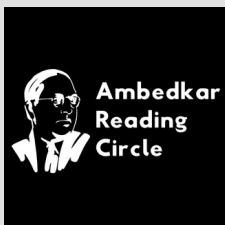




A RECORD OF BJP'S **EMPTY** **PROMISES** OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

2 MAY 2024



One of the most alarming signs of an oppressive regime is the absence of publicly available data on ground realities. Such is the situation with any dataset that reveals the true extent of caste-based oppression today. Nonetheless, with news and data available through surveys, studies, and reports by various independent organisations, this report aims to highlight the damaging effect that the incumbent government has on historically oppressed communities in India.

Before we analyse the claims of the NDA government in terms of Social Justice, it is important to understand the current context in India. This section briefly discusses this context across three dimensions: indicators of poverty, healthcare and representation in positions of power.

1

75 years after the Constitution was adopted, our dream of creating an equal society is in danger. **The top 1% of income taxpayers made 17% of all income in 2013-14. By 2021-22, the top 1% made 23% of all income.**¹ Further, the income growth of the ultra-rich was much faster than for the middle class. **The top 1% of income taxpayers saw their income grow at 13% year-on-year from 2013-14 to 2021-22 -- a massive 60% faster than the income of the lowest 25% of taxpayers.** This inequality is built on the foundations of the caste system. Research² on consumption expenditure and landholdings in UP, as well as serve ample evidence:

- Consumption expenditure for Hindu Dalits and Dalit Muslims is lowest compared to other sub-castes.
- Rural poverty rates were found to be highest among Muslim Dalits (52.5%), Hindu Dalits (51.9%), Muslim OBCs (38.2%), Hindu OBCs (38.0%), and Muslim General (31.3%). These are much higher compared to the Hindu General (14.4%).
- Muslim OBCs and Muslim Dalits followed by Hindu Dalits (Paasi and Chamar) are the most common landless households.
- Households who belong to the Hindu General Category have 2.89 acres of land followed by Muslim General (2.07), Hindu OBCs (1.97), Hindu Dalits (1.28), Muslim OBCs (1.09) and Muslim Dalits (1.05).

1: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/income-inequalities-increasing-under-modi-govt-alleges-jairam-ramesh/articleshow/104655411.cms?from=mdr>

2: <https://thewire.in/economy/what-does-the-caste-wealth-gap-look-like-in-india>

- SC/ST/OBC employment decreased by nearly 30% in the past 10 years. ([Source](#))

2

A sweeping glance through health indicators of marginalised communities also clearly reveals the grim reality of a deeply entrenched caste system.

Data from the 2015 Oxfam report, National Family Health Survey 2015–2016 and data published by the Ministry of Welfare in 2017 shows that key health indicators of SC/ST/OBC populations reveal the damaging effects of systemic oppression across other dimensions of life. This is seen across indicators from pregnant mothers' access to antenatal care and institutional births, infant mortality rates, to child malnutrition rates.

- The infant mortality rate for ST communities particularly, was over 41 compared to 28 for all; the under five mortality rate was 50 for Scheduled Tribes and 33 for all.
- The percentage of stunted children under the age of 5 among the SCs is 43 per cent, STs is 44 per cent, OBCs is 39 per cent and among General is 31 per cent. ([Source](#))
- About 65% ST women suffer from anaemia compared to 46.6% of other social groups.
- 26% of Dalit women did not receive PreNatal-Care while 15% dominant caste women were not provided with the service.
- Dalit women live 15 years less than their dominant caste counterparts. ([Source](#))

Women and children are facing huge discrimination while seeking health care service, **they are not thoroughly checked, verbally abused and denied quality service on the ground of Caste.** According to a review of studies on caste and health, **health outcomes of Dalit women are dependent on two major variables: caste and household wealth, and they have a higher chance of facing severe illness than oppressor caste groups.**([Source](#))

"Certain groups such as **Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)** are highly susceptible to infections passed on by non-tribal communities, heightened by lack of access to resources and information. The Rural Health Statistics (2019-20) revealed a shortfall of over 6,600 sub-centres, over 1,300 primary health centres and 375 community health centres in tribal areas against the required number as on March 31, 2020. ([Source](#))

3

This inequality is also stark when we look at representation in positions of power in our society.

A study from 2019 showed that **dominant castes constituted 94% of corporate leadership boards in India.**³ A report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Personnel, Public Grievances, Law and Justice, tabled in 2023 stated that **only 3% SC, 1.5% ST judges were appointed in High Courts since 2018.**⁴ An Oxfam study from 2019 showed that **out of 121 newsrooms there was not a single newsroom headed by someone from a Scheduled caste or Scheduled Tribe. People belonging to the general category own 61.8% of all the micro, small and medium enterprises in India,** according to data from the office of the MSME development commissioner, as of March 31 2022. Businesspersons

³ <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0927538X17302986?via%3Dihub>

belonging to the **general category own 49.56 lakh of the 80.16 lakh units** in the country. **Entrepreneurs from the Scheduled Caste category own 6.8% of enterprises, while those in the Scheduled Tribe category own just 2.1%.** ([Source](#))

It is with this context in mind that we shall analyse the guarantees of the BJP.

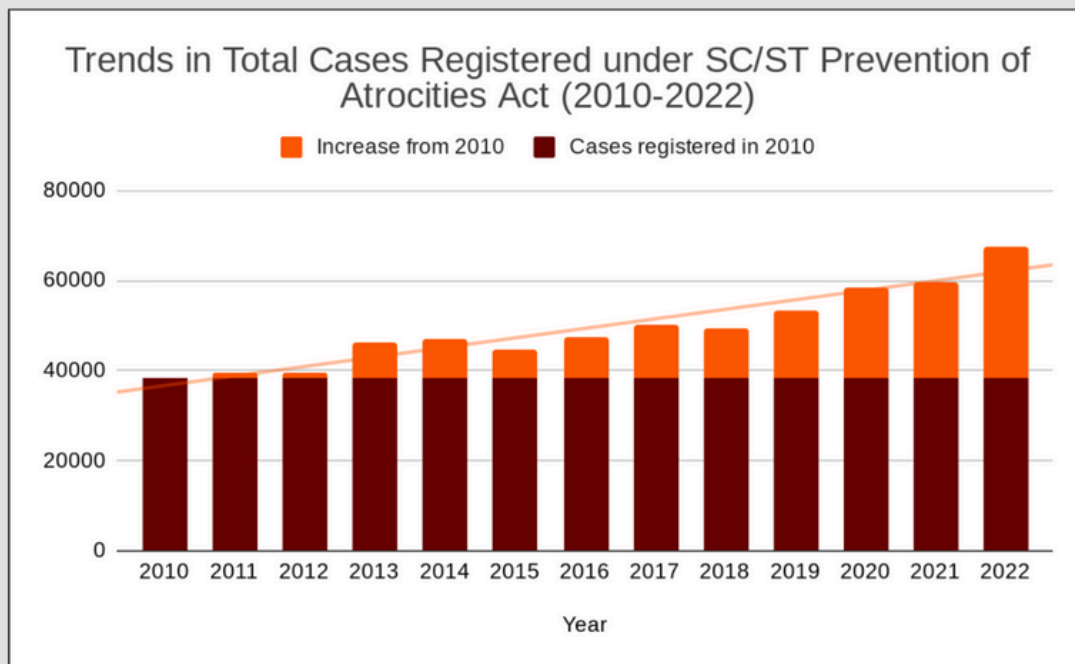
⁴ <https://scroll.in/latest/1054061/only-3-sc-1-5-st-judges-appointed-in-high-courts-since-2018-says-parliament-panel-report>

CLAIM

**WE WILL ACCORD
THE HIGHEST
PRIORITY TO
ENSURING THEIR
SECURITY,
ESPECIALLY THE
PREVENTION OF
ATROCITIES
AGAINST SCs &
STs.**

REALITY

WHAT DOES THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN DATA SAY?



Source: NCRB Crime in India publications

Total cases registered under SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act was at an average of **39,000 cases per year (equivalent of 107 cases per day)** for the years 2010-2012.

Starting from the pre-election year in 2013 to the next pre-election year in 2017, this number saw a rise by 21%. From 2018-2022, another steep rise by 22%, with 67,646 cases per year. This brings it to a **48% rise in cases registered under the SC/ST Prevention of atrocities act under the BJP's rule**. In 2022 alone, there were 67,646 cases, amounting to 188 cases per day.

There has been a 49.87% increase in the

incidents of rape against Dalit women from 2015 to 2019. (Source). Despite this very little attention or money is allotted. For e.g analysing the 2024-25 budget, NCDHRO report states that "Despite growing incidences of violence against SC and ST women, there is only a marginal allocation of Rs. 168Cr for their access to justice. There is only one scheme pertaining to the same, namely 'Strengthening of Machinery for Enforcement of PCR Act, 1955, and the PoA Act, 1989', which focuses primarily on sensitization programs under Gender Budget."

CLAIMS

SOCIAL JUSTICE MUST BE FURTHER COMPLEMENTED WITH **ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT.**

BJP WILL ENSURE THAT THE **FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR SCHEMES AND PROGRAMMES FOR SC, ST, OBCS AND OTHER WEAKER SECTIONS ARE **UTILISED PROPERLY.****

REALITY

RE-STRUCTURING

The Special Component Sub Plan and the Tribal Sub Plan were initiated in the seventies to cater exclusively to SC and ST communities and guarantee funds from all related development sectors. In 2017, the NDA government removed both these sub plans and replaced it with the Allocation for welfare of Scheduled Caste (AWSC) Allocation for welfare of Scheduled Tribes (AWST) (also called Development Action Plan for SCs (DAPSC) and Development Action Plan for STs (DAPST)).

This restructuring changed the nature of the funding. The TSP's role was to allocate financial resources for special schemes which are implemented in Scheduled Areas

or the areas in which the majority of the population belongs to Scheduled Tribes. Additionally, the Constitution of India had listed areas with large tribal population in the Fifth Schedule to the Constitution. After Independence, while the number of areas with large tribal population areas increased, they were not added to the fifth schedule. However, the TSP catered to these areas and allotted funds, designating them as 'sub-plan areas' and thus supported the development of these areas. With the restructuring this has been lost. Tribal rights activist the late Abhay Xaxa said "it has been reduced to a mere accounting exercise of general schemes, hence robbing tribals of their development rights."⁵

UNDER-ALLOCATION, UNDER-UTILISATION AND ALLOTING MONEY TO NON-TARGETTED SCHEMES

An analysis of the past 10 years budgets by the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights shows the following:

- While for the 5 years period (FYs 2015-2020), the allocation due for SC community as per the NITI Aayog guidelines was 5.23 lakh crores, the actual allocation was 2.55 lakh crores only.⁶ The period 2019-2024 shows a similar trend. While the **due share for SC community is to be around 15% of the total budget as per the government's own guidelines, it has not crossed 10.6% for the past five years!**⁷
- Between 2015-2020, while 2.55 lakh

crores were allotted for the SC community, the schemes targetted at SC community were allotted only 1.11 lakh crores. The rest of the funds were given to general schemes like Pradhan Mantri Matru Vandana Yojana or to obsolete schemes like 'Optical Fibre Cable based network for Defence Services'.

- Even the little amounts given are not fully utilised. As per an article by members of NCDHR, for the years 2015-2018, the utilisation was only 68% of the SC Budget and 75% of the ST Budget.⁸

⁶ <file:///D:/bahutva/2024plans/caste/NCDHR-Budget-2019-20-English.pdf>

⁷ http://www.ncdhr.org.in/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/NCDHR-Budget-2023_9-Feb-for-web.pdf

⁵ <https://www.firstpost.com/india/adivasis-and-the-indian-state-successive-govts-distorted-tribal-sub-plan-policy-denied-community-fair-share-of-budgetary-reserves-7235461.html>

⁸ <https://thewire.in/macro/sc-st-budget-nda-five-years>

DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO UNDER-INVEST IN SOCIAL WELFARE

The NCDHRO report analysing the 2019-20 budget states that **key schemes like post-matric scholarship, rehabilitation of bonded labour etc have been under-funded**. It also states that the trend is moving toward cash transfers and away from creating durable assets.

In the year 2019-20 about **Rs. 750 crores was allocated for Cow Protection** and a **mere Rs. 147 crores allocated for the protection of Dalit women** through the implementation of PoA Act.

From 2023-24, the government stopped the pre-matric scholarship which was specifically meant to address the problem of school dropouts. Even for post-matric scholarship, while the union government promised to allot 7000 crores every year from 2021⁹, it failed to do so even once. The allocation of the Post matric scholarship

for the SC students for the FY 2021-22 was Rs.3415.62 Cr and 2022-23 is Rs. 5660.00 Cr.

In 2023-2024, the National Safai Karamchari Finance and Development Corporation received a negligible allocation of Rs. 10 crores in FY 2023-24, for capital expenses compared to Rs. 25 Cr in FY 2022-23, Rs. 50 Cr in FY 2021-22.

Again in 2023-24, the NCDHR report states that “Under the Department of Health and Family Welfare, most of the allocations were made for the general schemes and it was clear that no exclusive Schemes was in place for SC and STs to cater their dignified health rights” ([Source](#))

Another problem has been that **schemes are becoming more cash-transfer oriented** and less focus is put on creating durable assets and sustainable livelihoods. ([Source](#))

HEALTHCARE SPENDING

In 2022-23, the allocation for healthcare schemes primarily favoured general schemes over exclusive schemes for marginalised communities. A significant portion of the allocations meant for SCs and STs was diverted to non-targeted schemes, which often fail to reach these communities effectively. Specifically, under Ayushman Bharat – PMJAY, there was a decrease of Rs. 100 crore in allocation for SC and ST women compared to the previous year.

The Modi government implemented a new National Health Policy (NHP) in 2017, which

serves as the basis for the privatisation of the public healthcare system. In 2018, the AB-PMJAY (Ayushman Bharat - Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojna), an insurance-scheme-based healthcare initiative that provides secondary and tertiary treatment for the marginalised sections of our population was introduced. It **replaces the responsibility of healthcare services from the central and state governments, which were previously responsible for free universal public healthcare**.

Former union health secretary Sujatha Rao described this shift as a transition from being a '**service provider**' to a '**financier**'.

⁹ <https://thewire.in/education/mere-fiscal-commitment-isnt-enough-to-promote-education-of-scheduled-castes>

CLAIMS

**BJP IS COMMITTED TO
ELIMINATE MANUAL
SCAVENGING.**

BJP Manifesto - 2014

**WE WILL MAKE ADEQUATE
PROVISIONS FOR
PERSONAL SAFETY
EQUIPMENT AND
ACCELERATE THE
ADOPTION OF MECHANISED
CLEANING TO ENSURE
OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH
AND SAFETY FOR SAFAI
KARAMCHARIS.**

BJP Manifesto - 2019

REALITY



ELIMINATION OF MANUAL SCAVENGING

Close to the August 2023 deadline for declaring India manual scavenging free, **nearly a third of the country's 766 districts have yet to eradicate manual scavenging practices.**

About **246 districts in the country have**

neither declared themselves manual scavenging free nor uploaded details of existing insanitary latrines and manual scavengers on the Centre's mobile app, according to data of the social justice and empowerment ministry, the nodal ministry for monitoring manual scavenging. ([Source](#))

DEATHS BY MANUAL SCAVENGING

Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment, Ramdas Athawale, addressed the Lok Sabha, acknowledging that between 2018 and November 2023, 443 individuals lost their lives while

performing sewer and septic tank cleaning duties. However, conflicting figures from organisations like Safai Karamchari Andolan report 1,760 deaths during this period.

FUND ALLOCATION

'The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act of 2013' had a total budget estimate (BE) of Rs. 1273.2 crore in the past ten years, with

only Rs. 231.2 crore utilised (18%). Similarly, the Swachh Bharat Mission - Rural had an unutilized amount of Rs. 2,318.1 crore. ([Source](#))

REHABILITATION

The MSJE said that all identified eligible manual scavengers have received One-Time Cash Assistance (OTCA) of Rs 40,000 per head amounting to Rs 232.39 crore as of

March 2021. However, only 2.7% and 31.3% of total identified manual scavengers have received the capital subsidy and skill development training respectively. ([Source](#))

CLAIMS

WE ARE COMMITTED TO ENSURE BENEFITS OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES, SCHEDULED TRIBES AND BACKWARD CLASSES. WE WILL ENSURE THAT PROPER REPRESENTATION AND OPPORTUNITIES ARE AVAILABLE FOR THESE SECTIONS.

REALITY

CENSUS: DELAY AND EXCLUSION OF OBC CATEGORY

The BJP has consistently refused to enumerate OBC communities. Such data that can be brought about through a caste census will reveal inequalities in social structures, enable better policy formulation and identify obstacles in policy implementation.

In 2021, the Center told the Supreme Court the **exclusion of information regarding any other caste (referring to the enumeration of OBC communities) from the purview of the census is a “conscious policy decision” taken by the Union government.** ([Source](#))

In October 2023, Bihar announced the findings of the first-ever caste census since the country’s independence in 1947. Modi, on the day the findings of the census were revealed, accused the opposition parties of “committing the sin” of “dividing

the country on caste lines”.

The Bihar caste census showed that oppressor castes comprise just 15.5 percent, while marginalised castes make up for a staggering 84 percent of the state’s population. By not examining the exact populations and the status of marginalised groups, as will be done in a caste census like in Bihar, the BJP has evaded taking conscious policy measures to address the extent of marginalisation. ([Source](#))

In December 2023, Modi said, “I have always said that for me, the biggest four castes are poor, youth, women and farmers. Our priority is to respect and empower the poor and deprived,” -- yet another instance of the BJP’s stance of undercutting and denying the reality of a 3000-year old system in modern India.

EXCLUSION OF DALIT CHRISTIANS AND DALIT MUSLIMS FROM SC STATUS

In 2022, the Centre defended the exclusion of Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims from the list of scheduled castes, saying “historical data shows no backwardness or oppression was ever faced by them”. ([Source](#))

A 2008 report for the National Commission on Minorities concluded that there is ample socio-scientific evidence on the discrimination faced by Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians. The economic data shows that they are worse off than the other segments of their communities – they are

over-represented among the poor or disadvantaged and under-represented among the privileged by all conventional measures of poverty or disadvantage.

Among Dalits of different religions, nearly 47% of Dalit Muslims in urban India were below the poverty line, the report noted from 2004-'05 data. This is a significantly higher percentage than Hindu Dalits and Dalit Christians, it said. In rural India, 40% of Dalit Muslims and 30% Dalit Christians were in the BPL category, it added. ([Source](#))

CONTRACTUALISATION OF CASTE ORDAINED OCCUPATIONS

The Union government passed the Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Code, 2020, which prohibits contract labour in core areas of work. However, this core activity excludes sanitation, house-keeping, gardening and canteen work. These occupations are

typically caste ordained occupations and people from marginalised castes undertake these work. These workers have been made to work permanently under the exploitative contract system. With lesser pay, poorer conditions of work, and lack of job security.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

VACANCIES IN RESERVED SEATS

According to the information given in Parliament on March 24, 2022, **9 ministries and departments of the Central government** (Railways, Finance, Atomic Energy, Defence, Housing and Home Affairs etc.) had **82,022 vacancies reserved for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs of which 58% remain unfilled.**

45 central universities have not filled 42 per cent of reserved vacant posts of SCs. Institute of Science had an **80 per cent backlog in the vacancies reserved for SCs.**

As on August 2023, 9.64 lakh vacancies existed in the central government.¹¹ If all these posts were filled, around 1.5 lakh SC candidates, close to 2 lakh OBC candidates and thousands of ST candidates would have been employed.

BJP State governments like the Karnataka government also failed to fill backlog vacancies in the states. The Bommai government had promised to fill 1 lakh vacancies, but it wasn't done.¹² A Karnataka cabinet sub-committee itself decided to fill vacancies in Jan 2022. Then, On 6 July 2022, the High Court in Karnataka directed the Department of Social Welfare to fill the large number of vacant posts.¹³ Still it wasn't done and the High Court stepped in again in September 2023 and directed the government to do so. Karnataka High court also observed that "The continuation of vacancies would virtually amount to denial to these communities of preferential treatment as constitutionally ordained. That would eventually deprive community representation in public employment and therefore cannot be countenanced"

¹⁰https://prsindia.org/files/bills_acts/bills_parliament/2020/Occupational%20Safety,%20Health%20And%20Working%20Conditions%20Code,%202020_1.pdf

¹¹ <https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/news/story/over-964-lakh-vacancies-in-central-government-jobs-overview-of-vacancies-2418080-2023-08-08>

¹² <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/bangalore/over-2-5-lakh-karnataka-govt-jobs-vacant-1-lakh-posts-to-be-filled-soon-cm-basavarj-bommai-8338846/>

¹³ <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/clear-backlog-of-vacant-posts-hc-directs-govt/articleshow/104007859.cms>

FAILURE TO APPOINT KEY OFFICIALS TO THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Chairperson's post was left vacant for 8 months between 2023 and 2024. For a few weeks, all the members' posts were

also vacant. As of 2024 April, there will still be 70 vacancies in the Commission.¹⁴

IMPACT OF CONTRACTUALISATION AND PRIVATISATION

Contractualization and privatisation of public sector jobs are on the rise. **While employing them through third party contractors, the reservation policy is not followed. This directly removes due opportunities for marginalised communities under reservation.** Many employees working in flagship central government schemes like Swachh Bharat Mission (SBM-rural), National Rural Drinking Water Mission (NRDWP), (MGNREGA) work as contract employees¹⁵;

Apart from the reduction in total

employment of Central Public Sector Enterprises (CPSEs) by over 2.7 lakh, there has been a significant change in the type of employment. In March 2013, of the total 1.7 lakh employees, 17% were on contract while 2.5% were employed as casual/daily workers. **The share of contract workers has increased to 36% in 2022 while the share of casual/daily workers has increased to 6.6%. Overall, 42.5% of those employed in CPSES as of March 2022 fell in the category of contract or casual workers, whereas the corresponding figure was 19% in March 2013.**¹⁶

¹⁵<https://thewire.in/labour/for-sanitation-workers-on-the-front-line-modis-swachh-bharat-is-a-jumla>

¹⁴<https://www.eastmojo.com/national/2024/04/07/vacancies-galore-at-constitutional-tribal-body-key-reports-unpublished/?Y29uc3VtcHRpb24=72a7a234-573b-4deb-adac-6640cef05eea>

¹⁶<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/central-psu-jobs-down-2-7-lakh-over-past-decade-govt-data/articleshow/101027898.cms>

INTERNAL RESERVATION/ RECLASSIFICATION OF SUBCASTES

While the issue of internal reclassification of subcastes has seen a range of opinions within the SC community, **the BJP has strategically played to various groups in different states, without following up with any real actions, to deepen divides within marginalised groups, and to exploit these divides for political gains.** For instance, On 11 November 2023, at a historical rally in Hyderabad organised by the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti (MRPS), demanding internal reclassification of Scheduled Caste reservation, **Prime Minister Modi claimed that he would fight along with Krishna Madiga**, the president of MRPS for the cause and that he would constitute a committee to look into the issue. However what is required is not a committee, but one of the following two solutions:

- On August 27, 2020, the Supreme Court judgement favoured the reclassification of SC reservation by the constitutional bench of five judges in Davinder Singh vs State of Punjab came. However another SC bench of similar strength held it unconstitutional. Therefore a seven judge bench is required to resolve this. The Modi government has not pressed for such a bench.¹⁷

- The second available option is that the Union government should initiate the process of constitutional amendment to insert clause 341 (3) which will allow reclassification of the Schedule caste reservation and enable state legislatures to enact the same. The union government which amended the constitution for EWS, for striking down Article 370 etc, has not done this on the internal reclassification issue.

Instead, it uses the issue to win brownie points during elections. For instance, in Karnataka, The Sadashiva report, formalising internal reclassification, was submitted in 2012 to the then BJP government headed by Sadananda Gowda. **It was never tabled in the house either by the BJP government in 2012-13 or 2019-23 period. On the eve of the Karnataka assembly elections in 2023, Bommai announced the long-pending internal reclassification of SCs.** However, as soon as various key groups started to protest this move, to placate their committed support base, the **CM backtracked** to say that they have not sent the recommendations of the Sadashiva report to the Union government, but the recommendations of the cabinet sub-committee. (Source)

¹⁷ <https://thewire.in/politics/why-modis-latest-assurance-on-the-sc-sub-classification-doesnt-exude-confidence>

REPRESENTATION

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

In March 2023, the Print analysed caste profiles of over 123 state ministers across the eight states of Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Karnataka, Gujarat, Goa, and Maharashtra (where BJP is a ruling party in the government). **Most BJP state cabinets give**

representation to backward caste leaders, but powerful portfolios are with oppressor castes. Of 123 cabinet ministers in the 8 states analysed, including chief ministers, 66% are from oppressor castes and the remaining are from scheduled castes (SC), Dalit, OBC or scheduled tribe (ST).

WORKFORCE REPRESENTATION

85% of professors and 82% of assistant professors in Central Universities are from the General Category. This data reveals **discriminatory practices not only in admission, but also faculty hiring processes.**¹⁸ The number of OBC faculty is even lower than that of faculty from SC community.

IIMs wrote to the MHRD in 2020 saying they do not want reservations for faculty positions.¹⁹ The government then appointed

a committee to look into effective implementation of reservations²⁰ but the government appointed **committee recommended that IITs and IIMs should not have reservation for faculty.** The government then announced a Mission Mode Recruitment for faculty hiring. However, this is still not being done. The student group Ambedkar Periyar Phule Study Circle from IIT Mumbai has stated that:²¹

- **NO ST AND OBC FACULTY AT IIT BOMBAY WERE RECRUITED IN 2023.**
- **16 DEPARTMENTS AT IIT BOMBAY DID NOT TAKE A SINGLE STUDENT BELONGING TO THE SCHEDULED TRIBE (ST) COMMUNITY DURING PHD ADMISSIONS FOR 2023-24.**
- **NO ST STUDENT WAS ADMITTED IN FIVE DEPARTMENTS AT IIT BOMBAY IN THE LAST NINE YEARS.**

The student group has questioned why the union government has not taken any action despite open flouting of its own norms.

¹⁸<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chennai/only-4-of-professors-in-45-central-univs-are-obcs/articleshow/102294320.cms>

¹⁹<https://www.thenewsminute.com/news/iims-dont-want-reservation-faculty-positions-write-mhrd-115233>

²⁰<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/services/education/exempt-iits-from-reservation-in-faculty-recruitment-expert-panel/articleshow/79783129.cms?from=mdr>

²¹<https://www.thequint.com/news/education/iit-kharagpur-delhi-kanpur-bombay-quota-sc-st-obc-seats-phd-admission-faculty-hiring-news#read-more>

Data received through RTI filed by Dr.Siddharth Joshi, also a member of Bahutva Karnataka member has shown that representation of SC and ST communities in faculties in IIT is dismal.

IIT Bombay	667	6	1	10	684
IIT Kharagpur	625	11	1	27	664
IIT Delhi	509	10	3	27	549
IIT Kanpur	443	9	1	11	464
Total	2244 (95)	36 (1.52)	6 (0.25)	75 (3.18)	2361 (100)
	General	SC	ST	OBC	Total

Similar is the case with PhD student bodies as well.

IIT Bombay	2497	305	60	672	3534
IIT Kharagpur	2422	433	79	754	3688
IIT Delhi	2519	194	60	597	3370
IIT Kanpur	2519	932	60	597	3370
Total	7438	36 (1.52)	199	2023	10,592
	General	SC	ST	OBC	Total

Even though there are hundreds of students applying for PhDs from reserved categories, very few are admitted showing a bias. The government's Mission Mode Recruitment is turning out to be a damp squib but they are not doing anything about it.

CLAIMS

**TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT
WILL BE ONE OF THE
FOCUS AREAS.**

**SPECIAL FOCUS WOULD BE
ON THE CHILDREN,
ESPECIALLY THE GIRL
CHILD, WITH REGARDS TO
HEALTH, EDUCATION AND
SKILLS DEVELOPMENT.**

CLAIMS

CONTINUING OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT, WE WILL ENSURE THAT THE RIGHTS OF ALL FOREST DWELLERS ARE FULLY PROTECTED.

TO ENSURE THAT QUALITY EDUCATION IS AVAILABLE AND EASILY ACCESSIBLE, EVERY BLOCK WITH MORE THAN 50% ST POPULATION AND AT LEAST 20,000 TRIBAL PERSONS WILL HAVE AN EKLAVYA MODEL RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL. EKLAVYA SCHOOLS WILL BE AT PAR WITH NAVODAYA VIDYALAYAS AND BESIDES PROVIDING STATE OF THE ART TRAINING IN SPORTS AND SKILL DEVELOPMENT, THESE SCHOOLS WILL HAVE SPECIAL FACILITIES FOR PRESERVING LOCAL ART AND CULTURE.

FUND ALLOCATION

The allocation for the **Tribal Special Scheme (TSS), which should be 8.6 per cent in proportion to the adivasi population**, was only 2.7 per cent and 2.5 per cent in the 2023-24 and 2024-25 interim budgets. In 2023-24, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs **did not spend 39 per cent of its allocations**. Allocations made for the 'Welfare for Scheduled Tribes' are being **diverted for general projects of the**

government. Areas of social welfare that are important for adivasis, such as the NREGA, public distribution system, education and health, have seen **grossly inadequate allocations**. In the 2024-25 interim budget, **only 86,000 crores has been allocated for NREGA while more than 2 lakh crores are required to ensure 100 days work** to job card holders and those seeking work. ([Source1](#))

FOCUS ON EDUCATION

Expenditure on tribal education has fallen from 0.08 per cent of total budgetary expenditure in 2016-17 to 0.053 per cent in 2023-24. A large number of schools in adivasi areas have either been closed or merged with other schools.

Until 2015, about 70,000 schools were run by Tribal Welfare Departments in various states. By 2022-23, the number of such schools has **fallen to less than 40,000** through the process of rationalisation, which is shutting down schools with small numbers of students and teachers. Despite widespread criticism of this process, the NEP 2020 doubled down on the process, leading to more school closures.

Instead of strengthening the government school system in remote localities, the BJP has come up with Ekalavya Model Residential Schools as a plan to cater to tribal communities' education needs. However, of **the 740 EMRs that the government planned to set up, only 401 are functional**. Instead of admitting **3.5 lakh students to EMRs, only 1.35 lakh students** are able to study in EMRs. In 2023-24, **59 per cent of the budgetary allocation for the EMRs remained unspent**. At present most of the EMRs are **understaffed**. Of 39,000 positions for teachers and staff, only 10,000 have been filled. ([Source](#))

ASSAULT ON PLURALISTIC CULTURES

The National Educational Policy 2020 has launched a vigorous **assault on pluralistic culture and the syncretic traditions of Adivasis to impose a hegemony of Hindutva** culture among the adivasis. The Eklavya Schools and the Ekal Vidyalayas are also being used to promote RSS's hindutva agenda through changes in curricula and

extra-curricular activities. The Ekal Vidyalayas are sponsored and run by the Akhil Bharatiya Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram in the name of promoting quality education. ([Source](#))

Government funds have been given to Sangh Parivar organisations in Adivasi areas

to further the Hindutva agenda by propagating Hinduisation of selected adivasi groups. The BJP agenda of communal polarisation has taken a dangerous turn in Manipur, where a deep divide has been created between the

majority Meitei community and the Kuki-Zo hill tribes. The government started illegal evictions of tribals terming all of them illegal immigrants from Myanmar without due process of verification. ([Source](#))

LAND RIGHTS

While forest land is being handed over to corporations for various projects, **38.36 per cent of claims for individual forest rights under the FRA have been rejected and**

10.39 per cent are still pending – in other words almost 50 per cent of claimants have been deprived as of November 2022. ([Source](#))



Jenu Kuruba Adivasis in Karnataka protested against the Tiger Reserve (2021) Photo Credit - NewsClick



Bhumi Adhikar Andolan, Jharkhand (2019) Photo Credit - Sabrang.in

CLAIMS

**BJP IS COMMITTED
TO THE
ERADICATION OF
UNTOUCHABILITY AT
ALL LEVELS.**

A quick look at the BJP's casteist treatment of its own people easily quashes the BJP's lofty promises of eradicating untouchability.

TREATMENT OF PRESIDENT DROUPADI MURMU

Despite having put a tribal woman in the post of the President, **the BJP sidelined her during the inauguration of the new Parliament building.** President Droupadi Murmu was not present at the event, which Modi presided over instead. Twenty opposition parties boycotted the ceremony, saying that Prime Minister Narendra Modi's decision was "not only a grave insult but a direct assault on our democracy". ([Source](#))

The inauguration ceremony was also incidentally held on the **birth anniversary of Hindutva ideologue VD Savarkar.**

She was invited to the inauguration of the Ram Temple, however, was said to be **discouraged from attending** the same and so was absent from the ceremony attended by the prime minister, home minister, and many others. ([Source](#))

CASTEIST INFLUENCE IN BJP AS A POLITICAL PARTY

In light of the upcoming elections, RSS Chief Mohan Bhagwat may have recently shunned the caste system in favour of an 'integral approach of welfare for all'. ([Source](#)) However, **the roots of the nearly-century-old organisation hold strong today, as evidenced by the contents of this report.**

In his book RSS: The Long and Short of it, Devanur Mahadeva, a Kannada writer, intellectual and Padma Shri awardee, quotes **one of the founding fathers of the RSS' fascination for the practices of Nazi rulers.** "Germany has also shown how well nigh impossible it is for Races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by...RSS, inspired by one flag, one leader and one ideology is lighting the flame of Hindutva in each and every corner of this great land." ([Source](#))

3 of out 4 union ministers in the current government from the BJP are rooted in the Sangh (2020).

One out of five BJP MPs associated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) were appointed as ministers in the Narendra Modi cabinet in 2019. But only one out of fourteen BJP MPs without a Sangh background are appointed as ministers. Simply put, parliamentarians with an RSS background had three times better ministerial prospects than the others, a fact that aspiring ministers should bear in mind amid speculation about a possible revamp of Team Modi.

It should come as no surprise, though, as **Prime Minister Narendra Modi is a former RSS pracharak himself.** The **No.2 in the government, Home Minister and former BJP president Amit Shah, was also associated with the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), the RSS' students wing.** It also explains the influence of the Sangh ideology on government policies. **Of the 303 BJP MPs in the Lok Sabha, 146 or 48 per cent have an affiliation to the RSS. In the Rajya Sabha, of its 82 MPs, the BJP has 34 with links to the Sangh.** ([Source](#))

HATE SPEECH ALONG CASTE LINES

The incidents listed below expose the BJP's hollow promise of 'Sab ka Saath, Sab ka Vikas' and of upholding social justice. These incidents show that the BJP actually believes in a hierarchical society and that they look down on people from marginalised castes.

- In 2018, a video purportedly showed Uttarakhand BJP MLA Rajkumar Thukral **beating up and hurling casteist abuses at two Dalit women.** ([Source](#))
- In 2018, BJP leader from Punjab Satpal Pathela was booked for allegedly **passing casteist remarks and threatening** fellow councillor and Akali leader Sukhdev Singh 'Sukha' at the MC House meeting. ([Source](#))
- In 2018, BJP MLA Manjinder Singh Sirsa made a remark **calling Dalits "chhoti jati"** in the Assembly House.
- In 2021, Santosh Ranjan Rai, the former national vice president of Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) youth wing, and a devout Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) follower, said **"if there is a shortage of coal anywhere.@Dr_Uditraj Can be used in fuel..." targeting the Dalit leader for the colour of his skin.**([Source](#))
- In 2022, Tamil Nadu BJP president K Annamalai has come under fire for his **use of the casteist term 'pariah'** on his Twitter handle. ([Source](#))
- In August 2023, while trying to attack Karnataka's Forest Minister Eshwar Khandre, who hails from the same Kalyana-Karnataka region as Kharage, a former BJP minister said, **"It is our misfortune that the forest minister is from that region (Kalyana-Karnataka), which doesn't have a forest. They don't know what a plant, tree, or its shade is. Under the scorching heat, people there turn black (dark). We will know it by looking at Kharage."**
- In 2022, three BJP leaders of the elected Dabhoi Municipal Corporation in Vadodara - Biren Shah, Vishal, and Amit Solanki were booked under the SC/ST Atrocities Prevention Act. Vadodara Rural Deputy Superintendent of Police (ST/SC Cell) Aakash Patel said, **"A tribal youth (Dharmesh Tadv) in his complaint on Monday evening alleged that these leaders intentionally insulted, voluntarily caused hurt, and made casteist remarks against him."**
- In 2020, while addressing a gathering of the Thakur community in Sehore, Bhopal's BJP MP Pragya Thakur cited religious scriptures, **claiming "Shudras" have a lack of understanding.** ([Source](#))

In 2023, Assam CM Himanta Biswa Sarma said: "...farming, cow rearing, and commerce are natural duties of the Vaishya and serving the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas is the natural duty of the Shudras." ([Source](#))

NDA GOVERNMENT'S BRAZEN ATTACK ON ACTIVISTS FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHTS OF DALITS AND ADIVASIS

Under the NDA government, those who have worked on fighting for the rights of Dalits and Adivasis have borne the brunt of fabricated cases and blatant abuse of draconian laws. This is particularly striking in the case of the 2017 Bhima Koregaon incident.

On December 31, 2017, an event called Elgar Parishad, in Shaniwarwada, Pune was attended by tens of thousands of people. It was a conference convened by the former judge of the Supreme Court, the late Justice P. B. Sawant and former Bombay High Court judge, Justice Kolse Patil. Thousands of people marched on foot from rural Maharashtra to attend this event and the march on January 1, a memorial to mark the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Koregaon. This is a pivotal moment where a predominantly Dalit army, fighting for the East India Company, triumphed over the Maratha ruler Baji Rao Peshwa II. It holds deep significance for prominent Dalit intellectuals and activists, symbolizing a triumph over the oppression they endured during Peshwa rule. Dalit groups and community members congregate every year to commemorate the victory of the Dalit army.

On January 1, 2017, tensions escalated as groups brandishing saffron flags launched attacks on attendees of the commemoration, using swords and metal rods. Shops were looted, cars broken into, and one civilian was killed.

On January 8, 2018, Tushar Damgude, a close aide of the RSS, filed an FIR alleging

that the violence at Bhima Koregaon on January 1 was instigated by activists who had spoken at the Elgar Parishad on December 31, 2017. It should be noted that this was filed a week after the incident, and after at least 22 other FIRs, including one filed on January 2 by Anita Sawale – a Dalit activist and an eye witness to the incidents of violence – had already been filed alleging the involvement of Hindutva right-wing ideologues Sambhaji Bhide and Milind Ekbote with the violence that ensued.

However, Pune Police only investigated the FIR filed by Tushar Damgude and arrested several activists based on fabricated charges accusing them of having Maoist links and holding them responsible for the violence that took place in Bhima Koregaon. Among those arrested were several leaders and activists with a decorated history of defending human rights. Below are just a few examples of the same:

The youngest of the arrested was Mahesh Raut, a forest rights activist who worked on strengthening Gram Sabhas in the mining areas of Gadchiroli. He is a former fellow of the prestigious Prime Minister's Rural Development Fellowship Programme of the Union Ministry of Rural Development. Since 6 June 2018, Mahesh has remained in prison.

Vernon Gonsalves, another prominent activist, is an academic and writer, who has written extensively on Dalit and adivasi rights, and the rights of prisoners. He was granted bail by the Supreme Court on July

28, 2023 after spending 5 years in prison.

Arun Ferriera, a human rights activist, has been a member of the Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights and the Indian Association of People's Lawyers. Arun is another activist arrested in the August 2018 round-up, and was granted bail on July 28, 2023 by the Supreme Court.

Anand Teltumbde (aged 72) is a reputed author, intellectual, political analyst and Dalit scholar. He has written extensively on issues pertaining to caste atrocities. An engineer and graduate of the Indian Institute of Management (Ahmedabad), he is a former professor at the Indian Institute of Technology (Kharagpur) and was a senior professor at the Goa Institute of Management at the time of his arrest. He was released on bail on 26 November 2022.

Ramesh Gaichor and Jyoti Jagtap are both

musical performers, anti-caste activists, and members of the cultural troupe Kabir Kala Manch. Kabir Kala Manch is a cultural organisation in which its young members and students perform protest theatre and poetry in working class localities. Both Ramesh and Jyoti remain in custody since September 2020.

Hany Babu, an associate professor at the English Department of Delhi University, is an anti-caste activist. Babu suffers from several ailments and has reportedly not received adequate medical care. Professor Hany has been incarcerated since July 2020.

Tribal rights activist and Jesuit priest Father Stan Swamy, passed away in custody due to COVID in June 2021 after being incarcerated for over seven months.

Several of the accused persons have now spent almost five years in judicial custody without trial.([Source1](#) [Source2](#))

THE HATHRAS CASE AND THE DENIAL OF JUSTICE

The Hathras gang-rape and murder case is a startling example of how the under the sangh parivar, the judicial system was manipulated or bypassed entirely by communities with vested political interests.

On September 14, 2020, four men belonging to the oppressor caste Thakur community gang-raped "Asha", a Dalit teenager. Asha passed away two weeks later. Shortly after her demise, Asha was forcefully cremated by the Uttar Pradesh police. **In March 2023, 3 of 4 men accused in the Hathras case were set free** by an Uttar Pradesh court. The fourth was found guilty of culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

It is a case where **the police, the medical establishment, the investigation, the trial, the judiciary - all of them not only failed the victim but also caused severe hardship to her family.**

The UP BJP government deliberately tried to cover up the crime by multiple acts of commission such as cremating the victim's body forcefully. The UP government worked in a manner that forced retired civil servants from across the country to write to the UP government asking it to involve the atrocities act against the police and the DM. The UP government had also left the post of the State SC commission vacant for ten months when the Hathras incident happened. The union government meanwhile also worked to invisible the injustice and deny justice. The Parliamentary committee of welfare of scheduled castes and schedule tribes refused a request by its members to visit Hathras. The National SC commission was headless for atleast 4 ,months when the Hathras gang-rape took place.



SOCIAL JUSTICE

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