

Appendix – 2

Salient Points Highlighted by Dr. Sanjay Kumar, (Fellow, Centre for Study of Developing Societies), in his Paper titled 'Social and Economic Status and Popular Perception of Muslims in India', presented in a Workshop-cum Seminar on Muslim Minority & Social Justice: Problems and Policy Options, organized by Dr. Sushma Yadav (Professor, Dr. Ambedkar Chair for Social Justice) at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi on September 2, 2006.

1. According to the author his research was based on the data collected by the Center for Study of Developing Societies New Delhi after 2004 Lok Sabha elections. During the survey more than 27,000 respondents spread across all the 20 States were asked questions not only on various social and political issues, but even general information was sought regarding their background (e.g., age, gender, education, religion, caste, things they possessed, etc.).

2. There has been a great deal of talk about educational and economic backwardness of Indian Muslims. A widespread perception exists that Muslims are way behind the Hindus and other religious communities in terms of education and economic prosperity. Census 2001 data also suggests that Muslims lag behind the Hindus in terms of educational attainments.

3. The findings of the National Elections Study (conducted by CSDS) show that among those who are above 18 years age, "there is hardly any difference among the level of educational attainments among Hindus and Muslims". At the national level, both among the Hindus as well as the Muslims, 36 percent are illiterates. There is a slight difference in the proportion of those who have completed college education. While among Hindus 17 percent had passed college education, among Muslims the percentage was slightly less, i.e., only 15 percent. In the realm of higher education, the other minorities like the Sikhs and Christians are much better placed.

4. The story is not very different when we look at the level of economic prosperity among the Hindus and Muslims. "Contrary to the common belief that Muslims are poorer compared to the Hindus, the findings of NES indicate hardly any difference in the level of economic prosperity among people from the two communities".

5. The proportion of those who would fall in rich class is more or less equal both among the Hindus and the Muslims. *"At the national level the proportion of*

those who would fall in very poor class is more among the Hindus compared to the Muslims". With these figures it is hard to believe Muslims are relatively economically backward compared to the Hindus.

6. In terms of level of media exposure, the Muslims hardly lag behind the Hindus. The findings of the survey indicate that the level of media exposure is more or less similar among the Hindus and the Muslims, while Christians are slightly more exposed to the media.

7. There is, however, a rural-urban divide. The educational backwardness among Muslims is seen more in the urban areas. Among the urban Muslims only 24 percent were graduates, while among Hindus the number was much higher, 36 percent had passed college education. The number of illiterates among urban Muslims were also much higher compared to the number of illiterates among the urban Hindus.

8. Similar differences exist in terms of level of economic development. In terms of level of economic prosperity, the Hindus and Muslims living in villages are more or less similar, but the urban Muslims lag behind the urban Hindus. While the proportion of those who would be considered as poor is more or less equal among the urban Hindus and the urban Muslims, but among those who have managed to be rich, the urban Hindus outnumber the urban Muslims in significant numbers. In other words, according to Dr. Sanjay Kumar the urban Hindus have a thick creamy layer.

9. While there are differences in terms of levels of educational attainment among Muslims from different regions, one could hardly find differences among the Muslims from different regions in terms of the level of economic attainment, though the Muslims from the southern region seem to be slightly more well off compared to the Muslims from either the West or the Hindi heartland States.

10. Dr. Sanjay Kumar's Seminar Paper covered many other social, educational and political aspects, including the community's perception about their major problems, especially those of poverty and unemployment, sense of discrimination, attitudes towards modernity and conservatism, including observance of veil (which was favored by an overwhelming majority of 84 percent Muslims interviewed) and issuing of Fatwas (favoured by 44 percent).

11. Nearly one-fifth of the Muslims (21 percent) interviewed claimed that they had experienced some kind of discrimination in their day-to-day life. Approximately 75 percent women felt that having more than one wife was

unjustified. Similarly 66 percent women felt that the practice of triple talaq was incorrect and unjustified.

Incidentally the well known Psephologist and Statistical Analyst, Prof. Yogendra Yadav, has been the most visible face of the Centre for Study of Developing Societies (often seen on television channels).

Appendix – 3

Social and Economic Status and popular perception of Muslims in India

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There have been always talk about educational and economic backwardness of Muslims in India. There are wide spread perception that Muslims are way behind the Hindus and people of other religious communities, in-terms of educational and economic prosperity. Figures from the 2001 Census also suggest that Muslims lag behind the Hindus in-terms of level of educational attainment.

In this paper I wish to take this discussion further and focus not only on educational backwardness but other aspects like economic backwardness as well their exposure to the media. The data used for analysis has been taken from the National Elections Study conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) after the 2004 Lok Sabha elections. During the survey, more than 27,000 respondents spread across all the 29 states were asked questions not only on various social and political issues, but general information regarding their background (age, gender, education, religion, caste, things they possess etc.) were also recorded. The analysis presented here is based on the background information collected from the respondents.

While the Census of India puts the figure for the illiterates among the Muslims as 41 percent. But the CSDS National Elections Study estimates the illiterates among the Muslims as 36 percent. The difference in live figures is mainly due to the age group for which the estimates have been made. While the Census estimated for all those above the age group of 7 years, while the NES survey estimated the level of illiteracy among those who are above the age group of 18 years. The sampling methodology of NES (sample drawn from the electoral rolls) enables to interview only those who are above the age of 18 years and their names figure on the voter list. The selection of the sample from two different universes (in-terms of age group) would give slightly different results. Since the Census collects information, from people at the very early age. There is a probability of getting higher number of illiterates in that compared to the NES estimates. There are people who do

not go for formal schooling, but somehow get educated through informal methods of education at a somewhat higher age.

The National Picture:

The findings of the NES indicate, among those who are above 18 years of age, there is hardly any difference among the level of educational attainment among Hindus and the Muslims. At the national level both among the Hindus as well as the Muslims, 36 percent are illiterates. There is slight difference in the proportion of those who have completed college education. While among Hindus 17 percent had passed college education, among Muslims the numbers are slightly less, only 15 percent. In terms of attaining higher education, the other minorities. Christians and the Sikhs are much better placed.

The story is not very different when we try to look at the level of economic prosperity among the Hindus and the Muslims. Contrary to common belief that Muslims are poorer compared to the Hindus, findings of the NES indicate hardly any difference in-terms of level of economic prosperity among people from these two communities. The proportion of those who would fall in rich class is more or less equal both among the Hindus and the Muslims. At the national level the proportion of those who would fall in very poor class is more among the Hindus compared to the Muslims. With these figures it is hard to believe, Muslims are relatively economically backward compared to the Hindus.

In terms of level of media exposure, the Muslims hardly lag behind the Hindus. The index of media exposure is based on the frequency of newspaper readership, watching news on televisions and listening news on the radio. The findings of the Survey indicate, the level of media exposure is more or less similar among the Hindus and the Muslims, while Christians are slightly more exposed to the media.

Table 1: Level of Education Attainments among different communities

Category	Illiterate	Middle School	High School	Collage
Hindus	36	23	24	17
Muslims	36	25	24	15
Christians	22	26	27	25
Sikhs	25	17	25	33
Buddhist	40	20	27	13

Table 2: Level of Economic Attainments among different communities

Category	Very Poor	Poor	Lower	Middle	Upper
Hindus	31	22	26	11	10
Muslims	24	23	29	14	11
Christians	28	20	25	16	11
Sikhs	8	10	19	17	46
Buddhist	35	18	20	16	12

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004 All Figure are in Percent
 NB: Economic classification is based on the income & assets owned by the respondents

Table 3: Level of Media Exposure among different communities

Category	No Exposure	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Vegh High
Hindus	22	21	17	22	11	7
Muslims	18	25	20	23	14	11
Christians	15	16	20	23	14	11
Sikhs	15	21	23	26	11	5
Buddhist	18	24	23	20	9	7

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004 All Figure are in Percent

The Rural-Urban Divide:

While at the national level, there hardly exist any noticeable differences among the Hindu? and the Muslims in terms of levels of educational attainment or in terms of levels of economic prosperity, but one can find some differences when we look at the Muslims living in villages and Muslims living in cities. One would hardly get surprised to see that Urban Muslims would be doing much better compared to the rural Muslims, but what is interesting to note is, that while in rural areas the level of educational attainment among the Hindus and the Muslims is more or less similar. The educational backwardness among the Muslims is seen more in the urban areas. The Muslims lag behind the Hindus in terms of level of educational attainment in urban areas. Among the urban Muslims only 24 percent were graduates while among the Hindus their number was much higher, 36 percent had passed college education. The number of illiterates among the urban Muslims was also much higher compared to the number of illiterates among the urban Hindus.

One can see similar differences among the Hindus and the Muslims if seen in-terms of level of level economic development. In-terms of level of economic prosperity, the Hindus and the Muslims living in villages are more or less similar but the urban Muslims lag behind the urban Hindus in-terms of the levels of economic prosperity. While the proportion of those who

would be considered as poor is more or less equal among the urban Hindus and the urban Muslims, but among those who have managed to be rich, the urban Hindus outnumber the urban Muslims in significant numbers.

One can see similar trend if we look at the level of media exposure among the Hindus and the Muslims living in urban and rural areas. The rural Muslims hardly seemed less exposed compared to the rural Hindus, but when it comes to the urban [Muslims and urban Hindus, the Hindus seemed far more exposed to the media compared to the urban Muslims.

Table 4: Locality wise Levels of Educational Attainment of Hindus & Muslims

Category	Illiterate	Middle School	High School	Collage
Urban Hindus	17	17	30	36
Urban Muslims	24	23	29	24
Rural Hindus	41	24	23	12
Rural Muslims	43	27	21	9

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004

All Figure are in Percent

Table 5: Locality wise Levels of Educational Attainment of Hindus & Muslims

Category	Very Poor	Poor	Lower	Middle	Upper
Urban Hindus	9	14	28	30	20
Urban Muslims	10	19	33	25	12
Rural Hindus	35	24	26	7	8
Rural Muslims	31	26	26	7	10

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004

All Figure are in Percent

Table 6: Locality wise Levels of Media Exposure among Hindus & Muslims

Category	No Exposure	Very Low	Low	Medium	High	Vegh High
Urban Hindus	7	15	20	30	14	14
Urban Muslims	11	19	20	30	11	8
Rural Hindus	25	23	17	20	10	6
Rural Muslims	22	28	20	19	8	4

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004

All Figure are in Percent

The regional Divide:

In the previous two sections we tried to look at differential patterns of social and economic development among Hindus and Muslims. In this section, we are trying to look at are there differential patterns in social and economic development of Muslims across different regions of India? We have divided

the country broadly into three regions, the South, the West and the Hindi Heartland. Some states have been left out of these classifications. Findings of the Survey indicate significant differences in terms of level of social and economic development of the Muslims across different regions.

Let's first look at the level of educational attainment among Muslims from different regions. The Muslims of the South are much more educated compared to the Muslims of any other regions. Among the Muslims living in Southern states 20 percent have managed to complete their college education and only 25 percent have remained illiterate. This is quite in contrast to the Muslims in the Hindi Heartland state where nearly 39 percent still remained illiterate, while 15 percent have managed to pass the college education. Though the number of illiterates among the Muslims living in Gujarat and Maharashtra is less compared to those from the Hindi heartland, but at the same time the number of those who have managed to complete their college education among the Muslims living in Gujarat or Maharashtra is also less. In the West, there are high proportions among the Muslims who started going to school but dropped out after studying till the middle school and fewer managed to pursue higher education. (Table 7)

While there are differences in-terms of levels of educational attainment among Muslims from different regions, but one could hardly find differences among the Muslims from different regions in terms of the level of economic attainment, though the Muslims from the Southern region seems to be slightly more well off compared to the Muslims from either the West or the Hindi Heartland states. Among the Muslims living in any of the four Southern states, only 34 percent would fall in the category of the poor, among the Muslims from the Hindi heartland states, 46 percent would belong to the category of the poor. The proportion of those who would belong to the category of poor among the Muslims living in the Western states is nearly 44 percent. But the proportion of those who would belong to the rich category is more or less same among Muslims from all the regions. (Table 8)

Table 7: Region wise levels of educational attainment among Muslims

Category	Illiterate	Middle School	High School	College
Hindi Heartland	39	20	26	15
South	25	27	28	20
West	26	43	22	9

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004 All Figure are in Percent

Hindi Heartland: Bihar, Jharkhand, UP., Uttarakhand, Delhi, Haryana, Himanchal Pradesh, Rajasthan, MP & Chattisgarh

South : Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu & Andhra Pradesh

West : Maharashtra & Gujarat

Table 8: Region wise levels of economic prosperity among Muslims

Category	Very Poor	Poor	Lower	Middle	Upper
Hindi Heartland	21	25	29	13	12
South	17	17	27	12	12
West	21	23	16	16	11

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004

All Figure are in Percent

NB: Economic classification is based on the income & assets owned by the respondents

Patterns at the State Level:

If we need to examine and understand the level of social and economic development of the Muslims in India we need to look at the social and economic condition of the Muslims at the state level. In the previous section we have seen that while at the national level, the Muslims seems to be at par with the Hindus interns of level of educational attainment as well as level of economic development, but we start findings (he differences once we look at the pattern at regional level. In this section we would try to look at the level of educational development of the Muslims in different states. The findings of the survey indicate enormous state level differences in levels of educational attainment among the Muslims.

While we had merged the Muslims of all the four South Indian states together, but from the findings of the survey it becomes clear that the Muslims of Kerala are quite different from the Muslims of Andhra Pradesh. Since Kerala has a very high literacy rate, this has affected both the Muslims as well as the Hindus. Among the Muslims in Kerala only 6 percent remained illiterate, while among the Muslims in Andhra Pradesh. 38 percent are illiterate. More than 50 percent of the Muslims in West Bengal still remain illiterate. Given the general image of Bihar one might think that the Muslims in Bihar may be the most backward, but the findings of the survey indicate, they hardly lag behind the Muslims of Andhra Pradesh in-terms of levels of educational attainment. The only difference is that compared to Bihar more Muslims from Andhra Pradesh have managed to complete their college education. It is likely that, the school dropout rate among the Muslims in Bihar is much more compared to the school dropout rate among the Muslims in A.P.

Muslims from Kerala are not only more educated compared to the Muslims from other states, they are also economically much more well off compared to Muslims from other states. Nearly 40 per cent of the Muslims in Kerala belong to either rich or the middle class. While in West Bengal, there is large number of Muslims who would fall in the category of very poor, but there are sizeable numbers of those who constitute the upper class. Nearly 67 percent of the Muslims in West Bengal would belong to the poor or very

poor class, while 13 percent belong to the upper class. There are similar proportions of Muslims-both in Assam and Bihar who would fall in the very poor or poor economic class. But the contrast with West Bengal is that, while in West Bengal there are sizeable Muslim populations who have managed to become rich, but the number of Muslims who could be considered as rich in Bihar or Assam is very small. The gap between the rich and the poor among the Muslims in West Bengal seems to be large, which applies to Kerala and Uttar Pradesh as well. Majority of the Muslims in Andhra Pradesh fall in the middle-income category. While on one hand, only 15 percent would be considered as very poor, on the other hand only 5 percent may belong to the upper class as well.

Table 9: State wise levels of Educational Attainments of Muslims

Category	Illiterate	Middle School	High School	College
West Bengal	51	28	12	9
Uttar Pradesh	41	21	23	15
Bihar	39	14	32	15
Andhra Pradesh	38	18	21	23
Assam	36	29	19	16
Gujarat	27	50	18	5
Kerala	6	35	39	20

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004

All Figure are in Percent

Table 10: State wise level of economic prosperity among Muslims

Category	Very Poor	Poor	Lower	Middle	Upper
West Bengal	46	21	15	5	13
Bihar	34	32	22	6	6
Assam	33	39	22	3	3
Kerala	25	16	19	25	15
Gujarat	23	31	23	14	10
Uttar Pradesh	22	24	30	10	14
Andhra Pradesh	15	21	28	31	5

Source: CSDS Dara Unit National Election Studies 2004

All Figure are in Percent

NB: Economic classification is based on the income & assets owned by the respondents

Problems of Muslim Community: Popular Perceptions

Poverty and unemployment is the biggest problem among the Muslim community. From the discussion in the previous section it is clear, that Muslims in some states are far more backward compared to the Muslims in

other states. Large sections among the Muslims still remain illiterate. Not surprisingly, findings of the survey suggest, for 67 percent among the Muslims, poverty and unemployment remains the biggest problem. This may also apply for the Hindus, but clearly large number among the Muslims who believe that unemployment is the biggest problem is very large. There are 13 percent Muslims for whom unavailability of educational opportunities is the biggest problem. Clearly concern about lack of educational opportunities is much higher among those who want to pursue higher education. Security of life and property is the biggest concern among 7 percent Muslims while another 6 percent feel that lack of correct leadership is the biggest problem of the Muslim community. There are very few who look beyond these problems of the Muslims community. It is not surprising to see that large numbers among the Muslims blame the government for bad conditions of people from their community. While 49 percent among the Muslims put the blame on the government, there were 13 percent who believed that Muslims are themselves responsible for their poor conditions. There were only few who blamed the Hindus for the condition of the Muslims. Interestingly, 14 percent thought, everyone is to be blamed for the poor, condition of the Muslims in India.

Table 11: Most Important Problem of Muslims

Problem	Figures (In %)
Poverty & Unemployment	67
Lack of educational opportunities	13
Security of life and property	7
Lack of correct leadership	6
Attack on religious freedom	4
No Opinion	3

Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006

Table 12: Who is responsible for condition of Muslims?

	Figures (%)
Government	49
Everyone	14
Muslims themselves	13
Attitudes of Hindus	6
No Opinion	18

Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006

A sense of discrimination:

Nearly one fifth of the Muslims in India, have experienced some kind of discrimination in their day-to-day life. In the survey, 21 percent Muslims admitted that they have themselves experienced discrimination. Muslims feel, the discrimination is more while competing for jobs than anything else. This is not to say that they do not feel discrimination in any other fields. More than 70 percent Muslims believed that there are discrimination in educational opportunities as well as in religious matter, while 62 percent believed that Muslims face discrimination in politics as well. The findings of the survey also indicate that such discrimination is faced more by the urban Muslims compared to those who live in villages. Since it is the educated Muslims who would compete for jobs and also for educational opportunities, they feel greater discrimination compared to those who are uneducated. The people from other communities might be having a sense of competition from Muslims from the well to do educated urban Muslims.

Table 13: Muslims who have experienced discrimination

	Figures (In %)
All	21
Urban Muslims	28
Graduates	31
Middle Class	27

Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006

Table 14: Areas in which Muslims feel discriminated

Areas	Figures (In %)
In educational opportunities	72
In securing employment	79
In religious matters	70
In politics	62

Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006

Areas Figures (In%) In educational opportunities 72 in securing employment 79 In religious matters 70 In politics 62 Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006

Since the Muslims have a shared sense of being discriminated in various fields and also blame the government for the poor condition of the Muslims in the country, it is not surprising to note that 82 percent among the Muslims are in support of the policy of reservation for Muslims in educational institutions. There are 61 percent among the Muslims, who's are also in support of having a separate political party for the Muslims for protecting the interest of the people from Muslims community.

A combination of Modernity and Conservatism:

There is a general believe that the educational backwardness among the Muslims have made the Muslims highly conservative. But findings of the survey indicate there are a strange mix of conservative values as well as signs of modernity among the Muslims of India. On the issue of Muslims women observing Purda, there is wide spread support in favor of this among the Muslims. An overwhelming 84 percent among Muslims believe, Muslims women should observe purdah. While only few think, this is not necessary. Similarly, large numbers among Muslims (44 percent) believed that issuing Fatwa from the Maulana or the Ulema is absolutely necessary. While those who believed this is unnecessary are few in numbers. Only 7 percent among the Muslims believed that Fatwa in unnecessary, while another 20 percent believed that it should be issued only when asked for. Over all there is general believe that system of issuing Fatwa by the Maulana is correct.

Table 15: Signs of Conservatism

	Figures ((%)
Women should observe purdah	84
Opinion on the system of Fatwa	44
Fatwa necessary and justified	20
Fatwa only when should for	7
Fatwa is wrongRight/wrong should be left to common people	19
No Opinion	10

Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006

But it would be incorrect to assume that, the Muslims are still a very conservative society. There are signs of modernity among Muslims. Though Islam permits having more than one wife, but this is condemned by majority of Muslims. Nearly 75 percent arc opposed to the idea of having more than one wife, while only 21 percent were in support of this. There were few who held no opinion on this issue. Similarly on this practice of triple Talak is opposed by majority of Muslims. Among Muslims 66 percent were opposed to the practice of giving talak by just pronouncing talak three times in a row.

While it is not surprising to see that compared to the Muslims men, Muslims women would be more opposed to the idea of having more than one wife and the practice of triple talak. But what might surprise us is, that the uneducated Muslims living in villages share more liberal attitudes compared to their counterparts. It is also not surprising to see that the young share more liberal attitudes compared to the old. But older generation of Muslims are also not as conservative as one would have expected them to be. May be the spread of education among the Muslims community has contributed to the changed

attitudes among the Muslims of older generations.

Table 15: Signs of Conservatism

	Having more than one wife not justified (%)	Practice of triple talak not justified (%)
All	75	66
Women	85	74
Rural	82	73
Urban	75	66
Young (below 25 years)	83	73
Old (56 years or more)	78	70
Non Literate	81	73
Graduattes	70	67

Source: CSDS Data Unit State of the Nation Survey, January 2006