live-in-urban-areas-than-rural/articleshow/48680765.cms>. The number of Muslims in urban areas in 2001 were 35.7% according to the 2001 Census, also see "Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalisation", (eds) by Gayer, Laurent and Christophe Jaffrelot, 2011, Columbia University Press: New York.

Allegations of infiltration and rise of Muslim population in four districts:

On September 7, the president of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)'s Bihar unit Sanjay Jaiswal claimed that the population growth rate in the Kishanganj and Araria districts of Bihar is "the highest in the world". He alleged that the population rise is due to the "Muslim infiltration" into India from Bangladesh. He also connected the backwardness in the region with the infiltration and population growth. Here we would like to delve into the population data to check the veracity of the claim made by the BJP leadership.

Table 4: Decadal Population Growth (DPG) district wise:

Districts	Muslims (%)	DPG 1991-2001 (%)	DPG 2001-2011 (%)	Change in DPG (%)
Madhepura	12.08	29.45	31.12	1.67
Kishanganj	67.98	31.5	30.4	-0.9
Araria	42.95	31.84	30.25	-0.41
Khagaria	10.53	29.32	30.19	0.87
Purbi Champaran	19.42	29.27	29.43	0.16
Pashchim Champaran	21.98	30.4	29.29	-1.11
Supaul	18.36	<u>29.95</u>	28.66	-1.29
Vaishali	9.56	26.39	28.57	2.18
Katihar	44.47	<u>30.91</u>	28.35	-2.56
Purnia	38.46	35.23	28.33	-6.9
Muzaffarpur	15.53	26.74	28.14	1.6



According to the Census 2011 data, these four districts are among the 11 districts which have the highest decadal population growth above 28 %. The district of Madhepura tops the list with 31.12 % population growth rate while the Muslim population in this district is just 12.08 %. Purnia and Katihar which have 38.46 % and 44.47 % of Muslim population are on the 9th and 10th numbers with 28.33 % and 28.35 % of population growth rate during 2001-11. Although Araria and Kishanganj recorded the highest population growth in the list after Madhepura in 2011, In all the four districts selected for this report, the Decadal Population Growth (DPG) was recorded to be in decline. For Purnia and Katihar districts the decline has been very significant with 6.9% and 2.56% from 2001 to 2011 census respectively, while Decadal Population Growth (DPG) for Araria and Kishanganj too have been declining. On the other hand, Madhepura, Vaishali, Purbi Champaran and Khagaria districts that have less Muslim population have recorded positive growth in terms of Decadal Population Growth (DPG) between 2001 to 2011. Thus the claims made by the BJP leadership are not only false but also do not take the other districts into account where Muslim population is less but that have recorded an increase in the population growth rate from the previous census.

Better Sex ratio in blocks with significant Muslim population: One important point coming out of the block wise analysis of these four districts is that the blocks having larger Muslim population recorded better sex ratio than the blocks having lesser Muslim population. The analysis of block level data of census 2011 shows that the average sex ratio for the eight blocks having Muslim population between 70-80 % is 936.25 which is not only better than the total state average of 918, but also better than the blocks having lesser Muslim population within these four districts of Seemanchal region. On the other hand, the three blocks having less than 10 % of Muslim population recorded a 911.33 sex ratio which is not only below the state average, but significantly lower from the blocks having larger Muslim population. The sex ratio significantly improves as the Muslim population increases in the blocks of four districts.

The analysis of block level data of census 2011 shows that the eight blocks having 70-80 % Muslim population has recorded 936.25, seven blocks having Muslim population between 60-70 % recorded 931.57, another six blocks having 50-60 % Muslim population recorded 929.16, five blocks having 40-50 % Muslim population recorded 921.6, ten blocks having 30-40 % Muslim population recorded 921.7, six blocks having 20-30 % Muslim population recorded 923.66, four blocks having 10-20 % Muslim population recorded 917.25, three blocks having below 10 % of Muslim population recorded 911.33 of sex ratio respectively. The data indicates that sex-selective abortion is less among Muslims. This data is significant because it indicates that Muslim women face less discrimination as against women from other religions, contrary to popular media narratives which paint a negative picture of the community where Muslim women are largely suppressed because of their religion.

Sex ratio in blocks in varying percentage of Muslim population

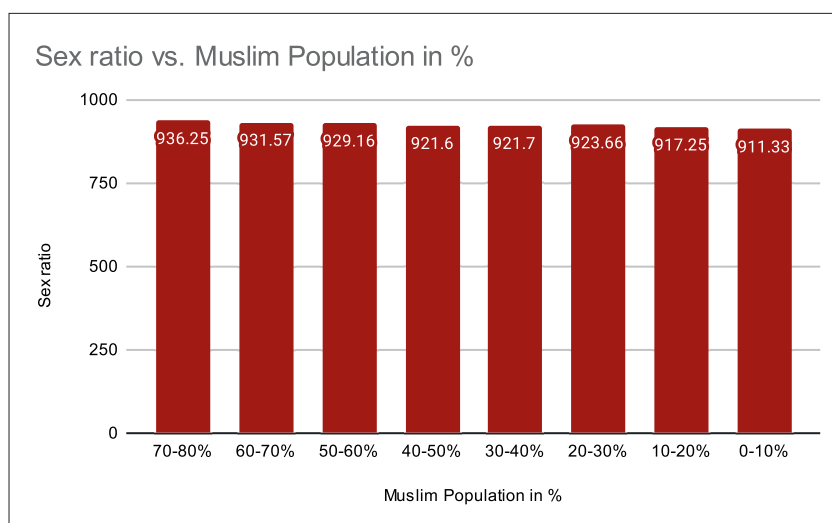


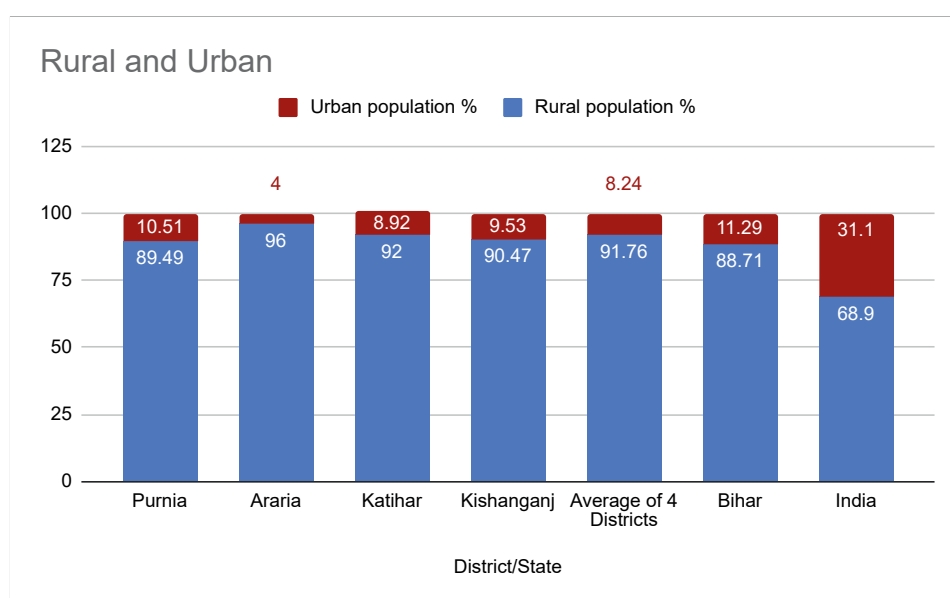
Table 5: Sex ratio in blocks in varying percentage of Muslim population

Total No of Blocks- 49	Muslim Population in %	Sex ratio
8	70-80%	936.25
7	60-70%	931.57
6	50-60%	929.16
5	40-50%	921.6
10	30-40%	921.7
6	20-30%	923.66
4	10-20%	917.25
3	0-10%	911.33

Source: Analysis of 2011 Census Data

Table 6: Rural and urban population in four districts

District	Rural population %	Urban population %
Purnia	89.49	10.51
Araria	96	4
Katihar	92	8.92
Kishanganj	90.47	9.53
Average of 4 Districts	91.76	8.24
Bihar	88.71	11.29
India	68.9	31.1



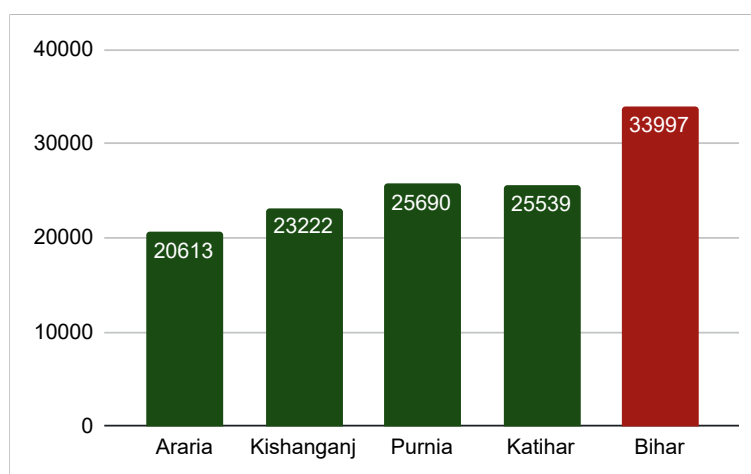
Per capita income of Bihar was Rs 50.5 thousands in 2020-21, far below from the national average of Rs 86.6 thousands for India. According to the Economic Survey of Bihar, in 2019-20 the state's per capita income was 33.9 thousands. The districts with low per capita income in 2019-20 are Sheohar (Rs 19.6 thousand), Araria (20.6 thousand), Sitamarhi (22.1 thousand), East Champaran (22.3 thousand), Madhubani (22.6 thousand), Supaul (22.9 thousand), Kishanganj (23.2 thousand) and Nawada (Rs 23.4 thousand).

All the four districts of Seemanchal region come under the low-income group districts category. While the lowest in the rank is Sheohar district with per capita income below 20 thousand (19.6 thousand) and far below the state average of 33.9 thousand in 2019-20. Araria is only second lowest in the list after Sheohar with just 20.6 thousand per capita income. Kishanganj (23.2 thousand), Katihar (25.5 thousand) and Purnia (25.6 thousand) come after Araria with per capita income falling in the list of below the state average.

Table 7: Per capita income in four districts and Bihar

District/State	Per Capita Income 2019-20
Araria	20613
Kishanganj	23222
Purnia	25690
Katihar	25539
Bihar	33997

Source: Economic Survey of Bihar, 2021-22, P.18.



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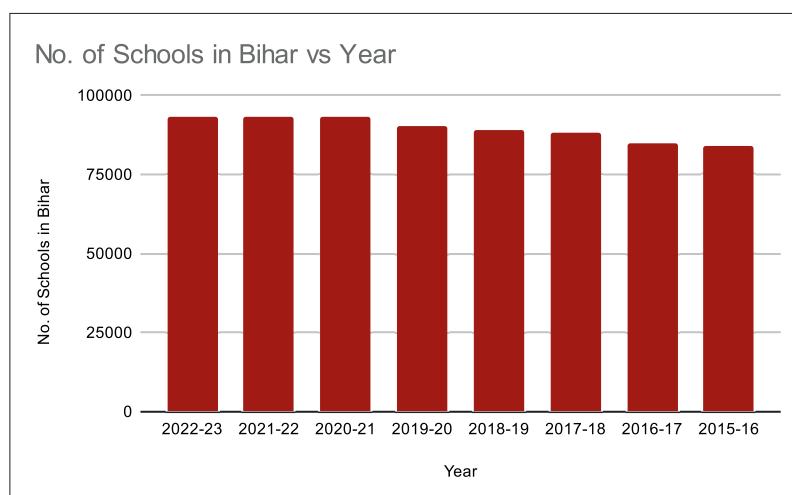
Educational status of four districts:

A recent report titled “A Status Report on the Education in India with Special Focus on Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and Chattisgarh” claimed that the Right to Education Act is not widely implemented across Bihar. It claimed that only 1.2 % of schools are complying with Right To Education (RTE) norms and standards. The report further says that there is an “acute shortage of professionally trained teachers” in the state, a shortage of 34 % and 36 % teachers at elementary and secondary level. It also says that only 52 % of teachers are professionally trained and qualified in Bihar. Bihar’s per child spending on education was Rs 8526 (2015-16) as compared to the national average of Rs 14,615.

In recent years, Bihar has made some significant efforts to improve investment in education - the 2018-19 budget for education saw a 24% increase from the previous year and a 9% increase in FY 2020-21 as compared to the previous year. However, when it comes to the expenditure, the gap between allocation and actual expenditure has also increased in the state over these years. The share of actual expenditure was 95 % in 2017-18, which went down to 84 and 76 % for the financial years of 2018-19 and 2019-20 respectively.

Year	No. of Schools in Bihar
2022-23	93165
2021-22	93459
2020-21	93459
2019-20	90275
2018-19	89224
2017-18	88223
2016-17	84962
2015-16	84236

Table 8: Total number of Schools in Bihar



Source: UDISE, <https://udiseplus.gov.in/#/page/publications>

11. “A Status Report on the Education in India with Special Focus on Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa and Chattisgarh”, 2021, <https://india.tracking-progress.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/35/2021/04/Education-Report-Eastern-Club.pdf>

12. <https://accountabilityindia.in/blog/financing-school-education-in-bihar-2021/>

13. <https://accountabilityindia.in/blog/financing-school-education-in-bihar-2021/>

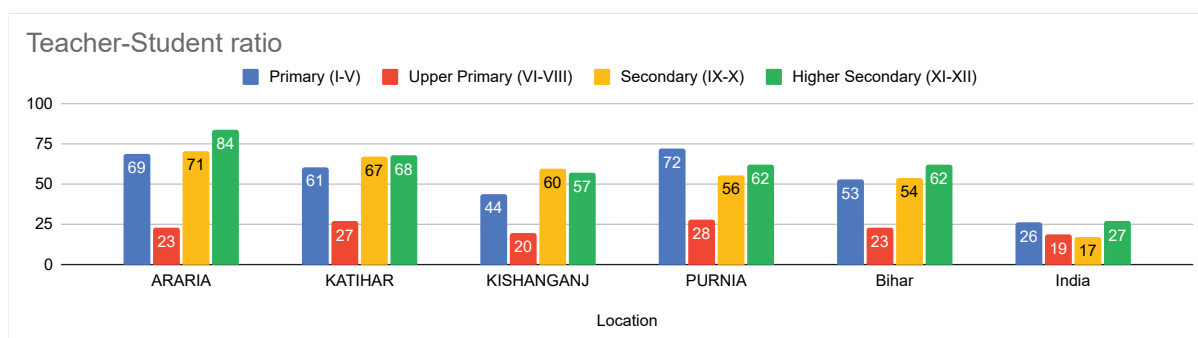
On the other hand, the Bihar government has decided to shut down around 3,000 schools in recent years, a report claimed. The table above shows that in 2021-22 there were 93459 schools in the state which has come down to 93165 in 2022-23, thus supporting the claim made in the report that schools were indeed being shut down in the state. The ASER 2018 report claimed that 77.8 % of government schools in the state do not have their own playground and 40.9 % of schools do not have a library. There are 1.87 lakh teaching posts vacant in Bihar. There are only 10381 schools having internet facilities out of the 93459 schools in 2021-22.

Teacher-Student ratio in Bihar and four districts: According to the UDISE+ the student-teacher ratio in Bihar is very high in comparison to the national average. At the primary level, the national teacher-student ratio is 26, meaning 1 teacher for 26 students, while the student-teacher ratio at primary level in Bihar is 53 which is almost double of the national average. The teacher-student ratio for the upper primary level is 19 at the national level and 23 for Bihar which is surprisingly better. At the secondary level teacher-student ratio is 54 for Bihar and 17 at the national level and at the higher secondary level the teacher-student ratio is 62 for Bihar and 27 for India. This indicates that there is an acute lack of teachers in Bihar, particularly at the primary, secondary and higher-secondary level.

On the other hand, the teacher-student ratio for these four districts are even higher than the state average. For Araria the teacher-student ratio is much higher than the national average and also higher than the state average, 69 at the Primary level, 71 at the secondary level and 84 at the Higher Secondary level. Similarly for other districts, the teacher-student ratio is much higher than the national average and also higher than the state average, 61, 44 and 72 at the Primary level for Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia respectively, 67, 60 and 56 at the secondary level, and 68, 57 and 62 at the Higher Secondary level respectively for Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia. The teacher-student ratio at the upper primary level is again surprisingly better for these four districts too, 23 for Araria, 27 for Katihar, 20 for Kishanganj, and 28 for Purnia.

Table 9: Teacher-Student ratio, 2021-22

Location	Primary (I-V)	Upper Primary (VI-VIII)	Secondary (IX-X)	Higher Secondary (XI-XII)
ARARIA	69	23	71	84
KATIHAR	61	27	67	68
KISHANGANJ	44	20	60	57
PURNIA	72	28	56	62
Bihar	53	23	54	62
India	26	19	17	27



Literacy rates in four districts: According to the 2011 Census of India, the literacy rate in Bihar is 61.80% which has seen an upward trend with a 14.8 % increase from the 2001 Census (47 %). Of that, male literacy stands at 71.20 % while female literacy is 51.50 % with a 11.5 % increase in male literacy rates and 18 % increase for women literacy rates from 2001 Census. Despite the progress, the literacy rates in Bihar are far below from the national average of 74.04 % and lowest in the list of states in India. In reply to a question in Parliament in July 2022, the education ministry said that more than 98% of educational blocks in Bihar are educationally backward. According to the ministry data, 530 out of the 537 educational blocks in Bihar are termed as “educationally backward blocks”.

In terms of educational parameters like literacy, these four districts are lagging behind the rest of the state. There is a shortage of schools and colleges in these districts. There are only two constituent colleges in Kishanganj for a population of 17 lakh. There are no engineering colleges or technical institutes in the region. Purnia University is the only university in the entire region which came into existence as late as 2018.

All the 46 blocks in the region comprising four districts have literacy rates below the state average and only two blocks: Kishanganj and Purnia East cross the 50 % mark with 53.6 % and 50.5 % literacy rates respectively.

When it comes to the Muslim population within these four districts, the blocks having larger Muslim presence recorded the lowest literacy rates. The analysis of the block-wise literacy data provided by the 2011 census shows that the blocks having higher percentage of Muslim population have lower rates of literacy, and as the Muslim population decreases, the literacy rate increases.

Table 10: Literacy rates in four districts

District	Muslim Population %	Total Literacy %	Male literacy %	Female literacy %
Araria	42.95	42.6	49.73	34.8
Katihar	44.47	41.7	47.63	35.22
Kishanganj	67.98	44.1	50.74	37.06
Purnia	38.46	40.8	47.39	33.67
Bihar	16.87	61.8	71.2	51.5
India	14.23	74.04	82.14	65.46

Source: Census 2011, Analysis

There are three blocks in four districts which have Muslim population below 10 %, and the average literacy rates are higher up to 44.6 %. On the other hand, 8 blocks which have Muslim population between 70-80 % recorded the lowest literacy rates with only 39.76 % literacy. In between these two, there are four blocks which have 10-20 % of Muslim population; the literacy rate decreases to 43.45 %. Six blocks with a Muslim population between 20-30 % recorded 44 % literacy rates. Ten blocks having 30-40 % Muslim population recorded literacy rates 42.27 %. Five blocks having 40-50 % of Muslim population recorded 39.92 % literacy. Six blocks having 50-60 % of Muslim population recorded literacy rates 39.33 %. Seven blocks having 60-70 % of Muslim population recorded literacy rates 40.14 % marginally better than blocks with 40-60 % of Muslim population.

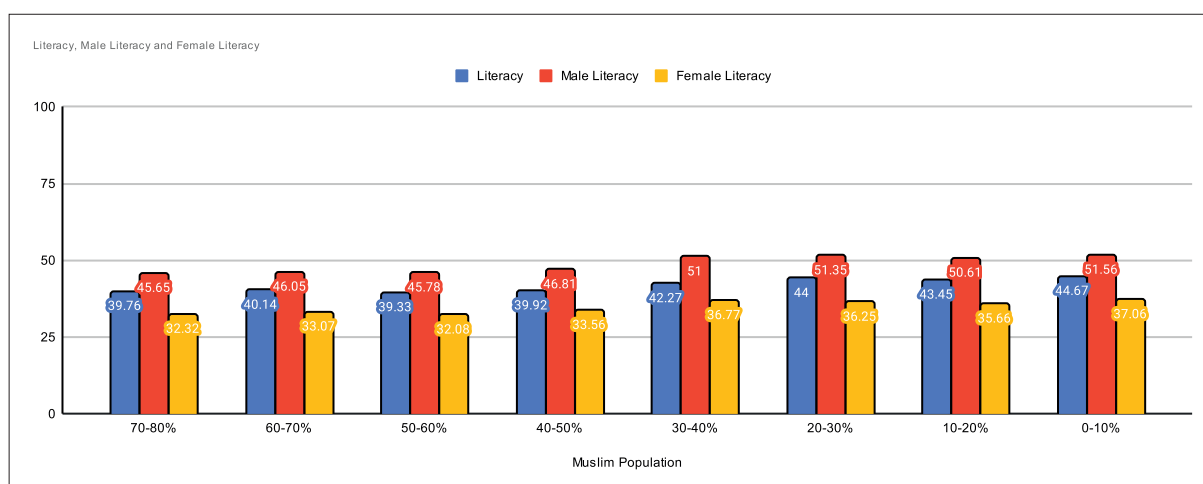
Similarly, when it comes to gender gaps in the literacy rates these blocks have recorded a significant decrease in blocks having the largest Muslim population performing the worse, and blocks having the least Muslim population performing better. The eight blocks having 70-80 % Muslim population have recorded a literacy rate of 32.32 %, and three blocks having Muslim population below 10 % with 37.06 % of literate women.

However, the blocks having Muslim population above 50 % the literacy gaps between men and women recorded almost 13-14 %, on the other hand blocks having Muslim population below 30 % recorded the gender literacy gaps around 15-16 %.

Table 11: Literacy rates in four districts (block wise)

No of Blocks	Muslim Population %	Literacy %	Male Literacy %	Female Literacy %
8	75.18	39.76	45.65	32.32
7	65.3	40.14	46.05	33.07
6	54.55	39.33	45.78	32.08
5	45.94	39.92	46.81	33.56
10	34.83	42.27	51	36.77
6	26.7	44	51.35	36.25
4	12.8	43.45	50.61	35.66
3	8.4	44.67	51.56	37.06

Source: Analysis of 2011 Census data



Health Status of Bihar and four districts:

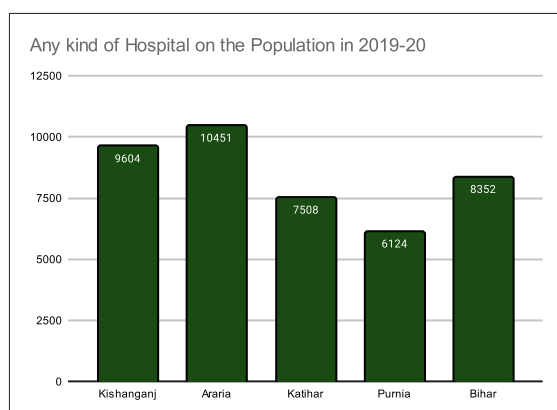
According to the (As on 31st March, 2020) Rural Health Statistics (2019-20), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, the number of functional health centres under various categories were 12,463 in Bihar, of which 2027 are Primary Health Centres and 10,280 are Sub Centres. There were 36 District Hospitals, 64 Community Health Centres and 36 Sub-District Hospitals in the state. There are 21 Medical colleges in the state of which 13 are Government run and remaining 8 have private ownership.

When it comes to the health infrastructure, the overall performance of Bihar is among the worst performing states. Bihar had the lowest average among all states of 6 beds per 1 lakh population which is far below than the national average of 24 beds per 1 lakh population. On the Per Capita Government Health Expenditure (in ₹), the state is spending just 556 rupees which is far below from the national average of 1753 rupees.

When it comes to the number of functional Health Centres in Bihar, the below data shows that almost all the districts have one Sub-Divisional Hospital and one district hospital each. When it comes to total health infrastructure, Champaran West, Muzaffarpur, Gaya, Madhubani and Purnia are among the districts having highest numbers of hospitals of each category. However, when it comes to the health infrastructure over the total district population, Sheikhpura, Sheohar, Purnia, Jamai, Madhepura are having one Sub-Centre/PHCs/CHCs/Sub-Divisional/District Hospital per 4932, 5912, 6124, 6355, 6436 persons. Katihar is 14th in the list of 38 districts with one Sub-Centre/PHCs/CHCs/Sub-Divisional/District Hospital for the population of 7508 persons. Kishanganj (9404) and Araria (10451) falling among the list of last 10 districts with 30th and 33rd rank among the list of 38 districts of Bihar.

Table 12: As on 31st March, 2020, Number of functional Health Centres of all kinds, according to the Rural Health Statistics (2019-20), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

District/State	Sub Centres	PHCs	CHCs	Sub-D	Dist- H	Total	Total P.	Per Head
Araria	221	44	2	1	1	269	28,11,569	10451
Katihar	341	63	1	2	1	409	30,71,029	7508
Kishanganj	155	19	1	0	1	176	16,90,400	9604
Purnia	473	56	2	1	1	533	32,64,619	6124
Bihar	10280	2027	64	35	36	12463	10,40,99,452	8352



Source: Rural Health Statistics (2019-20),
Ministry of Health and Family Welfare,
(for more information district wise see annexure no.)

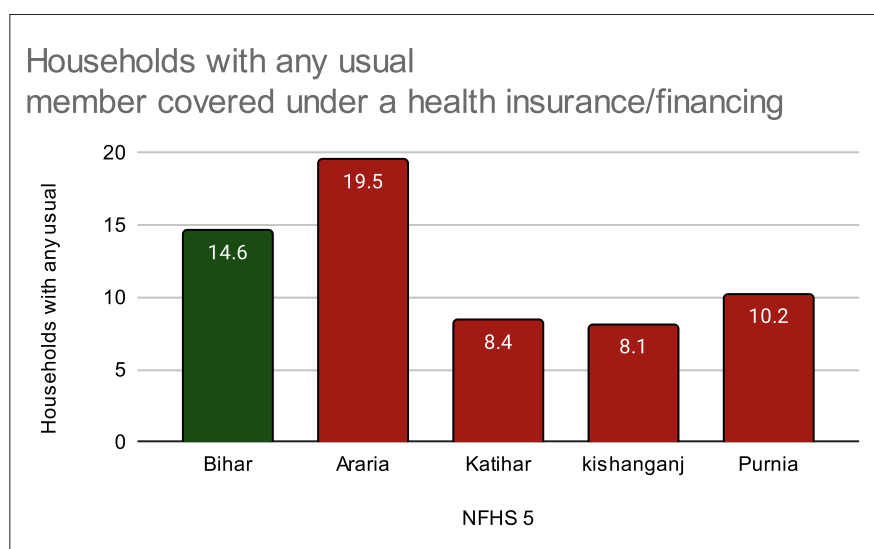
Analysis of Rural Health Statistics for Bihar

There are 21 Medical Colleges in Bihar, out of which 13 are Government run and 8 are private run. This entire region of four districts does not have any Government Medical college till 2019-20. Under the State Budget 2019-20, Central Government and State Government initiated the construction of 11 new medical colleges for which Rs. 5,540 crore (US\$ 792.67 million) has been approved, under which Purnia district and thus the region got its first Government Medical College and Hospital (GMCH). Madhepura district also got a new government hospital in 2020 which is a neighbouring district. The population of Muslims in Madhepura district is just 12.08%. There are two private medical colleges in Seemanchal region, Katihar and Kishanganj having one each.

District-wise NFHS-5 Analysis:

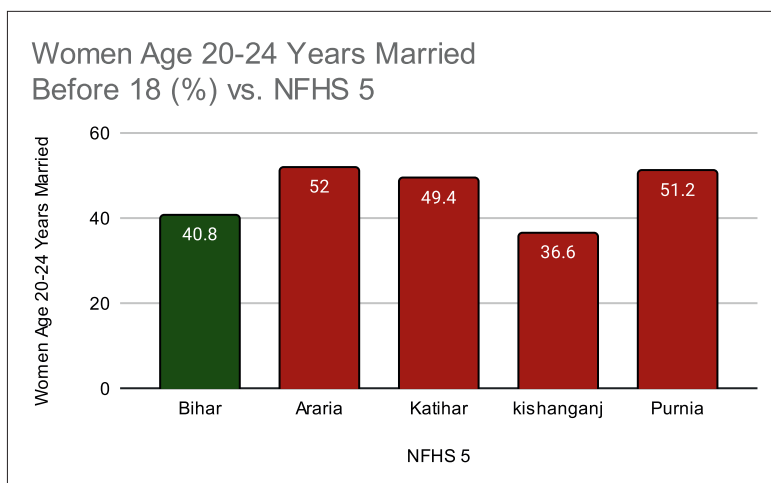
The latest NFHS-5, 2019-20 data for Bihar was released in 2021. According to the data available for these four districts, the Seemanchal region is lagging behind the state average on a number of parameters related to health, nutrition and other basic parameters of human development. In terms of Households with any usual member covered under a health insurance/financing scheme in the state the average 14.6 % Araria is doing better than the state average with 19.5 % household with any usual member having covered under any insurance scheme, while other three districts of Seemanchal region, Katihar (8.4 %), Kishanganj with 8.1 % and Purnia with just 10.2 % is quite below from the state average.

On the parameter of women between 20-24 years married before 18, the state average is quite high to 40.8 %, but for these four districts except Kishanganj women married before the age of 18 is higher than the state average.

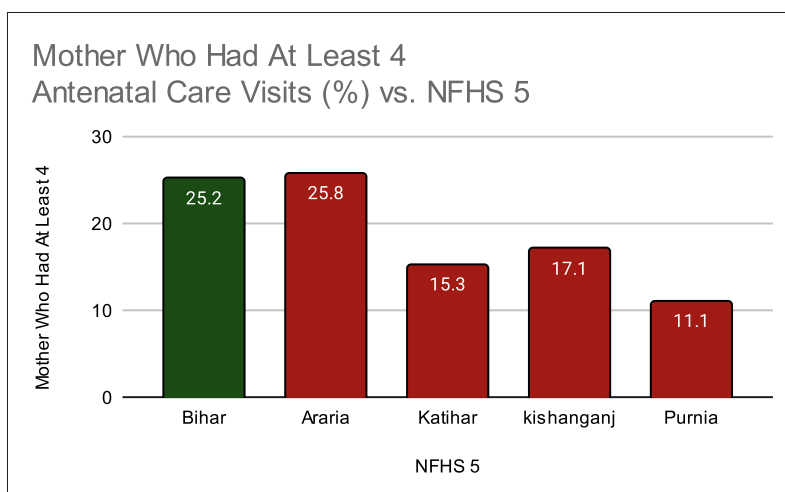


Source: Rural Health Statistics (2019-20), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare,
(for more information district wise see annexure no.)

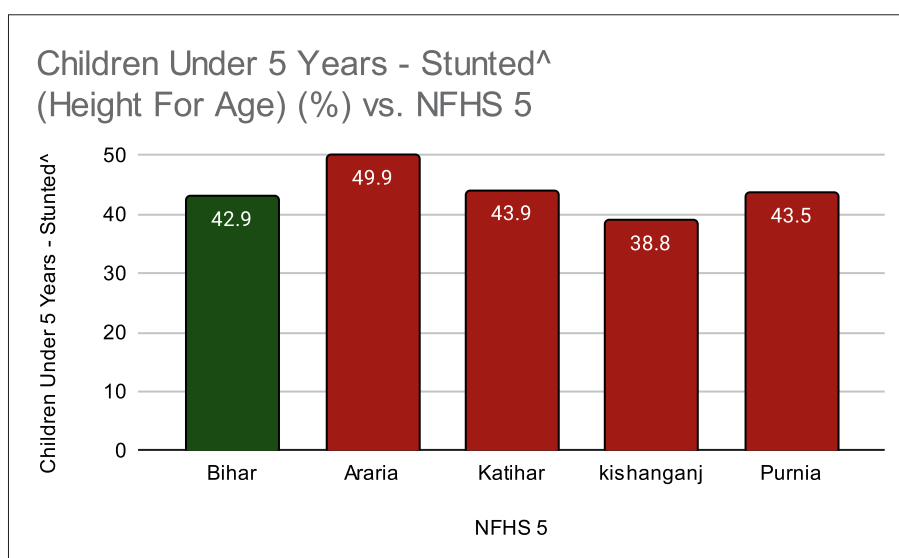
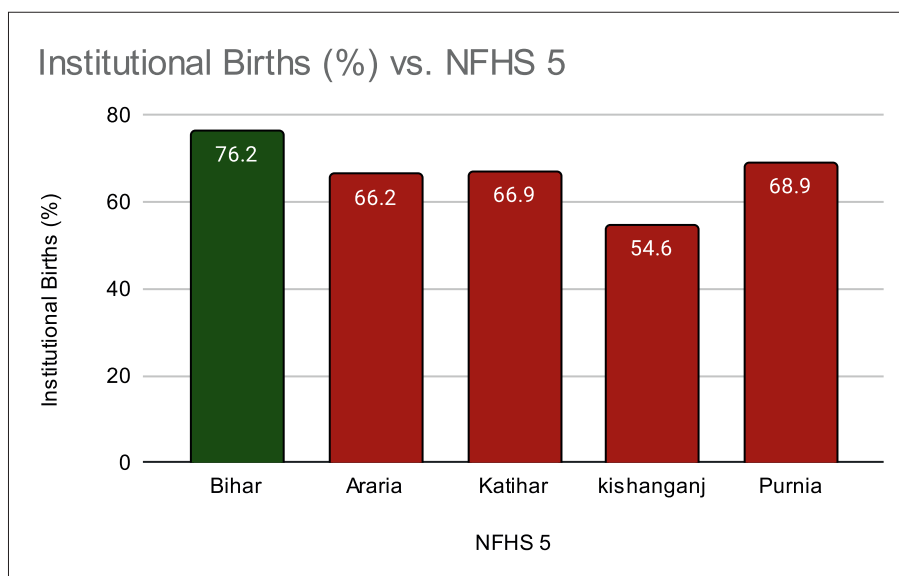
Mother who had at least 4 Antenatal Care Visits (%) during pregnancy is relatively better in Araria with 25.8 % which is marginally high than the state average of 25.2 %, but the other districts of Seemanchal region have lower per centage of pregnant women with 4 Antenatal Care Visits, 15.3%, 17.1% and 11.1% for Katihar, Kishanganj and Purnia respectively.



In Bihar, the overall institutional birth rate increased from 63.8% under NFHS-4 to 76.2% under NFHS-5. On the other hand, the per centage of Institutional Births is lower for all four districts of Seemanchal region than the state average, Kishanganj at the lowest with just 54.6%, 66.2% for Araria, 66.9% for Katihar and 68.9% for Purnia districts.

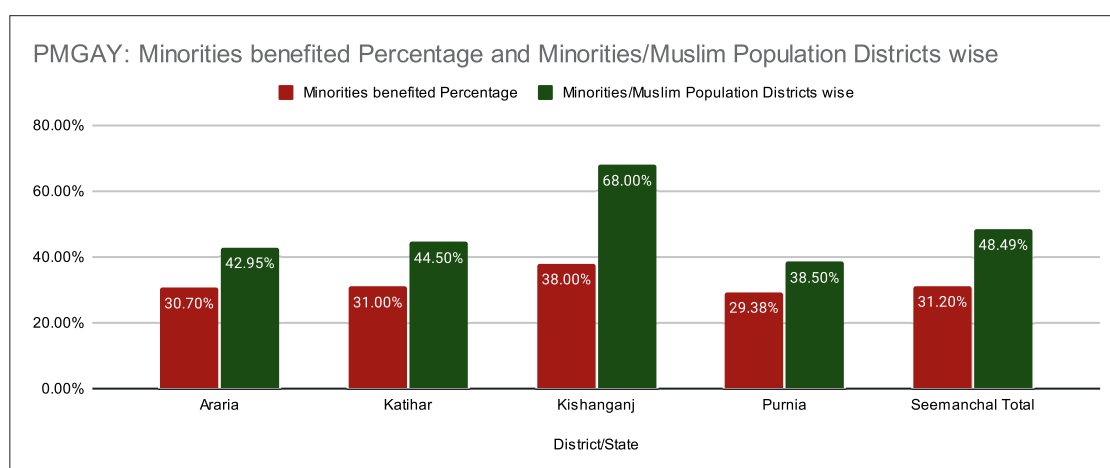


On the parameter of stunted (Height For Age) children under the age of 5 years are worse than the state average for Seemanchal region except Kishanganj district. On an average there are 42.9 per cent children below the age of 5 years who are stunted in the state, according to the NFHS-5. While the stunted children under 5 years are higher for Araria (49.9%), Katihar (43.9%), Purnia (43.5%) and Kishanganj performing better with just 38.8% children stunted under the age of 5.



Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana analysis (PMGAY)

We have analysed the Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana data between 2016-17 to 2021-22 for Bihar and the four districts of Seemanchal region. The below table gives the number of beneficiaries social category wise. The table shows that between 2016-17 to 2021-22 total number of houses built in Bihar under this scheme was 3584955 out of which 503360 beneficiaries were under the category of minorities. The analysis of data at the state level, according to social categories shows that the minorities received just 14 % of the total houses under the PMGAY which is below than the total state minority population of 17.31 % (16.87 % Muslims), hence a deficit gap of 3.27 %.



Analysis of PMGAY Data:

District wise analysis of the PMGAY data shows that in Araria district the number of total beneficiaries under the PMGAY between 2016-17 to 2021-22 are 265702 and the number of beneficiaries from the category of Minorities are 81622 which is 30.70 % of total beneficiaries in the district, while the total population of minorities in the district is 42.95 %. Thus, the deficit gap for the minorities in the district is 12.25 %.

For Katihar district, the number of total beneficiaries under the PMGAY are 112915 and the number of beneficiaries from the category of Minorities are 35015 which is 31 % of total beneficiaries in the district, while the total population of minorities in the district is 44.50 %. Thus, the deficit gap for the minorities in the district is 13.5 %.

In Kishanganj, which has 68 % of Muslim population, only 16384 out of 41861 total beneficiaries under PMGAY scheme are from the Minorities category, which is just 38 % thus having a deficit of 30 % for minorities. On the other hand, the total beneficiaries in Kishanganj district are just 7.77 % of total Seemanchal region's beneficiaries while Kishanganj constitutes 14.32 % of total Seemanchal region population.

For Purnia district, the number of total beneficiaries under the PMGAY are 118133 and the number of beneficiaries from the category of Minorities are 35261 which is which is 29.38 % of total beneficiaries in the district, while the total population of minorities in the district is 38.50 %, thus, the deficit gap for the minorities in the district is 9.12 %.

The cumulative analysis of the Seemanchal region, the average Muslim population is 48.49 %- Kishanganj (68 %), Katihar (44.50 %), Araria (42.95 %) and Purnia (38.50 %). If we analyse the beneficiary data for Seemanchal region, only 31.20 % of beneficiaries are from the minority category which is 17.49 % below the total Muslim population in the region. The number of beneficiaries under the minority category in Seemanchal region is 168282, while in Bihar total number of minorities benefited from this scheme is 5,03,360. So, in the Seemanchal region itself there are 33.43 % of beneficiaries from minorities category while this region has around 29-30 % of total Muslim population.

The analysis of PMGAY data indicates that there has been systematic discrimination faced by the minorities in the allocation of housing facilities in the Seemanchal region. The data indicate that the number of beneficiaries from the minority category is far less than their numbers in the Seemanchal region. Since, the population of minorities from other religions is negligible in these districts, hence the Muslims are at the major disadvantage and facing discrimination in the allocation.

Table 13: Analysis of Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana (PMGAY) between 2016-17 to 2021-22

District/State	Minorities(benefited)	Total (benefited)	Minorities benefited per centage	Muslim Population in Districts	Total Gap
Araria	81622	265702	30.70%	42.95%	12.25%
Katihar	35015	112915	31%	44.50%	13.50%
Kishanganj	16384	41861	38%	68%	30%
Purnia	35261	118133	29.38%	38.50%	9.12
Seemanchal Total	168282	538611	31.20%	48.49%	17.49%
Bihar	503360	3584955	14.04%	17.31% (16.87% M)	3.27%

MGNREGA analysis:

MGNREGA was launched by the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA-I) government in 2005, to provide a minimum of 100 days of employment out of 365 days a year, to every rural household willing to do unskilled manual work. The year wise analysis of the MGNREGA data in Bihar shows that there has been constant rise in the demand of work under MGNREGA and specially after the covid the demand almost rose to four fold from 2014-15 to 2020-21. It rose from 15.11 lakhs household who demanded employment under MGNREGA in 2014-15 to 41.81 lakhs households in 2019-20 and to 61.98 lakhs households in 2020-21 and reduced marginally in the subsequent years after covid to 58 lakhs in 2021-22 and 51 lakhs households in 2022-23 which implies that there has been huge reverse migration to Bihar after covid.

In terms of total households and persons who were actually provided employment in these years has also risen from 9.62 lakhs households, 11.58 lakhs persons and 318 lakhs person days in 2014-15 to 33.64 lakhs households, 38.51 lakhs persons and 141 lacs person days in 2019-20. After the reverse migration due to Covid the number of household, persons and person days' work provided rose to 50.88 lakhs, 58.42 lakhs and 227 lakhs in 2020-21.

When we analyse the MGNREGA data for these four districts in these years, there has always been greater demands for work in this region from the state average. These four districts have 10.53 % of the total population of Bihar, but the demand for work in this region has been higher from the total percentage of population this region has. However, despite the higher demands this region has been provided less work opportunities in terms of total person days and the number of families who completed a hundred days work.

Number of families completing hundred days work in the Seemanchal region has been lower than the number of families completing hundred days work in the state. In 2014-15 the number of families who completed hundred days work in the region was 1124 which was just 4.29 % of families who completed hundred days work in Bihar. This was not even half of the total population Seemanchal region has of the state. But after covid the number of families completing hundred days work started matching the total average of population this region have. In 2020-21 the percentage of families completing hundred days work went to as high as 18.40 % of Bihar which indicates that after the Covid demand of work under MGNREGA increased significantly in this region.

Table 14: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) between 2014-15 to 2022-23 in Four Districts

Year	Araria, Katihar, Kishanganj, Purnia /Bihar	Employment demanded		Employment Offered		Employment Provided		No. of Families completed 100 days
		Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	
2014-15	Seemanchal	221023	260646	220930	260528	112619	128962	1124
	Bihar	1511690	1850624	1510739	1849464	962433	1158480	26159
		14.60%	14%	14.60%	14%	11.70%	11.30%	4.29%
2015-16	Seemanchal	211063	255951	210854	255590	159085	184295	3930
	Bihar	1923420	2439507	1921730	2436372	1479541	1829638	57482
		10.97%	10.49%	10.97%	10.49%	10.40%	10.07%	6.83%
2016-17	Seemanchal	406567	510594	406464	510391	293428	353147	961
	Bihar	2973910	3721452	2972406	3719556	2281975	2788995	14134
		13.60%	13.70%	13.67%	13.70%	12.85%	12.66%	6.70%
2017-18	Seemanchal	375583	460204	375312	459844	282082	331566	853
	Bihar	2900003	3570114	2896968	3566443	2243487	2697887	15537
		12.95%	12.89%	12.95%	12.89%	12.57%	12.28%	5.40%
2018-19	Seemanchal	465825	562143	465452	561615	370681	428518	1590
	Bihar	3665380	4374532	3661499	4369565	2919538	3377549	24548
		12.70%	12.85%	12.71%	12.85%	12.69%	12.68%	6.40%
2019-20	Seemanchal	543990	647741	543263	646773	440121	504136	2264
	Bihar	4181814	4913156	4173730	4902736	3364335	3851169	20367
		13.00%	13.18%	13.01%	13.19%	13.08%	13.09%	11.11%
2020-21	Seemanchal	768721	932539	768044	931598	634494	737509	4895
	Bihar	6198155	7313519	6189474	7301787	5088826	5842445	35048
		12.40%	12.75%	12.40%	12.75%	12.46%	12.60%	13.90%
2021-22	Seemanchal	862237	1063116	861827	1062450	696349	816383	4015
	Bihar	5848829	6827107	5841944	6817554	4791855	5430798	21815
		14.74%	15.57%	14.75%	15.58%	14.53%	15.03%	18.40%
2022-23	Seemanchal	700062	866817	699414	865812	586170	708931	2879
	Bihar	5114305	5991975	5102357	5976466	4385780	5049408	23320
		12.25%	14.46%	13.70%	14.48%	13.36%	16.16%	12.30%

Conclusion: Bihar is home of 1.76 Crore Muslims and out of these 49 lakhs Muslims live in the four districts of Seemanchal region which is almost 30 percent of total Muslims of Bihar. When it comes to human developmental parameters like educational infrastructure, literacy, health facilities, nutrition etc. this region as the data revealed is lagging behind. Literacy rates are low in this region, educational infrastructure like student-teacher ratio, number of schools, colleges and universities are very less in this region. Health infrastructure is also abysmal in the region.

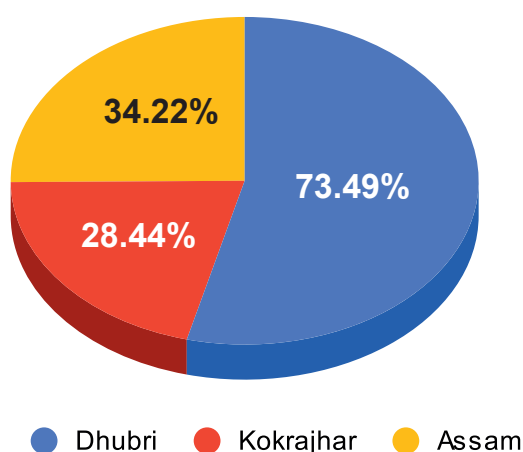
On the other hand, when it comes to the implementation of government schemes like PMGAY and MGNREGA, this region and specifically Muslims in the region are facing discrimination. The housing scheme is disproportionately distributed to the disadvantage of the Muslims. There have been demands of work under MGNREGA, but those demands are not met as the data revealed that the state has failed to provide employment in proportion to the demands.

Two Border Districts in Assam: Dhubri and Kokrajhar

Assam is one of the biggest border states of India, which is situated in the North East region of India. Kokrajhar and Dhubri are identified for this report as they were among the districts selected under the Minority Concentrated Districts that needed special attention. Kokrajhar shares with Bhutan a border of 61.4 KM and Dhubri along with South Salmara Mankachar shares with Bangladesh a border that is 141.9 KM. There are 2 MP seats and 7 MLA seats in these two districts. The muslim population is high in both these districts. According to the 2011 Census, Dhubri had a population of 19.49 lakhs of which male and female were 9.97 lakhs and 9.51 lakhs respectively. As per the 2011 census the Muslim population in the district is 79.67 per cent. In Kokrajhar the total population was 8.87 lakhs as per the 2011 Census. Muslim population is relatively lower than Dhubri, 28.44 per cent, but in some blocks the Muslim population is concentrated densely.

In 2022, the Chief Minister of Assam, Hemanta Biswa Sarma and BSF intelligence both raised hue and cry over ‘the rising Muslim population’ in the state. According to Sarma, the Muslim population is currently growing in districts bordering Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. The bogey of “illegal Muslim Infiltration” has constantly been raised in Assam, even by erstwhile Congress government and off late has been bolstered strongly by the BJP, which ultimately led to the conduct of the NRC in Assam.

**Table 15: Muslim Population in Assam
(Kokrajhar and Dhubri)**



Time and again, the Assamese ruling classes have flagged the 'rise of Muslim population', but they refrained from talking about the abysmal material condition of these same districts. "I can't question as to why this has happened, but we should increase the strength of the intelligence force in Assam Police. We should increase the number of police stations in these areas, where the population has increased. I have categorically stated that the population is surging in some districts. I have also mentioned constituencies where Hindus shall be minority soon. So, on these issues, our police have to respond scientifically." This view of Himanta Biswa Sarma demonstrates what is wrong with the ruling class approach to Assam's Muslim majority districts. Sarma is not able to substantiate his absurd claims about growing Muslim population in these districts but insist on increasing surveillance and repressive state machineries. No where in the priority of the chief minister lies the building of educational or health infrastructure in these districts which are the actual dire need in the state.

According to reports on demographic changes in border districts, Sarma said at 31.45 %, the decadal growth in population from 2011 to 2021, within 10 km of the Bangladesh border was higher than the projected national and state average of 12.5 % and 13.54 %.

Out of the total 27 districts in Assam, there are 14 districts with Muslim population above 20 %. The table below shows that in 4 districts, Decadal Population Growth declined between 1991-2001 and 2001-11, Kokrajhar topping the list that recorded 5.21 % population growth between 2001-11 and 14.49 % between 1991-2001, a decline of 9 %. Nalbari district recorded a Decadal Population Growth of 11.99 % (2011-21) and 14.21 % (1991-2001) thus a decline of 2.22 %. On the other hand, out of the remaining 10 districts which recorded an increase in DPG between two decades, 5 districts recorded marginally higher population growth of less than 1 %. Another 4 out of 10 districts which recorded an increase in DPG recorded an increase of population (DPG) below 2 %. The only district that recorded a major increase in population from the previous decade was Chirang district with just 22.66 % Muslim population and that too because it has recorded population growth in negative between 1991-2001 and a positive growth of just 11.34 % between 2001-2011.

The below table indicates that there is no significant increase in Muslim population in the last two decades as claimed by BJP leadership and the media. In fact, there is a significant decline of population in many districts like Kokrajhar.

Now like rest of the districts in India, these claims pertaining to Assam are also intentionally kept vague. There is no decisive data to show this proclaimed increase and there is absolutely no evidence of the Muslims settled in the border districts to be foreigners or infiltrators. The socio-economic conditions in these border districts are abject and need elaboration.

Table 16: Decadal Population Growth in districts of Assam having Muslim population above 20 percent between 1991-2011, Census data.

District	Muslims (%)	Population Growth 2001-2011 (%)	Population Growth 1991-2001 (%)	Change in Population (%)
Dhubri	79.67	24.44	22.97	1.47
Barpeta	70.74	21.43	19.62	1.81
Darrang	64.34	22.19	22.18	0.01
Hailakandi	60.31	21.45	20.89	0.56
Goalpara	57.52	22.64	23.03	-0.39
Karimganj	56.36	21.9	21.87	0.03
Nagaon	55.36	22	22.26	-0.26
Morigaon	52.56	23.34	21.35	1.99
Bongaigaon	50.22	20.59	22.09	0.5
Kamrup	39.66	15.69	14.97	0.72
Cachar	37.71	20.19	18.89	1.3
Nalbari	35.96	11.99	14.21	-2.22
Kokrajhar	28.44	5.21	14.49	-9.28
Chirang	22.66	11.34	-0.08	11.26

The question of population profiling in Dhubri and Kokrajhar:

The district of Dhubri has always been one with a high Muslim population, with internal displacement and migration being constant. The state however, points at the population to establish that there is a sudden growth of Muslims in these districts, which contradicts available statistics and figures.

If one takes a look at the population of Dhubri, Muslims are in majority. Growth of population in ten years, as per the change in the Decadal Population Growth (DPG) after the 2001 census was just 1.47%, in 2011.

Dhubri is not the only district that registers an increase in population growth. Districts with significantly lower Muslim population in Dhemaji (1.96%) and Udalguri (12.66%) recorded 0.52% and 0.4% too. Chirang, which has a positive growth of 11.26%, which is highest in the state, has a 22.66% Muslim population, which is lower than the state average. Ignoring these differential growth and putting the onus of population explosion on Muslims alone seems prejudiced.

Education in Kokrajhar and Dhubri districts:

Kokrajhar: The overall scenario of education in Kokrajhar district is abysmal and progressively deteriorating. The number of functional lower primary schools were 1511 in 2017, which deteriorated to 1303 in 2021, as more than 200 schools presumably shut down. According to UDISE, in 2017, out of 1511 schools in the districts, only 1257 had mid-day meal facilities. In Gosaigaon block of Kokrajhar, where the Muslim population is highest in the district (71.17 %), the number of lower primary schools is lowest, at just 241.

The number of Upper primary schools in comparison to lower primary schools sees a sharp decline to a total of 364 schools only. Moreover, the number of secondary and higher secondary government and provincialized schools is only 87. There is only one registered Madrasa in Kokrajhar district. The decreasing number of schools from lower primary to higher secondary indicate on one hand the abject lack of educational resources for students, while on the other hand it also reflects the huge number of drop out of students as one goes up the educational system.

The dropout rate in lower primary in Kokrajhar is 5.6 %, while that in Upper Primary is 4.6 %. The transition rate from primary to higher education is 89 %, which is fourth lowest in Assam. According to the Handbook of Assam 2021, the enrolment in lower primary schools in the districts are 73340, while that in Upper Primary are 50376. Enrolment of minority students in the year 2022 in lower primary is 41131, whereas minority enrolment above class viii is only 14884.

There are only 12 colleges in total in this district. There is not a single university in Kokrajhar district. For college education and above the only option for the students is to migrate elsewhere. The overall scenario of education therefore is grim and requires immediate efforts for thorough improvement.

In Dhubri:

The total literacy rate is 58.34%. Among that Male literacy rate 63.10 % while Female literacy rate is 53.33 %.

The total number of Government and provincialized lower primary schools in 2021 were 1517. The number of upper primary schools in the same year saw a sharp decline to 333 only. The number of secondary and higher secondary schools are still 162. According to the Statistical Handbook of Assam, 2021, the drop out rate of students in lower primary schools is 4.3 % while the dropout rate in upper primary schools almost doubles to 9.3 %.

There are only 14 colleges in the district and not a single university. The overall scenario of education in Dhubri too is dismal compared to the rest of Assam as well as the national scenario. Students need to migrate out of the district if they have to pursue higher education.

The condition of Public and community Health facilities in Dhubri and Kokrajhar:

The condition of Public health in Dhubri and Kokrajhar are one of the most dismal in Assam. As per information in the Statistical Handbook of Assam, 2021, in the entire Dhubri district there is just 1 Civil hospital and 1 sub divisional civil hospital. There are a total 35 rural primary health centres in Dhubri and 8 state dispensary community health centres, 19 diagnostic centres, 7 Polyclinics and just 1 Nursing Home. There are just 34 registered urban doctors and 135 registered doctors in rural areas.

Similarly, in Kokrajhar, in the entire district there is just 1 Civil hospital and 1 sub divisional civil hospital. There are 27 rural primary health centres in Kokrajhar and 2 state dispensary community health centres, 17 diagnostic centres, 1 Polyclinics and just 1 Nursing Home. There are just 27 registered urban doctors and 120 registered doctors in rural areas.

The lack of health resources reflect in the overall degrading situation of health care in both these districts. For example, Children age 6-59 months who are anaemic in 2015-16 in Kokrajhar were 40.4 % which became 74.7 % in 2019-20, according to the survey done by Pradhan Mantri Surakshit Matritva Abhiyan (PMSMA) for ante-natal care. The same survey shows, in Dhubri, in 2019-20 a whopping 73.1 % children are anaemic. Women aged 15-49 who are anaemic in 2019-20 are also 63.2 %, which is very high. In Kokrajhar, in 2019-20, the same figure stands at 51.3 %.

This shows the overall abject health situation in these two districts. However, the dominant narrative does not cover these aspects of poor health conditions and the lack of health resources here. The efforts from the state government reflects utter negligence in improving public health, which is the reality particularly in the districts and blocks with higher Muslim population percentage. The basic facilities of health and education face sheer negligence in these districts but the dominant narrative hides the reality to raise a cacophony about rising fundamentalism.

The status of economy and employment in these two districts of Kokrajhar and Dhubri:

The SECC data of rural India 2011 shows the lack of employment in Dhubri and Kokrajhar district and the situation is particularly bad in the blocks with Muslim majority population.

Table 16a: Number of households, households with salaried jobs and low income households in Kokrajhar district

	Muslim Population %	Households	% of Households with Salaried Job	Income % Less than Rs. 5,000
Kokrajhar district	28.44	176025	7.71	78.18
Bhowraguri	62.05	16238	5.19	79.87
Dotoma	26.6	30560	10.9	70.13
Kokrajhar	26.28	44423	10.92	72.76
Bagirbari	98.72	1107	4.79	85.57
Bilasipara	84.5	2002	3.45	86.91
Chapar	71.06	1161	3.4	87.98
Golokganj	60.56	5706	4.77	90.97
Gossaigaon	71.17	54362	5.64	81.69
Dhubri	91.28	7466	5.81	85.41

In blocks like Bagirbari, Bilasipara, Chapar, Gossaigaon and in Dhubri where the Muslim population is more than 70%, the percentage of households with salaried jobs are 5% or less. Similarly in these blocks the percentage of households with income less than Rs. 5000 is clearly the highest. In Golokganj, where the Muslim population is 60.5%, the percentage of households with income less than Rs. 5000 is the highest with 90.9%. Similarly, in Bagirbari, Bilasipara, Chapar, Gossaigaon and in Dhubri this percentage crosses 80%. These shows the level of poverty and underdevelopment that are existing in these districts and particularly in blocks with high Muslim population. These districts being mostly rural, the main economic activities are agriculture and very small business. The rate of migration from these districts is also high. The figures however, are relatively better in the blocks of Dotoma and Kokrajhar where the Muslim population is relatively lower and they are in minority.

Now, if we take a look at rural employment guarantee in these districts, particularly in Kokrajhar, the situation does not improve from 2011, but rather continues to be as dismal and in fact deteriorating.

Table 17: Analysis of MGNREGA 2014-15 to 2022-23 for Kokrajhar districts

Blocks/Revenue Circles	Muslim Population	Registered Households	Employment Provided to households	Number of families completing 100 days								
				2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22	2022-23
Bilashipara BTC	84.50%	960	155	1	301	612	69	13	4	4	0	1
Chapor-Salkocha BTC	71.06%	4828	595	3	183	119	2	13	27	0	11	56
Debitola BTC	—	1739	5763	11	2526	264	252	852	452	129	33	41
Dotoma	26.60%	37658	11961	7	529	93	0	15	14	622	38	188
Golokganj BTC	60.56%	1146	521	8	0	0	10	105	0	0	0	1
Gossaigaon	71.17%	25279	10377	0	934	14	12	3	1	58	4	37
Hattidhura	—	6631	2793	0	0	1	7	0	7	2	2	0
Kachugaon	—	44665	11531	1	188	2	9	35	156	81	33	29
Kokrajhar	26.28%	47412	10904	10	41	12	0	2	5	2	24	119
Mahamaya BTC	—	9652	2935	0	68	6	10	320	96	7	0	3
Rupshi BTC	—	8004	5511	13	17	664	696	24	30	1	86	0
Total in Kokrajhar District		203374	63046	54	4787	1787	1067	1382	792	906	231	475
Total in Assam				10230	41973	11297	10928	18359	29979	71268	52153	8670

Source: <https://mnregaweb4.nic.in> 2022

Once again a close reading of this data of employment generated under MNREGA, one can see how over the years the Muslim majority blocks of Bilasipara, Chapar, Gossaigaon and Golakganj saw a miserable rate of employment under the MNREGA. It is worth noting that all across the country the rate of MNREGA increased during the years 2020-21, because of the COVID induced lockdown and the huge rate of reverse migration that took place in the rural areas as thousands of people returned to their villages and the rate of employment actually went up because of increased demand. In overall Assam too, the rate of employment under NREGA increased as is reflected in the figures, but there are no major changes in these districts. In fact, the employment rate in some blocks is visibly abysmal.

One can discern the misery of livelihood from these figures of lack of employment and poverty in these border districts of Assam. They encapsulate decades of systemic negligence and lack of developmental opportunities.

**Table 18: Analysis of PM Gramin Awas Yojana (PMGAY)
blockwise for Kokrajhar district**

	Total beneficiaries		Other s	SC	ST	Total	Rejected Beneficiaries		Other s	SC	ST	Total	Approved Beneficiaries		Other s	SC	ST	Total
	Minority						Minority						Minority					
Bilashipara BTC	218		34	2	147	401	60		6	0	24	90	158		28	2	123	311
Chapor-Salkocha BTC	1502		437	35	596	2570	3		0	0	0	3	1499		437	35	596	2567
Debitola BTC	1906		1034	16	2827	5783	0		6	0	21	27	1906		1028	16	2806	5756
Dotoma	2734		4330	359	4543	11966	0		0	0	0	0	2734		4330	359	4543	11966
Golokganj BTC	97		201	6	177	481	0		0	0	0	0	97		201	6	177	481
Gossaigaon	3171		2274	215	794	6454	538		640	45	70	1293	2633		1634	170	724	5161
Hattidhura	1866		358	62	31	2317	462		112	18	1	593	1404		246	44	30	1724
Kachugaon	3752		5453	343	5143	14691	482		623	54	426	1585	3270		4830	289	4717	13106
Kokrajhar	2997		4812	319	3410	11538	10		22	19	60	111	2987		4790	300	3350	11427
Mahamaya BTC	2747		402	108	0	3257	129		28	3	0	160	2618		374	105	0	3097
Rupshi BTC	688		968	46	612	2314	3		19	0	9	31	685		949	46	603	2283
Total	21678		20303	1511	18280	61772	1687		1456	139	611	3893	19991		18847	1372	17669	57879

PM Gramin Awas Yojana:

The next area to be examined is the PMAwas Yojana and the approval or rejection of residential facilities.

The notable aspect in these figures are the high number of PM Awas yojana rejections for the minorities in some of the blocks that are starkly high. In Gossaigaon, Hatthidura and Kachugaon, the rate of rejection of Minority applicants is starkly high that points at a possibility of discrimination on religious grounds.

Certain livelihood aspects in these two districts also point at systemic negligence. For example in Kokrajhar:

Table 19: PM Awas Yojana Target, Completion and Percentage of achievement in Kokrajhar

	Number of Rural Households	Annual Target (No. of houses)	No. of houses completed	% of achievement against target
Kokrajhar	196068	8875	406	5%
Asaam	6335015	355861	16673	5%

Table 20: PM Awas Yojana Target, Completion and Percentage of achievement in Dhubri

	Number of Rural Households	Annual Target (No. of houses)	No. of houses completed	% of achievement against target
Kokrajhar	306664	41528	3378	8%
Asaam	6335015	355861	16673	5%

The two districts being rural, the major occupation here are of agriculture. However, the 2011 census showed miserable figures in terms of owning land and equipment for agriculture for most of the families. In fact, the blocks with higher Muslim populations like Bagirbari and Gossaigaon show more than 50% people to be landless. Throughout Dhubri and Kokrajhar less than 5% of the population own agricultural equipment, which shows the dependence of people pursuing agriculture.

Table 21: Kokrajhar Total landless households and households owning irrigation equipment

	Muslim Population	Households	% of households with no land	% of Households owning Irrigation equipment
Kokrajhar district	28.44	176025	49.31	3.69
Bhowraguri	62.05	16238	44.9	5.94
Dotoma	26.6	30560	58.54	6.26
Kokrajhar	26.28	44423	50.34	3.43
Bagribari	98.72	1107	33.18	2.79
Golokganj	60.56	5706	41.83	3.1
Gossaigaon	71.17	54362	52.49	2.69
Dhubri	91.28	7466	35.9	1.37

Source: <https://www.secc.gov.in> 2011

Table 22: Swachh Bharat toilets In Kokrajhar in 2019

	Rural households	Target	Completed
Kokrajhar	196068	7872	175
Assam	6335015	320734	17918

In Dhubri, the figures are even more miserable as not a single toilet has been completed as per the target set under Swachh Bharat Yojana. This shows the lack of hygiene and lack of sanitation facilities which inadvertently lead to many chronic diseases.

Table 23: Swachh Bharat Toilets constructed in Dhubri 2019

	Rural households	Target	Completed
Dhubri	306664	14670	0
Assam	6335015	320734	17918

In Dhubri, the figures are even more miserable as not a single toilet has been completed as per the target set under Swachh Bharat Yojana. This shows the lack of hygiene and lack of sanitation facilities which inadvertently lead to many chronic diseases.

Table 24: FHTC in Kokrajhar 2020-2021

	Rural households	Households with FHTC (as on 01-04-2020)	Households with FHTC (as on 20-03- 2021)	Households with FHTC (as on 01-04-2021)
Kokrajhar	196068	2256	12440	16023
Assam	6335015	160137	565772	667354

In Dhubri, the figures are even more miserable as not a single toilet has been completed as per the target set under Swachh Bharat Yojana. This shows the lack of hygiene and lack of sanitation facilities which inadvertently lead to many chronic diseases.

Table 25: FHTC in Dhubri 2020-2021

	Rural households	Households with FHTC (as on 01-04-2020)	Households with FHTC (as on 20-03- 2021)	Households with FHTC (as on 01-04-2021)
Dhubri	196068	432	6022	9178
Assam	6335015	160137	565772	667354

We can therefore see how basic resources for health, education, employment and economy are being neglected systematically in the remote districts of Dhubri and Kokrajhar. While the Chief Minister of the state berated the population of these districts along with others, particularly targeting the Muslims, he talked about increasing surveillance and tightening the security grip over these populations. His concerns as a Chief Minister should rather have been to address these fundamental issues of development for the citizens to live a life of human dignity. Taking all these developmental indexes together, one can assert that the lack of developmental opportunities and resources should be the talking points rather than the imposed and imagined narrative about the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.

Two border districts of Uttar Pradesh: Balrampur and Shravasti

Uttar Pradesh has been one of the states which has recently seen atrocities and persecution of minorities especially during the CAA protests and continued later with the emergence of Bulldozer politics. The UP police also flagged certain districts like Pilibhit, Lakhimpur Kheri, Shravasti, Siddharth Nagar, Maharajganj, Balrampur and Bahraich and submitted a report claiming rise of Muslim population and Islamic activities in these districts. We have chosen two districts, Shravasti and Balarampur to do the social audit and assess the socio economic indices here.

Uttar Pradesh has 19.26 % Muslims and the selected districts Balrampur has 37.51 % and Shravasti has 30.79 % of Muslim population. Among these districts, Balarampur has one MP seat and four assembly seats; in Shravasti there is one MP seat and five assembly seats.

Population growth district wise:

The Decadal Population Growth (DPG) Data from UP shows that 9 out of 11 districts having Muslim population above 30 per cent have seen a 9.68 per cent average decline in Decadal Population Growth (DPG) between 2001 to 2011. Only two districts having Muslim population above 30 per cent have seen an increase in the growth rate. On the other hand, 8 out of 10 districts with lowest Muslim population in the state have recorded just 4.92 per cent decline which is almost half of the number with higher Muslim population districts as shown in the table. Out of these 10 districts, 2 recorded positive DPG.

The table shows that Shravasti recorded DPG in negative. According to 2011 Census data, Shravasti recorded -5.02 per cent growth which was 27.2 per cent in 2001, thus 32.23 per cent decline. On the other hand, Balrampur recorded a DPG of 27.72 per cent between 2001-11 which was 22.92 per cent in the decade of 1991-2001, thus an increase of 4.80 per cent between 2001-11.

District/State	Muslim population
Balrampur	37.51%
Shravasti	30.79%
UttarPradesh	19.26%

Table 26: Muslim population in Balrampur and Shravasti

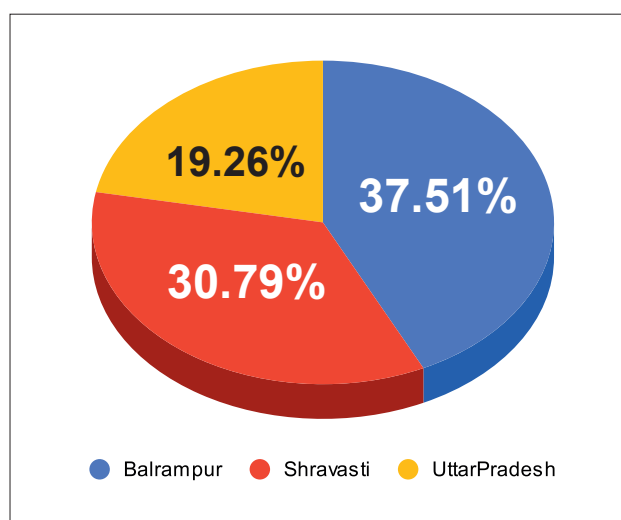


Table 27: Decadal Population Growth between 1991-2011 in districts of Uttar Pradesh having Muslim population above 30 % and districts having Muslim population below 10 percent, Census data.

District/state	Muslim Population (%)	Decadal Population Growth (%) 1991-2001	Decadal Population Growth (%) 2001-2011	Change in Population Growth (%)
Rampur	50.57	28	21.42	-6.58
Moradabad	47.12	28.52	25.22	-3.3
Bijnor	43.04	27.59	17.6	-10
Saharanpur	41.95	25.46	19.66	-5.8
Muzaffarnagar	41.3	24.65	16.94	-7.71
Jyotiba Phule Nagar	40.78	29.71	22.76	-6.95
Balrampur	37.51	22.92	27.72	4.8
Bareilly	34.54	27.66	22.93	-4.73
Meerut	34.43	24.06	14.89	-9.89
Bahraich	33.53	29.2	46.48	17.28
Shravasti	30.8	27.21	-5.02	-32.23
Mirzapur	7.84%	27.44	18.00%	-6.44
Jhansi	7.40%	25.5	14.54%	-7.96%
Auraiya	7.39%	18	16.91%	-1.09%
Ballia	6.59%	20.07	17.31%	-4.76%
Mahoba	6.56%	21.33	23.64%	2.31%
Sonbhadra	5.56%	36.28	27.27%	-9.01%
Mainpuri	5.39%	21.79	17.02%	-4.77%
Etawah	4.20%	18.45	18.15%	-0.30%
Chitrakoot	3.48%	28.48	29.43%	0.95%
Lalitpur	2.76%	30.01	24.94%	-5.07%

Literacy rates in Balrampur and Shravasti districts: According to the 2011 census are below from the state average and far below from the national average. In UP literacy rates are 57.25 %, with 65.31 % male are literate and only 48.42 % of females are literate. This is far below from the national average. On the other hand when it comes to the district level analysis of 2011 census data, both these districts are lagging behind from the state average. These two districts have a significant number of Muslim population, with Balrampur having only 49.51 % literacy and Shravasti having even lower literacy rates with just 37.89 % of total population literate. When we analyse the data gender wise, the male literacy rate is lower than the state average. Only 59.73 % male in Balrampur and 46.59 % male in Shravasti are literate which is below than the state male literacy of 65.31, a gap of 5.42 % for Balrampur and a gap of 19.28 % for Shravasti.

When it comes to the Tehsil level analysis of the 2011 Census data, there are 5 tehsils in these two districts with significant Muslim population: Tulsipur having 39.44 % Muslim population, Utrala having 44.97 %, Balrampur having 27.40 %, while two Tehsils in Shravasti Bhinga and Ikauna having 37.40 % and 20.44 % respectively. In terms of literacy rates Bhinga is having only 35.90 % literacy rates while in Utraula there are 53.32 % literates. There is a 10.87 % gap for Tulsipur, 3.9 % gap for Utraula, 8.18 % gap for Balrampur, 21.35 % gap for Bhinga 15 % gap for Ikauna from the state's literacy rates of 57.25 %. On the other hand, when it comes to gender wise literacy rates, only Utraula with 64.67 % male literacy is closer to the state's male literacy with just 0.63 % gap. While Bhinga again has the lowest among the 5 Tehsils in these two districts with just 43.52 % male are literates. The gap for each Tehsil than the State's male literacy are, almost 8.9 % for Tulsipur, 0.63 % for Utraula, 6.34 % for Balrampur, 21.35 % for Bhinga, 13.90. % for Ikauna.

In terms of female literacy rates again Bhinga is lagging far below with just 25.49 % of literate females which is 23 % below the state female literacy and a gap of 18 % gap within the Tehsil. Ikauna tehsil having 31.92 % of female literacy which is again 16.50 % below the state average of female literacy and a gap of 20.5 % within the Tehsil itself.

Census-2011,

Table 28: Literacy rates in Balrampur and Shravasti districts and Tehsil-wise literacy

District/State	Muslim	Literacy	Male literacy	Female Literacy
Balrampur (D)	37.51%	49.51%	59.73%	38.43%
Shravasti (D)	30.79%	37.89%	46.59%	28.01%
UP	19.26%	57.25%	65.31%	48.42%
Tehsil	Muslim	Literacy	Male literacy	Female Literacy
Tulsipur	39.44%	46.38%	56.43%	35.26%
Utraula	44.97%	53.32%	64.67%	42.32%
Balrampur	27.40%	49.07%	58.97%	37.73%
Bhinga	37.40%	35.90%	43.52%	25.49%
Ikauna	20.44%	42.25%	51.41%	31.92%

Urbanisation in Balrampur and Shravasti: Muslims are largely believed to be living in urban areas. Urbanisation though is considered to be a parameter to analyse the level of development. These two districts of UP are least urbanised, with 7.74 and 3.46 per cent of the population in Balrampur and Shravasti respectively living in urban areas. This is far below than the state and national average of 22.27 for UP and 31.10 for India.

Table 29: Urban-rural population in Balrampur and Shravasti

District/State	Rural	Urban
Balrampur	92.26%	7.74%
Shravasti	96.54%	3.46 %
Uttar Pradesh	77.73%	22.27%
India	68.90%	31.10%

Source: Census 2011

Health infrastructure in UP (Balrampur and Shravasti):

As per the Rural Health Statistics data published by NITI Ayog, there are 25278 health centres which includes Sub Centres, PHCs, CHCs, Sub-divisional hospitals and District Hospitals in Uttar Pradesh.

Analysis of the NFHS-4 and NFHS-5 indicators:

Female population age 6 years and above who ever attended school is quite low for Balrampur and Shravasti, 53.1 and 47 respectively which is below than the state average of 67.4%. However, both the districts have seen an increase of 6.9 per cent and 4.3 per cent for Balrampur and Shravasti respectively between the NFHS-4 (2015-16) and NFHS-5 (2019-21), while the overall increase for Bihar is 4.4 per cent which is marginally higher than Shravasti district. On the other hand, Balrampur recorded an increase of 6.9 percent which is higher than the state average. The NFHS-5 data indicates that the educational status of women is improving in these districts but still needs special attention.

On the other hand, NFHS data for **women with 10 or more years of schooling (%)** is abysmally low for these two districts in comparison to the state average. On the other hand, in terms of improvement between NFHS-4 and NFHS-5, the data indicates that there has been very little improvement in these two districts.

Population living in households with electricity is also low for these two districts from the state average. The NFHS-5 data shows that the average population living in households with electricity in Uttar Pradesh is 91 per cent, while Balrampur and Shravasti are lagging far behind, Balrampur with 78.4 percent households with electricity and Shravasti with 73.7 per cent households with electricity, thus there is a gap of 12.6 and 17.3 per cent respectively for both districts. Though, in terms of improvement, these two districts have recorded significant improvement between NFHS-4 and NFHS-5, almost 38 per cent for Balrampur and 43 per cent increase for Shravasti, while the average state improvement is just 18 per cent.

The per centage of **Households using clean fuel for cooking** is also low for these two districts, 39, 36 and 49 per cent for Balrampur, Shravasti and UP respectively. Thus a gap of 10 per cent for Balrampur and 13 per cent for Shravasti. Again these districts have witnessed significant improvement between NFHS-4 and NFHS-5, but still far from what could be called satisfactory. In fact, all the tall claims made by the UP government that they have provided free cylinder to every household does not reflect in the NFHS data, in fact the data indicates that half of Uttar Pradesh population does not have access to clean fuel for cooking and the situation is worse in these two districts with a considerable Muslim population.

The analysis of the NFHS-5 data for Uttar Pradesh and two districts- Balrampur and Shravasti also shows that the **children under 5 years who are underweight** is higher in these districts from the state average.

The number of **children under 5 years who are stunted** is also higher in these districts, 41.2 per cent for Balrampur, 50.9 for Shravasti, and 39.7 per cent in Uttar Pradesh. The data indicates that the nutritional health of children is abysmal in the state and particularly worse for these two districts.

**Table 30: NFHS-4 and NFHS-5 for Balrampur,
Shravasti and Uttar Pradesh**

Indicators	2019-21	Balrampur		Shravasti		Uttar Pradesh	
		2015-16	2019-21	2015-16	2019-21	2015-16	2019-21
Female population age 6 years and above who ever attended school (%)	53.1	46.2	47	42.7	67.4	63	
Population living in households with electricity (%)	78.4	39.6	73.7	29.4	91	72.6	
Population living in households that use an improved sanitation facility (%)	59.7	14.7	58.1	10.6	68.8	36.4	
Households using clean fuel for cooking3 (%)	39.6	9.2	36.9	9.2	49.5	32.7	
Children age 5 years who attended pre-primary school during the school year 2019-20 (%)	9.9	NA	0.6	NA	9.3	NA	
Women who are literate (%)	43.2	NA	39.1	NA	66.1	NA	
Women with 10 or more years of schooling (%)	16.8	12.9	15.9	9.3	39.3	32.9	
Women age 15-24 years who use hygienic methods of protection during their menstrual periods5 (%)	53	29	47.4	16	NA	NA	
Registered pregnancies for which the mother received a Mother and Child Protection (MCP) card (%)	95.7	77	95.9	63.7	95.7	79.8	
Mothers who received postnatal care from a doctor/nurse/LHV/ANM/midwife/other health personnel within 2 days of delivery (%)	62.1	17	68.3	28.1	72	54	
Average out-of-pocket expenditure per delivery in a public health facility (Rs.)	1,810	1,611	1,969	2,018	2,300	1,956	
Children born at home who were taken to a health facility for a check-up within 24 hours of birth (%)	2.3	0.3	0	0.4	2.4	0.8	

Children who received postnatal care from a doctor/nurse/LHV/ANM/midwife/other health personnel within 2 days of delivery (%)	61.3	NA	68.4	NA	70.2	NA
Institutional births (%)	69.7	30.8	80.4	48.4	83.4	67.8
Institutional births in public facility (%)	58	23.8	75.3	40.4	57.7	44.5
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%)	67.4	40.1	84.3	49.6	84.8	70.4
Births in a private health facility that were delivered by caesarean section (%)	32.4	18.6	28	10.8	39.4	31.3
Births in a public health facility that were delivered by caesarean section (%)	2.7	2.4	2.4	1.9	6.2	4.7
Children age 12-23 months fully vaccinated based on information from either vaccination card or mother's recall ¹¹ (%)	57.4	7.1	59.6	17.3	69.6	51.1
Children age 12-23 months who received most of their vaccinations in a public health facility (%)	88.1	94	98.7	74.6	94.4	84.5
Children under 5 years who are stunted (height-for-age) ¹⁸ (%)	41.2	62.8	50.9	63.5	39.7	46.3
Children under 5 years who are underweight (weight-for-age) ¹⁸ (%)	37.2	43.5	40.8	39.2	32.1	39.5
Children under 5 years who are overweight (weight-for-height) ²⁰ (%)	3.9	4	3.3	2.3	3.1	1.5
Children age 6-59 months who are anaemic (<11.0 g/dl) ²² (%)	75.4	72.4	61.2	69.9	66.4	63.2
All women age 15-49 years who are anaemic ²² (%)	53.7	55.8	44.4	48.7	50.4	52.4
All women age 15-19 years who are anaemic ²² (%)	54.7	56.9	46.4	50.3	52.9	53.7

Analysis of Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana (PMGAY): The analysis of Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana data between 2016-17 to 2021-22, there is a huge gap between what minorities receive under this scheme and the number of their population. In UP where Muslims are 19.26 %, only 10.77 % of total minorities have benefitted under the PMGAY, thus a deficit of 8.49 %. On the other hand the district wise analysis of the data suggest that in these two districts there are 17.48 % in Balrampur and 13.24 % in Shravasti from minority category which is far below than the average population Muslims have in these districts with a gap of 20.8 % and 17.56 % respectively.

Table 31: Analysis of PMGAY for Balrampur and Shravasti

District/State	Minorities benefitted	Total benefitted	Minorities benefitted	Minorities Population Districts wise	Total Gap
Uttar Pradesh	291902	2708754	10.77%	19.26%	8.49%
Balrampur	4360	24929	17.48%	37.51%	20.80%
Shravasti	2872	21680	13.24%	30.80%	17.56%

Analysis of MGNREGA data: MGNREGA data for Uttar Pradesh shows that there has been significant rise in the demand under MGNREGA after the Covid hit the country. The demand rose to almost double in 2020-21 from the year before the Covid. In UP the total households who demanded employment under MGNREGA in 2019-20 was 6268196 which suddenly rose to 12089019 households and in terms of persons the number rose to 15713504 in 2020-21 from 7857278 in 2019-20. On the other hand, the number of families who completed 100-day work in 2019-20 was 133059 and rose to 777840 in 2020-21 which is almost 7-fold.

In Shravasti district the total household demand in 2019-20 was 46968 and 61536 persons which rose to 81490 households and 109714 persons in 2020-21 after the Covid and reverse migration happened due to Covid. On the other hand, the number of families who completed 100-day work in 2019-20 was 1932 and rose to 8684 in 2020-21 which is more than 4-fold.

In Balrampur district the total household demand in 2019-20 was 90158 and 104810 persons which rose to 169565 households and 201332 persons in 2020-21 after the Covid and reverse migration happened due to Covid. On the other hand, the number of families who completed 100-day work in 2019-20 was 3335 and rose to 10511 in 2020-21 which is almost 4-fold.

**Table 32: Analysis of MGNREGA for Shravasti,
Balrampur and UP between 2017-18 to 2022-23**

State/District	Employment demanded		Employment offered		Employment Provided			No. of Families Completed 100 days
Shravasti	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Total Persondays	
2022-23	51027	65147	50986	65087	46009	57332	1915985	1460
2021-22	64988	87280	64985	87274	59790	78247	2860565	6732
2020-21	81490	109714	81436	109591	70285	90442	3043458	8684
2019-20	46968	61535	46947	61501	42039	53700	2168527	1932
2018-19	41588	53481	41573	53454	38136	48113	1619909	723
2017-18	39066	52073	39012	51956	35663	46555	1392322	329
	Employment demanded		Employment offered		Employment Provided			No. of Families Completed 100 days
Balrampur	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Total Persondays	
2022-23	92787	104284	92708	104191	86195	96008	3849090	4552
2021-22	114027	131178	113976	131127	98391	110969	4382218	9147
2020-21	169565	201332	169537	201294	123091	140020	6284124	10511
2019-20	90158	104810	90078	104718	73155	82534	4023313	3335
2018-19	77312	91512	77113	91249	66056	76019	3218504	2349
2017-18	73125	88077	73000	87887	61231	72392	2298706	591
	Employment demanded		Employment offered		Employment Provided			No. of Families Completed 100 days
UP	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Total Persondays	
2022-23	7249852	8758516	7242672	8749331	6488922	7709032	273775660	383440
2021-22	8919707	11238152	8915382	11232023	7767158	9553263	325744065	585080
2020-21	12089019	15713504	12083118	15705182	9426907	11643853	394291637	777840
2019-20	6268196	7857278	6262260	7849603	5314017	6453551	244429733	133059
2018-19	5836140	7320565	5829319	7310890	5044788	6150633	212124486	71992
2017-18	5645087	7172677	5635371	7158197	4859741	6039531	181509107	42517

These two districts in UP are multidimensionally poor and as we have shown in most indices of socio-economic development, they are both in the bottom five. It seems these two remote districts are facing perpetual negligence and rather than create a false bogey of the rise of 'Islamic fundamentalism', the state should rather focus on development of the very basic facilities for citizens in these districts.

Malda and Murshidabad in West Bengal

In 2006, Sachar Committee report was an eye-opener about the socio-economic conditions of Muslims in West Bengal as it revealed that Muslim in West Bengal were in the “worst performer” category throughout the nation. Sachar committee report found that the left party rule was responsible for the sad status of Muslims in the state. Subsequently, a number of schemes and programs were adopted to ameliorate the situation. After a gap of 16 years, in this part of the report we have tried to understand the situation of Muslims in these two districts of West Bengal.

Malda and Murshidabad are the two districts of Bengal that are studied in this report. The district of Malda Population has a total population of 3,988,845. Out of which 51.27 % are Muslims. Murshidabad has a population of 7,103,807 and out of which 66.27% are Muslims. In Murshidabad alone there are 3 MP seats and 22 MLA constituencies. In Malda there are 2 MP seats and 12 assembly seats.

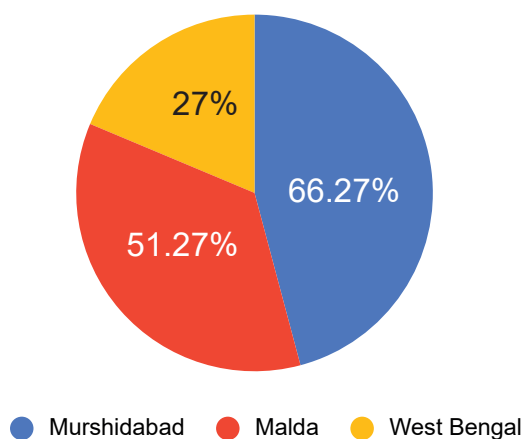
Muslim population in Bengal:

West Bengal has a substantial Muslim population. According to the 2011 census, Muslim constitute 27.01 % of the total population of the state, only second largest in terms of %age after Assam (J&K state status has been taken away recently). Muslims play a crucial role in the electoral outcomes. They had largely supported the left before 2011 and then after disillusionment from the left they started to support Trinamul Congress in mass.

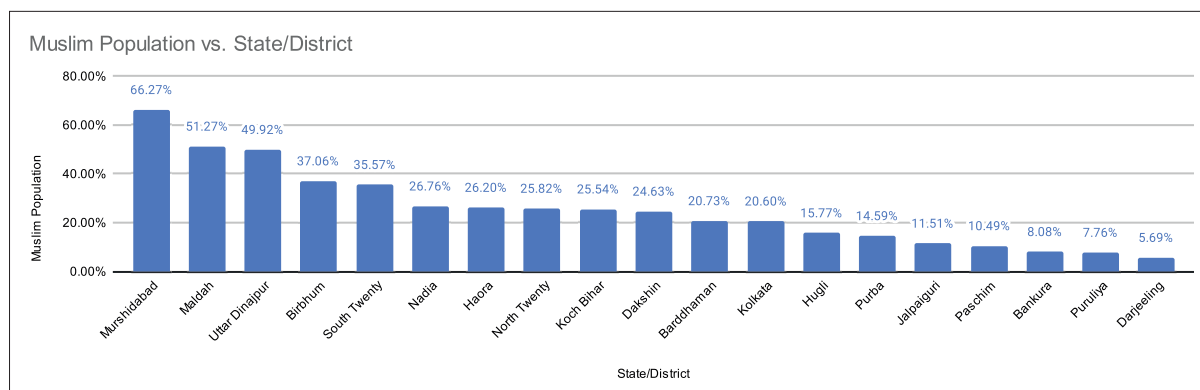
According to the 2011 census report, Murshidabad and Malda are the two districts in the state where Muslim population is more than half of the total population, 66.27% and 51.27% for Murshidabad and Malda respectively. After Murshidabad and Malda, only Uttar Dinajpur has close to half (49.92 %) of Muslim population.

Table 33: Muslim population in Malda, Murshidabad and West Bengal

District/State	Muslim Population
Murshidabad	66.27%
Malda	51.27%
West Bengal	27%



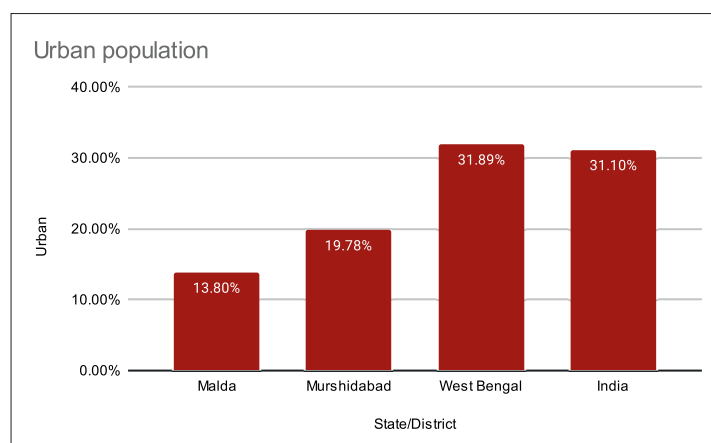
Urban and Rural Population: West Bengal



West Bengal has 31.89 per cent of urban population which is marginally above the national average of 31.10 per cent. On the other hand, these two districts are lagging behind on the parameters of urbanisation as only 13.80 per cent of Malda and 19.78 per cent of Murshidabad districts are living in urban settings.

Table 34: Urban-rural population in Malda, Murshidabad and West Bengal

State/District	Urban %	Rural %
Malda	13.8	86.2
Murshidabad	19.78	80.22
West Bengal	31.89	68.11
India	31.1	68.9



Population growth district wise:

West Bengal has been a border state often in headlines for alleged illegal migration from Bangladesh and Burma. Both Malda and Murshidabad districts share their borders with Bangladesh. Most of the time Muslims are blamed for the population increase. However, the analysis of the census 2011 data shows that districts having larger Muslim populations have seen significant decrease in the population growth during the decade from 2001 to 2011. While comparing the growth rate with the previous decade tells a very different story for the state, what is depicted in the agenda of largely BJP and its political and cultural affiliates.

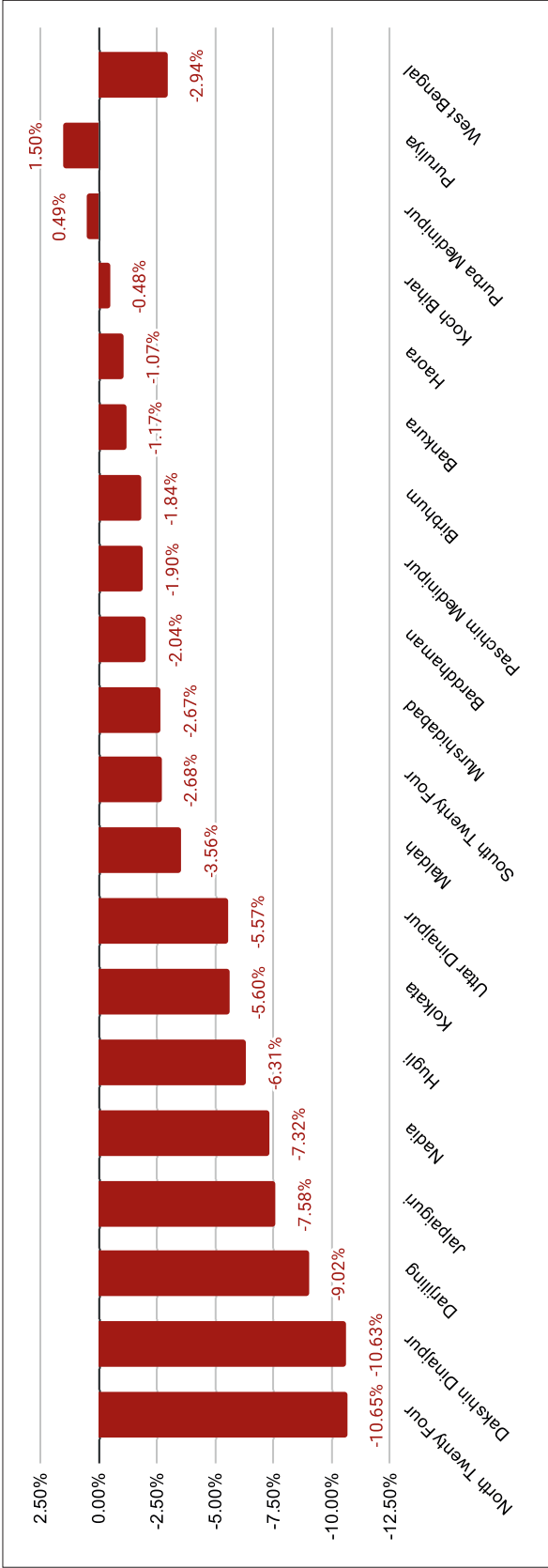
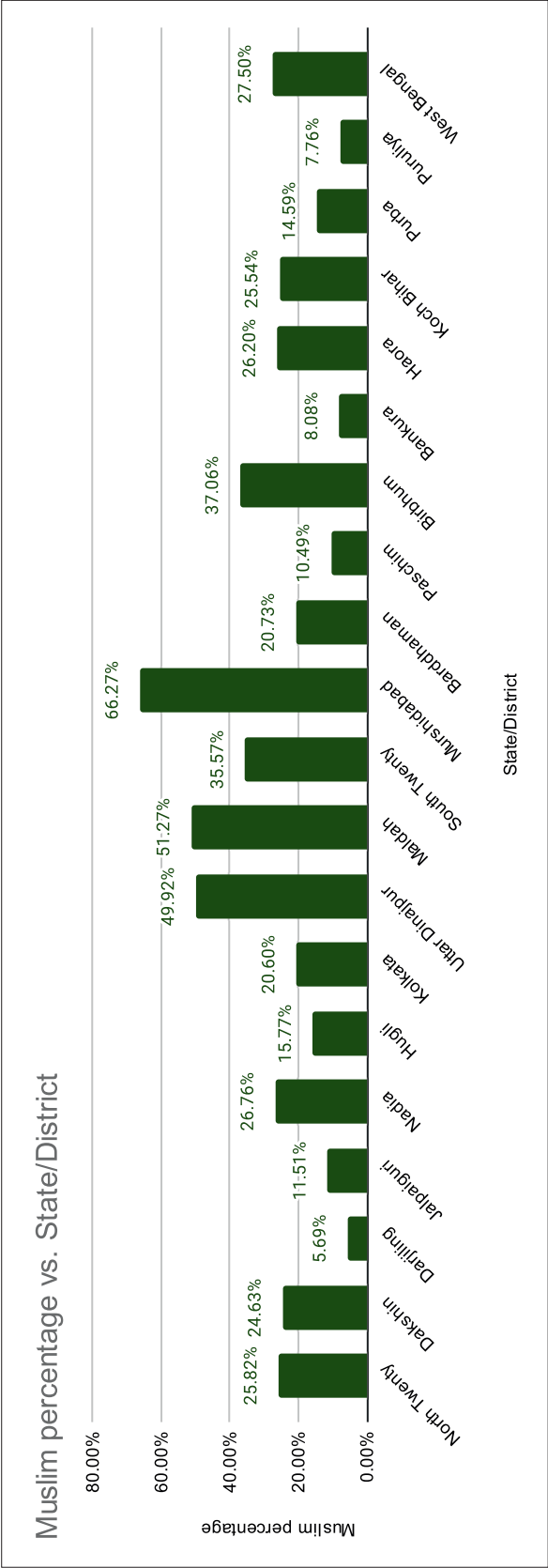
Analysis of the census data shows that there are only two districts with positive growth rates in the state. Purba Medinipur which has just 14.59 % of Muslim population and Puruliya which has 7.76 % of Muslim population saw positive Decadal Population Growth (DPG) from 2001 to 2011 with a change of 0.49 % and 1.50 % respectively.

On the other hand, North 24 Parganas and Dakshin Dinajpur which has 25.82 % and 24.63 % of Muslim population recorded the highest decrease in the population growth in the same decade with 10.65 and 10.63 % decrease respectively for both districts. Darjeeling which has the lowest %age of Muslim population in the state also recorded the 3rd highest decrease in the Decadal Population Growth (DPG) in the same period.

Murshidabad and Malda districts which have the highest number of Muslim populations in the state recorded 2.67 and 3.56 % decline respectively in the population growth rates. For Malda the decline is greater than the state average decline of 2.94 and marginally low for Murshidabad from the state average.

Table 35: District wise DPG in West Bengal

State/District	DPG (%) 2001-11	DPG (%) 1991-2001	Muslim Population (%)	DPG Change (%)
North Twenty Four Parganas	12.04	22.69	25.82	-10.65
Dakshin Dinajpur	11.52	22.15	24.63	-10.63
Darjiling	14.77	23.79	5.69	-9.02
Jalpaiguri	13.87	21.45	11.51	-7.58
Nadia	12.22	19.54	26.76	-7.32
Hugli	9.46	15.7	15.77	-6.31
Kolkata	-1.6	3.93	20.6	-5.6
Uttar Dinajpur	23.1	28.72	49.92	-5.57
Maldah	21.22	24.78	51.27	-3.56
South Twenty Four Parganas	18.17	20.85	35.57	-2.68
Murshidabad	21.09	23.76	66.27	-2.67
Bardhaman	11.92	13.96	20.73	-2.04
Paschim Medinipur	13.86	15.76	10.49	-1.9
Birbhum	16.15	17.99	37.06	-1.84
Bankura	12.65	13.82	8.08	-1.17
Haora	13.5	14.57	26.2	-1.07
Koch Bihar	13.71	14.19	25.54	-0.48
Purba Medinipur	15.36	14.87	14.59	0.49
Puruliya	15.52	14.02	7.76	1.5
West Bengal	14.9	17.84	27.5	-2.94



Literacy rates in Malda and Murshidabad:

According to the 2011 census, in terms of literacy rates, 76.26 % of West Bengal population is literate. However, district wise analysis of the census data shows that Uttar Dinajpur along with Malda, Puruliya and Murshidabad have the lowest literacy rates with just 59.07, 61.73, 64.48 and 66.59 % literacy rates respectively. These figures are far below than the state average literacy rates with a gap of 16, 15, 12, and 10 % for each district respectively. Except Purulia district which has just 7.76 % of Muslim population, other three districts have significant Muslim population, 66.27 % in Murshidabad, 51.27 % in Malda and 49.92 % in Uttar Dinajpur. On the other hand, the districts with highest literacy rates have lower Muslim populations. Purba Medinipur which has 87.02 % literacy, highest in the state, has just 14.87 % Muslim population.

Table 36: District wise literacy in West Bengal

District	Literacy %
Uttar Dinajpur	59.07
Maldah	61.73
Puruliya	64.48
Murshidabad	66.59
Bankura	70.26
Birbhum	70.68
Dakshin Dinajpur	72.82
Jalpaiguri	73.25
Koch Bihar	74.78
Nadia	74.97
Bardhaman	76.21
South Twenty Four Parganas	77.51
Paschim Medinipur	78
Darjeeling	79.56
Hugli	81.8
Haora	83.31
North Twenty Four Parganas	84.06
Kolkata	86.31
Purba Medinipur	87.02

Block wise Literacy in Malda:

Analysis of block wise literacy rates in Malda district also shows that blocks having the lowest number of Muslim population performs better on the parameters of literacy rates. Bamongola block which has just 8.87 % Muslim population has the highest literacy rates in the district. However, the Habibpur block is an exception, with just 1.28 % Muslim population having a literacy rate close to the total literacy rate in the district. The total literacy for Habibpur block is 51.31 %, which is marginally below the district average literacy of 52.3 % with a gap of 0.99 %. Top seven blocks having Muslim population between 43-78 % have the lowest literacy rates in the district. Harishchandrapur-1 which has 59.41 % of Muslims has the lowest literacy rates with just 44.41 % of literacy, a gap of 7.8 %. When it comes to gender gaps in literacy, Harishchandrapur-1 has the lowest female literacy with just 39.87 % of female literacy and a gap of 9 %. Similarly, the second lowest in the list is Kaliachak-3 which has 50.72 % of Muslim population with 44.48 % literacy and women literacy is 39.40 % against a gap of 9 %.

Table 37: Block wise literacy for Malda district

Blocks/Malda District	Muslim %	Literacy %	Male L %	Female L %
HARISHCHANDR APUR-I	59.41	44.41	48.65	39.87
KALIACHAK-III	50.72	44.48	49.3	39.4
HARISHCHANDR APUR-II	73.65	44.84	47.35	42.13
RATUA-II	78.71	47.46	49.28	45.58
CHANCHAL-II	71.25	48.28	50.47	45.96
MANIKCHAK	43.88	48.51	53.97	42.65
RATUA-I	66.88	50.16	53.65	46.44
HABIBPUR	1.28	51.32	58.11	44.35
OLD MALDA	28.6	51.56	56.52	46.34
ENGLISH BAZAR	51.49	53.91	57.37	50.27
KALIACHAK-II	65.98	54.27	58.3	50.05
KALIACHAK-I	89.29	54.28	56.66	51.79
GAZOLE	23.6	54.97	60.86	48.91
CHANCHAL-I	71.22	56.53	59.7	53.2
BAMONGOLA	8.87	60.38	67.02	53.34
Malda (District)	51.27	52.31	56.15	48.23

Block wise Literacy in Murshidabad District:

In Murshidabad District, there are 27 blocks and most of them have significant number of Muslim populations with Burwan, Nabagram, Berhampore, Murshidabad jaganj having the lowest Muslim population in the district 43.06, 52.59, 53.63 and 54.52 % respectively. These four blocks with lowest Muslim population have the highest literacy rate with 64.60 % for Berhampore, 61.80 % for Nabagram, 60.60 for Murshidabad Jaganj and 60.40 % for Burwan blocks. On the other hand, blocks with lowest literacy have a higher %age of Muslim population in the district. Top 7 worst performing blocks have 58-89 % of Muslim population. Samserganj block which has 83.48 % of Muslim population has the lowest literacy rates with just 43.70 % of literacy with a 14 % gap from the total literacy in the district. Samserganj also has the lowest female literacy with just 39.53 % of its women are literate while Berhampore which is the best performing block has 61.77 % female literacy and almost 21 % more than Samserganj block.

Table 38: Block wise literacy in Murshidabad

Blocks/Murshidabad District	Muslim %	Literacy%	Male L%	Female L%
Samserganj	83.48	43.7	47.91	39.53
Suti II	72.53	44.90%	49.05%	40.63
Suti I	58.15	47.90%	51.82%	43.86
Farakka	67.15	49.1	53.84	44.25
Raghunathganj II	81.97	50.4	53.41	47.24
Bhagawangola II	89.43	53.5	53.33	53.65
Lalgola	80.25	53.8	55.11	52.42
Bharatpur I	57.45	54.6	59.07	49.78
Raninagar II	80.78	54.8	55.88	53.7
Khargram	54.22	54.8	60.06	49.26
Raghunathganj I	56.48	54.9	58.82	50.74
Sagardighi	64.68	55.5	58.06	52.75
Domkal	89.69	55.9	56.41	55.34
Kandi	60.65	56.5	62.21	50.47
Bhagawangola I	85.67	57.2	57.99	56.42
Bharatpur II	57.71	57.4	61.68	52.97
Raninagar I	81.69	57.8	58.94	56.64
Nawda	71.87	58.2	58.96	57.33
Beldanga II	61.82	58.4	61.35	55.3
Jalangi	73.27	58.7	60.56	56.81
Beldanga I	78.25	59.1	60.81	57.23
Burwan	43.06	60.4	65.64	54.8
Murshidabad Jaganj	54.52	60.6	63.95	57.01
Hariharpara	80.7	61	61.78	60.1
Nabagram	52.59	61.8	66.76	56.71
Behrampore	53.63	64.6	67.32	61.77
Murshidabad (District)	66.27	57.1	60.02	54.04

Female population aged 6 years and above who ever attended school for Malda and Murshidabad is below the state average. Murshidabad having 74.7, Malda having 71.3 % is below the 76.8 % of state average, which implies that these districts are lagging behind in terms of girl education.

Women with 10 or more years of schooling is also low for these districts. For Malda it is 30 and for Murshidabad it is 24.2, far below than the state average of 32.9 %. Households living with electricity are also low for these districts.

Health Infrastructure in West Bengal:

Rural Health Statistics 2019-20, published by the Ministry of Health and Family welfare data at District level for West Bengal has been analysed for this purpose. In the state, there are total 12152 health centres which include: Sub-centres, PHCs, CHSs, Sub-divisional hospitals and District hospitals, which is divided by the total population in the state thus having availability of one health centre over a population of 7517 per head.

The data shows that districts with the least Muslim population have better health infrastructure in the state. Four districts out of five having Muslim population below 10 % have better health infrastructure in the state. Kalimpong, Jhargram, Purulia, Bankura and Darjeeling has only 1.59, 2.46, 7.76, 8.08, and 5.69 % Muslims with availability of one health centre over a population of with 4265, 4474, 5223, 5441, and 8356 which is far below than the state average except for Darjeeling.

Malda and Murshidabad districts have marginally better health infrastructure per head and close to the state average with 7174 for Malda and 7509 for Murshidabad.

When it comes to the availability of District hospitals in the district, Malda and Murshidabad have none along with Uttar Dinajpur.

Table 39: District wise health infrastructure in West Bengal

District	SubCentres	PHCs	CHCs	Sub-D	Dist- H	Total	Total P.	Per-Head	Muslim
Kolkata	0	144	0	0	0	144	4496694	31227	20.6
Paschim Bardhaman	173	64	9	1	1	248	2882031	11621	13.32
Jalpaiguri	301	27	7	1	1	337	3872846	11492	11.51
North 24 Parganas	742	149	22	10	2	925	10009781	10821	25.82
Nadia	469	64	17	5	1	556	5167600	9294	26.76
Howrah	448	74	15	7	1	545	4850029	8882	26.2
Darjeeling	181	28	9	1	2	221	1846823	8356	5.69
Paschim Medinipur	639	67	21	2	0	729	5913457	8111	10.49
Uttar Dinajpur	344	24	9	2	0	379	3007134	7934	49.92
Murshidabad	832	83	27	4	0	946	7103807	7509	66.27
Malda	511	40	16	1	0	568	3988845	7174	51.27
Hooghly	660	89	18	4	1	772	5519145	7149	15.77
South 24 Parganas	1068	78	30	7	1	1184	8161961	6893	35.57
Purba Bardhaman	592	83	25	2	0	702	4835532	6888	25.89
Purba Medinipur	706	59	24	4	2	795	5095875	6409	14.59
Birbhum	484	62	19	1	1	567	3502404	6177	37.06
Coochbehar	406	38	12	4	0	460	2819086	6128	25.54
Dakshin Dinajpur	248	22	8	1	1	280	1676276	5986	24.63
Bankura	564	73	22	1	1	661	3596674	5441	8.08
Purulia	485	55	20	1	0	561	2930115	5223	7.76
Jhargram	219	26	8	0	1	254	1136548	4474	2.46
Kalimpong	49	6	3	0	1	59	251642	4265	1.59
Total Districts = 23	10357	1369	348	60	18	12152	91347736	7517	27.5

NFHS analysis:

The National Family and Health Survey-5 report for West Bengal revealed a number of positive signs in comparison to the NFHS-4. NFHS-4 and 5 analyses for Malda and Murshidabad provide crucial parameters of the state of human developments in these districts. On most of the parameters covered under the NFHS, the performance of these two districts is lacklustre.

Here we are going to highlight the main points of the NFHS report.

Population living in households that use an improved sanitation facility is also quite low for Malda district with only 62 % having access to improved sanitation facility which is lower than the state average of 68 %. However, Murshidabad is marginally better than the State average with 69.7 % as against the state average of 68 %.

Households using clean fuel for cooking are quite low for these two districts. While the state average is 40.2 %, for Malda it is just 29.6 and for Murshidabad it is 30.7 %.

Average **out-of-pocket expenditure per delivery** in a public health facility for West Bengal is 2683 Rupees, while for Malda and Murshidabad it is 1961 and 2663 rupees respectively.

Children under 5 years who are **stunted (height-for-age)** are higher in these districts than the state average. In Malda 40.5 and in Murshidabad 39.8 % children are stunted which is above the state average of 33.8 %.

Children under 5 years who **are underweight (weight-for-age)** is also higher for Malda and Murshidabad than the state average, with 35.3 and 32.4 % children under 5 years who are underweight, while the state average is 32.2 %.

The %age of **Children aged 6-59 months who are anaemic** are also high in these districts in comparison to the state average. The state average is 69 while the number rises to 71 for Malda and 72.1 for Murshidabad.

All **women aged 15-49 years who are anaemic** are again higher for Malda and Murshidabad. 77.6 % for Murshidabad and 73.6 % for Malda is higher than the state average of 71.4 %.

Table 40: NFHS-4 and NFHS-5 analysis

Indicators	West Bengal		Malda		Murshidabad	
	NFHS-5	NFHS-4	NFHS-5	NFHS-4	NFHS-5	NFHS-4
Female population age 6 years and above who ever attended school (%)	76.8	74	71.3	68.4	74.7	70.8
Population living in households with electricity (%)	97.5	94.3	98.1	95.6	96.7	93.1
Population living in households that use an improved sanitation facility (%)	68	52.8	62	47	69.7	54.1
Households using clean fuel for cooking (%)	40.2	27.8	29.6	15.8	30.7	19.2
Children age 5 years who attended pre-primary school during the school year 2019-20 (%)	20.1	NA	13.4	NA	17.2	NA
Women who are literate (%)	72.9	NA	72.3	NA	67.6	NA
Women with 10 or more years of schooling (%)	32.9	26.5	30	19.2	24.2	22.3
Women age 15-24 years who use hygienic methods of protection during their menstrual period (%)	NA	NA	83.6	41.6	85.7	48.6
Registered pregnancies for which the mother received a Mother and Child Protection (MCP) card (%)	98.4	97.4	99.7	96.3	97.3	98.9
Mothers who received postnatal care from a doctor/nurse/LHV/ANM/midwife/other health personnel within 2 days of delivery (%)	68	61.1	61.6	35.7	49.8	47
Average out-of-pocket expenditure per delivery in a public health facility (Rs.)	2,683	7,919	1,961	3,024	2,662	31,45
Children born at home who were taken to a health facility for a check-up within 24 hours of birth (%)	8.8	4.6	6	0	0	3.9
Children who received postnatal care from a doctor/nurse/LHV/ANM/midwife/other health personnel within 2 days of delivery (%)	76.8	NA	67.9	NA	67.6	NA
Institutional births (%)	91.7	75.2	87.7	55	87	63.8
Institutional births in public facility (%)	72.4	56.6	76.6	48.3	71.5	55
Births attended by skilled health personnel (%)	94.1	81.6	88.9	61.6	92.3	69.8
Births in a private health facility that were delivered by caesarean section (%)	82.7	70.9	89	73.1	92.4	-96.7
Births in a public health facility that were delivered by caesarean section (%)	22.9	18.8	16.1	12.2	21.3	14.6
Children age 12-23 months fully vaccinated based on information from either vaccination card or mother's recall (%)	87.8	84.4	87.2	69.5	90	78.9
Children age 12-23 months who received most of their vaccinations in a public health facility (%)	96.3	96.6	100	98.8	100	100
Children under 5 years who are stunted (height-for-age) (%)	33.8	32.5	40.5	37.8	39.8	41.9
Children under 5 years who are underweight (weight-for-age) (%)	32.2	31.6	35.3	37.2	32.4	34.6
Children under 5 years who are overweight (weight-for-height) (%)	4.3	2.1	3.3	0.9	3.6	2.4
Children age 6-59 months who are anaemic (<11.0 g/dl)22 (%)	69	54.2	71	55.2	72.1	46.7
All women age 15-49 years who are anaemic22 (%)	71.4	62.5	73.6	59	77.6	57.5
All women age 15-19 years who are anaemic22 (%)	38.7	31.7	68.5	56.5	73	53.3

Table 41: PMGAY between 2016-17 to 2021-22

State /District	Year	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others	Total
West Bengal	2021-22	4557	12024	63170	17	124349	204117
	2020-21	23379	58414	366457	121	782179	1230550
	2019-20	106661	378531	320409	267	524443	1330311
	2018-19	78629	249307	174074	150	250843	753003
	2017-18	43973	156703	122558	130	170860	494224
	2016-17	50161	188599	132021	418	188558	559757
	total	307360	1043578	1178689	1103	2041232	4571962
Malda	2021-22	810	2201	14799	7	20455	38272
	2020-21	550	1769	48559	32	63188	114098
	2019-20	16128	33575	43082	81	53909	146775
	2018-19	2921	6559	11011	50	15334	35875
	2017-18	2719	8131	14127	19	20895	45891
	2016-17	1125	1468	4229	62	5420	12304
	total	24253	53703	135807	251	179201	393215
Murshidabad	2021-22	302	1625	35235	2	40389	77553
	2020-21	503	2073	92340	12	107784	202712
	2019-20	5893	38349	63000	25	78812	186079
	2018-19	937	8808	34478	4	39926	84153
	2017-18	690	8066	29910	14	35373	74053
	2016-17	590	6911	21522	46	24826	53895
	total	8915	65832	276485	103	327110	678445

PMGAY Analysis:

The analysis of Pradhan Mantri Gramin Awas Yojana (PMGAY) from 2016-17 to 2021-22 is done here. The data shows that the number of beneficiaries under the minority category is far below than the average population of the minorities in the state as well as in the selected districts.

For West Bengal the total number of beneficiaries between 2016-17 to 2021-22 is 45 lakhs and 71 thousand, while the number of beneficiaries from minority category is 11 lakhs 78 thousand which is 25.78 % of total beneficiaries in the state. There are 29.44 % Minorities in the state (27.01 % are Muslims) in the state and thus there is a deficit of 3.66 % in the state for the minorities.

On the other hand, when we analyse the data of beneficiaries at the level of districts, we found that there is a huge gap between the total population of minorities in these two districts and the number of beneficiaries from minority category.

The Data shows that in Malda district there were total 393215 beneficiaries between 2016-17 to 2021-22 and out of which 135807 were from minorities which is 34.53 % of the total beneficiaries in the district. The %age of Muslim population in the district is 51.27 % and hence there is a deficit gap of 16.74 %.

Similarly, in Murshidabad district, the total number of beneficiaries under the PMGAY is 678445 and the number of beneficiaries from minority category is 276485, which is 40.75 % of total beneficiaries in the district. The %age of Muslim population in the district is 66.27 thus a deficit gap of 25.62 %.

Table 42: Analysis of PMGAY between 2016-17 to 2021-22

District/State	Minorities benefited	Total benefited	Minorities benefited per centage	Minorities/Muslim Population Districts wise	Total Gap
West Bengal	1178689	4571962	25.78	27	1.23
Malda	135807	393215	34.53	51.27	16.74
Murshidabad	276485	678445	40.75	66.27	25.52

Table 43: MGNREGA data between 2014-15 and 2021-22

	District/State	Employment demanded		Employment offered		Employment Provided			No. of Families Completed 100 days
		Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Household	Persons	Total Persondays	
2014-15	West Bengal	5718407	8610851	5717322	8608682	5118099	7350165	169575467	157724
2015-16	West Bengal	6500332	10234523	6497943	10229726	6109296	9154794	286403332	410353
2016-17	West Bengal	6288519	9714275	6287579	9712210	5823342	8528559	235457649	199465
2017-18	West Bengal	5681755	9244989	5680009	9240828	5241167	8101182	312555451	557643
2018-19	West Bengal	4749694	8426288	4747757	8422654	4391278	7442105	338252830	1336873
2019-20	West Bengal	5907921	9097538	5906663	9095228	5457707	7968914	272305015	365773
2020-21	West Bengal	8429045	13112389	8428085	13110510	7964988	11826053	414016670	678633
2021-22	West Bengal	8035447	12242804	8034720	12241533	7597462	11121632	364226611	471136
2014-15	Murshidabad	525376	722300	525337	722049	344109	434965	8378063	4862
2015-16	Murshidabad	357758	500985	357457	500532	303601	396111	10146040	5266
2016-17	Murshidabad	418146	655675	418083	655571	357215	520841	15762788	8281
2017-18	Murshidabad	338648	508690	338383	508262	298318	430743	19846249	43676
2018-19	Murshidabad	229620	441468	229425	441072	211497	400883	18249330	99917
2019-20	Murshidabad	300067	391338	299816	390999	282672	357804	16012632	10349
2020-21	Murshidabad	447542	612054	447407	611838	420341	559585	19075901	13689
2021-22	Murshidabad	378265	505834	378113	505635	351898	461967	16218058	9734
2014-15	Malda	176841	231797	176686	231575	154646	196712	3991302	2485
2015-16	Malda	242912	333267	242681	332926	227201	305073	9143956	8656
2016-17	Malda	289160	404555	289049	404367	262583	351851	10324997	6122
2017-18	Malda	286568	445356	286398	444985	246877	348341	14205458	23506
2018-19	Malda	179115	322036	178746	321274	150253	250178	11818496	41573
2019-20	Malda	346207	508852	346080	506603	314204	433262	16524905	13787
2020-21	Malda	473489	678487	473360	678277	434994	590078	22943402	18802
2021-22	Malda	419629	582466	419407	582146	371301	491258	16432442	8954

Table 44: Analysis of MGNREGA data

District/State	Employment demanded		Employment offered		Employment Provided			No. of Families Completed 100 days
	Households	Persons	Households	Persons	Households	Persons	Total Persondays	
West Bengal	51311120	80683657	51300078	80661371	47703339	71493404	2392793025	4177600
Murshidabad	2995422	4338344	2994021	4335958	2569651	3562899	123689061	195774
Malda	2413921	3504816	2412407	3502153	2162059	2966753	105384958	123885

MGNREGA data for West Bengal shows that there has been a significant rise in the demand under MGNREGA after the Covid hit the country. The demand rose to 84 lacs households in 2020-21 from 59 lacs households in 2019-20 the year before the Covid, a rise of 25 lacs households in a single year, which is almost 43 % increase. In terms of persons who demanded employment the number rose to 131 lacs in 2020-21 from 90 lacs in 2019-20, a rise of 41 lacs, almost 45 % increase.

On the other hand, the number of families who completed 100-day work in 2019-20 was 3.15 lakhs and rose to 6.78 lacs in 2020-21 which was almost double. And the number of person days work increased from 2723 lacs in 2019-20 to 4140 lacs in 2020-21.

In Malda district the total household demand in 2019-20 was 346207 and 506852 persons which rose to 473489 households and 678487 persons in 2020-21 after the Covid hit the country and reverse migration happened due to Covid. On the other hand, the number of families who completed 100-day work in 2019-20 was 13787 and rose to 18802 in 2020-21.

In Murshidabad district the total household demand in 2019-20 was 300067 and 391338 persons which rose to 447542 households and 612054 persons in 2020-21 after the Covid and reverse migration happened due to Covid. On the other hand, the number of families who completed 100-day work in 2019-20 was 10349 and rose to 13689 in 2020-21.

West Bengal is one state, out of all the four that we are discussing, which never had a BJP government. Yet the data reveals sustained underdevelopment of two big districts with substantial and concentrated Muslim populations. Particularly the low indicators on education and literacy are a major cause of concern. It does not show any significant improvement from the situation revealed by the Sachar Committee Recommendations. Both these districts with a large Muslim population are plagued by abject poverty and lack of employment opportunities. The rate of migration from these two districts is high and it shows the lack of resources here.

Conclusion

In this report we selected ten districts, i.e. Shravasti and Balarampur (Uttar Pradesh), Araria, Katihar, Purnia and Kishanganj (Bihar), Murshidabad and Malda (West Bengal), Dhubri and Kokrajhar (Assam). Eight out of these ten districts are situated on the borders of the country, have significant Muslim population and are also part of the 90 districts that were identified as the Minority Concentrated Districts (MCD) by the Government of India. We showed, using secondary data (mostly government reports), the various indices related to health, education, employment and housing, that demonstrated the overall underdevelopment in these selected regions. Inundated by flood every year, all these districts suffer from abject multidimensional poverty and lack of resources. The Muslim community in particular, in most of these districts have remained even more cut off from these basic resources as the data often demonstrated. We really need to build a consensus about these aspects of socio-economic issues rather than falling in trap of the false narrative of radicalization propped by the current ruling dispensation and the media.

By targeting these districts with a false narrative, there is an attempt **to criminalise the entire Muslim community**. In the past one decade in particular the country has witnessed virtually relentless attack on the Muslim community through mob lynchings, arrests, witch-hunt, fake encounters and bulldozing of their homes and properties. There have been relentless attacks on Muslim culture, religious attire, food habits, right to pray, and right to protests. Muslims have been targeted with narratives of love jihad, targeting inter-faith marriage; land jihad or their right to buy properties and settle; Muslims have been branded as infiltrators and invaders and thereby marginalised and criminalised. The narrative about so-called population explosion in border districts add fuel to all that and insinuates that foreign powers are bolstering Muslims to destabilise the country. The systemic socio-economic backwardness among Muslims are always whitewashed with the false narrative of Muslims being purportedly appeased. The Rajindar Sachar Committee Report and the Amitabha Kundu Report had both contested this myth of Muslim appeasement by showing the miserable conditions in which most of the Muslim community are forced to live. Our rudimentary findings also show that in the last one decade the socio-economic conditions of the border districts with substantial Muslim populations have only degenerated and in basic development indexes they are lagging behind.

The claims made in Bihar, Assam, West Bengal or UP by the state that the muslim population in border districts are inexplicably increasing, are mostly found to be unsubstantiated. They do not take into consideration factors such as internal displacement, relocation, ghettoization of Muslims in clusters after big and small-scale incidents of violence, the migration of rural population in general to urban pockets, and so on. The claims are rather made on commonsensical stereotypes and sometimes tall claims of alleged population explosions are derived merely on the basis of factors like 'construction of new mosques'. On the other hand, the census data revealed that the decadal population growth has significantly declined in these districts over the past decade.

The social audit report reveals the abject socio-economic conditions, low livelihood opportunities and limited resources that the ten border districts of the country are left with. Instead of addressing these basic questions of livelihood opportunities, these districts are being targeted with communal and prejudiced propaganda by both state and the media.

Most of these districts **lack basic infrastructure pertaining to health and education**. Out of these ten districts only Malda and Purnia have a single fully functional university. The number of colleges are far less than the average of the respective states. Even school education shows a high level of dropouts, as the number of students decline sharply as we go explore figures of registration of students from primary to higher secondary levels. The number of hospitals and health centres in these districts are scanty and unevenly distributed among blocks, as we further show. This has resulted in degeneration of specific health conditions, high infant mortality and maternal mortality. The basic livelihood resources pertaining to health and sanitation are also in miserable state, as the data subsequently reveals.

The question of residential facilities, through government schemes like **PM Awas Yojana** have also been explored in the report. The data yielded that were resourced from government websites, shows low rate of disbursement and high rate of rejection of Awas Yojana applications for Muslims and SC/ST population. In most of these districts the patterns of Awas Yojana disbursal shows clear prejudice against Muslims.

The other aspect that has been explored in the report is **scope of employment particularly rural employment through MNREGA** and other government schemes. Most of these districts have shown relatively lower rates of employment than the rest of the states. Migration to cities in search of employment opportunities, from all these districts across the state, is the reality of the residents here. MGNREGA opportunities have remained low in comparison to the demands of employment under MGNREGA in all the districts. In fact, the completion of 100 days of work remains starkly low for families in some of these districts. Even during the Covid 19 induced lockdown, when the country witnessed a huge splurge of reverse migration of workers who walked back to their villages, the MNREGA opportunities in some of these districts did not rise significantly, although the demands for work was multiple times higher. Some districts however did witness a splurge in MNREGA after the lockdown.

Most of these districts in UP, Bihar and Assam are regularly **devastated by floods every year that** create havoc on the lives and livelihoods of people, destroying properties, crops and cattle. The floods happen almost every year, with no palpable measures to prevent, control and stop them or rehabilitate and compensate people afterwards. It's an annual devastation that mar the lives of people and yet no systemic prevention schemes are developed in these districts. The loss of money, properties or documents result in irreparable losses every year that remain unaddressed.

Similarly, this report glossed over other data pertaining to urbanisation, literacy rate, livelihood opportunities etc, and the data once again reflects the abject state of socio-

economic verticals in these districts. Instead of focusing on these miserable socio-economic conditions, the peddling of the concocted narrative about “Rise of Muslim population and Islamic fundamentalism” shows the embedded character of the media, that has been reduced to the propaganda machinery for government and its prejudiced agenda.

These districts however, require immediate attention to improve existing infrastructure pertaining to health, education, employment, residence and other livelihood needs. The minorities and other marginalised sections of population should be provided with minimum resources to live a life of dignity. The mapping of marginalisation across states shows a pattern in the existing abject poverty and lack of basic infrastructures in the border districts of the country. This should have been the primary concern for the state and central government right now.

Much of what we have shown in this report had already been flagged in the Sachar Committee Report, one and a half decades back. The Sachar Committee was further followed up by Ranganath Mishra Committee and Amitabh Kundu Committee, both of which came up with very precise action based recommendations for the marginalised districts with significant minority population. However, the most concerning aspect is the undermining of these reports and their deliberate non-implementation by the current Central and some state governments. What is more concerning is the gradual disappearance of the discourse around Muslim marginalisation from the present political narrative. Neither the BJP nor the opposition parties are ready to address the question of Muslim marginalisation and work on them with a concrete agenda.

Two of the states that we have studied, Bihar and West Bengal have had occasional or consistent non-BJP governments in the last one decade or more. Yet the data revealed that the conditions of districts with significant Muslim populations have been very dismal. In fact, in the case of West Bengal, the Sachar committee report claimed that Muslims are the most marginalised in the state, which is true even after one and half decade of the release of the Report.

The bias against Muslims by right wing parties like BJP is well known and established. Their politics thrive on propagating a narrative of hatred, that deems any development for Muslims to be an act of “appeasement” by secular parties. That is how they consolidate their majoritarian vote base. Expecting the BJP government, either in the state or centre to act on its own and push the agenda of socio-economic development of minorities particularly the Muslims, seems remote or even impossible now. But in that case, the mantle of raising demands to the central government for development of the marginalised communities including the Muslims should become a pivotal responsibility of the other secular parties and organisations. However, many secular parties too, have succumbed to the prejudiced and motivated narrative of appeasement bogey raised by BJP and have become reluctant to address or even raise the issues of marginalisation of muslims lest that jeopardise their majoritarian vote share. The Muslim community is often considered a pliant vote bank by these opposition parties, who assume that they will be forced to vote for them in the face of continual attack and

persecution by the BJP. Hence the issue of marginalisation of Muslims is no more an issue of priority even for the secular parties.

In states where they are in power, the secular parties should be implementing the recommendations of the Mishra Commission and Kundu Committee report, without any hesitation or presumption of accusation by Right wing forces. The myth of 'appeasement' of Muslims have been repeatedly busted by these successive Reports, which have demonstrated their findings with nuanced substantiation. Even this report where we have collated secondary data reflects continued marginalisation of Muslims rather than any semblance of appeasement. Right now the Muslim community is under severe threat and attack. The secular parties cannot ignore but proactively address and resist the attack on Muslims in order to safeguard the secular character of Indian democracy.

The socio-economic marginalisation of Muslims is part of the larger process of persecution of the community. It is also against the basic ethos of democracy if a community is systemically left underdeveloped and affirmative actions for its social welfare are intentionally and vindictively neglected. The abject state of the Muslim community in the country is therefore not an isolated problem for a single community alone. It reflects poorly on the overall developmental indices of the country. When we demonstrate the lack of public education or public health facilities in these districts, it also reflects on overall degeneration of public resources. For the sake of the overall development of democracy, concrete steps must be taken to ameliorate the overall underdevelopment of these areas with substantial Muslim population.

Recommendations:

1. Implement the recommendations of the Ranganath Mishra Commission and Amitabh Kundu Committee
2. Spatial approach recommended by the Sachar Committee for targeted reach of minorities needs to be implemented at the block and village level too, because within districts itself resources are distributed unevenly and developmental deficits exist at multiple levels.
3. The Central government and Niti Ayog should do fresh surveys to assess the conditions of the minority population, especially Muslims, to understand the change/improvement/degeneration of their conditions since the Sachar Committee Report.
4. The opposition parties should be more vocal about the systemic socio-economic marginalisation of the Muslim community and force the central government and BJP led state governments to take concrete actions.
5. The secular opposition parties should stop treating as a pliant vote bank and rather be more proactive in taking concrete actions to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims in states where they hold power.
6. The opposition should be more vocal in busting the myth of “Muslim appeasement” rather than succumbing to this fallacious, prejudiced and motivated narrative.

Annexure 1

Annexures for Bihar

State and District wise list of 90 Minority Concentration Districts (MCDs) with percentage of minority population

Sr. No.	States	Districts	% of minority population
1	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Nicobars	73.27
2	Arunachal Pradesh	East Kameng	26.43
3	Arunachal Pradesh	Lower Subansiri	25.7
4	Arunachal Pradesh	Changlang	52.53
5	Arunachal Pradesh	Tirap	51.56
6	Arunachal Pradesh	Tawang	77.17
7	Arunachal Pradesh	West Kameng	49.8
8	Arunachal Pradesh	Papum Pare	37.28
9	Assam	Kokrajhar	34.27
10	Assam	Dhubri	75.08
11	Assam	Goalpara	61.61
12	Assam	Bongaigaon	40.69
13	Assam	Barpeta	59.72
14	Assam	Darrang	42.17
15	Assam	Marigaon	47.7
16	Assam	Nagaon	52.1
17	Assam	Cachar	38.39
18	Assam	Karimganj	53.22
19	Assam	Hailakandi	58.74
20	Assam	Kamrup	26.79
21	Assam	North Cachar Hills	29.73
22	Bihar	Araria	41.27
23	Bihar	Kishanganj	67.87
24	Bihar	Purnia	36.99
25	Bihar	Katihar	42.83
26	Bihar	Sitamarhi	21.25
27	Bihar	Pashchim Champaran	21.51
28	Bihar	Darbhanga	22.76
29	Delhi	North East	28.99
30	Haryana	Mewat	37.87
31	Haryana	Sirsa	27.94
32	Jammua & Kasmir	Leh (Ladakh)	78.02
33	Jharkhand	Sahibganj	37.63
34	Jharkhand	Pakaur	38.29
35	Jharkhand	Gumla	36.06
36	Jharkhand	Ranchi	21.94
37	Karnataka	Bidar	30.73
38	Karnataka	Gulbarga	23.12
39	Kerala	Wayanad	49.36
40	Madhya Pradesh	Bhopal	25.7
41	Maharashtra	Parbhani	26.14
42	Maharashtra	Buldana	26.69
43	Maharashtra	Washim	25.89
44	Maharashtra	Hingoli	25.53
45	Manipur	Thoubal	25.3

46	Manipur	Senapati	79.74
47	Manipur	Tamenglong	96.23
48	Manipur	Churachandpur	94.75
49	Manipur	Ukhrul	95.91
50	Manipur	Chandel	94.34
51	Meghalaya	West Garo Hills	15.56
52	Mizoram	Lawngtlai	52.58
53	Mizoram	Mamit	15.45
54	Odisha	Gajapati	34.16
55	Sikkim	North	60.35
56	Uttar Pradesh	Moradabad	46.06
57	Uttar Pradesh	Rampur	52.84
58	Uttar Pradesh	Jyotiba Phule Nagar	40.05
59	Uttar Pradesh	Bareilly	35.15
60	Uttar Pradesh	Pilibhit	28.56
61	Uttar Pradesh	Bahraich	35.38
62	Uttar Pradesh	Shrawasti	25.77
63	Uttar Pradesh	Balrampur	37.05
64	Uttar Pradesh	Siddharthnagar	29.94
65	Uttar Pradesh	Bijnor	43.49
66	Uttar Pradesh	Saharanpur	40.12
67	Uttar Pradesh	Muzaffarnagar	38.78
68	Uttar Pradesh	Meerut	33.77
69	Uttar Pradesh	Baghpat	24.94
70	Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	24.8
71	Uttar Pradesh	Shahjahanpur	20.31
72	Uttar Pradesh	Bulandshahar	21.42
73	Uttar Pradesh	Budaun	21.7
74	Uttar Pradesh	Barabanki	22.32
75	Uttar Pradesh	Kheri	22.51
76	Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	21.61
77	Uttaranchal	Udham Singh Nagar	32.47
78	Uttaranchal	Hardwar	34.5
79	West Bengal	Uttar Dinajpur	47.93
80	West Bengal	Dakshin Dinajpur	25.51
81	West Bengal	Maldah	49.99
82	West Bengal	Murshidabad	63.92
83	West Bengal	Birbhum	35.35
84	West Bengal	Nadia	26.09
85	West Bengal	South 24-Parganas	34.06
86	West Bengal	Haora	24.7
87	West Bengal	North 24-Parganas	24.63
88	West Bengal	Bardhaman	20.36
89	West Bengal	Koch Bihar	24.36
90	West Bengal	Kolkata	21.63

Annexure 2

Per Capita Income 2019-20, Bihar: 33997					
1	Sheohar	19592	20	Pashchim Champaran	25673
2	Araria	20613	21	Purnia	25690
3	Sitamarhi	22119	22	Siwan	25954
4	Purbi Champaran	22306	23	Saharsa	26875
5	Madhubani	22636	24	Kaimur	27734
6	Supaul	22919	25	Lakhisarai	27738
7	Kishanganj	23222	26	Jehanabad	29684
8	Nalanda	23351	27	Buxar	29834
9	Nawada	23351	28	Darbhanga	29939
10	Banka	23608	29	Vaishali	30942
11	Gopalganj	24352	30	Bhojpur	31556
12	Saran	24471	31	Gaya	31912
13	Arwal	24745	32	Aurangabad	32020
14	Madhepura	24819	33	Muzaffarpur	34760
15	Sheikhpura	25033	34	Rohtas	35779
16	Jamui	25219	35	Bhagalpur	41752
17	Katihar	25539	36	Munger	44321
18	Khagaria	33997	37	Begusarai	51441
19	Samastipur	25560	38	Patna	131064

Source: Economic Survey of Bihar, 2021-22, P.18.

Table 45: Block wise literacy rates, Muslim population and Sex ratio

Blocks	Muslim population	Literacy	Male literacy	Female literacy	sex ratio
Amour	76.93%	35.60%	42.30%	28.33%	917
Baisa	71.94%	34.70%	41.45%	27.37%	928
Baisi	77.32%	32.40%	39.10%	25.28%	935
Banmankhi	13.33%	41.90%	49.09%	34.06%	912
Barhara	9.11%	44.30%	51.26%	36.61%	912
Bhawanipur	24.07%	37.70%	44.89%	29.96%	923
Dagarua	62.55%	35.90%	42.90%	28.29%	924
Dhamdaha	14.55%	43.30%	49.97%	35.97%	916
Jalalgarh	46.28%	37.50%	43.59%	31.04%	932
Kasba	58.08%	39.60%	45.88%	32.89%	932
Krityanand Nagar	32.03%	41.40%	47.84%	34.38%	929
Purnia East	30.26%	53.60%	58.62%	48.05%	916
Rupauli	10.57%	39.80%	47.12%	31.79%	914
Srinagar	33.69%	35.30%	41.68%	28.48%	928
Purnia (district)	38.46%	40.80%	47.39%	33.67%	921
Bahadurganj	77%	46.20%	52.66%	39.79%	1,016
Dighalbank	65.31%	38.50%	45.48%	31.25%	957
Kishanganj	60.57%	50.50%	55.65%	45.07%	934
Kochadhamin	74.04%	47.20%	54.04%	39.92%	930
Pothia	73.75%	40.80%	47.12%	34.04%	933
Terhagachh	53.17%	43.50%	53.04%	33.40%	939
Thakurganj	64.05%	40.90%	47.63%	33.80%	942
Kishanganj (district)	67.98%	44.10%	50.74%	37.06%	950
Araria	29.23%	42.50%	51.49	33.91	919
Bhargama	30.30%	40.50%	46.01%	31.96%	916
Forbesganj	60.61%	45%	48.33%	36.22%	918
Jokihat	36.99%	41.30%	51.92%	37.56%	919
Kursakatta	78.38%	45.70%	47.65%	34.30%	913
Narpatganj	34.73%	43.10%	71.19%	46.38%	918
Palasi	24.52%	41.80%	48.46%	31.90%	928
Raniganj	48.46%	39.20%	50.34%	32.65%	927
Sikti	24.92	45.50%	54.11%	36.45%	942
Araria (district)	42.95	42.60%	49.73%	34.80%	921
Amdabad	54.13%	35.60%	40.34%	30.63%	928
Azamnagar	56.21%	39.20%	44.38%	31.43%	920
Balrampur	53.45%	37.70%	44.16%	30.93%	934
Barari	46.70%	39.60%	45.32%	33.30%	905
Barsoi	72.06%	35.45%	40.91%	29.52%	918
Dandkhora	12.76%	48.80%	56.26%	40.80%	927
Falka	29.38%	37%	43.37%	30.05%	930
Hasanganj	36.66%	43.70%	50.39%	36.42%	928
Kadwa	52.27%	40.40%	46.90%	33.21%	922
Katihar	28.08%	60.80%	65.77%	55.24%	900
Korha	39.78%	39.30%	45%	33.03%	932
Kursela	7.51%	46%	52.83%	38.44%	904
Manihari	35.67%	42.30%	48.58%	35.40%	907
Mansahi	43.79%	41.60%	47.19%	35.58%	925
Pranpur	38.17%	42.20%	47.93%	36.07%	924
Sameli	8.57%	43.70%	50.60%	36.13%	918
Katihar (district)	44.47%	41.70%	47.63%	35.22%	919

Table 46: Teacher-Student Ratio state-wise

Location	Primary (I-V)	Upper Primary (VI-VIII)	Secondary (IX-X)	Higher Secondary (XI-XII)
Bihar	53	23	54	62
Jharkhand	29	25	34	57
Uttar Pradesh	28	25	26	38
Maharashtra	25	26	20	38
Odisha	17	15	18	35
Andhra Pradesh	25	15	10	31
Madhya Pradesh	24	17	22	30
Gujarat	30	24	29	28
Karnataka	22	17	17	28
Telangana	20	13	9	28
Chandigarh	28	15	12	27
West Bengal	26	28	16	27
Jammu & Kashmir	14	9	12	27
Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Daman & Diu	30	28	20	25
Delhi	33	32	27	21
Kerala	27	21	14	21
Tamilnadu	19	14	12	21
Assam	21	14	11	20
Meghalaya	20	13	11	19
Arunachal Pradesh	11	8	10	19
Goa	26	15	9	18
Rajasthan	25	13	10	18
Punjab	25	19	10	17
Nagaland	11	7	10	17
Chhattisgarh	20	18	14	16
Puducherry	18	14	10	16
Uttarakhand	18	16	11	16
Tripura	18	19	13	15
Manipur	13	10	9	15
Haryana	25	19	12	14
Mizoram	15	7	9	14
Lakshadweep	15	13	7	12
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	12	9	7	12
Ladakh	8	4	6	12
Sikkim	6	8	8	11
Himachal Pradesh	15	8	6	10

Table 47: Teacher Student ratio in Bihar

Location	Primary (I-V)	Location	Upper Primary (VI-VIII)	Location	Secondary (IX-X)	Location	Higher Secondary (XI-XII)
SHEOHAR	88	SHEOHAR	32	GOPALGANJ	95	GOPALGANJ	94
SITAMARHI	80	BANKA	30	SHEOHAR	94	ARWAL	90
KHAGARIA	72	MADHUBANI	29	SITAMARHI	90	NAWADA	89
PURNIA	72	PURNIA	28	PURBA CHAMPARAN	80	KHAGARIA	85
ARARIA	69	KATIHAR	27	PASHCHIM CHAMPARAN	78	SHEOHAR	84
SUPAUL	68	KHAGARIA	26	SUPAUL	77	ARARIA	84
SHEIKHPURA	68	SITAMARHI	26	KHAGARIA	73	JAMUI	84
AURANGABAD (BIHAR)	67	PURBA CHAMPARAN	26	ARARIA	71	BANKA	79
PASHCHIM CHAMPARAN	66	SAMASTIPUR	26	KATIHAR	67	SITAMARHI	77
SAHARSA	66	SARAN	25	KAIMUR (BHABUA)	64	SARAN	77
PURBA CHAMPARAN	62	PASHCHIM CHAMPARAN	25	NAWADA	63	SUPAUL	76
KATIHAR	61	MUZAFFARPUR	25	SAMASTIPUR	61	BEGUSARAI	75
MADHEPURA	59	BHAGALPUR	25	MUZAFFARPUR	61	PURBA CHAMPARAN	72
MUZAFFARPUR	57	SHEIKHPURA	25	MADHUBANI	61	KAIMUR (BHABUA)	72
SARAN	56	JAMUI	24	KISHANGANJ	60	PASHCHIM CHAMPARAN	70
BHAGALPUR	56	DARBHANGA	24	MADHEPURA	59	LAKHISARAI	70
SAMASTIPUR	55	ARARIA	23	SARAN	58	SIWAN	70
BEGUSARAI	54	BEGUSARAI	23	JAMUI	57	BHOJPUR	70
GAYA	54	AURANGABAD	23	LAKHISARAI	56	KATIHAR	68
KAIMUR (BHABUA)	53	MUNGER	23	PURNIA	56	AURANGABAD (BIHAR)	68
NAWADA	52	NAWADA	22	BANKA	55	NALANDA	67
MADHUBANI	51	SUPAUL	22	BEGUSARAI	55	MUNGER	64
GOPALGANJ	50	KAIMUR (BHABUA)	22	SAHARSA	55	BUXAR	63
BANKA	50	LAKHISARAI	22	ARWAL	54	PURNIA	62
ROHTAS	49	GAYA	21	AURANGABAD (BIHAR)	53	SAMASTIPUR	61
ARWAL	48	MADHEPURA	21	SIWAN	52	ROHTAS	60
VAISHALI	48	VAISHALI	21	GAYA	52	JEHANABAD	60
LAKHISARAI	47	ARWAL	20	DARBHANGA	52	GAYA	59
DARBHANGA	47	BHOJPUR	20	VAISHALI	51	KISHANGANJ	57
BUXAR	46	ROHTAS	20	NALANDA	48	MUZAFFARPUR	56
JAMUI	45	KISHANGANJ	20	BHAGALPUR	48	BHAGALPUR	53
MUNGER	44	PATNA	20	SHEIKHPURA	46	MADHEPURA	52
KISHANGANJ	44	GOPALGANJ	18	BUXAR	45	DARBHANGA	52
JEHANABAD	41	BUXAR	18	BHOJPUR	44	MADHUBANI	50
NALANDA	40	JEHANABAD	18	ROHTAS	44	VAISHALI	50
PATNA	38	NALANDA	17	JEHANABAD	42	SHEIKHPURA	47
BHOJPUR	37	SAHARSA	17	MUNGER	41	SAHARSA	39
SIWAN	37	SIWAN	16	PATNA	26	PATNA	32
Bihar	53	Bihar	23	Bihar	54	Bihar	62
India	26	India	19	India	17	India	27

Table 48: Dropout Rates in Bihar

	Primary Drop Out Rate	Upper Primary Drop Out Rate	Secondary Drop Out Rate
Location	Overall	Overall	Overall
SUPAUL	5.88	14.09	29.2
KATIHAR	0	12.45	25.2
KISHANGANJ	0	11.79	26.85
MADHEPURA	0	11.21	28.69
SAHARSA	0.39	10.96	21.62
ARARIA	0.31	9.28	19.2
SHEOHAR	0	8.98	19.32
MADHUBANI	0.69	8.93	23.7
PURNIA	0	8.81	19.25
JAMUI	0	8.69	10.69
SITAMARHI	0	8.13	23.3
AURANGABAD	0	6.76	15.42
NAWADA	0.04	6.25	8.58
PASHCHIM CHAMPARAN	0.78	5.47	22.87
PURBA CHAMPARAN	0	5.35	25.82
MUNGER	0	4.93	13.82
Total	0	4.62	20.46
BHAGALPUR	0	4.46	22.53
MUZAFFARPUR	0	4.36	23.28
DARBHANGA	0	4.34	26.12
BANKA	0	3.65	16.07
BEGUSARAI	0	3.53	18.65
LAKHISARAI	0	3.28	9.52
VAISHALI	0	2.82	28.5
KHAGARIA	0	2.65	15.75
ARWAL	0.63	2.41	4.86
NALANDA	0	1.86	18.99
BHOJPUR	0	1.65	17.69
SHEIKHPURA	0	1.54	9.34
BUXAR	0	1.52	22.01
GAYA	1.81	1.45	10.63
SARAN	0	1.37	21.99
ROHTAS	0	1.28	20.74
PATNA	0	0.81	22.14
KAIMUR (BHABUA)	0	0.67	15.39
SAMASTIPUR	0	0	24.26
SIWAN	0	0	21.34
JEHANABAD	0	0	20.89
GOPALGANJ	4.16	0	15.47

Annexure-3 for 4 districts and state total

(As on 31st March, 2020), Number of functional, Source: Rural Health Statistics (2019-20), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare									
	Sub Centres	PHCs	CHCs	Sub-D	Dist- H	Total	Total P.	Per Head	
Anwal	63	33	0	0	1	97	7,00,843	7225	
Sheohar	96	14	0	0	1	111	6,56,246	5912	
Lakhisarai	102	21	1	0	1	125	10,00,912	8007	
Sheikhpura	104	23	1	0	1	129	6,36,342	4932	
Jehanabad	110	38	1	0	1	150	11,25,313	7502	
Kishanganj	155	19	1	0	1	176	16,90,400	9604	
Buxar	149	39	0	1	1	190	17,06,352	8980	
Munger	154	34	0	0	1	190	13,67,765	7198	
Supaul	174	33	2	0	1	210	22,29,076	10614	
Kaimur	178	30	2	1	1	212	16,26,384	7671	
Saharsa	168	44	0	0	1	213	19,00,661	8923	
Khagaria	187	32	1	0	1	221	16,66,886	7542	
Nawada	173	52	1	1	1	228	22,19,146	9733	
Gopalganj	189	37	3	1	1	231	25,62,012	11090	
Sitamarhi	208	57	1	0	1	267	34,23,574	12822	
Araria	221	44	2	1	1	269	28,11,569	10451	
Jamui	234	39	3	0	1	277	17,60,405	6355	
Banka	251	42	3	0	1	297	20,34,763	6851	
Rohtas	249	56	2	2	1	310	29,59,918	9548	
Madhepura	272	37	0	1	1	311	20,01,762	6436	
Aurangabad	248	72	3	1	1	325	25,40,073	7815	
Darbhanga	259	71	2	2	0	334	39,37,385	11788	
Begusarai	292	44	2	1	1	340	29,70,541	8736	
Bhojpur	300	45	3	1	1	350	27,28,407	7795	
Vaishali	337	52	3	1	1	394	34,95,021	8870	
Katihar	341	63	1	2	1	409	30,71,029	7508	

(As on 31st March, 2020), Number of functional, Source: Rural Health Statistics (2019-20), Ministry of Health and Family Welfare									
	Sub Centres	PHCs	CHCs	Sub-D	Dist- H	Total	Total P.	Per Head	
Bhagalpur	330	74	3	2	1	410	30,37,766	7409	
Nalanda	367	70	4	2	1	444	28,77,653	6481	
Siwan	379	68	3	1	1	452	33,30,464	7368	
Samastipur	378	70	1	3	1	453	42,61,566	9407	
Saran	396	63	3	1	1	464	39,51,862	8516	
Patna	382	106	4	4	0	496	58,38,465	11771	
Champanan East	414	104	3	0	1	522	50,99,371	9768	
Purnia	473	56	2	1	1	533	32,64,619	6124	
Madhubani	439	96	1	1	1	538	44,87,379	8340	
Gaya	474	91	1	2	1	569	43,91,418	7717	
Muzaffarpur	500	103	1	0	1	605	48,01,062	7935	
Champanan West	554	55	0	1	1	611	39,35,042	6440	
Total Districts = 38	10280	2027	64	35	36	12463		Average: 8352	

Annexure:4 NFHS-5

States/Districts	Bihar	Bihar	Bihar	Bihar	Araria	Katihar	kishanganj	Purnia
Data Source	NFHS 4 Total	NFHS 5 Urban	NFHS 5 Rural	NFHS 5 Total	NFHS 5 Total	NFHS 5 Total	NFHS 5 Total	NFHS 5 Total
Households with any usual member covered under a health insurance/financing scheme (%)	12.3	11.6	15.1	14.6	19.5	8.4	8.1	10.2
Women Literate 15-49 Age (%)	N/A	74.9	54.5	57.8	43.7	49.7	48	47.5
Women Age 20-24 Years Married Before 18 (%)	42.5	27.9	43.4	40.8	52	49.4	36.6	51.2
Any Method Used For Family Planning By Currently Married Women Age 15-49 years (%)	24.1	62.3	54.6	55.8	46	33.8	25.3	25.7
IUD/PIUD (%)	0.5	1.3	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.3
Condom Use (%)	1	7.3	3.4	4	1.7	1.7	2.5	0.9
Total Unmet Need (%)	21.2	11.5	13.9	13.6	15.9	22.4	21.7	20.2
Mother Who Had At Least 4 Antenatal Care Visits (%)	14.4	32.4	24	25.2	25.8	15.3	17.1	11.1
Institutional Births (%)	63.8	84.1	75	76.2	66.2	66.9	54.6	68.9
Children Age 12-23 Months Fully Vaccinated Based On Information From Vaccination Card Only* (%)	77.1	77.4	83.4	82.7	71.1	82.6	80.9	81.8
Total Children Age 6-23 Months Receiving Adequate Diet**, # (%)	7.5	9.2	11.2	10.9	12.8	13.8	13.1	5.5
Children Under 5 Years - Stunted^ (Height For Age) (%)	48.3	36.8	43.9	42.9	49.9	43.9	38.8	43.5

Annexure 5: Detailed PMGAY data year-wise for Bihar and Seemanchal region:

Year	Bihar	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others
2021-22	Completed	36041	254576	63913	399	234770
2020-21	Completed	0	0	29241	134	217857
2019-20	Completed	64	55	181468	3138	1210583
2017-18	Completed	10681	49630	104251	2590	450406
2016-17	Completed	22047	177966	124487	3501	407157
	Total	68833	482227	503360	9762	2520773
Year	Araria	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others
2021-22	Completed	2114	12097	5372	3	14389
2020-21	Completed	0	0	16414	31	22477
2019-20	Completed	0	0	36329	48	64132
2017-18	Completed	956	6158	11472	42	28469
2016-17	Completed	1685	8367	12035	107	23005
	Total	4755	26622	81622	231	152472
Year	Katihar	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others
2021-22	Completed	637	501	1112	0	3449
2020-21	Completed	0	0	0	0	0
2019-20	Completed	0	0	20655	5	39490
2017-18	Completed	1000	551	6880	3	16637
2016-17	Completed	1012	710	6368	12	13893
	Total	2649	1762	35015	20	73469
Year	Purnia	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others
2021-22	Completed	678	1563	1764	0	4893
2020-21	Completed	0	0	2279	0	3812
2019-20	Completed	0	0	12548	1	28890
2017-18	Completed	428	1239	10181	9	21471
2016-17	Completed	1301	2925	8489	15	15647
	Total	2407	5727	35261	25	74713
Year	Kishanganj	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others
2021-22	Completed	483	784	2499	8	5961
2020-21	Completed	0	0	0	0	0
2019-20	Completed	2	10	6254	3	8248
2017-18	Completed	3	2	3577	8	4277
2016-17	Completed	266	418	4056	6	5178
	Total	754	1214	16386	25	23664

**Table 49: Cumulative analysis of MGNREGA data
for four districts**

Years	Employment demanded		Employment offered		Employment Provided			No. of Families completed 100 days in %
	Household in %	Persons in %	Household in %	Persons in %	Household in %	Persons in %	Total Person Days in %	
2014-15	14.60%	14%	14.60%	14%	11.70%	11.30%	8.50%	4.29%
2015-16	14.60%	14%	14.60%	14%	11.70%	11.30%	8.50%	4.29%
2016-17	10.97%	10.49%	10.97%	10.49%	10.40%	10.07%	9.10%	6.83%
2017-18	12.95%	12.89%	12.95%	12.89%	12.57%	12.28%	10.57%	5.40%
2018-19	12.70%	12.85%	12.71%	12.85%	12.69%	12.68%	11.29%	6.40%
2019-20	13.00%	13.18%	13.01%	13.19%	13.08%	13.09%	11.71%	11.11%
2020-21	12.40%	12.75%	12.40%	12.75%	12.46%	12.60%	10.44%	13.90%
2021-22	14.74%	15.57%	14.75%	15.58%	14.53%	15.03%	14.98%	18.40%
2022-23	12.25%	14.46%	13.70%	14.48%	13.36%	16.16%	11.79%	12.30%
Total	13.13%	13%	13.30%	13%	12.50%	12.72%	10.76%	9.21%

Annexures 6: West Bengal

State/District	Muslim Population
Murshidabad	66.27%
Maldah	51.27%
Uttar Dinajpur	49.92%
Birbhum	37.06%
South Twenty Four Parganas	35.57%
Nadia	26.76%
Haora	26.20%
North Twenty Four Parganas	25.82%
Koch Bihar	25.54%
Dakshin Dinajpur	24.63%
Bardhaman	20.73%
Kolkata	20.60%
Hugli	15.77%
Purba Medinipur	14.59%
Jalpaiguri	11.51%
Paschim Medinipur	10.49%
Bankura	8.08%
Puruliya	7.76%
Darjeeling	5.69%
West Bengal	27.50%

Table 50: Assam

District	Muslims (%)	Population Growth 2001-2011 (%)	Population Growth 1991-2001 (%)	Change in Population Growth (%)
Dhubri	79.67	24.44	22.97	1.47
Barpeta	70.74	21.43	19.62	1.81
Darrang	64.34	22.19	22.18	0.01
Hailakandi	60.31	21.45	20.89	0.56
Goalpara	57.52	22.64	23.03	-0.39
Karimganj	56.36	21.9	21.87	0.03
Nagaon	55.36	22	22.26	-0.26
Morigaon	52.56	23.34	21.35	1.99
Bongaigaon	50.22	20.59	22.09	0.5
Kamrup	39.66	15.69	14.97	0.72
Cachar	37.71	20.19	18.89	1.3
Nalbari	35.96	11.99	14.21	-2.22
Kokrajhar	28.44	5.21	14.49	-9.28
Chirang	22.66	11.34	-0.08	11.26
Lakhimpur	18.57	17.22	18.3	-1.08
Sonitpur	18.22	15.55	18.11	-2.56
Baksa	14.29	10.74	12.51	-1.77
Udalguri	12.66	9.61	10.02	0.41
Kamrup Metropolitan	12.05	18.34	45.91	-27.57
Golaghat	8.46	12.75	14.27	-1.52
Sivasagar	8.3	9.44	15.83	-6.39
Jorhat	5.01	9.31	14.69	-5.38
Dibrugarh	4.86	11.92	13.68	-1.76
Tinsukia	3.64	15.47	19.51	-4.04
Karbi Anglong	2.12	17.58	22.72	-5.14
Dima Hasao	2.04	13.84	24.72	-10.88
Dhemaji	1.96	19.97	19.45	0.52
Assam	34.22	17.07	18.85	-1.78

Annexure 7: Health infrastructure district wise: Sub- Centres, Primary Health Centres (PHCs), Community Health Centres (CHCs), Sub-divisional Hospitals (Sub-D), District Hospitals (Dist-H)

Districts	Sub Centres	PHCs	CHCs	Sub-D	Dist- H	Total
Shravasti	125	12	6	0	1	144
Chitrakoot	134	28	6	0	1	169
Shamli	135	26	7	0	1	169
Gautam Buddha Nagar	128	37	5	0	2	172
Mahoba	150	16	5	0	2	173
Bhadohi	161	17	6	0	2	186
Auraiya	165	26	7	0	2	200
Hapur	176	26	6	0	1	209
Kasganj	170	31	7	0	1	209
Sant Kabir Nagar	185	23	4	0	1	213
Sonbhadra	173	31	7	0	2	213
Etawah	169	34	8	0	3	214
Kaushambi	175	34	5	0	1	215
Amroha	175	32	8	0	2	217
Ghaziabad	146	66	4	0	3	219
Hathras	194	27	7	0	2	230
Lalitpur	197	27	4	0	2	230
Etah	191	34	4	0	2	231
Baghpat	200	24	7	0	1	232
Farrukhabad	192	31	8	0	3	234
Pilibhit	199	31	6	0	2	238
Kannauj	191	35	11	0	2	239
Balrampur	215	26	9	0	3	253
Rampur	211	35	5	0	2	253
Mathura	205	34	12	0	3	254
Amethi	213	30	13	0	0	256
Sambhal	214	31	10	0	1	256
Hamirpur	214	41	4	0	2	261
Mainpuri	206	46	10	0	2	264
Mau	225	43	6	0	2	276
Kanpur Dehat	240	30	8	0	2	280
Chandauli	248	30	4	0	4	286
Firozabad	220	71	5	0	3	299
Ayodhya	255	34	12	0	4	305
Sultanpur	244	45	14	0	2	305
Ambedkar Nagar	272	28	10	0	1	311
Mirzapur	263	39	16	0	2	320
Basti	273	41	14	0	3	331
Moradabad	267	56	7	0	2	332
Banda	277	52	4	0	2	335
Jalaun	286	41	7	0	2	336
Muzaffarnagar	286	47	7	0	2	342
Maharajganj	291	40	12	0	1	344
Meerut	280	57	12	0	2	351
Siddharth Nagar	278	64	8	0	1	351
Budaun	291	55	10	0	2	358

Districts	Sub Centres	PHCs	CHCs	Sub-D	Dist- H	Total
Shahjahanpur	298	47	17	0	2	364
Fatehpur	321	47	11	0	2	381
Varanasi	320	51	12	0	4	387
Bahraich	320	56	14	0	2	392
Gonda	322	52	16	0	2	392
Jhansi	338	45	12	0	2	397
Aligarh	333	53	13	0	4	403
Lucknow	306	78	19	0	9	412
Deoria	320	76	16	0	2	414
Bijnor	343	62	11	0	2	418
Unnao	357	48	13	0	2	420
Rae Bareli	352	51	19	0	2	424
Barabanki	350	57	19	0	3	429
Bulandshahar	344	71	10	0	4	429
Pratapgarh	355	60	21	0	2	438
Kushi Nagar	368	55	16	0	1	440
Saharanpur	364	62	21	0	2	449
Ballia	367	81	9	0	2	459
Kheri	386	59	15	0	2	462
Agra	395	73	18	0	2	488
Ghazipur	418	60	17	0	2	497
Kanpur Nagar	390	92	10	0	5	497
Bareilly	411	71	16	0	2	500
Hardoi	433	50	19	0	2	504
Sitapur	471	66	19	0	2	558
Azamgarh	493	75	19	0	4	591
Jaunpur	507	83	22	0	2	614
Gorakhpur	529	85	15	0	2	631
Prayagraj	562	86	20	0	5	673
Total Districts	20778	3516	816	0	168	25278

Annexure 8

State /District	Year	ST	SC	Minorities	PH	Others	Total
UP	2016-17	7308	327694	92103	642	231505	659252
UP	2017-18	4359	154694	45909	219	233367	438548
UP	2018-19	1243	17317	20629	94	290196	329479
UP	2019-20	305	2738	3181	33	167545	173802
UP	2020-21	15964	413975	104354	382	295723	830398
UP	2021-22	16864	237525	25726	131	170831	451077
Total				291902			2708754
Balrampur	2016-17	254	2172	1374	2	2583	6385
Balrampur	2017-18	71	608	728	1	1580	2988
Balrampur	2018-19	23	77	308	0	1521	1929
Balrampur	2019-20	0	0	3	0	997	1000
Balrampur	2020-21	310	4070	1798	1	4659	10838
Balrampur	2021-22	160	662	149	1	817	1789
Total				4360			24929
Shravasti	2016-17	26	2039	1127	4	2145	5341
Shravasti	2017-18	0	310	695	0	1976	2981
Shravasti	2018-19	1	5	414	1	2303	2724
Shravasti	2019-20	2	8	0	0	1065	1075
Shravasti	2020-21	91	2780	1527	0	3137	7535
Shravasti	2021-22	51	803	236	0	934	2024
Total				2872			21680



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